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Where do I fit it?

Exploring how dyslexic young people experience social interactions in a mainstream secondary school.

Helen Louise Ross

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Bath

Department of Social and Policy Sciences

October 2017

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Abstract

Since the Children and Families Act 2014, young people and parents appear (on paper) to have a bigger role than ever in negotiating Special Educational Needs provision for themselves/their children. However, recent studies have suggested this is not necessarily the case (Craston et al, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c), particularly for young people with a hidden impairment, such as dyslexia (Ross, 2013b; 2013c). This current study explored the experiences of dyslexic young people, their parents/carers and their teachers in relation to dyslexia-related support interventions. Over 5 months in 2015, fieldwork was undertaken at Hilltop View School (pseudonym), in a 'Pathfinder' Local Authority (The Stationary Office, 2011) in the South-West of England. Young people, parents and carers, and teachers participated in focus group sessions and one-to-one interviews. Lessons were also observed. Participants' understandings of dyslexia, it's effect on young people's self-concept and subsequent ability to negotiate social spaces to secure provision of resources were explored within a framework based on Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction', grounded in a Bourdieusien model of the social world. Through the use of this unique theoretical framework, participants were found to have differing capacities to negotiate their own social space at different 'levels of interaction' (Jenkins, 2008). Young people and teachers were found to have the best capacity to navigate their social setting at an 'interactional level' (person to person interactions), while parents appeared to have more opportunity to engage at the 'institutional level' (person/institution to institution interactions). This study provides an understanding of the experiences of stakeholders within a changing policy framework and provides a new theoretical framework within which to undertake investigations into the experiences of stakeholders in SEND provision.

Introduction

Since the Warnock's (1978) report "Special Educational Needs" (SEN), the provision of support for young people with SEN in the English education system has been a core theme within policy. Following the General Election in 2010, the Coalition Government set out a roadmap for reform of SEN policy and provision, which was fully implemented by the following Conservative Government in 2014, through the Children and Families Act (The Stationery Office, 2014). This research is undertaken in a context where the voices of young people with SEN are expected to be heard during decision-making processes about their educational provision. However, recent government-commissioned research (Craston, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c) has suggested that young people and their families cannot always access decision-making processes, particularly when they do not have an Education, Health and Care Plan (EHC Plan). Local provision for young people with SEN is also in a state of flux following the Royal Assent of the Children and Families Act 2014; the role of Local Authorities (LAs) in educational provision has been scaled back and schools/academies are increasingly working outside of LA resources when providing support for young people with SEN.

This research is undertaken in this climate: local authorities are developing frameworks for support of young people with SEN with a view to facilitating access to suitable support for young people and their parents/carers, and supporting teachers who work with young people with SEN (DfE, 2010b). Fieldwork for this study was undertaken in a 'Pathfinder' Local Authority (Craston, 2012, 2013c) where framework development was undertaken early in order to demonstrate good practice to other areas. Understanding how and to what extent young people, their parents/carers and educational professionals can engage with educational processes is vital; as legislation expects parental input, as well as consultation with teachers and young people (The Stationary Office, 2014), understanding their capacity to enter into dialogue within the social field of education is crucial.

This research investigates the experiences of young people with dyslexia, and their parents/carers and their teachers, within a mainstream setting. In relation to dyslexic young people, their understanding of dyslexia, their status as 'dyslexic', its influence on their interactions and self-concept, and their capacity to engage with others, are key issues for exploration. Issues to be explored in relation to parents/carers are: their understandings of their children's dyslexia; their role as parents of young people with dyslexia; and their ability to engage with processes relating to their children's educational provision. Teachers' conceptualisations of dyslexia and themselves as teachers will be explored. How these affect teachers' classroom interactions and capacity to engage with wider educational professions

is also explored. In order to understand the position of dyslexia within wider SEN and disability, different models of disability are considered. Medicalised views locate disability within the individual and often associate disability with mourning, personal tragedy and loss of an ability (Oliver, 1984; Watermeyer, 2009). Disability has also been viewed as resulting from structural constraints, which act to disable an individual (Dowse, 2001; Hughes, 2009). Shakespeare (1996b) describes a bio-social model of disability, which accepts the presence of an underlying impairment within an individual, but argues that disability results from societal responses to impairment. Within this framework, dyslexia is also discussed and the neurological models of it are described. However, I also review social models of dyslexia, where effects of dyslexia are due to constraints within education. For the purposes of this study, I draw on MacDonald's (2012) bio-social model of dyslexia, which locates it within the individual, as an impairment but which also considers societal responses to dyslexia in line with Shakespeare's work on bio-social models of disability.

The position of those with dyslexia is linked to their 'disability' and models of childhood. Those with disability have been viewed as 'incomplete' people (Watermeyer, 2009) due to their impairment. This chimes with the position of children as described by Smith (2007) and Wyness (2012) whose work suggests that young people are viewed as incomplete as a result of their age and due to laws relating to this. Both young people and those with impairments have been found in this work to be marginalised and their views relating to their care/education not considered, which suggests that we can draw parallels between the experiences of young people and those with impairments.

The capacity of social actors to access decision-making processes within the field of education is discussed more generally in this study. The position of adults and young people within the field of education is explored within a Bourdieusian framework. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) viewed education as a site of reproduction of social positions, through which the dominant group of actors (dominant cultural arbitrary) can maintain its dominant position and ensure others are kept in their subordinate places. Young people and 'disabled' people are often in a subordinate social position as described above and discussed in more detail in Chapter 1. However, this study also explores the positions and experiences of others in the social field of education. This is done within a Bourdieusian framework that is informed by Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction. Although Jenkins (2008) does not fully ascribe to Bourdieu's social project, both researchers agree that social position, identity and self-concept are social processes which are developed through interaction with other agents. I use the three-levelled framework devised by Jenkins (2008) to understand how actors engage with each other and their positions in the social field of education. Bourdieu's

concept of habitus (see section 3.1.1.2) is used to explore the practices which are internalised, produced and then reproduced within a setting. In this study, Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' are used to explore how and to what extent actors within the localised setting of Hilltop View School can internalise and embody the habitus of the providers of support for young people with dyslexia. The capacities of young people, teachers and parents/carers are explored and perceptions of power versus realities and participants' experiences of both are unpicked with reference to Bourdieu, and social position. The positions of participants and their internalised self-concept are explored. Relational-self theory (Chen et al., 2011) is drawn upon and related to Goffman's (1963) concept of 'stigmatising characteristic'.

The thesis itself is broken down into eight chapters. The first chapter introduces the concepts of childhood, disability and dyslexia. The models of these concepts drawn on in the study are outlined and then drawn together in order to locate them within academic literature. In Chapter 2, the policy climate surrounding provision for young people with disabilities is described. The history of SEN policy, back to the Warnock Report (1978) and up to current Conservative policy is critiqued with reference both to academic and government literature. Chapter 3 sees the introduction of Bourdieu and Jenkins as means of understanding and modelling the social world within the setting of a study relating to dyslexia. The theoretical framework is derived from Bourdieu's concepts of "habitus", "practices" and "field", and how these concepts are embodied and reproduced by individuals and linked to identity and Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction. The research aims and objectives are also defined in Chapter 3 and are linked to the following question:
How much room do actors have to negotiate and renegotiate their social position and role linked to dyslexia within the social field of education?

The research aims are broken down into the following:

- Analysis of young people's, teacher's and parents' individual understandings of, and responses to, dyslexia and related classroom experiences through analysis of interview data and classroom observation through the lens of Jenkins' (2008) individual order.
- Exploration of how views of dyslexia inform those interactions and influence educational provision for young people, based in Jenkins' (2008) "interactional order", analysis of classroom and school-based interactions through interview data and classroom observation.
- Analysis located in Jenkins' (2008) 'institutional order', exploration of positions occupied by different actors and institutions within the field of Hilltop View School and how these positions influence provision of resources for young people, facilitate/restrict access to the

field of education for parents/carers and to what extent dominant positions are reinforced through the current structures in place in and around Hilltop View School.

In Chapter 4, the methodology for the study, which was undertaken in Hilltop View School, is described. Sample methods are outlined, ethical conditions for each group of participants are discussed in line with relevant legislation, and interview/groupwork procedures are exposed. I also discuss data processing methods and evaluate my position within the research process as a researcher–practitioner; I am a practising teacher of young people with SEN within an independent school. The results of the study are broken down into Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 5 presents the experiences of young people within Hilltop View and their capacity to engage with decision-making processes, the effect of dyslexia on their self-concept and their subsequent position within their social network is discussed. Their understanding of dyslexia as a concept is also explored. In Chapter 6, I focus on the experiences of parents, their views of dyslexia and its impact on their child's self-concept. How then parents are able to relate dyslexia to their children and teachers is investigated. Parents' capacity to engage with teachers and the school at an institutional level, and the measures they took in order to do so are discussed in this chapter. I explore how they are able to embody habitus and manoeuvre within their social position, in order to engage with teachers and young people to secure suitable provision for their children. Chapter 7 discusses the experiences of teachers of young people with dyslexia. Their view of dyslexia is explored, how young people's status as 'dyslexic' is outlined and teachers' own self-concept is explored. The effects of teachers' self-concept are then linked to their social position and their capacity to propagate their perceived status as "state functionary" (Bourdieu, 2011).

Chapter 8 sees me draw together the three different strands of the study to fully answer the research question. A key finding of the study were that both parents and young people at the 'individual order' appeared to reframe dyslexia positively to present a 'better' view of it and themselves/their child during their interactions. Interactionally, I found that young people could generally engage with teachers and parents in meaningful discussions relating to their dyslexia; they could create some 'wriggle room' through their interactions. However, institutionally, due to their status as 'minors' within statute, young people were at times unable to fully enact agency and engage in procedures. Like young people, parents used their internalised re-conceptualisation of dyslexia to inform their interactions with teachers and young people at the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008). They were generally more able to negotiate social space at the 'institutional' order, as they could explore and adopt the habitus required to engage in meaningful dialogue. Parents could generally

embody the habitus of the 'field of education' as manifested in the localised setting of Hilltop View School. I then discuss the theoretical and practical implications of the study.

The key theoretical implication is that, to my knowledge, a framework which bases Jenkins' (2008) 'orders of interaction' within Bourdieusian analysis of social networks applied to an educational setting has not been undertaken before. The framework has proven to be a powerful tool in the explication of social networks and their links with social position. I also found that Uprichard's (2008) understanding of childhood was useful for framing young people's position with the policy framework for SEN provision. The bio-social model of disability appeared to reflect the bio-social effects of dyslexia experienced by young people. More work is needed to understand the position of teachers within the framework as findings in this study appeared in tension with Bourdieu's suggestion that teachers are in a powerful position in their place as 'state functionary' (Bourdieu, 2011), with the power to grant or deny young people access to vital resources. Further work into the experiences of young people, their parents/carers and teachers in other educational settings is also required as this is a small-scale study, undertaken in one setting. However, the practical findings have served to inform practice at the school and have provided insight into stakeholders' experiences of provision there. The theoretical framework used may be useful in other settings and the models used could be developed further for use in wider research situations.

Chapter 1

Childhood, Disability and Dyslexia in Focus

Within academic literature surrounding disability, dyslexia and childhood, a common, recurring theme is that of the oppression and subordination of those people who fall into one or more of these groups. In this chapter, I discuss the conceptualisation of disability and impairment, outlining both medicalised and socially based models of it, before drawing on work by Oliver (2004) and Shakespeare (1996a, 1996b, 1997), amongst others, to describe the bio-social conceptualisation of disability. This model accepts the existence of biological impairments within individuals but argues that disability is created by society and due to structural constraints, which exacerbate the effects of these disabilities.

In this chapter, I take a snapshot of literature surrounding childhood, disability and dyslexia. I do not document the chronological progression of the conceptualisation of each of these concepts due to their contested natures within literature (see each section for further detail). As such, rather than offer a timeline of each construct, I outline literature thematically, describing different epistemologies and ontologies of childhood, dyslexia and disability in order to provide a theoretical basis for each of the working definitions I give for the purposes of this study.

Due to its legal classification as a disability (see section 1.4), I have linked dyslexia to 'disability' literature and drawn upon models of disability in developing my understanding of it. In this chapter, I discuss the position of dyslexia within educational structures, drawing on both medicalised and social conceptualisations of it, finally relating it to MacDonald's (2012) bio-social model of dyslexia. I then describe the working model of dyslexia and its identification, used for the purposes of this study.

In section 6 of this chapter, I discuss the conceptualisation of childhood within government and academic literature, focussing on the development of the 'new paradigm of childhood' (Prout and James, 2002) within which Uprichard (2008) developed her model of childhood. I then describe Uprichard's (2008) model of childhood in detail and outline its relevance to this study. In section 7 of this chapter, I discuss the ontological position of adolescents with impairments versus those without and draw on Brunnberg's (2013) study with hearing-impaired young people to suggest that adolescents with impairments tend towards 'becoming' whereas adolescents without tend further towards 'being'. The final section of the chapter describes the working models I used for the purposes of this study to conceptualise dyslexia and to identify young people with dyslexia.

1.1 Conceptualisation of disability and impairment

Here I discuss medicalised views of disability and their origins in biological, deterministic understandings of disability within the social world. The potentially oppressive nature of medicalised models of disability and their lack of consideration of social factors affecting people's experiences of disability and challenges to medicine's hegemony within disability literature is considered. Goffman's (1963) notion of 'normalisation' is drawn on, where those within the medical profession seek to 'normalise' those with disabilities. I then discuss the sense-making process experienced by 'disabled people' in relation to their embodied impairments.

Erving Goffman (1963) also links the medicalisation of differences in humans to the notion of 'normalisation'. The medical profession, he argues, is in the powerful position of being "likely to have the special job of informing the infirm who he is going to have to be" (Goffman, 1963: 49), that is medical professionals bestow an identity on the infirm. Such a position stems from the medical view of an impairment as being a permanent, often irreversible attribute of the person (French Gilson and Depoy, 2000), which can be characterised as a potentially 'stigmatising attribute' (Goffman, 1963). In order to distance themselves from stigmatising attributes, Goffman (1963) suggests that some individuals will go to extreme lengths to distance themselves from a stigmatised, 'spoilt' identity.

Watermeyer (2009) identifies medicalised modelling of disability with a sense of mourning, in that a person who is 'disabled' has lost/never had an ability that 'normal' people have. He adds that, in a medical model of disability, individuals are expected to progress through stages of mourning for this 'lost' ability (ibid.). Watermeyer's (2009) sense of mourning associated with disability may be likened to Shakespeare's (1996a) understanding of a medically based 'personal tragedy' view of disability, in which individuals must mourn and adjust to their impairment. Understanding impairment as a defect aligns with Bury's (1996: 19) view of impairment as "abnormality in the structure or functioning of the body, whether through disease or trauma", located within the individual, and disability as limits in their ability to undertake certain activities. Thus, in a medicalised model of disability, disability and impairment are located in the individual and relate to a personal deficit. Crow (1996) argues that a medicalised view of disability arising from an impairment supports 'cure' as the only way to remove the disadvantage and disability linked to that impairment. Shakespeare (1996b) concurs that, in a medicalised model of disability, there is often emphasis on 'curing' the impairment, rather than on the improvement of social conditions for disabled people. This is linked to the wider 'biology versus society' debate in the problematisation of disability. Shakespeare (1996a) describes impairment (viewed from

a biological, deterministic perspective) as arising from a deficit in the functioning of an individual's body, whereas 'disability' arises from societal constraints impacting on an individual.

Other studies also assert that a medicalised model of disability under-represents the experiences of 'disabled' people. Bury (1996) describes the control exerted over individuals through the state-backed medicalisation of disability via institutions such as the National Health Service and the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). These institutions may provide individuals with support in the form of treatment, social care and financial aid but their control over access to these things may also lead to the oppression of 'disabled' people. Hasler (1993) argues that access to support and resources is largely controlled by able-bodied people. As such, Oliver (2004) argued that many interventions designed to support 'disabled' people did not meet their needs as their voices were not heard. This built on his prior work in which he outlined the discrepancy between how the needs of people with impairments were viewed by themselves and those without impairments. According to Oliver (1993), access to resources for 'disabled' people was also controlled by able-bodied people, which exacerbated the gap between perceived need and actual need. He argued that able-bodied people saw disability as rooted in individuals' impairments, whereas he suggests that there is a social dimension to disability (Oliver, 1993). In medicalising disability and its effects, control and power may be exerted over individuals with impairments. Below, I discuss this potential oppression and also how hidden disabilities are considered within literature. I conclude this section by discussing the 'self-concept' of 'disabled' people and how social factors affecting 'disabled' people are considered within the conceptualisation of disability and impairment.

1.1.1 Oppression in conceptualisation of disability and impairment

The association between loss, personal tragedy and impairment (Oliver, 1984; Watermeyer, 2009) has led 'disabled' people to be viewed within a humanitarian and economic perspective, in which 'disabled' people are disadvantaged. Such disadvantage results in the need for some 'disabled' people to accept some services on a charitable basis, creating a dependency for which the individual is expected to show gratitude (Watermeyer, 2009: 95). Watermeyer (2009) argues that a dependency on charity, leads to a decrease in personal autonomy and assertiveness, resulting in oppression. Tomlinson (2012: 2) suggests that people who receive SEN provision are increasingly dissatisfied with what they are offered. Worryingly, she argues that individuals may feel that they are not in a position to challenge what they are offered as they depend on the support. She argues that "powerful social groups are in the process of categorising and classifying weaker social groups, and treating

them unequally and differentially" (2012: 5). This suggests that 'disabled' people are subordinated by more powerful groups; in the case of young people with dyslexia, they are categorised as not requiring EHCPs, which limits their access to classroom support and interventions (BDA, Undated a).

The association of cure/normalisation of people with impairment is a key element of a medicalised model. Crow (1996) claims that such a model assumes that people are only able to become full participants in society if they are cured of their disability or if they overcome it. He also alludes to the idea that, within a medical model, if a person cannot achieve this, their life is not worth living (Crow, 1996). Galvin (2005) argues that this view is detrimental to people with impairments; he claims that it oppresses them and traps them in a pattern of negative self-image. Shakespeare (1996a) also highlights the negative self-image that an individual may develop as a result of oppressive interactions and social relations. He argues that oppressive social interactions may lead an individual to deny their impairment in order not to be viewed as different, a process which may lead to further social stigma and oppression (Shakespeare, 1996a). Dowse (2001) argues that people with impairments are subjected to multiple oppressions, which are reinforced through the medical model of disability.

Galvin (2005) argues that the main areas affected by medicalised impairments are work, independence, appearance and sexuality. However, without understanding the social context of the impairment, as with the medical model, she argues that we cannot understand oppression. Her work emphasises the significance of the societal expectations of a state, in which individuals must work and gain economic independence, i.e. that individuals are expected to work in order to support themselves (Galvin, 2005). This aligns with Abberley's (1993) argument that economic disadvantage is linked to disability as a result of society not meeting the needs of those with impairments by maintaining many workplaces as inaccessible. Each of these understandings of oppression and disability (in place of impairment) draws on social actors' interactions within their social setting. However, a medical model of disability and impairment does not appear to allow for consideration of these disabling factors affecting those with impairments.

1.1.2 Conceptualisation of hidden disabilities

Shakespeare (1996a) suggests that many people who have an impairment may not identify themselves as 'disabled'. According to Oliver (1984), a medicalised view of the impairment does not allow individuals to identify themselves as 'disabled', rather it describes physical characteristics of their body. He argues that, in much literature about disability there is only

consideration of visible physical impairments, not other types such as learning or hidden impairments. Dowse (2001) also asserts the prominence of physical impairment in medicalised models of disability. This suggests that people with specific learning difficulties are not easily represented in the medicalised discourse surrounding impairment (Dowse, 2001). Although Galvin (2005) considers social factors resulting from medicalised impairment, his study highlights the limitations of a medicalised notion of impairment when modelling hidden impairments such as learning difficulties. Again, a medicalised model of disability does not appear to fully consider the different experiences of those with hidden impairments disabilities; due to their invisible nature, medicalisation of some types of impairment lead to them not being considered adequately.

1.1.3 Self-concept in modelling disability and impairment

French Gilson and Depoy (2000) argue that a ‘‘disabled’ identity’ may be imposed on an individual by external factors. As discussed in the following section, government discourse identifies impairment and disability from within a medical perspective, in which disability is associated with loss (Swain and French, 2000; Watermeyer, 2009). Such a model imposes an identity associated with personal tragedy on a person with an impairment (Shakespeare, 1996a). However, Humphrey (2000) argues that by perpetuating the understanding of disability linked to tragedy, a person with a disability is not considered as a whole person; rather they have to self-organise in order to claim a cultural position and participate in the social world. Identifying disability with the notion of personal tragedy and medicalisation may not allow for potential freedom from social pressures and norms according to Galvin (2005) who highlights the liberating effect that disability may have for an individual.

Thus it appears that the conceptualisation of disability within government has a significant effect on how it is perceived by others within wider society. As such, research into professionals’, parents’ and young people’s understandings of impairment and disability could shed light on how those with impairments conceptualise themselves through their impairment and disabling experiences.

1.1.4 Social considerations in understanding disability and impairment

Dowse (2001) argues that medicalisation, and subsequent categorisation, of impairments is nothing more than a physical description of the human body in which subjective effects of that impairment on an individual are not considered. Hughes (2009) also asserts the lack of consideration given to context when describing disability resulting from impairment. Although Goffman (1963: 36) asserts the importance of categorisation of people in aiding social relationships within a community, he also concedes that such labelling of individuals

may prove problematic vis-à-vis their wider social interactions. Goffman's conceptualisation of the 'anticipated other' as a tool used by social actors to facilitate social intercourse lays the foundations for his understanding of people's discreditable attributes; an individual may conceal a potentially discreditable characteristic, such as a disability, in order to reduce social difficulty. Goffman's conceptualisation of impairment links to a medical stance. However, there is also reference to social difficulties resulting from 'discrediting' attributes. This points us to a broader, social aspect of disability.

Shakespeare and Watson (1997: 296) argue that a medicalised model locates the problem of disability within the individual and does not consider the role of society in disabling that individual, a notion which aligns with Goffman's (1963) understanding of the role of 'stigmatising characteristics' (in this context, such a characteristic refers to disability) and the importance of social context. However, Swain and French (2000: 570) argue that oppression and disability is not necessarily related to whether or not people have an impairment. Hughes (2009) also asserts that negative experiences and disability linked with impairment may not decrease when an impairment is improved; such findings indicate the importance of social context when conceptualising disability. There is a need to consider a socially based model of disability and its strengths, particularly in the contextualised, individualised experience of people with impairments. Medicalised models of disability do not consider context of disability and the effects of societal and structural constraints on an individual with an impairment. The notion of 'disabling societies' is discussed in the following section.

This understanding is echoed by Hasler (1993) who ascribed to a social model of disability, in which physical surroundings are positioned as either facilitating or inhibiting people's access to the wider social world. She outlined the emergence of a 'new social movement' based in promoting awareness of disability; she argued that this movement was the forerunner to the development of 'Disability Studies' (Hasler, 1993: 278) in which 'disabled' people united to challenge the medicalised conceptions of their impairments and limitations. These views of disability securely locate 'disability' within wider society and not within the individual who has an impairment. Disability is found by these studies as resulting from structural and social factors rather than due to deficits within the individual.

In *Stigma: Notes on Managing a Spoiled Identity*, Goffman (1963) highlighted the importance of an individual's surroundings on any potentially stigmatising characteristic. He asserted that environments can shield individuals from negative effects of their impairment and that, whether or not an attribute becomes stigmatising to an individual is dependent on

their own personal circumstances and context. Linking the notions of stigmatising attributes and impairment is congruent with the development of a social model of disability. The UPIAS[1] (quoted in Dowse, 2001: 127; see also Disability Alliance, 1976) also argues, "It is society which disables physically impaired people", i.e. that disability results from structural and social characteristics of society. Swain and French (2000) describe the importance of developing an understanding of both social and medical models of disability as a means of understanding the intersection between medicalised impairments and disability resulting from societal constraints on individuals. This suggests that a 'bio-social' model of impairment and disability is necessary.

1.1.5 Defining Impairment and Disability

According to Hughes (2009), the Disabled People's Movement[2] (DPM) suggested that a clear understanding of the difference between disability and impairment is necessary so that disability can become a politicised matter. French Gilson and Depoy (2000: 208) defined an impairment as "permanent biological impediment", using a medicalised, biological model. They asserted that this notion of impairment is separate from the disability associated with it. They claimed that disability results from structural barriers around a person with an impairment, with the implication that the removal of structural barriers will remove disability (ibid.). Within this framework, and for the purposes of this study, disability is understood as a discrete social phenomenon arising as a response to how a person's impairment is constructed within society, with impairment being a neurological biological characteristic of an individual. When describing dyslexia, it will be referred to as an 'impairment'; it is a difference within individuals' brains but it does not automatically lead to disability.

1.2 The bio-social model of disability

A bio-social model of 'disability' seeks to connect an individual's (or groups') impairment with their 'disability'. According to Davis (1993), Hasler (1993) and Oliver (1993; 2004), the social movement linked to disability locates disability in the structures and attitudes held by both institutions and individuals. It aimed to challenge the norms, policy and assumptions made by social structures in order to reduce the effects of people's impairment. However, Oliver (2004) argued that locating disability purely in institutions is problematic; it does not consider impairments and their effects. This was echoed by Abberley (1993), who questioned the emancipatory nature of the social model of disability that does not consider

1 Union of the Physically Impaired Against Segregation.

[2] DPM is used by Hughes to refer to organisations of and for disabled people which "reject the view that disability is an illness" (Hughes, 2009: 677).

impairment at the individual level. He argued that if disability is located in others' attitudes and systemic structures, then an individual will always be oppressed as a result of their impairment as he claims that it is not possible for individuals to influence others' attitudes or to change systematic structures. He viewed education programmes as being unsuccessful for changing hegemonic attitudes suggesting that, whatever an individual's course of action, they will encounter social disability rooted in other people's behaviour. As such, a bio-social model of disability was explored by Oliver (2004) as a potentially powerful tool to conceptualise impairment and associated disability.

Both Oliver (2004) and Swain and French (2000) emphasised the importance of developing a model of impairment in which we consider the experiences of those with an impairment, where their life is mediated by their impairment. Thus, sociology of the body as described by Shilling (2001), where a person's lived experiences are mediated, enhanced or limited by their body and its capabilities is useful for understanding how impairment affects individuals. Oliver and Barnes (2010) contest the importance of a model of disability, which combines medical/biological understandings with a social aspect allowing consideration of individuals' impairments within a social context. Swain and French (2000) also underscored the importance of understanding physical experiences of the body and argued that transition between impaired/not impaired and disabled/not disabled would affect people's own lived experiences. The significance of individuals' own lived experience, in relation to their impairment highlighted the importance of Oliver's assertion that 'disabled' people need to be able to mobilise and take ownership of their disability (2004).

Oliver and Barnes (2010) suggested that the emergence of disability activism within academia influences both sociology and policy for education. They argued that a purely social model of disability has, however not affected policy. The manifestation of disability within the discipline of disability studies has mainly been from a socially modelled perspective, according to Dowse (2001). However, Shakespeare and Watson (1997) argued that in order to fully understand the personal experiences of 'disabled' people within disability studies it is necessary to consider the effects of impairment on individuals. They turned to 'medical sociology' as a means of understanding these experiences (ibid.).

Hughes (2009) described the emergence of a 'bio-social' model of disability in which people group together not only as a result of their social experiences but also because of their biology as a way of informing their activism. He (2009) claimed that a bio-social model allows a patient to become a partner in the process of intervention, and that patients' knowledge and experiences are viewed as valid and important sources of insight into

effective support measures. He added that, the biological aspects of impairment may be viewed from a realist perspective but the disability associated with that impairment may be understood from a constructionist framework. He argues the development of a new basis for solidarity based on the combination of epistemological realism and constructionism (Hughes, 2009) in which 'biological citizens' do not refer to prior medicalisation of disability, rather, they describe the physical effects of their disability with reference to the social effects of their pathology on their lives. Shakespeare (1996a: 101) underlines the importance of disability identity having a means of sharing their stories and experiences: "Our task is to speak the truth about ourselves." Hughes' (2009) bio-social model of disability appears to provide such a milieu and addresses Shakespeare's and Watson's (2009) assertion of the importance of consideration of a social model of disability.

1.3 Governmental views on disability

Watermeyer (2009) suggests that government discourse draws on medicalised understandings of disability, associated with loss, in its conceptualisation of people with impairments. He argues that the notion of 'loss' and 'suffering' of those with an impairment is propagated by government. This is in alignment with Oliver's suggestion that government is not a neutral social actor in relation to support for 'disabled' people through its medicalisation of disability. Sabatello (2009) argues that 'disabled' people experience oppression due to discourses drawn upon by government policy. These tensions experienced between people with impairments, government and health/welfare systems are highlighted by Bury (1996) as causing difficulties for families and individuals in adapting to disability. This suggests that despite government seeming to locate disability within the individualised medical model, there is a further need for recognition of social factors affecting disability.

The bio-social model of disability, as discussed in section 1.2 is useful when considering government understanding of disability; the presence of an impairment does not de facto lead to disability. However, the Equality Act 2010 does not allow for the disabling nature of societal structures (Davis, 1993; Hasler, 1993; Oliver, 1993, 2004). As such it is difficult to argue definitively whether government draws on medicalised models in which only some impairments have disabling effects, or whether they attribute disabling effects to societal structures. However, the emphasis in the 2010 Equality Act does at least explicitly acknowledge that individuals who have impairments are not always 'disabled' by them (Equality Act, 2010: s 6 (1)):

1) "A person (P) has a disability if –
    a) P has a physical or mental impairment, and

b) The impairment has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on P's ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities."

There are two key points to note within this definition: an individual is compared to normative definitions of 'day-to-day activities', i.e. if society declares that an activity is 'normal' then a person will be supported in undertaking that activity. Tomlinson (2012) notes that disproportionately large numbers of ethnic minorities and lower/working-class individuals are classified as having SEN within the classroom setting. She suggests that this may be due to mainstream, 'normal' values and social interactions being defined by socially more powerful groups; in the context of education, this may be middle-class, white people. Second, the definition of disability separates the acknowledgement of impairment and its disabling effects.

1.4 Understanding dyslexia

Until recently, special educational need has been dominated by medicalised notions of disability. Warnock (1978) made the role of education and social professionals much larger. This is echoed in current policy discourse surrounding SEN in schools. SEN is viewed as both a medical and socially constructed phenomenon; multi-professional teams are expected to work together in the implementation of the new ECH plan (Education Act, 2011). Teachers are also expected to meet needs of children in the classroom via differentiated classwork (DfE, 2010a). In particular, needs of students with dyslexia should be met in the classroom by teachers through differentiated work; teachers will also be provided with free, online training materials (DfE, 2010b: 60) to help them support children with dyslexia and autism. This suggests that further investigation of how children with dyslexia will be supported in the classroom in the wake of the 2014 Children and Families Act is necessary.

Dyslexia is legally classed as a disability for some of those who have a diagnosis, according to the Equality Act 2010 (s 6 (1)) in that:

"A person (P) has a disability if—
(a) P has a physical or mental impairment, and
(b) the impairment has a substantial and long-term adverse effect on P's ability to carry out normal day-to-day activities."

Thus, for the purposes of this study, I have drawn on literature relating to the conceptualisation of disability within a social context. Despite its potential legal status as a 'disability', there is much debate on the nature of dyslexia. Kelly (1998: 3) argued that much work on dyslexia was based on assumptions which were not supported by high quality

evidence. The assumptions she identified are: that dyslexia affects only individuals with average or above average intelligence; and that reading and cognitive ability are linked. She also stated that there is no evidence to suggest that people with dyslexia can be categorised as a discrete group of poor readers. Her 1998 research did not deny that some individuals experience reading difficulties. However, she did argue that, in using the term 'dyslexia', practitioners and researchers affirm the presence of an established and detectable neurological condition without there currently being sufficient evidence to do so (Kelly, 1998).

Regan and Woods (2010) also argued that potentially, all children with reading difficulties could be classified as having dyslexia. According to them, the lack of definition of dyslexia led some teachers to accept that children with dyslexia are a discrete group of poor readers. However they could not articulate the group's specific characteristics. Despite a lack of consensus surrounding the definition of dyslexia, authors such as Solvang (2007) suggested that a medicalised understanding of dyslexia may be helpful for individuals; he argued that it may be liberating for individuals as it locates their difficulties in a particular, diagnosable condition rather than in their own innate inabilities. In this section, I draw upon dyslexia-related literature and relate models of dyslexia to the broader medical and social understandings of disability. I then describe how a social model of disability may be applied to dyslexia.

1.4.1 Medicalised views of dyslexia

Calfee (1983) asserted during the 1980s that dyslexia was viewed by the public as an intrinsic characteristic of a person rather than imposed on them by society. This medicalised notion of dyslexia was reflected in the language used surrounding the condition: Calfee (1984) alluded to 'treatment' of dyslexia; Solvang (2007: 80) used 'diagnoses' when describing the categorisation of children according to their symptoms. In this chapter, I will discuss psychological aspects of dyslexia as the language used surrounding dyslexia 'diagnosis' in psychological analyses of dyslexia echoes the language used in a medical paradigm.

A medicalised diagnosis of dyslexia also exonerated parents; they were no longer viewed as lacking in their care and support of their children. However, Solvang (2007) also describes the potentially oppressive nature of the medicalised label of dyslexia. This aligns with Goffman's (1963) understanding of stigmatising attributes linking to interpersonal difficulties for a person. Goffman (1963) linked medicalised discourses of disability to normalisation of individuals; Solvang (2007: 82) drew upon the notion of normalisation of individuals when suggesting that a medicalised model of disability may be used as a form of

social control in which undesirable behaviours are placed within a medical framework and individuals are pathologised. He noted how a medicalised view of dyslexia may be both liberating and oppressive; parents/carers want to have their children 'diagnosed' but they do not want their children to become pathologised.

Poole (2010) described three psycho-medical aspects of dyslexia: phonological processing difficulties, poor magnocellular[3] health and a cerebellar deficit which limits automaticity in reading.[4] Other studies have argued that dyslexia has a hereditary element, which involves the processing of language and phonological awareness (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010; Snowling et al., 2003). Kelly (1998) accepted the presence of a genetic link for poor readers, but questioned the existence of dyslexia as a specific biological/neurological impairment. She suggested that in accepting that there is a group of individuals who have dyslexia, there is a tacit acceptance of an "established … neurological or constitutional condition" (Kelly, 1998: 4). This is in contrast with the view of the British Psychological Association (1999) who suggest that dyslexia is a discrete condition which affects individuals at word level, an understanding which aligns with the Labour Government-backed Rose Report (2009), in which people with dyslexia are acknowledged as a distinct group of individuals with reading difficulties.

1.4.1.1 Neurological difficulties

Some research draws on the notion of linguistic decoding;[5] and suggests the problems with this can be caused by deficits in individuals' 'phonological pathway'[6] (Snowling et al., 2003; Ziegler and Goswami, 2005). Although Snowling et al. (2003) and Kelly (1998) did not recognise the biological basis for dyslexia, they do accept the presence of neurological differences in people with reading difficulties when compared with individuals who read 'normally'. Studies such as that by Richards et al. (1999) have suggested the presence of neurological differences in the brains of individuals with dyslexia; they have found that when performing the same task, dyslexic people use 4.6 times more of their brain than those without dyslexia (they analysed brain 'lactate' responses to aural tasks). Differences in neurology of individuals with dyslexia compared with those without are also noted by Poole

[3] The magnocellular system is "responsible for timing visual events when reading".

[4] The development skill in reading that is "quick, easy and outside of conscious awareness" (Rawson, 2010: 187).

[5] Leong defines decoding or contextualisation as being able to "free language from dependence on its non-linguistic context and to communicate ideas through words and sentences structures" (1978: 118).

[6] The pathway in the brain that allows individuals to make connections between orthography (writing) and phonology (sound) when reading (Snowling et al., 2003: 370).

(2010), whose work underlined differences found in the thalamus, an area of the brain which is described as relating to how information is transmitted and organised both visually and orally (Poole, 2010: 216). She suggested that these differences highlight intrinsic 'inefficiencies' in the brains of people with dyslexia vis-à-vis those without.

1.4.1.2 Phonological processing

According to Solvang (2007), there was evidence of a neurological basis for difficulties experienced by people with dyslexia when attempting to make links between spoken language and written phonemes. Much work, both prior to (Kelly, 1998; Kriss and Evans, 2003; Leong, 1978; Snowling et al., 2003) and following Solvang (Hawelka et al., 2010; Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010), describes the presence of difficulties in phonological processing (the association of sounds to symbols and to spoken language (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010: 210)). Leong (1978: 121) described knowledge of 'constituent parts' of language as vital to the process of learning to read: words, phonemes, sentences, syllables and phrases. This was reinforced by Calfee's (1983) later suggestion that if language is linked to reading, then prior knowledge of spoken language will be drawn upon during the process of reading acquisition. Hawelka et al. (2010) highlighted that an individual's ability to draw on their tacit knowledge of spoken language is linked to the language spoken by them; they suggest that English is particularly difficult as relationships between phonemes and graphemes (written symbols) are inconsistent. They argued that difficulties with phonological processing are exacerbated by difficulties experienced by people with dyslexia when tracking words; individuals with dyslexia were found not to track words well which meant that they were unable to read as many words as individuals who did not have dyslexia.

1.4.1.3 Other understandings of dyslexia

Much research around dyslexia links it to difficulties with working memory and their ability to commit information to longer term memory (Maehler and Schuchardt, 2016). Jeffries and Everatt (2004) note in their 2004 study that children with dyslexia fared worst in psychometric testing relating to memory and phonological processing than other children, without special needs. Young people with dyslexia experienced particular difficulties with tasks requiring use of working memory to support executive function in tasks. Laasonen et al (2012) link phonological processing difficulties and short term memory in their 2012 study, finding that people with dyslexia had difficulties completing tasks which required short term memory use to process auditory information. As such, we have further evidence that dyslexia is a multi-faceted impairment, which is not readily defined and which has diverse manifestations.

Kelly (1998) argued that there is no requirement for dyslexia to exist as a condition separate from other poor readers. She suggested that if dyslexia does exist as a discrete syndrome, then it is a multifaceted condition with many attributes that do not progress in a linear, predictable manner. This understanding of dyslexia as a complex condition aligned with work by Snowling et al. (2003) who also suggested that dyslexia is not a binary condition, but rather a spectrum of other conditions which form the syndrome. Poole (2010: 215) also understood dyslexia as a multifaceted condition.

Multiple definitions of dyslexia are apparent that can make conceptualisation of the condition difficult. Calfee (1983: 7) defined dyslexia as "the failure of apparently normal youngsters to become skilled readers after instruction which was apparently effective for their peers". In his definition he did not explain how an individual is defined as a skilled reader. He also asserted that dyslexia is apparent only in children of average or above average intelligence (Calfee, 1983). The British Psychological Society has a much broader working definition of dyslexia:

> "Dyslexia is evident when accurate and fluent word reading and/or spelling developed very incompletely or with great difficulty. This focussed on literacy learning at the word level and implied that the problem is severe and persistent despite appropriate learning opportunities. It provides the basis for a staged process of assessment through teaching." (British Psychological Society, 1999: 18)

This definition was criticised by Regan and Woods (2010) for not allowing for other psychological characteristics of the condition to be considered. Other characteristics of the condition have been highlighted by other studies. For example, Hoyles and Hoyles (2010) argued that people with dyslexia experience poor short-term memory (which they argue contributes to poor spelling) and poor sequencing skills. Snowling et al. (2003) identified characteristics associated with dyslexia such as: difficulties with short-term memory, speech perception and remembering patterns of words.

The British Dyslexia Association (BDA) (Undated b) notes that there are various definitions of dyslexia which are cited and referred to in diverse contexts. Both the BDA and The Dyslexia-SpLD Trust (2017) cite the definition of dyslexia arising from the Rose Report (2009b) as a key conceptualisation of dyslexia. Rose (2009b) describes dyslexia as follows:

> "Dyslexia is a learning difficulty that primarily affects the skills involved in accurate and fluent word reading and spelling.

- Characteristic features of dyslexia are difficulties in phonological awareness, verbal memory and verbal processing speed.
- Dyslexia occurs across the range of intellectual abilities.
- It is best thought of as a continuum, not a distinct category, and there are no clear cut-off points.
- Co-occurring difficulties may be seen in aspects of language, motor co-ordination, mental calculation, concentration and personal organisation, but these are not, by themselves, markers of dyslexia.

A good indication of the severity and persistence of dyslexic difficulties can be gained by examining how the individual responds or has responded to well founded intervention."

The BDA also argues that dyslexia has elements linked to memory difficulties. In addition to the difficulties experienced by those with dyslexia however, the BDA asserts that a person with a 'diagnosis' of dyslexia may also have strengths in some areas such as "design, problem solving, creative skills, interactive skills and oral skills" (BDA, Undated b).

Professional differences of opinion on defining dyslexia and its associated characteristics have led to debate as to how, if at all, it should be diagnosed. Hoyles and Hoyles (2010) asserted that dyslexia is an invisible disability and that no definitive testing process can detect it. Although Kriss and Evans (2005) did concede that Educational Psychologists make diagnoses of the condition, reinforcing the notion of a medicalised condition which can be detected through objective testing, Calfee (1983) argued that there is no 'hard' test for dyslexia and that diagnoses are based on professionals' judgements.

1.4.1.4 How has dyslexia been identified?

Calfee, in his 1983 work, argued that dyslexia was 'diagnosed' when other aspects of individuals' lives such as sensory or neurological disorders do not apply to them. This understanding of dyslexia however, is incongruous with other methods commonly referred to as means of detecting dyslexia. Regan and Woods (2010) note that dyslexia was commonly diagnosed with reference to a discrepancy between written ability and an individual's potential. Both Snowling et al. (2010) and Kelly (1998) refer to dyslexia's association with a discrepancy between ability and academic potential,[7] although it is not clear how they understand academic potential. Kelly (1998: 3) argues that, as late as 1998, there was still a bias towards such an understanding of the condition. However, Kelly (1998) asserts that a more holistic understanding of dyslexia is important; she argues that as

[7] Snowling et al. (2003) draw on studies where dyslexia is diagnosed following discrepancies in reading/writing capability in relation to a child's age or IQ. Kelly (1998) notes the lack of models where dyslexia is defined following a discrepancy between reading age and IQ.

children grow up, the importance of biological factors in their capabilities diminishes and that environmental factors gain significance in their lives. Good teaching gains importance in mitigating effects of underlying biological characteristics (ibid.). Solvang (2007) also suggests that a single conceptualisation of dyslexia in which the condition is medicalised is not appropriate. He, like Kelly, argues that despite the prevalence of normalisation-based medicalised understandings of dyslexia and disability, medicalisation of the condition may be problematic for some individuals. He suggests that a bio-social understanding may be useful. Weaknesses of a medicalised model of dyslexia are discussed below.

1.4.1.5 Effects of medicalisation of dyslexia

Solvang (2007) argued that within a Norwegian legal context, students who have a medicalised diagnosis of dyslexia have increased access to resources and funding than those who do not. He suggested that the medicalisation of dyslexia had led to better identification of children with dyslexia and the ability to campaign for better funding for them.

Studies highlighting the significance of social factors in dyslexia are common (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010; Kelly, 1998: Solvang, 2007). A common theme amongst these studies is that, although there may be a biological predisposition to an impairment (Kelly, 1998: 12) individuals may only become 'disabled' or 'delayed' under certain circumstances. Snowling et al. (2003) argued that little is known about the relationship between genetic and environmental factors in the modelling of dyslexia. This was particularly pertinent for non-medical professionals working with individuals with dyslexia; according to Solvang (2007: 82), a non-medicalised model allowed such professionals to locate children's difficulties with reading and writing in a diagnosable impairment.

Hoyles and Hoyles (2010) asserted the existence of organisational and environmental barriers, as well as attitudinal ones, as factors that affect individuals with dyslexia. This aligned with Poole's (2010) work, which highlighted the importance of environmental factors on the development of dyslexia in an individual. She suggested an ecological model as a valid means of understanding dyslexia; she argues that dyslexia develops through interaction with environmental factors and as such, the structural factors surrounding an individual with dyslexia must be considered. Calfee (1983) also highlighted the lack of consideration of social factors when using a purely medicalised understanding of dyslexia; he asserts the importance of context when considering an individual's experience. Solvang (2007) argued that social problems that result from medicalised labelling of a condition are not considered by a medical model of dyslexia. He suggested that the

normalisation of individuals within a medical framework does not allow for the celebration of differences between people.

1.4.2 Social understandings of dyslexia

As discussed in section 1.2, social factors are argued to affect the lived experiences of those with impairments due to structural constraints placed on those individuals. Within this context, I explore the social factors that affect the manifestation of dyslexia and the social factors that exacerbate or reduce its effects.

McKay and Neal (2009) asserted that the conceptualisation of SEN is defined culturally, through comparison with socially normalised behaviour. Riddick (2001) drew on the notion of normalisation in relation to dyslexia and questions the practice of 'normalisation' of 'disabled' people. She highlighted the problematic nature of many interventions implemented to support children with dyslexia; individuals are provided with support to help them progress towards becoming "perfect spellers" and "fluent and accurate at reading out loud" (Riddick, 2001: 226).

The medicalised notions of 'normalisation' and 'diagnosis' of dyslexia are argued to have been particularly problematic for some individuals. Riddick (2001) outlined some potential difficulties associated with medicalised labelling of individuals with dyslexia: professionals develop categories that propagate oppressive power relationships and maintain people in their circumstances through locating disability within the individual who has an impairment. McKay and Neal (2009) and MacDonald (2012) asserted the relevance of structural factors when considering the effects of dyslexia on an individual, both socially and educationally. Dyslexia was viewed by them as playing a significant role in individuals' engagement in the education process and the formation of their own identity (ibid.). A purely medicalised model of dyslexia did not consider these factors. Critical analysis of social models of dyslexia follows with a focus on labelling and dyslexia's potentially stigmatising effects.

1.4.2.1 Understanding the context of dyslexia

MacDonald (2012) suggested the potential power in modelling dyslexia from a bio-social perspective. Such a model, he argues allows for the subjective experiences of individuals' dyslexia to be explored whilst acknowledging the objective presence of an impairment (ibid.). Dyslexia has been understood traditionally as being linked to difficulties in phonological processing, with interventions aiming to minimise the effects of these difficulties (Riddick, 2001: 223). However, Riddick (2001) also discussed the debate surrounding the definition and identification of dyslexia; there was a lack of consensus of

how dyslexia can be defined and subsequent debate about how it can be identified. Riddick (ibid.) also suggested that the phonological impairment experienced by individuals with dyslexia can result in disability. Disability potentially results in an individual feeling isolated and excluded in their school environment according to Humphrey and Mullins (2002). Similarly, Riddick (2000) argued that feelings of exclusion and isolation may be linked to individuals' impairment and associated stigma. Although Burns and Bell (2010) argued that the effects of dyslexia change over time, McKay and Neal (2009) asserted the importance of attempting to mediate the negative effects associated with dyslexia as a means of improving self-esteem, thereby improving the life-chances of children with dyslexia.

Riddick (2000) described dyslexia in the context of a 'hidden disability'; individuals must decide whether to disclose their own impairment or not based upon the social conditions surrounding them. However, she also noted that due to its hidden nature, an individual may have to fight for recognition of their impairment. Riddick (2000) suggested that, according to the social model, an individual may not be classified as 'disabled'. This is congruent with McKay and Neal's work (2009: 164) in which they ascribed to the hidden nature of dyslexia and similar impairments: that they are not readily diagnosable, may have overlapping symptoms and can cause long-term difficulties for the individual. However, Riddick (2000) claims that individuals are labelled and stigmatised whether or not they have a 'formal label'. Therefore, she argues that assigning a formal label to the condition may be liberating for an individual with dyslexia and exonerate them from their prior academic difficulties; the 'problem' is no longer located in the individual but rather in the disabling society which must adapt to reduce the effects of an individual's impairment (ibid.).

1.4.2.2 Who or what causes disability

Riddick (2001) suggested that impairments experienced by individuals with dyslexia may only have become 'disabling' in recent years due to the high dependency on literacy. She described how, before the development of the 'social model' of disability in the 1960s and 1970s (Oliver, 1984), dyslexia was medicalised and viewed as a deficit in the individual, and that related interventions sought to minimise the effects of the impairment, normalising them and concealing the effects of their disability. Riddick (2001: 223) suggested that the social model of disability may be used for the study of dyslexia to delineate how schools and/or the education system ameliorate or exacerbate the effects of dyslexia.

MacDonald (2012) went further than Riddick in asserting that psycho-medicalised models of dyslexia sought to explain social phenomena and link problematic behaviours in individuals to biological factors within them, thus locating the disability within the individual.

He contested this medicalised, pathologising discourse and argued that its use is inappropriate; he viewed dyslexia and associated negative behaviour traits as resultant from the structural factors that disable individuals (MacDonald, 2012: 934). Through the medicalisation of dyslexia, the 'weakness' was located within the individual (Burns and Bell, 2010: 536). MacDonald (2012) however claimed that people with dyslexia are subject to disabling barriers that affect their self-esteem and life chances.

Riddick (2001) argued that within a social model of dyslexia, people are not 'disabled'. She suggested that society disables people as a result of the structural factors imposed on them, which exacerbate the effects of their impairment. According to Ferri and Gregg (1998), the goal of medicalised models of disability was to normalise individuals so that they may 'pass off' as not having an impairment. They asserted that disability is a social construction, created and maintained by society; attitudes and structural barriers cause disability (Ferri and Gregg, 1998). Aligning with Ferri and Gregg's standpoint, Burns and Bell (2010) argued that if society changed, the effect of people's impairments would be reduced and people would experience fewer difficulties.

The hidden nature of dyslexia (Burns and Bell, 2010; Riddick, 2000) leads to higher levels of criticism of it vis-à-vis visible impairments; some teachers and related professionals go as far as denying the existence of dyslexia according to Riddick. Evidence of attitudinal barriers affecting individuals with dyslexia has been described by Skinner (2011) who suggested that some people's perception of people with dyslexia led them to feelings of jealousy and viewing them as receiving special treatment. Such negative perceptions of dyslexia may lead people with dyslexia to conceal their impairment (Burns and Bell, 2010; Skinner, 2011), augmenting the disabling effects of their impairment. Riddick (2010) argued that the attitudes of teachers and staff in schools play a significant role in how children with dyslexia relate to others in their class with regard to their dyslexia. This links to the notion of disclosure of 'hidden disability' and whether (or not) individuals choose to disclose their impairment. Burns and Bell noted that participants in their 2010 study felt pressured to 'overcome' or deny their dyslexia rather than ascribing to a label (dyslexia) with potentially negative connotations. Individuals seemingly are thus expected to adapt themselves to society, despite Warnock's (1978) assertion of the importance of impaired children's integration within mainstream school settings. Riddick (2001) claimed that, despite the high priority given to inclusion by Warnock, children were still expected to adapt to schools rather than vice versa. However, in their 2012 study Keslair et al. argued that children would not be expected to adapt; rather they contested that children's needs would be identified at school level and that teachers would then normally adapt their teaching style to meet the needs of children in their classes.

Family setting has also been argued to be associated with the development/progression of impairments. Riddick (2010) noted that studies have suggested that parents may be responsible for their children's impairments. However, she also highlighted the effects of school dynamics on the progression of children's dyslexia (2010). She argued that mothers felt victimised and judged by professionals regarding their children's dyslexia. Although Riddick (2010) did note the role of the social context in which a child is labelled as having dyslexia, she did not locate 'blame' for the impairment and subsequent disability with the child's parents. This aligns with Skinner's (2011) work in which parents' input (or supposed lack of such) into their children's reading was perceived to be closely scrutinised by professionals through school reading diaries. Ferri and Gregg (1998) also asserted the importance of contextualising an individual's impairment in order to fully understand the disabling effects of societal structures on that individual. According to Riddick (2001: 234) the complex and diverse nature of the symptoms of dyslexia mean that consideration of social factors is important to develop understanding of how people may become 'disabled' as a result of their impairment. However, she also recognised the need to consider the nature of the impairment. She argued that a purely social model of dyslexia in which individuals' needs and behaviours are attributed to purely social factors gives no consideration of their underlying impairments (Riddick, 2001: 234).

1.4.2.3 Labelling individuals

Humphrey and Mullins' (2010) study on children's experiences of their dyslexia highlighted the importance of context in relation to their understanding of their own condition and how they relate to their peers. They argued that children who were labelled as dyslexic within a mainstream school context experienced shame and were angry, whereas children who were within special units and were labelled as dyslexic were indifferent to the label. They found that the effects of children's dyslexia were more pronounced within a mainstream setting than within a segregated unit and that children felt more supported in the latter (Humphrey and Mullins, 2010). This is problematic with regard to the notion of inclusion (Warnock, 1978), in which children's right to an education alongside their peers was developed. However, Humphrey and Mullins (2010) argued that segregation has positive results for some children and the negative effects of a label of dyslexia are reduced. This aligns with Riddick's notion of public and private labelling (2000). She suggested that a label which is positively applied in one private setting may have negative connotations in another public setting. She draws on the notion of informal labelling, which happens in the classroom setting, regardless of whether a child has a 'formal' (official) label of dyslexia. She asserts that children within a classroom setting may be ascribed labels based on their impairments

such as lazy, slow or thick and that these labels may have negative consequences for an individual's self-esteem (Riddick, 2000). The key factor however according to Riddick (ibid.) was that these labels are assigned, whether or not a child has a diagnosis of dyslexia, based upon the visible effects of their impairment.

However, Riddick (2000), along with Burns and Bell (2010), conceded that the act of labelling a child as having dyslexia may not always be a negative experience. Indeed, they asserted that, on an individual level, the process of labelling may be emancipatory (Burns and Bell, 2010: 536) and that they were exonerated by the label. According to Riddick (2010: 463) children found that their difficulties were explained by the label, they understood what was happening and why, and that they had been helped by receiving a diagnosis of dyslexia. Although Burns and Bell (2010) supported a social model of dyslexia, they drew on the medicalised notion of 'diagnosis' in their conceptualisation of it. Riddick also supported the notion of a medicalised diagnosis of dyslexia in some circumstances; she claimed that for individuals with hidden impairments, a label can be empowering (2000) whereas for individuals with physical impairments it may be a negative experience.

The importance of a label was highlighted by Riddick (2000) and Solvang (2007). They noted that the presence of a diagnosed, medicalised impairment may facilitate access to better provision and support for children with SEN. As such, although a purely medicalised understanding of dyslexia was not supported by Riddick, she did highlight the value and purpose of acknowledging a need for medicalised understandings of dyslexia (2010). We can thus see that although a purely medicalised model of dyslexia may lead to the pathologising of individuals, there is a need for recognition of biological impairments at an individual level within the current system as a means of securing resources. This aligns with Macdonald's (2009) view that the effects of impairment are not considered by a purely social constructionist understanding of dyslexia and that a bio-social model of dyslexia is necessary when considering the effects of the condition.

1.4.2.4 Power in labelling

The power to provide services for individuals who are recognised as having dyslexia lies within the domain of professionals, according to Riddick (2000, 2010). She asserted that parents' voices are rarely heard in the process of provision of support for children with dyslexia (Riddick, 2000) and that professionals embody the 'power of the state' in the proceedings relating to support for children with SEN. Of particular importance is Riddick's understanding that different organisations have vested interests in seeing that dyslexia is managed in certain ways. This aligned with McKay and Neal's (2009) understanding that

parents' perceptions were of a system which lacks the money and resources to support children with SEN and in which their concerns are not considered. The 2012 Green Paper on Special Educational Needs and Disability (Gillie, 2012) argued that under the current system, parents lack confidence in their ability to secure suitable provision for their children and that their voices are not heard within the process. As such, Coalition changes to education policy aimed to empower parents and engage them in the process (DfE, 2010) and develop partnerships with parents whereby they work with professionals to support children through a decentralised policy in which a local offer of services available to support children is a key document (DfE, 2010). However, Keslair et al. (2012) asserted that a decentralised policy for education will result in fragmented provision for children in which children with mild to moderate learning difficulties may not have their needs met. They suggested that the quality and nature of provision for children will vary, dependent on where they live, i.e. that it will be reduced to a postcode lottery (Keslair et al., 2012).

1.4.3 Government discourse and dyslexia models

Elsewhere, I have explored and discussed models of dyslexia that are drawn upon within policy discourses (Ross, 2013b, 2013c). Here, I will briefly summarise government understandings of dyslexia and discuss tensions which arise within policy discourse.

Discourses surrounding dyslexia in government publications have been and still are problematic and contradictory in terms of the models of dyslexia and disability drawn upon. In the 2012 'Green Paper on Special Educational Needs and Disability' (Gillie), children were categorised as having special educational needs if they had difficulties for which specialised provision must be made. When determining whether a child has a particular need which requires specialised provision, a medicalised discourse allows for the clear definition of impairment and the subsequent categorisation of that need.[8] Solvang's (2007) claim that a medicalised understanding of dyslexia allows access to better resources and support for children supports the notion of disability as located in the child and that resources are needed to 'treat' the impairment and reduce the effects of the disability within that child.

A medical model is problematic within the discourse surrounding dyslexia produced under the Coalition Government. Much support for children with moderate to severe SEN is accessed via specialist assessments, undertaken by professionals. In particular, the 'Education, Health and Care Plan' requires collaboration between medical and education-

[8] Within current policy frameworks, needs as categorised as 'school action', 'school action plus', or 'statemented' (DfE, 2010a).

based professionals. As such, the need for dialogue was expressed (Craston et al., 2013b) and a common understanding of terminology necessary. The lack of agreed definition of dyslexia, as discussed above is thus problematic in this sense. However, much government discourse does not, in fact draw on a medicalised notion of dyslexia. Rather, they locate the difficulties in literacy and reading acquisition within structural factors surrounding children; improved teaching standards and curriculum presentation are highlighted as methods by which literacy difficulties could be reduced (DfE, 2010).

Although in 1997, the Department for Education and Employment (1997: 170) promoted the expectation that the needs of children would be met within mainstream classroom settings via differentiated classwork, Ross (2013c) found that many of the needs of children with literacy difficulties are met by withdrawing them from the classroom to complete specialist reading programmes. Coalition discourse strongly drew on a social understanding of literacy difficulties; alongside the proposed removal of categories of SEN (school action, school action plus, and statements) and implementation of 'Education, health and care plans' (Gillie, 2012), the government strengthened the provision of courses available for teachers to promote 'high quality teaching' (DfE, 2010: 60). This high quality teaching was suggested as a means of reducing the effects of dyslexia (ibid.). Rice (2004) asserted that dyslexia is not a discrete medical condition for which definitive diagnosis is possible. He asserts that too large a number of individuals are categorised as having dyslexia. Rice suggests that, rather than addressing dyslexia as a particular phenomenon, general reading problems should be tackled to support all students with difficulties. In contrast, however, Rose (2009) argues for the importance of addressing the needs of children with dyslexia. Although Rose does concede that, in addressing the needs of children with dyslexia, other children may benefit from the multisensory methods he promotes.

1.5 A working understanding of dyslexia

This study has the aim of understanding the experiences of children with dyslexia in a changing policy climate. The distinct lack of children's voices in the policymaking process and the modelling of dyslexia within public discourse means that children's understandings of dyslexia are not considered. This is discussed further in the following chapter. Children's experiences of interventions within policy discourse have often been mediated by parents and professionals, as discussed above. As such it is difficult to devise a working definition of dyslexia for the purposes of this project. However, as both the BDA (Undated b) and The Dyslexia-SpLD Trust (2017) draw on Rose's (2009b) definition of dyslexia, for the purposes of this study, I will also use the definition of dyslexia as outlined in Rose's 2009 Report (Rose, 2009b). However, in line with the British Dyslexia Association (BDA, Undated b) and the

studies cited in section 1.4.1.3 , I will be mindful of the fact that often dyslexia individuals often experience difficulties with their memory in addition to the other manifestations of dyslexia.

Given that the project explores the experiences of children with dyslexia within the current framework for SEN provision, it is important to ensure that the project sample identifies children whose schools recognise their dyslexia officially. Although I will use 'institutional' and structural means for identifying children with dyslexia, as the research aims to be child-centred and transformative, I will not impose a definition of dyslexia onto the children when discussing their experiences. It is also problematic to devise a unified, widely accepted conceptualisation of dyslexia; Rose (2009) and Rice (2004) both agree that such a definition does not exist as yet within literature. Seeking one, unified definition of dyslexia is outside of the scope of this study. However, children's own understandings of dyslexia will be sought as a means of identifying and analysing the discourses on which they draw in framing their own dyslexia; inherent power relationships in those discourses will also be discussed. Differences in parents' and professionals' understandings of dyslexia vis-à-vis those of children will also be discussed as a means of contextualising findings.

1.5.1 Identification of children with SEN

The identification of SEN is "built into the overall approach to monitoring the progress and development of all pupils" and for state schools, the arrangements for "assessing and identifying pupils as having SEN should be agreed and set out as part of the local offer" (DfE and DfH, 2015: 95).

The SEND Code of Practice 2015 (DfE and DfH, 2015: 95), states that:

> "Class and subject teachers, supported by the senior leadership team, should make regular assessments of progress for all pupils. These should seek to identify pupils making less than expected progress given their age and individual circumstances."

A 'graduated approach' to the assessment of SEN is to be taken by schools (2015: 100) in which assessment of performance, progress and behaviour, comparison with peers and "if relevant, advice from external support services" is used (this is rarely the case in relation to dyslexic young people). Where other professionals are working with children it is expected that these professionals liaise with schools. Assessments are then expected to be reviewed on a regular basis. It does not stipulate within guidance what type of evidence of disability is accepted from external professionals, however, full assessments for dyslexia can be obtained from a chartered educational psychologist. Thus, there are various avenues by

which a young person may be entered onto a school's SEND register. However the key element of their position on this register is that schools must review and reassess a child's needs and progress regularly and update all information.

1.5.2 'Dyslexic people' or 'people with dyslexia'

Corbett (1995: 2) provides a comprehensive exploration on the language linked to SEND and argues that although teachers may refer to a pupil having "learning support", what they actually mean is that a young person has difficulties with learning which will need more support. Although she argues that 'special educational needs' does not necessarily have to be negatively construed, she suggests that when discussing pupils with 'special needs', rather than viewing those pupils positively, they are viewed as a burden and are subsequently marginalised. Corbett argues that language and terminology are key factors in that marginalisation. She suggests that when teachers and other professionals use the term 'special needs' they are using it to label a young person as 'needy' and unintelligent.

Evans (2013) project on the identities of student nurses highlights the importance that can be placed on how a person with dyslexia (or other impairment) is identified. In this study, the individual quoted feels that a label of 'dyslexic' is equivalent to a label of 'stupid'. She remarked that many people did not understand her dyslexia and thus wanted to distance herself from her dyslexia and thus other people's constructions of her as 'stupid'. However, other studies such as Riddick's (2000) study suggest that a 'label' is not necessary for an individual to become stigmatised. Indeed, Riddick argues that a 'label' of 'dyslexic' may be emancipatory for an individual such that it relieves them of any negative view linked to 'being dyslexic' or 'having dyslexia'. In line with Riddick, I believe that a 'label' of dyslexia may be emancipatory. This is undeniably true for me; when I discovered I was dyslexic I felt an unprecedented relief and understood why I had struggled with learning for a large proportion of my schooling. I do not wish to construct dyslexia in a way which could lead individuals to see it as a stigmatising characteristic (Goffman, 1963); I believe that refusing to engage with 'dyslexic' as an adjective to describe an individual could be perceived thus. As such for the purposes of this study, I will alternate between referring to individuals as 'dyslexic' and as 'having dyslexia'.

1.6 Understanding childhood

In many ways, the experiences of young people mirror the experiences of those with impairments; both groups have been found to be viewed as incomplete and dependent on others to be able to access full support and resources. I have discussed the experiences of those with impairments in sections 1.1 and 1.2 of this chapter. Here, I explore how

childhood has been conceptualised in literature. The modelling of childhood based on social and cultural norms is explored in the following section. Discussion of emergent views of children as social agents, independent of adult mediators, follows. The limitations of both of these conceptualisations of childhood are discussed with reference to their strengths and weaknesses. The 'New Paradigm' (Prout and James, 2002) emergent in the 'sociology of childhood', and the advantages of considering children and childhood both as a process of 'being' and 'becoming' (Uprichard, 2008; Wyness, 2012), are discussed in this section.

The importance of structural understandings of children as 'becomings' who are acted upon by structures (Uprichard, 2008) and agentic understandings of them as 'beings' who are competent social actors are linked to their capacity to participate in policy and decision-making processes. These are then explored with specific reference to SEN policy in England affecting those with dyslexia and how social actors are positioned and thus able to access various forms of capital within the field of education as a result of government discourse.

1.6.1 Childhood as a construct

Prout and James (2002) suggested that 'childhood' has been constructed in the West, beginning during Victorian times, and that this Western, idealised notion of childhood is so prevalent that it masks the basic ontological matter that childhood is a social construction. They argued that this social construction is entirely linked to a child's class, gender and 'race', through which, according to Woodhead (2002), culturally defined 'needs' of those children are described and met. Woodhead (2002) went as far as suggesting that the separation of childhood from adulthood leads to the understanding of childhood as a disability or of children as a minority group. In classifying children as different from adults, Smith (2007) suggested that a model of children and childhood has emerged in the West, in which children are dependent on adults rather than social agents in their own right. This notion was supported by Wyness (2012) whose work also suggests that the socially accepted norms in schooling in the UK are those of white and middle-class individuals.

Qvortrup (1994) discusses the importance of children's integration and inclusion in the modern world. However, what that means for children and their childhoods across time and space varies. He found that the main 'structure versus agency' conflict in the life of a child would be between society and the child's family (Qvortrup, 1994). Woodhead (2002), for example, suggested that when discussing children's needs, different actors position themselves as experts in order to impose their understanding of 'correct' behaviour for children. Wyness (2012) also highlighted the potential difficulty when considering the

'needs' and 'requirements' of a child within a constructionist framework. In contrast with Woodhead (2002), Wyness suggested that there are universal notions of children's needs and their welfare, for example those noted in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) which are not adequately framed within social constructionism. He argued that there is little interest in the child him/herself as a social actor within a constructionist framework. Rather, he suggests that constructionist frameworks only consider children at a macro-societal level as a group, rather than individually. Ontologically this view is supported by Prout and James (2002) who argue that there cannot be an objective 'real childhood' if childhood is socially constructed. They argue that it will be impossible to understand universal childhood experiences and that it may not be beneficial to attempt to do so if research only considers childhood from a social constructionist framework (Prout and James, 2002). The non-universal nature of childhood and consideration of children as in a state of 'being' as well as 'becoming' paves the way for a 'new paradigm' through which childhood can be understood, and in which children and young people are viewed as competent social actors, capable of participating meaningfully in decision-making processes (Prout, 2000; Uprichard, 2008).

1.6.2 Children's ontology

Despite the fact that within policy children are recognised as persons in their own right, Prout (2000) suggests in reality that the state and public policy exert greater control and regulation over their lives. Although it could be suggested that, within certain contexts, it could be argued that adults are in a similar position within policy (for example the position of 'disabled' adults or women), I will not discuss this in detail here. The marginalisation of adults with impairments and other marginalised groups is discussed in section 2.5.3.

Qvortrup (1994: 2) also notes that, within academia, there is a lack of value placed on research that attempts to listen to children, suggesting that researchers who do so are viewed as "run[ning] the risk of violating good scientific behaviour" due to the alleged unreliable nature of children's knowledge and experience. Wyness (2012) argues that there are many barriers faced by children when trying to access policy discourse. He argues that children's voices are often heard via adults.

Hendrick (2002) suggested that these Victorian understandings of childhood laid foundations for the notion of the 'incapacitated child' who was vulnerable and needed protection, as part of a family. Hendrick noted that a key feature of the 'incapacitated child' was their dependence on others and their lack of independent agency. The construction of children as weak and dependent has been likened in theory to the construction of women (Corsaro, 2011; Smith, 2007; Wyness, 1999, 2012). Smith (2007) asserted that children have

been constructed as unable to think or act alone, which may explain why, until recently, their agency has not been considered explicitly in sociology. Likewise, Corsaro (2011) described children as subordinate to other groups within society, although he did not elaborate on the basis for this subordination. Wyness (2012) suggested that children were in a subordinate group within society that has been subjected to patriarchal and class-based oppression. However, he noted the problematic nature of this view of childhood; feminism has not separated children's views, needs and experiences from those of their mothers and patriarchy is not a clear enough explanation, as much of the 'subjugation' of children arises from their interactions with their mothers. Wyness (2012) noted that class-based descriptions of children's oppressions do, to some extent, explain their experiences (children in different social classes were found by Wyness to have differing amounts of agency within a classroom situation). However, he also believed that Marxist and feminist models of childhood fail to capture the nuanced details of the lived experiences of children as ontological 'beings'. He suggested that such models risk viewing children as future-adults, thus reducing their access to personal agency. However, work from feminist researchers such as Tess Ridge (2007, 2009, 2016), view young people as active agents, capable of negotiating their own social relationships. Ridge actively seeks the views and experiences of young people, which suggests that a feminist standpoint is not incompatible with research which fully considers young people's views and experiences independently of their parents/carers.

The difficulty of using pre-existing models of oppression and conflict within society may, however, be overcome with the simple suggestion by Vandenbroeck and Bouverne-de Bie (2006) that children are an oppressed group, oppressed by adults in general. Merely considering children as social actors faces the limitation of constructionist models of childhood. Within a framework in which children are considered as social actors who are not merely acted upon, the effects of structural factors on children may not be explicitly considered.

As such, a model of childhood, which considers these factors, is necessary. Such a model based on Uprichard's (2008) and Prout and James' (2002) work is thus possible. Uprichard (2008) argues that children must be considered both as 'being' and 'becoming' ontologically. That is to say that children's agency in their present must be considered but also they should be viewed as in a transient phase, oriented towards the future. She suggested that viewing children thus increases their agency and autonomy within the world, allowing them to create their own present and future through social and structural interactions. Such a view also allows the transition between adulthood and childhood to be

considered from the perspective of the individual, a potentially useful notion when considering the experiences of adolescents. Prout and James (2002) suggested that childhood should therefore be seen as both biological and social. I combine these two competing understandings when modelling childhood within the field of education in this thesis. Childhood was considered as both social and biological and children will be viewed as both 'being' and 'becoming' individuals who have agency, but who are also affected by societal structures; in the case of this study, changing structures of education policy are considered. This view is echoed in the Every Child Matters (The Stationary Office, 2003), where young people's views on developments in educational policy and provision for young people/families were actively sought. In this way, it is possible to understand the structural elements, such as physical age, which constrain children, within a Bourdieusian sense, as a means of understanding their access to power, forms of capital and how these structural constraints affect the individual agency of young people.

1.6.3 Children as incompetent subjects or competent social/political agents

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013: 296), "operations of classification refer themselves not only to the clues of collective judgement but also to the positions in distributions that this collective judgement already recounts". Thus, if a child is positioned as incapable of making rational decisions and acting responsibly, then they will begin to view themselves that way; collective judgement from those in power over them will lead young people to embody the habitus and thus dispose them to behave in a certain way. Individuals/groups are inscribed with 'material differences', perceived as 'natural' within the social order which then facilitate their classification and maintains the position of the dominant class (ibid.). Bourdieu (2011) argues that classification of individuals affects how and whether they can access certain types of capital and thus power, which subsequently affects their structural position and the objective constraints on them within a social field. As such, how children and young people are viewed within a social field will directly influence their social position relative to others and thus their ability to access different forms of capital, be they symbolic, cultural or economic.

In this section I discuss how tensions in the ontology of children affect their capacity to access and engage with the field of education. Specifically, I discuss whether and in what way they are able to add their voice to discussions surrounding their educational provision. I then discuss how a Bourdieusian structural analysis facilitates understanding of the structures and relationships that affect young people's ability to access the field and voice their views.

1.6.3.1 The educational field: children's agency and voice

Smith (2007) found that despite children having participation rights in education, there is not always an opportunity for them to contribute. Structural factors were found by her to limit children's participation in policy dialogue. This view aligns with Wyness (1999) who contests that educational reform has effectively removed pupils' right to active participation in policy at school level. Jans (2004) also noted that children's involvement in policy processes does not necessarily enable children to engage actively with policy and exert agency in decision-making processes. This work precedes that of Shevlin and Rose (2010) who found that children did not regularly make meaningful contributions to dialogue, despite requirements in both 1994 and 2010 SEN Codes of Practice for the involvement of children in decision-making processes affecting their education.

Prout (2000) argues that, while there have been some good local level initiatives to allow children's voices to be heard at a local level, they are rarely actively engaged at a national level. It appears that, although there is work suggesting that children's voices in policy are being heard, there is also research that claims that children's voices are further repressed. Prout (2003) suggests a local–national dichotomy, i.e. that children contribute to local-level but not national-level policy dialogues. This indicates that there are competing discourses surrounding children's ability to contribute to policy dialogues and that the level where participation is sought is a salient factor when considering children's contribution to policy processes. Lewis et al. (2007) argue that, for children to make meaningful contributions to policy, how they would do so should be considered prior to the development of policy. They suggest that diverse means of engagement are required and that time and effort should be made to ensure that children's voices are heard.

Prout (2000) suggests that tensions between adults and children within the late-modern world act to constrain and limit children's voices and ability to engage in public policy processes. Whitehead and Clough's (2004) work also notes that professionals' accountability may be questioned in the event that children are given active participation rights which are acted upon at a local level; if children's and adults' views clash, managing children's lack of meaningful agency could become problematic. Although Lewis et al. (2007) did note that views of children were considered in decision-making (and that those views might differ from those of their parents/carers), children were aware that their views might differ from those of their parents. Interestingly, however, Oerlemans (2007) found that when children's views were sought, those views often aligned with those of teachers; her research study focussed on schools where new policies were implemented and students were consulted to ascertain their views on the structural changes which were being made.

She also discussed teacher employment and school 'image' with the participants in her study. Oerlemans (2007) found that children understood rationales behind decisions that were taken and were often frustrated that their views were not considered in decision-making processes.

Shevlin and Rose (2009) describe the potentially problematic nature of translating legislation into action when teachers are charged with facilitating pupil participation into classroom practice; teachers were reluctant to devolve power to their students. According to Freeman (2000), teachers are not the only group that may be reluctant to grant children participatory rights. He found that families and parents in particular may feel that their own role and status as adults may be undermined if children are acknowledged as citizens and granted the associated rights of participation. Wyness (2012) suggests that tensions between different policy actors who influence teachers affect children. In particular, he claims that teachers are torn between their role as meeting the needs of the economy for a skilled workforce and the demands of their own administrators. As such, children are subject to the structural constraints of their teachers as well as child-specific ones. Hill and Tisdall (1997) highlight the importance placed on pupils as a commodity for schools, who are obliged to compete for pupils who, through their parents, are in turn attracted to schools by high placement in league tables. They noted the important role played by multiple levels of structural control acting on children to limit their agentic ability in relation to education policy, both at local and national level (Hill and Tisdall, 1997).

Bourdieu et al. (2003: 12) argue that, when undertaking ethnography, the ethnographer is regularly sent to speak with or to observe individuals who "know the site well" or "who are considered wise" and who are often among the older generation who occupy that specific field site.[9] The likelihood that children and young people's participation is actively sought is thus low if one takes Bourdieu's view of ethnography and translates it into the educational field; it is thus likely that young people's voices are not well heard within their own educational setting. The research discussed here suggests the same; young people's voices although heard at local level to some extent, are not heard at higher levels and young people do not always feel that their views are valued. Structural analysis will help to outline the processes by which young people's voices are structurally excluded or included within decision-making processes and classroom practices within their local setting. Classroom practices and habitus will be explored and young people's abilities to produce and

[9] "On vous renvoie toujours toujours vers des vieilles personnes très dignes qui « connaissent bien» qui sont considérées comme des sages qui parlent en hochant la tête sérieusement qui veulent faire bonne figure pour elles-mêmes et pour tout le groupe don't elles sont un peu les porte-parole" (Bourdieu, 2003: 12). Translation by Helen Ross.

reproduce these practices will also be observed during this study, in order to develop understanding of those factors' social positions relative to one another.

1.7 Experiences of young people with impairments versus those without.

As discussed in section 1.6, young people and children are viewed as both 'beings' and 'becomings', congruent with Uprichard's (2008) model of childhood. Martin et al (2010) note that infants and children are 'developing persons', learning how to navigate social interactions. Their reference to 'fully developed person's (Martin et al, 2010: 158) suggests that as people age they move from 'becomings' to 'beings'. On that basis, it could be argued that developmentally 'normal' adolescents, as they move towards adulthood, are closer to 'beings' than 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008) with more agency and subject to fewer structural constraints. According to Hansen, amid a sense of moving towards a position of 'being' rather than 'becoming', young people with impairments may be caught up in mixed expectations of them relating to education, care and agency. Thus, they may be conflicted as to their sense of ontology. This sense of conflict may lead dyslexic adolescents, or indeed those with other hidden disabilities, to attempt to conceal that aspect of themselves, such that they are not 'discreditable people' in line with Goffman's (1963) work. Although identity construction is discussed in more detail in chapter 3, it is pertinent here to note that according to both Jenkins (2002; 2008) and Bourdieu (1977), identity is a social process, whereby actors make sense of themselves through their interactions with others and through their relative positions in social fields. As such we can understand that all actors got through a process of negotiation of their own identity and understanding their ontology. However, for adolescents with impairments, this perceived need to conceal certain aspects of themselves in certain social settings potentially locates adolescents with impairments to view themselves as 'becomings' more than 'beings' as they are constantly renegotiating their own position and identity with reference to a impairment and subsequent disability that others are not subject to. This 'subjection' to perceived disability resulting from an impairment (or at least a young person's perception of societal view of their impairment) thus suggests that young people with impairments have less social agency in some settings than those without impairment.

However, within the discourse surrounding provision for young people with SEND, young peoples' views are actively sought (DfE and DfH, 2015) thus constructing young people as 'beings' capable of social interaction and participation in policy proceedings in line with Uprichard's (2008) view of young people. As such, in certain social settings, we can see that young people with SEND may be viewed as 'becomings' in a way that 'normal' learners are not. Learners with SEND may be able to enact agency when engaging with the process

for securing suitable educational support for themselves. Thus young people with SEND exist in an ontologically liminal position vis-à-vis young people without SEND. This liminal position is demonstrated in the work of Brunnberg (2013), whose study on the identity and ontology of young people with hearing impairments. I draw on this study as in this context, parallels can be drawn between dyslexic and hearing-impaired adolescents: they are both groups which have hidden impairments which may be concealed in certain settings. She found that young people with hearing impairments who had been educated in both speaking and signing environments. Historically in Sweden, signing was not accepted as a communication means for hearing-impaired people (Brunnberg, 2013: 182) which could lead young people to conceal their hearing impairment in certain circumstances. Brunnberg found that some young people in her study developed a sense of identity with groups of deaf and hearing children. This capacity to 'belong' in two discrete groups of people demonstrates the fluctuating social position and the state of 'not-quite-being' that young people with hidden impairments exist in.

1.8 Conclusion

In this section, I will summarise the conceptualisations that I have introduced here. These models of dyslexia and disability, and childhood are the conceptualisations I drew upon when undertaking analysis of data in this study. The conceptualisations I used are based upon the literature synthesis presented here; part of the study was also to investigate the salience of these models of childhood and dyslexia/disability.

Following exploration of different conceptualisations of disability and dyslexia, I will draw upon a bio-social model of dyslexia based upon MacDonald's (2012) view that there is an impairment present, whose effects may be exacerbated or reduced through structural means. This bio-social model of dyslexia is grounded in the bio-social model of disability (Abberley, 1993; Oliver, 2004), as emerging from debates surrounding the potentially oppressive nature of a medicalised model of disability, which does not consider personal experiences, and purely social models, which do not consider impairments.

Because dyslexia is a multifaceted impairment without a standardised measure for it, for the purposes of this study, I will not be undertaking assessments for dyslexia. Instead, potential participants' dyslexia must be acknowledged on the school SEN register in order for young people to take part in this study.

In this literature review, I have discussed different conceptualisations of childhood. I have spent particular time discussing Prout and James' (2002) 'new paradigm' of childhood

wherein young people are framed as capable social actors, able to fully engage actively in society. I have also drawn comparisons between young people's position as 'incomplete' beings and the marginalised, dependent position experienced by those with impairments. In completing this literature review, I will base my conceptualisation of young people in Uprichard's (2008) model of children, where they are described as both 'beings' and 'becomings'. 'Beings' are social actors, who are able to fully enact agency, and 'becomings' are social actors who are subject to structural constraints. I will comment on the effectiveness of this model when completing analysis of data and will discuss the model's relevance for the study of young people's dyslexia in the mainstream school setting.

Drawing on the key literature from this chapter, a main objective in this chapter of the thesis was to understand the causes of disability and locate dyslexia, and its conceptualisation, within that framework. This was done to delimit how participants for the study would be identified and to form part of the theoretical framework within which dyslexia and its effects would be analysed. Another key objective of this chapter was to define childhood pragmatically, allowing for consideration of their agency and the structures they are subject to. This was achieved through drawing on the 'new paradigm' of childhood (Prout and James, 2002) and Uprichard's (2008) model of childhood. I have also highlighted the challenging position of young people with impairments versus those without and I have suggested that adolescents with impairments tend towards an ontology of 'becoming' whereas adolescents without impairments tend towards 'being' ontologically.

Chapter 2

Roles and Identities in Special Education Policy

In this section, the positions of different stakeholders within the current framework for the provision of support for young people with Special Educational Needs (SEN) are discussed. Briefly, the provenance of current policy linking current Conservative frameworks to earlier outlines for SEN educational provision is outlined and their underpinning ideological frameworks described. The varying expectations, over time, surrounding policy participation for stakeholders are highlighted, and then potential participants for the study are identified. The significance of this work is then set out.

2.1 An overview of past policy

Here, policy surrounding SEN since the publication of the pivotal Report on Special Educational Needs (Warnock, 1978) is described. Provision under the Conservative Governments of the 1980s and early 1990s, and then the Labour government, is explained and critique of the ideology surrounding 'integration' and 'inclusion' for young people is given. Discussion of the positions of stakeholders within the policy framework follows. Warnock argued that to improve the experiences of children with SEN, it was important to remove stigmatising characteristics and labels associated with SEN. However, Shaw (1996) argues that Warnock merely succeeded in creating new categories. The 1981 Education Act ((s1 (1-3-2)), which followed the Warnock report, formalised in law the criteria for the provision of support for children with SEN:

(1) For the purposes of this Act a child has "special educational needs" if he has a learning difficulty which calls for special educational provision to be made for him.

(2) Subject to subsection (4) below, a child has a "learning difficulty" if—

  (a) he has a significantly greater difficulty in learning than the majority of children of his age;

  (b) he has a disability which either prevents or hinders him from making use of educational facilities of a kind generally provided in schools, within the area of the local authority concerned, for children of his age; or

  (c) he is under the age of five years and is, or would be if special educational provision were not made for him, likely to fall within paragraph (a) or (b) when over that age.

Another significant policy development was the change in status of health professionals and education professionals. Whereas traditionally, according to Kirp (1982), medical

professionals played a major role in supporting children with SEN, Riddell et al. (2002) argued that Warnock (1978) and the 1981 Education Act empowered education professionals in the provision of support for children with SEN. Welton (1983) suggested that in the Warnock Report (1978) and the subsequent Education Act (1981), both education professionals and parents were expected to play a greater role in supporting provision for children with SEN.

2.1.1 Warnock and Conservative policy

Education policy in England has seen much change since the 1944 Education Act. The Warnock Report (1978) has been argued as revolutionising policy surrounding provision for children with SEN in England (Riddell et al., 2002). The report moved away from a 'handicapped and non-handicapped' model of understanding disability towards a "continuum of special educational need rather than discrete categories of handicap" (Warnock, 1978: 327). Corbett (1995) argues that such a vision for education was revolutionary when, only a few years before the Warnock's report, some of the children who would now be described as having 'special educational needs' would have been classified as 'ineducable.' She argues that the standpoint set out by Warnock i.e. that all young people would benefit from some form of schooling and have a right to education would influence discourse surrounding provision for young people with SEND. The vision of the report led to the expectation within the Education Act 1981 that children with SEN were to be educated with their peers unless it was impossible to provide suitable support within a mainstream school. In this case, provision could be made in other settings.

2.1.1.1 Integration, inclusion and ideology – Conservative policy through to Labour's 'Education, Education, Education'

There was concern noted by contemporary academic researchers (Welton, 1983) and later writers (Bines and Loxley 1995; Hodkinson, 2012 Robinson, 1994) surrounding the language and definitions of SEN within policy frameworks. They questioned whether definitions of SEN were forced upon children by professionals, with Hodkinson (2010) suggesting that this led to a 'professional-centred' rather than 'child-centred' service. Hodkinson (2010: 62) suggested that the philosophy surrounding SEN provision may lead to the overriding of children's needs in order to further that philosophy. This view was supported by work undertaken in the early 1980s in which Kirp (1982: 138), Welton (1983: 597) and Robinson (1994: 3) asserted that provision for children with SEN was hampered by the lack of a shared understanding of SEN, both philosophically and in terms of 'good practice'. This view aligns with Welton's (1983: 602) argument that changes in provision were rooted, not in professional and research-led judgements but rather in ideologically based decisions.

Hodkinson (2012) argues that the notion of integration (a precursor to inclusion), although marking a major shift in philosophy and policy of SEN provision, may not have been undertaken purely with the needs of children in mind. He suggests that inclusion may not have considered individual children's needs and that practice may not keep pace with the philosophical and ideological changes in policy; a concern which echoes the earlier work of Welton (1983: 598) who asserted that Warnock's proposals would only be successful if professional attitudes towards SEN altered.

On their election in 1997, Labour's vision for education was dominated by their mantra of "Education, Education, Education". Improvement of educational standards was a core theme resonating through government rhetoric. The Labour Party promoted 'inclusion' in their 1997 publication 'Excellence for all Children: Meeting Special Educational Needs' (DfEE). This publication had been influenced by the United Nations whose vision for inclusive education and children's right to education with their peers was outlined by Warnock (1978). Two key documents published by the Blair government addressed lack of clarity surrounding provision for children with SEN: Revised SEN Code of Practice (DfES, 2001) and the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2001. The Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2001 laid out, in statute, the responsibilities of different agencies with respect to the provision of support for children with SEN. The Act (s1 (1–3)) reinforced goals existent in prior legislation for the inclusion of children with SEN:

1. "if no statement is maintained under section 324 for the child, he must be educated in a mainstream school
2. If a statement is maintained under section 324 for the child, he must be educated in a mainstream school unless that is incompatible with-
    a. The wishes of his parent, or
    b. The provision of efficient education for other children."

    Published concurrently with the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act, the Revised SEN Code of Practice (DfES, 2001) clarified institutional responsibilities from early years through to the secondary sector. Although not statute, LAs were expected to follow guidelines and procedures in the Code; their policies for SEN and how they will identify and support children with SEN had to be published (DfES, 2001: 9). According to the Code (2001: 10), "to fulfil their role effectively, Local Education Authority's (LEA) planning should provide for the inclusion of children with SEN in mainstream schools", i.e. there was an expectation that the schools should adapt and ensure that children were included in the mainstream. The Code used language of empowerment and action when referring to the role that parents play such that they:

- "recognise and fulfil their responsibilities as parents and play an active and valued role in their children's education
- have knowledge of their child's entitlement within the SEN framework
- make their views known about how their child is educated
- have access to information, advice and support during assessment and any related decision-making processes about special education provision." (DfES, 2001: 16)

The Every Child Matters agenda (The Stationary Office, 2003) promoted the importance of comprehensive and holistic consideration of young people's needs. Each of the five outcomes within the publication is centred around holistic provision for young people, which the then-government expected to be centred around schools or children's centres as part of their vision for them to act "as the hub for services for children, families and other members of the community" (The Stationary Office, 2003: 29). As part of the objective related to academic achievement: "enjoying and achieving: getting the most out of life and developing the skills for adulthood" (ibid: 6) the voices of children were sought, the need for early identification and intervention were highlighted and the importance of highly trained professionals was argued. A key point raised in this document was the importance of communication between agencies and the need for shared assessments and terminology with the aim to reducing the number of assessment that children and young people must undergo in order to secure suitable provision for their needs. The Labour party proposed legislation in order to facilitate the sharing of this information between agencies.

However, Armstrong (2005) argued that each of these publications and proposals did not improve provision for children with SEN. He suggested that the Special Educational Needs and Disability Act was problematic for inclusion as a policy and described how comparison of children to a prescribed 'norm' may be a form of coercion. This normalisation, according to Armstrong (2005), was a means of assimilation of students with SEN and aligned with an understanding of early intervention being a key factor in the prevention and minimisation of SEN. Armstrong (2005) argued the oppressive nature of both these pieces of legislation for children who did not conform to these prescribed norms. This was supported by Hodkinson (2012) who claimed that the normative values against which children are compared when considering SEN provision are a social construction and do not have any value. Glazzard (2013: 183) also viewed inclusion as unsupportive of individual children with SEN and as a dominant discourse that propagates exclusion of children who do not conform for 'normative' values.

A lack of clear definition of SEN was also reported as problematic. The understanding of SEN under Blair's government shifted to address "wider-reaching social inequalities" (Armstrong, 2005: 141) and also accepted the notion that structural factors affect children's educational performance (Bines, 2000: 223). Despite government's accommodation of social and structural factors surrounding children, changes to the curriculum, such as the development of Entry Level qualifications (DfEE, 1997) and modification of the curriculum, teachers largely refer to a medical understanding of disability and SEN (Armstrong, 2005; Hodkinson, 2012). Bines (2000) described the lack of influence of social constructionism on policy for SEN provision, leading to difficulties for children with 'hidden disabilities' (Hope, 2002: 97).

Despite the lack of clarity in terminology relating to special educational needs policy, Pirrie and Head (2007: 19) argued that many studies assert the high profile of the SEN and the 'presumed rightness' of policy. Pirrie and Head (2007) described the apparently 'untouchable' nature of inclusion, a view supported by Hodkinson (2012: 6) who highlighted the dominance achieved by the discourse of inclusion. Ainscow et al. (2006) also noted the lack of criticism of inclusion by policymakers and implementers, congruous with Glazzard's assertion that to do so would lay professionals open to accusations of being anti-inclusion (2013) and the associated moral discourse and its values (Armstrong, 2005). Greenstein (2013) among others argued the importance of critical reflection on the inclusion agenda with regards to the conflicting policy agendas surrounding SEN provision.

Armstrong (2005: 135) outlined conflict in policy surrounding SEN, highlighting a lack of coherent terminology as causes of contradictions and tensions. Ainscow et al. (2006) argued that schools were judged against the narrow criteria of success, which were concerned purely with mathematics, science and literacy for the purposes of league tables. Bines (2000) suggested that such ranking of schools according to academic achievement created a dichotomous position for schools: they were judged as 'successful' by league tables and thus parents if their academic results were high, which encouraged schools to seek high ability students. Hope (2002) also described the problematic nature of league tables that focussed purely on academic subjects for schools and for children with SEN; there was no other measure of success. Although medicalised needs have may have clear terminology and 'labels' may be easier to 'apply' to young people, language relating to hidden disabilities with contested natures, such as dyslexia (see section 1.4 for discussion) may be problematic due to the lack of clear definitions and assessment methods. Thus, with unclear language surrounding provision for young people with SEN, the difficulties they experienced in securing suitable support were likely exacerbated. The lack of clear

terminology and definition of SEN also leads to tensions with purposes of education, in particular for those with hidden disabilities. Rather than promoting social cohesion, Knoedel et al. (2013) claimed that framing the purposes of education as commercial/economic led to an assumption that people who are not fully educated cannot work and thus do not contribute to society. Therefore, young people with SEN may be construed as incomplete, in line with a deficit model of disability and a model of young people where they are acted upon, rather than competent social actors (Prout and James, 2002), and thus unable to fully participate in society (discussed in sections 1.1 and 1.6). 'Disabled' young people within an educational setting thus potentially suffered a double-oppression within educational settings under the Conservative and Labour governments.

2.1.1.2 Roles of stakeholders in education between 1980s Conservative and 1990-2000s Labour governments

Roles of stakeholders in SEN provision were altered greatly by the 1981 Education Act: education professionals (as part of multi-professional teams) were expected to play a greater role (Warnock, 1978), parental engagement was expected and LEAs were to assume responsibility for supporting children with a Statement of SEN. Within the Code of Practice (1994), the needs of children and young people were assessed and met within a '5-stage model', where responsibility for provision for pupils whose needs fall within the first three stages lies with the school. At stages 4 and 5 responsibility for supporting children and young people is shared by the LEA and the school. These stages became amalgamated in the later SEN Code of Practice (DfE, 2001).

As the 2001 SEN Code of Practice (DfE, 2001) was implemented, children whose needs were less pronounced and whose needs would be met at school level would be categorised as 'School Action' or 'School Action Plus'. This extra provision in mainstream classrooms would be given, if children "require provision ('school action') which is different from, and additional to that made for most pupils" (Ofsted, 2004: 3). In the instance that the progress of children who have received extra support is not sufficient, they may require further provision and be categorised as 'School Action Plus'.

Although the parental input into provision for children with SEN was encouraged by the 1981 Education Act (s2 (3, a-c)), professionals' views appeared to be central. As noted by Bagley and Woods (1998: 765), parents of children with SEN were consulted regarding provision for their children; however, they were precluded from having any legally enforceable role by Section 6 (1) of the 1981 Education Act, which removed their legal right

to choose a school place for their children. As such, Bagley and Woods (1998) noted that parents became frustrated with the process of procuring support for their children.

The Education Act of 1988 incorporated provisions for SEN into statute and introduced the National Curriculum; legal definitions of SEN and the use of 'Statements' from the 1981 Education Act were retained within the 1988 Act. The 1988 Education Act was problematic for children with SEN according to Bines and Loxley (1995: 381). They suggested that the lack of clarity relating to provision did not ensure the equality of provision and sharing of good practice for children with SEN. They assert that the National Curriculum did not support inclusion of children with SEN; rather that it segregated children. According to Byers (1999), teachers were unclear as to how to support children with SEN due to conflicting policy guidelines. Thus, although a new framework for provision of support for those with SEN was brought in in 1988, the same issues of lack of clarity relating to provision and definitions of SEN and parental frustrations relating to their legal rights and input were reported.

Studies have described the problematic nature of the 1981 and 1988 Education Acts for children with SEN (Robinson, 1994; Shaw, 1996). The lack of good provision for children with SEN was argued by the Audit Commission (2002) and contributed to the development of the 1993 Education Act. The Audit Commission (2002) argued the importance of common practice nationally in the support of children with SEN and the implementation of policy. Bines and Loxley (1995: 3961) described the potential difficulty in the implementation of new policies within a pre-existing framework. For Millward and Skidmore (1998), this was evident when the 1993 Education Act was formalised; they suggested that the role of central government in the provision of support for children with SEN was unclear, resulting in professionals experiencing conflicts of priorities. The 1993 Education Act repealed much of the 1981 Education Act, removing the framework to help them define LEAs' roles in the provision for children with SEN consistent with Robinson (1994).

According to the DfES (1994), the Code of Practice was welcomed by professionals as it clarified professional roles, LEA jurisdiction and parental rights, congruent with various studies (Bines and Loxley, 1995: 381; Millward and Skidmore, 1998: 61). It also introduced categories of SEN and provided guidelines for the provision of support for children falling into each category which Robinson (1994) and Millwood and Skidmore (1998) suggested provided clarification of stakeholders' duties and responsibilities.

However, the extra guidelines were potentially problematic for professionals in their support of children with SEN. Bines and Loxley (1995) contested that, potentially, the Code

of Practice removed the flexibility afforded by Warnock (1978) within the system and that it would add to bureaucracy, creating tension with contemporary government philosophy (minimal state intervention). Through the marketisation of education (Bagley and Woods, 1998), parental right to 'choice' was emphasised and outlined in the Code of Practice (DfES, 1994) and Education Act 1993. Parent–school–LEA partnership was expected and Bines and Loxley (1994) argued that it was more likely following publications of case studies of areas, in which top-down approaches from the LEA were standard practice. Robinson (1994) noted the potential for harmonious, transparent partnerships between parents and professionals as described in the House of Commons Education Committee (1993 (s60)). However, he questioned the modification of the tribunal process (controlled by central government rather than run locally) and suggested that the potential for formality and impersonal interactions might make the process inaccessible for many parents.

The importance of positive working relationships was highlighted within the Code of Practice for working with young people with SEN (DfES, 2001), for the development of interventions and negotiation of provision for children; the importance of parents' knowledge of their children was noted. This marked a significant move away from a medicalised discourse of disability, which was described as dominating policy by Warnock (1978); parents and teachers were positioned as experts with salient knowledge of the child's abilities and requirements. Medicalised knowledge was not the only type of knowledge sought when supporting a child.

Parents were expected to participate in the development of intervention strategies for their children, an idea which was underpinned by the Code of Practice (DfES, 2001). The decisive shift towards partnership was reinforced by the assertion that parents "hold key information and have a critical role to play in their children's education" (2001: 16). During the statutory assessment process, parents were to be provided with information and support. However, power relationships and conflicting priorities were noted as potentially disengaging less well-off parents from the process of supporting their children with SEN (Bagley and Woods, 1998: 770; Bines and Loxley, 1995: 390; Robinson, 1994: 102). The concern of the system being inaccessible to some parents and the concern that children without statements of SEN would lose out (Robinson, 1994: 102) led to a change in policy following the change of government in 1997.

Minimum standards for the LEA were outlined in the code and procedures for resolving disagreements were set out (DfES, 2001: 22). Children were also expected to participate in discussions surrounding provision for them: "all children should be involved in

making decisions where possible right from the start of their education" (DfES, 2001: 28). Aims of interventions and how these would be achieved should, according to the Code, be shared with children and young people so that they were engaged in the process. LEAs were also expected, under the Code of Practice (DfES, 2001) to support children's participation at all stages of education.

The Lamb Inquiry (Lamb, 2009) was commissioned by the then-Labour led government to investigate the SEN system and ascertain whether parent had confidence in the SEN system. Despite the Every Child Matters (The Stationary Office, 2003) agenda and the SEN Code of Practice (DfES, 2001) which aimed to improve parental and young people's engagement in the SEN system, Lamb (2009) found that parental confidence in the SEN system was low and that. He asserted that communication between schools and other stakeholders was poor and that the lack of 'statutory assessment framework' was problematic for many parents.. He also found that there was a lack of expertise in schools; this finding is particularly significant as the Every Child Matters agenda (The Stationary Office, 2003) was charged with improving teacher training, upskilling the existing workforce and ensuring that expert teams to support children and young people were in schools, ready to provide holistic support for young people with SEN. This report was also released at time when the Training and Development Agency for Schools was producing resources for teachers to improve their awareness of different learning difficulties and how to mediate them in the mainstream classroom (TDA, 2009). These resources were aimed at trainee teachers for the most-part and subsequently, their impact was likely not have been discussed as part of the Lamb Inquiry (2009). However, there was also a post-graduate course that aimed to support practicing teachers who worked with young people with SEN. Despite both of these sets of resources, there appeared to still be a lack of confidence and engagement in the system from parents.

2.2 Coalition foundations for current policy

In 2010, the newly elected Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition began to change discourse surrounding education policy and to implement changes to the structures of the English school system and policy surrounding SEN provision (Ross, 2013a). These changes are outlined here, with reference made to both government-commissioned and independent policy evaluations. The background to current policy changes is also discussed as a means to contextualise them. However, given the timeline of current policy proposals, there are very few independent studies relating to the evaluation of Coalition education policy on SEN, so critical discussion of changes is limited.

2.2.1 Structural barriers to learning

There are many barriers to learning that have been studied in recent years, which relate to the circumstances in which children are raised, as well as their school environment; the Coalition (DfE, 2010a: 15) asserted that children with SEN often live in disadvantaged circumstances. These barriers to learning have been argued as contributing to the SEN and academic failure of young people. However, Barker (2012: 71) described the difficulty in conceptualisation of disadvantage and educational failure.

Social and economic disadvantage were described by Collins (2013: 70) as being significant factors in the achievements of children, both with SEN and without, a notion that was supported by Gillie in the Green Paper on Special Educational Needs (2012). However, the DfE (2010a: 58) argued that parents are the biggest influence in children's lives and productivity, and that some children may not start school with the social skills to be able to access the curriculum. Thus they concluded that some children are starting school disadvantaged. Despite this assertion, in other documentation, the DfE argued that achievement gaps do not need to be large and that there should be good progress for children, regardless of their background (2010b: 2). Machin and McNally (2012: 16) argued that gaps in the educational achievement of children who are economically disadvantaged, grow as they progress through the school system. Despite recognition from the Department for Education (2010a: 14) that socially and economically disadvantaged children are more likely to have SEN, the DfE claims that poor teaching is the main cause of poor educational achievement (2010a: 20). It appears that there is a dichotomous view of the potential of young people to progress well at school; discourse seems contradictory regarding how great an influence a young person's parents and background have on their educational achievements.

Although the DfE (2010a, 2010b, 2013a) did note the government's reference to the connection between economic disadvantage and SEN, other work argued that children who are disadvantaged are allocated a disproportionately large amount of government resources (Machin and McNally, 2012: 19) and that education policies themselves may affect children's academic achievement. This echoed parental concerns described by the DfE (2010a: 2) relating to lack of consistency in provision for children with SEN. As such, the DfE (2010b) asserted that teaching will be improved and that consistency and transparency of process will be ensured through school inspections and teacher observation and performance management, as a means of improving provision and accountability. As such, where possible, structural barriers to learning will be explored in this study. While the exact demographics of participants may not be accessible, I will endeavour to ascertain the

background of young people where possible in order to better understand their position within their classroom setting.

2.2.2 Underlying principles of coalition policy leading to Tory legislation

Government discourse asserted that a new school-based category of SEN would enable teachers to recognise which students will require particular assistance above and beyond differentiated classwork (DfE, 2010a: 68), in place of the previous system, where categorisation was based on how support was provided for children. The removal of ring-fenced budgets was also argued by government to enable schools to target funding as required locally, thus improving provision. Children with a 'Statement of SEN' or an 'Education, Care and Health Plan' would also be offered access to a 'Personalised Budget' and a 'Direct Payment' to cover costs of some of their support needs (Gillie, 2012), with the aim to empower parents in the decision-making process (DfE, 2010). The budget was to be paid to parents or carers for the provision of goods and services agreed with the LA (Gillie, 2012: 18). However, this payment would not be available to young people who do not have either a 'Statement of Special Educational Needs' or an 'Education, Health and Care plan'. At the review stage, it was found that the main aspect of the budget that councils were willing or able to disaggregate from pupils' budget, and pay directly to their parents/carers, was their transport costs (Craston et al., 2013c) This leads to potential difficulty for those pupils as there appears to be no guaranteed level or process for securing adequate support. Barker (2012) and Machin and McNally (2012) argue that these changes would neither raise standards nor improve families' choices. Barker (2012: 67) referred to the ideological nature of the Coalition education policy and its lack of tangible benefits for children. He suggested that schools were being organised in order to facilitate profit rather than education, arguing that the then Secretary of State for Education Michael Gove's performance markers for schools are "arbitrary" (Barker, 2012: 67). This is congruent with other studies, which also asserted the highly ideological view within current policy changes (Glazzard, 2013; Hodkinson, 2012). This, according to Barker (2012: 66), leads to Head Teachers becoming policy implementers rather than leaders of education, increasingly accountable – with the spread of academies – to business and sponsors rather than government, as education becomes further marketised and schools increasingly profit-driven. In the following section, we explore how Coalition policies between 2010 and 2015 led to the current policy framework, within which young people with SEN are supported. Particular attention is paid to the different roles that stakeholders play within the framework and their capacity to access decision-making processes.

2.3 Current policy

In April 2014, the Children and Families Act was granted Royal Assent and came into force in September 2014. In this section, the aspects of this Act of Parliament that are pertinent to this study are discussed and the apparent aims and objectives of this Act of Parliament. The position of young people who do not have an 'Education, Health and Care Plan', and their capacity (and that of their parents/carers and teachers) to enact agency throughout decision-making processes are also described.

2.3.1 Conservative objectives

The Coalition, with reference to PISA rankings of young people's ability, asserted that educational standards in England had declined and that, as a result, young people's future opportunities were reduced (DfE, 2010b). Education was highlighted by the Department for Education in their 2010 publication, 'The Case for Change', as vital for children so that they can access gainful employment and compete in a global marketplace. Hatcher (2011) argued that a key focus for Coalition education policy is the development of the nation's ability to compete globally. This vision of education may potentially have a negative effect on children with SEN. The DfE (2010a) states that children with SEN experience many barriers to learning and may suffer isolation as a result of their needs. The importance of their achievement was stressed both in terms of their integration into society and the economic benefits to society (DfE, 2010a: 23).

The Department for Education (2010b) underlined the importance – not of comparing results to past achievement of students within England and the rest of the United Kingdom – but rather of comparing results to countries which are currently outperforming the UK, both academically and economically. However, there is controversy regarding the nature of academic success and how it should be conceptualised. Barker (2012) suggested the importance of a holistic understanding of success in which the 'value added' to children is equally important as absolute results. He also contested the validity of current benchmarks for evaluation of academic success and describes the negative effect of 'grade inflation' on young people's ability to achieve success, suggesting that there is evidence of a lack of understanding of the normal distribution curve, due to the continual movement of averages and government insistence on all children achieving benchmark levels. Barker (2012) asserted that the dependence on exam results as a marker of success, which was begun by the most recent Labour government may not be the most appropriate measure, due to many factors affecting children's learning and different conceptualisations of academic success. Hatcher (2011) also described the importance placed on the diversification of provision within the state system. However he also asserted that increased diversity in

school-type reinforced and increased social divisions. Decentralisation and localisation of provision is a key feature of the 2014 Children and Families Act, which will be detailed below.

2.3.2 Provision in the 2014 Children and Families Act

Corbett (1995) argues that the term 'special needs' should be disaggregated from 'educational' and questions where the limits should be for provision in the instance of such disaggregation. We see that within both the Every Child Matters Agenda (2003) and then later in the Children and Families Act 2014 that SEND should be viewed (according to the presiding governments) holistically, with the limits' on 'special needs' reaching further than purely to education. That is to say that consideration of young people's SEND should incorporate viewpoints from within Education, healthcare and social care. Education, Health and Care Plans (The Stationay Office, 2014) seek to make that connection, where it has seemingly unsuccessfully been attempted before (The Stationary Office, 2004)

> "We owe it to the children, young people and their families who get a poor deal from the current system, and to those who work with and support them, to make these changes as quickly as possible." Sarah Teather in DfE (2010c: 3)

Governmental discourse surrounding provision for children with Special Educational Needs has moved towards a moral imperative since 1997 (Ross, 2013a). The 'Achievement for All' agenda, in conjunction with personalised budgets and multi-professional teams, aims to improve the experience of education for children with SEN according to Gillie (2012). In 2012, The Green Paper for Special Educational Needs and Disability reinforced the importance of good provision for children with SEN (Gillie, 2012). The paper outlined measures to be taken by the Department for Education with the aim of streamlining processes and support for children with SEN. A key feature of the policy is the removal of current categories of SEN (Gillie, 2012: 1) and their replacement with a single school-based category and the replacement of the 'Statement of SEN' with the 'Education, Health and Care Plan' (EHCP) (2012: 1).

Children who have SEN have access to support from other agencies and 'integrated' health, education and social care provision is undertaken (Children and Families Act 2014: 25 (1-2)) as part of the provision for children with an EHCP. Services may be commission jointly by a Local Authority and its partners in the instance that the EHCP requires it. How such provision may be secured should, according to the Children and Families Act (2014: 26 (1-9)), be considered at local level, i.e. there are no national frameworks for the administration of provision for children. This has the potential benefit of allowing young people to be able to access decision-making processes more easily than if there were a national framework.

Prout (2000) has argued that young people find it easier to access decision-making processes at local level than nationally. As such, local level procedures may act to facilitate this further.

Despite having been proposed as a means of supporting young people with SEND in the Every Child Matters publication (The Stationary Office, 2003), personalised budgets were a feature of the Education Act 2011. The Pilot Scheme was extended in January 2014 (Extension Order, 2014), however these piloted proposals were formalised into law in April 2014 in Part 3 of the Children and Families Act 2014, and came into force in September 2014. It is within the climate of the ECH Plan and the introduction of the Children and Families Act 2014 that this study takes place; according to policy and guidelines, young people with SEN and their parents/carers should have their wishes considered in relation to educational provision and marketisation of resources at local level should facilitate better provision.

2.3.3 Local offer

A key development of the Children and Families Act (2014: 30 (1-9)) is the notion of the 'Local Offer'. This offer is not a nationally structured and devised plan, rather it is developed at local level and must consider the criteria laid out in section 30 of the Children and Families Act (2014). It must be reviewed and revised regularly. LAs must publish comments from system users alongside their own responses to that feedback. The LA must give information about how to obtain an EHC needs assessment, and information on sources of support and information for system users. It is not stated within the Children and Families Act 2014 whether this offer is directed at children and young people who have an EHCP only, or whether it is aimed at all children with an SEN. As it is unclear whether the 'Local Offer' is aimed at purely at young people with an EHCP, or all young people with SEND, young people on the SEN register both with and without a 'Statement of SEN'/EHCP will be represented in the sample.

For the purposes of this study, participants will be children who are on the SEN register Hilltop View School; those with statements/EHCP and those without will be included on the study.

The Department for Education asserts that Local Authorities will provide Key Workers and guidance for parents (DfE, 2010a : 49) in relation to procuring support. However, despite language of empowerment surrounding provision (DfE, 2010a), Waterman (2013: 7) argues that central government is more powerful than Local Authorities and that, rather than key relationships existing locally, key relationships in education provision will be

those between central government and education/service providers. Such a view is congruent with Hatcher (2013) and Craston et al. (2013a) who describe the changing role of LAs as moving from a service delivery model towards a 'commissioning' role. This suggests that there is a lack of clarity surrounding the role that local government will play in provision of support for young people with SEN. This is likely then to compound parental confusion regarding specialised provision for their children, rather than empowering them and facilitating their access to decision-making processes. This was alluded to by evaluation of policy pilots; lack of clarity surrounding the local offer of services available was problematic for LAs and subsequently for parents (Craston et al., 2013a: 18).

Although government documents outline potential policy changes which aim to remove unnecessary bureaucracy and locate power within local communities and to be accountable to them (DfE, 2010a: 17), a lack of clarity surrounding the responsibility for provision of services is feared. The BDA (2012) also highlights this and underscores their concern for those young people who do not have an ECH Plan. Assertions of power concentration within central government are also congruent with Waterman's (2013: 1) argument that since 2010, power has shifted away from local to central government.

2.3.4 Children with no education, health and care plan

In Section 34 of the Children and Families Act 2014, guidelines are given for provision of support for children with SEN who have no EHCP. It is stated that children will be educated in the mainstream, maintained sector, although they may be educated in an independent school or other setting if costs are not met by a Local Authority or the Secretary of State. This study will focus on those young people without an EHCP, whose needs are intended to be met in the mainstream classroom through differentiated curricula and good teaching. Governmental discourse asserts the importance of 'good teachers' in difficult schools where better skills are needed to engage children. Such focus on good teaching at school level is congruent with Gillie's (2013: 4) argument that many of the special needs categorised at school level would not be evident, had classroom teaching been of a higher standard. However, the British Dyslexia Association (BDA, Undated a) argues that by redefining school-based categories of SEN and replacing 'Statements of Special Educational Needs' with an 'Education, Health and Care Plan', as suggested by Gillie (2012: 1), children with less severe or non-medical needs may be overlooked or unable to access LA provision. Although the DfE (2010a: 7) assures that there will be provision available from the voluntary and community sector, how this will be undertaken is decided at local level, with different LAs implementing different plans. According to the BDA (2012), there is also difficulty when provision is sought from various suppliers; for example, schools will not always accept diagnosis documentation

from professionals. This study will focus on the provision for children who do not have an EHCP (as well as those who do) as they are unlikely to have access to services and support provided at local level through the 'Local Offer' (Children and Families Act, 2014, s (30)).

2.4 Stakeholders within the policy framework

In this section, I discuss the different position of young people, their parents/carers and teachers/professionals within the educational system and relating to provision for young people with SEN. Government discourse surrounding SEN (DfE, 2010a) asserts the lack of support given to students by some professionals and subsequent failure to achieve full potential. Indeed, Gillie (2012: 4) argues that many of the SEN identified under the current system could be met via improved teaching and increased training of teachers. Such a change in discourse places accountability for students' needs on teachers and blames deficient teaching for many SEN. Schools are thus made accountable for progress of children with SEN (see Gillie, 2012). However, despite government asserting the importance of strong teaching and highly qualified professionals, Hatcher (2011: 498) highlights the discrepancy in governmental discourse; there is no requirement for teachers in free schools to have QTS. Parents' and young people's views are also sought in relation to provision for SEN. However, the different levels of input afforded to these groups lead to questions relating to professional accountability and the subsequent input that parents and young people have relating to their provision. I discuss these different aspects of stakeholder input here.

2.4.1 Professional accountability and parental choice

The Department for Education (2010b: 20) argued that, in order to raise standards, schools must be autonomous and parental choice must increase. However, Barker (2012: 13) asserted the lack of progress in 'real' autonomy for schools as they are still accountable to central government in terms of more than 20 performance measures. He argues that increased competition between schools has actually divided communities and has not improved accountability or performance (Barker, 2012: 83); despite Gove's language of freedom, schools are currently hyper-accountable to central government and increasingly, sponsors and business due to the academy programme. Hatcher (2011) highlights the potentially problematic lack of adherence to the National Curriculum in academies and free schools; consistent curricular content will be difficult to ensure, a view supported by Holmhung et al. (2010).

Despite government assurance that public services improve when there is autonomy and accountability for policy outcomes (DfE, 2010a: 76), Machin and McNally (2012) assert the potential negative consequences for children with SEN in the marketised school system,

a notion congruous with other findings (Glazzard, 2013; Greenstein, 2012; Hodkinson, 2012). Hatcher (2011) argues, not only the lack of evidence for improved academic performance of children in a marketised education system, but also he describes his concerns surrounding lack of accountability of free schools and academies. He goes as far as describing them as "outside the democratic process" (2011: 498) and opposed to public lack of desire for free schools and academies.

Collins (2013: 668) highlights a potential lack of transparency in accountability due to complex governance of schools and networks, rather than hierarchies, of school stakeholders. Such a 'networked governance' he argues, means that many different accountabilities are present, complicating the democratic process locally. This is echoed by Hatcher (2011: 488), who outlines the lack of transparency displayed in the free schools programme; the institutions responsible for implementation of central government policy are classified as charities and thus exempt from 'Freedom of Information' requests and processes relating to applications to open free schools are not in the public domain.

Waterman (2013), DfE (2010c), Craston et al. (2013a), and Hatcher (2011) assert the importance of school accountability. DfE (2010c: 48) asserts that schools will be held accountable to parents, governors and Ofsted. However, Waterman (2013) and Hatcher (2011) contest that schools will be made more accountable to business and sponsors outside of the democratic process.

Hatcher (2011: 485) asserts that free schools and academies are the representation of market forces in the education sector in which choice of provision for parents is a key feature. The expansion of the academy programme is reinforced with the 2011 Education Act in which any new school opened by an LA must be an academy or free school in order to increase flexibility of provision, which is argued to improve the standard of provision (DfE, 2010c: 46). This is in line with Craston et al. (2013a: 3) who argue for the positive experience of parents within the pilot scheme; they reported having more choice of provision. However, in their interim report of the SEND Pathfinder Programme, Craston et al. (2012) found that parents were reluctant to participate in the programme due to the time commitments for the pilot being large and impacting negatively on their carer duties. This aligns with later findings, in which the EHCP process was longer than the current 'statementing' process (Craston et al., 2013b).

Despite calls for the EHCP to be a single assessment process, with a multi-professional team (Gillie, 2012), it was found that information was not communicated well

between professionals (Craston et al., 2013a). Perception of the EHCP as a more holistic document than the Statement was noted by Craston et al. (2013a) and, due to a lack of clarity in the provision for young people, parents did report frustration; such a report is problematic given governmental focus on reducing bureaucracy and improving parental choice (Gillie, 2012). The lack of consistency in quality of provision and lack of market knowledge described in Craston et al. (2013b) is in tension with the notion that decentralisation and marketisation of provision improves quality of service (DfE, 2010c). Thus, parents did not find that this policy facilitated their access to SEN provision and decision-making processes. It is within this context that I will explore the experiences of parents whose children are being educated within an area in which the Pilot Schemes were undertaken. I will explore their views on their and their children's capacity to enact agency within the system and how they are able to engage with other actors in the field of education in order to access these processes.

2.5 Stakeholders within the education field

Although theory around identity and understanding of the social world is discussed in full in the next chapter, I will introduce the different stakeholders whose voices and experiences I will explore throughout this study. I draw on concepts taken from Bourdieu and Jenkins, whose work focusses on understanding social identity and the social world. It is salient to discuss it at this point in the study, as a key part of this chapter has been to look at policy and those on whom it impacts: the system users.

2.5.1 Professionals

Bourdieu (1999) views the 'State' as holding a monopoly over the production and distribution of symbolic capital. His view is that the state has the capacity to name, and thus create different social categories, which can be linked to 'official identities', which are enshrined in legislation and thus formally recognised. These identities can then be taken on by individuals as Bourdieu (2004: 27) describes it, "… holders of a delegated authority can derive all kinds of profit from their position as intermediaries [between the State and citizens]". He also argues that it is in the interests of these 'clerks' to maintain the 'State' as a means of maintaining their own position.

In the case of the 'educational field', teachers are the 'clerks' of the 'State' who act as guardians of material resources that young people and their parents compete to access, particularly given the current focus on parental choice and the marketisation of schooling (Barker, 2012; Hatcher, 2011; Machin and McNally, 2012). The structural changes surrounding policy changes in SEN provision promote the importance of high quality

teaching so that the needs of young people with dyslexia are met in the classroom (DfE, 2010a). As such teachers' symbolic capital locates them as gatekeepers to learning, with the capacity to help young people develop educational capital. This is reinforced by the frameworks which promote the classification of young people as having SEN and within these frameworks, there being different levels of support attributed to young people based on whether or not they have an EHCP (DfE, 2010a; Children and Families Act, 2014). The role of teachers and other education professionals, and the associated symbolic capital will be explored in this study; particular attention will be spent on how teachers are framed within 'official', 'State' structures and how these external structures are embodied by them, how they affect their position relative to young people and parents/carers.

2.5.2 Parents/carers

Parental involvement in decisions surrounding educational provision for their children is explicitly mentioned in SEN legislation (Children and Families Act, 2014). They are expected to play an active role in the procurement of provision for young people with SEN, particularly for those young people who have an EHCP. According to Prout and James (2002), and Tomlinson (2012), parental engagement in children's education is a somewhat problematic area with their research suggesting that the educational field is based around white, middle-class assumptions of how schooling and childhood should be. The "sense of one's place" associated with an individual's role as a working/middle-class parent described by Bourdieu (1989: 17) may either inhibit or facilitate that individual's capacity to engage in meaningful dialogue with professionals in order to secure provision for their child. People who are not white and middle class may not possess the cultural capital necessary to access and secure the material resources and support for their children.

In this study, I explore, how parents/carers are able to access the educational field, the symbolic and cultural capitals they possess and how these facilitate/impede their capacity to adapt to and embody the habitus necessary to engage with the struggle (Bourdieu, 1991) in the educational field and secure provision for their children.

2.5.3 Young people with dyslexia

For Mullins (2010) assigning a child the label of dyslexic formalised what Goffman (1963) would describe as a 'stigmatising characteristic'. This stigmatising characteristic would then affect that child's present identity and thus their future identity, in line with Oyserman and James' modelling of 'self'. Riddick (2000) however, argues formally labelling an individual as 'dyslexic' makes no difference to the role that they play in the classroom. She argues that children possess certain characteristics, which affect others' views of them regardless of

whether those characteristics are formally recognised. She does suggest that for some children, far from being an oppressive force, the label of 'dyslexia' is a liberating notion (Riddick, 2010); individuals are exonerated by it and the access to formal support that a label brings may be an emancipatory experience for some children. This is echoed by Burns and Bell (2010) who also suggest that the extra support which has traditionally accompanied a label of dyslexia or other Special Educational Need (or disability) may allow individuals to access better resources than they otherwise would. This is supported by Gillie (2012) in the Green Paper on Special Educational Needs and Disability.

The potential marginalisation of young people with dyslexia is reinforced through the understandings that some professionals have regarding their capacity to participate in decision-making processes, both as children/young people and as having dyslexia (legally classified as a disability). Children are viewed in some literature as incomplete beings, incapable of full interaction and meaning making within society. They are often constructed as dependent on adults and other actors (Smith, 2007; Wyness, 2012). In much the same way, it has been argued that individuals who have disabilities are marginalised and forced to rely on the support of able-bodied people as a result of government legislation (Sabatello, 2009; Watermeyer, 2009). Humphrey (2000) claims that 'disabled' people are not viewed as complete people, with the ability to act socially. She suggests that medicalisation of individuals pathologises them and positions them as subordinate and dependent, a view supported by Davis (1993). We can thus see that there are common features in the construction of disability and childhood in that both children and people with impairments are subordinated.

The Special Educational Needs Code of Practice (DfE, 2015) states that children should be consulted regarding provision for their educational needs. However, as has been outlined in literature noted in section 3.3.5, children's voices are not always successfully listened to in decision-making processes and they cannot always meaningfully engage in policy-related dialogues. The dichotomy created in education policy discourse is particularly difficult for children because parents are legally responsible for their choice of school (Allen et al., 2014; DfE, 2012a). So although children may be consulted about their educational provision, parents and carers have executive power in relation to that provision. For children with SEN, parents are also the point of contact for schools and other associated professionals. Although the Code of Practice (DfE, 2010) expects children's views to be heard, professionals and/or parents and carers are responsible for procurement of resources and support for their children (Gillie, 2012; Education Act, 2011).

The construction of childhood and children within policy thus assigns young people a social position relative to adults in their provision, all of which is accomplished 'officially' by the State in its role of monopoliser of production and distribution of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999). As such, young people are assigned a role as subordinate in policy and as 'dyslexic' at school. This study will investigate how young people embody the habitus associated with each of these roles and how they use this to navigate the social space that is the classroom and school. The degree to which they accept or reject habitus associated with each of these roles will be explored, and how social structures surrounding them have disposed them to act thus.

2.5.4 Dyslexia in the classroom under the Conservative government

Since 2010, under the Coalition government and subsequently under the Conservative government, there have been major changes in education policy surrounding disability and SEN. These policy developments may alter how disability and dyslexia are constructed and addressed in educational settings. These changes may affect how children, their parents/carers and educational professionals conceptualise the identity and experiences of children who have dyslexia. Jenkins (2008) argues that institutions are significant places in which identities may be changed and categorised differently over time; there is thus potentially a shift in stakeholders' conceptualisations of both dyslexia and the identities of children who have it.

Craston et al. (2013a, 2013b) found that young people were not fully engaged in decision- and policy-making processes despite specific expectations within policy that young people may fully participate in discussions surrounding their own educational journey (DFE, 2014). This, combined with controversy surrounding the existence and nature of dyslexia and the expectation that the needs of a child with dyslexia will be met in the classroom (DfE, 2010a) suggests that the ability of dyslexic children to engage with education provision will be limited within the current policy framework. As such, this research will aim to investigate young people's experiences and understandings of dyslexia, its effects on their identity and to compare and contrast these with the views of their parents/carers and educators. This aim lays the foundations for the development of a methodology and full research question which will explore differences and similarities in young people's, parents'/carers' and educators' understandings of dyslexia and its effects, the classroom experiences of young people and their concepts of self. The full research question, aims and objectives are discussed in section 3.4.

2.6 Summary

This chapter discussed the development of SEN policy within the English education system. The relative positions of parents, young people and professionals within the different frameworks have been discussed and the expectations for stakeholder input relating to decisions has been explored. Parental participation, although expected in decision-making processes, has been promoted more robustly since the election of the Coalition Government (and now the Conservative Government); parental choice and marketised education has been an active policy of the government. Young people's participation has been promoted through both the Labour Government and now the Conservative Government. However the voices of those young people who do not have an Education, Health and Care plan appear to me obscured within the processes relating to provision for young people with SEN. The role of education professionals relating to SEN provision have been developed such that medical professionals are no longer in a hegemonic position in the provision of support for young people with SEN. Thus, the current system appears to value stakeholder input into decision-making processes relating to SEN provision. Legislation supports the needs of those with an ECH Plan. However, the needs of those who do not have a Statement of SEN or an EHC plan do not appear to be as clearly supported; there are no national frameworks of support mechanisms and it is unclear whether and to what extent they are able to access the 'local offer'. The voices of those young people would appear thus to be harder to 'hear' and their capacity to access systems and decision-making processes may be structurally limited. This study will therefore explore the experiences of those who do not have a Statement of SEN or EHC plan, as well as those who do. The experiences of those young people, their parents/carers, and their teachers will also be explored with a view to understanding their experiences within the current policy system.

Chapter 3

Theoretical Framework: Understanding the Social World

In Chapter 1, I discussed the conceptualisation of disability and its relationship with dyslexia in literature. I drew on both academic and government literature to draw out the key features of medicalised, social and bio-social understandings of disability. I then linked these different understandings of disability to dyslexia and discussed how they have each been incorporated into modern views of dyslexia within the education system. The different positions of individuals within government discourse relating to dyslexia were highlighted in section 1.3.3 and a working understanding of dyslexia and identification of young people with dyslexia were delineated for the purposes of this study. In Chapter 1, the positions and capacity to access policy planning processes of those social actors affected by dyslexia within the field of secondary education were discussed. Their views surrounding provision for young people are sought within government literature. This is in contrast with those whose needs are expected to be met in the classroom; they do not have the same access to decision-making processes regarding their own provision. Thus, the voices of children with special needs without an EHCP or Statement of SEN, and their parents, are unlikely to be heard through the process of policy and decision-making. This study aims to develop a framework to explore these unheard voices.

The social positions and self-concept of those with dyslexia and their parents/carers and teachers are likely affected by both structural and agentic factors. This chapter will discuss the interaction of social actors with each other and social structures surrounding them. Bourdieu will be drawn upon to explore a conceptualisation of this interaction, and Jenkins' (2008) framework defining 'levels of interaction' will be developed to take into account the context of this particular study. Goffman's (1963) notions of 'othering' and 'stigmatising characteristics' will be related to both the concepts of disability and of childhood versus adulthood in order to explore effects of both formal and informal categorisation of need for those with dyslexia in the mainstream setting. How these labels then affect power relationships between young people, their teachers and parents/carers will be investigated through analysis of levels of interaction.

3.1 Bourdieu, Foucault and conceptualisation of the social world

In this section, the works of Bourdieu and Foucault are explored. Both Bourdieu's and Foucault's works have been applied within an educational setting and both men have referred to the importance of education as a means of cultivating and propagating power

relationships (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Foucault, 1970). This section will outline the major themes present in the works of Bourdieu and Foucault and discuss their relevance and applicability to this study as a theoretical basis for my own analyses. The link between structure and agency is explored with Bourdieu's work being compared and contrasted with that of Foucault. This critical analysis of their work underpins the use of Bourdieu's work as the foundation for the theoretical framework in this study. I then discuss Jenkins' (2008) theory of identity formation and other salient theories relating to identity formation, and finally draw these threads together to discuss the theoretical basis of the analytical framework I will use in this study.

3.1.1 Bourdieu: field, habitus and practices

In this section, I discuss the principal concepts developed in Bourdieu's sociological project: namely habitus, practice and field. I will refer to his body of work and draw on other authors' understandings of his concepts as a means of further underpinning my use of a Bourdieusian framework. Bourdieu does point out that the position of social sciences within academia is particularly problematic "due to the fact that their object of study is the social world and they are attempting to produce a scientific representation of it"[10] (Bourdieu, 2002: 10). Bourdieu and Wacquant (2013: 298) argued that the social world is made up of 'presuppositions' and that these presuppositions can be revoked and changed dialectically. Bourdieu's sociological project addresses the supposed dichotomy between those 'objectivists' who argue that there is a social reality outside of the individual's mind, and those 'subjectivists' who argue that social reality is based around people's interpretations and representations of it. Bourdieu's work is based upon his own assertion that,

> "…there exist, within the social world itself and not only within symbolic systems (language, myths, etc.), objective structures independent of the consciousness and will of agents, which are capable of guiding and constraining their practices or their representations." (Bourdieu, 1989: 14).

He acknowledges that there are external 'forces' which are present in the social world which act to predispose individual actors to certain courses of action.

[10] "Les sciences sociales sont dans une position particulièrement difficile du fait qu'elles ont pour objet le monde social et qu'elles prétendent à en produire une représentation scientifique" (Bourdieu, 2002: 10). Translation by the Helen Ross.

3.1.1.1 The field

Bourdieu's work focusses on three basic conceptualisations within which people, as social agents operate, and within (and through) which social actions are undertaken. I will discuss the first of these concepts here: the field. He viewed the field as a "simple idea: it designates a system of objective relationships between positions, implies a relative autonomy etc. but it is difficult to put into practice"[11] (Bourdieu, 1972–1975: 12). Put differently, Bourdieu (1977) viewed a 'field' as a space within which the positions of social actors are defined through their relationship with others present in that same space. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argued that it is necessary to view social actions in relation to this system in order to understand them. Bourdieu (1972–1975) argued that viewing the world as a 'field' went against the grain of accepted sociology in that it was at odds with traditionally accepted views of 'individuals', which tended towards realist understandings of social agents. However, in defining the field as a social space "constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation of distribution constituted by the set of properties active with the social universe in question" (Bourdieu, 1985: 723) where "agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space" (ibid.), he highlights the importance of understanding these relations in real terms, i.e. that they exist as objective entities. If the social relationships and positions within the field are viewed as real and existent, they can be used to explore the different values of 'variables' (known as 'capitals' within Bourdieusian language). These capitals can then be directly linked to power and distribution of resources within different fields (Bourdieu, 2011).

According to Bourdieu (1977, 2003) the 'field' of education is the social space where societal power relationships and social positions are reproduced; these power relationships and social positions then maintain the status quo for social actors within the field of education. Thus the system self-propagates. Bourdieu (1985: 724) also argued that "agents and groups of agents are defined by their relative positions within that space". This implies that the relative positions of individuals within a setting such as a school may dispose social actors to behave in certain ways, accordant with their position under the influence of the external, expected practices of that field. The field of this study is that of education; a school site will be investigated and explored as a physical location in which the field of education's practices lived out through social actors' embodiments of the habitus of that setting. I will discuss 'habitus' in the section that follows; I then discuss 'practice'.

[11] "La notion de champ est une notion simple: elle désigne un système de relations objectives entre des positions, implique une autonomie relative, etc., mais elle est difficile à mettre en pratique" (Bourdieu, 1972–1975: 12). Translation by Helen Ross.

3.1.1.2 Habitus

Habitus is a concept developed early on by Bourdieu, which develops throughout his sociological project. In his 1989 work, Bourdieu defined habitus as

> "both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices … habitus produces practices and representations which are available for classification, which are objectively differentiated" (Bourdieu, 1989: 19).

Bourdieu thus implies that habitus is an external object which can be recognised by social actors but also that it is an internal process, which is embodied and then reproduced by those actors in a certain setting. Habitus leads to a social actor having a "sense of one's place but also a sense of the place of others" (Bourdieu, 1989: 19). It is this 'sense of one's place' that I will particularly draw upon in this study; education is a site where, according to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), social positions are produced and reproduced. As such, I will relate general classroom and educational practice to the habitus and social positions of participants in this study.

It is through the habitus of a setting and through agents' relative positions, Bourdieu argues, that classification takes place. He views classification as part of 'social reality' and suggests that external objects (the actors/positions and structures which he is studying) are both classifying and classified[12] (Bourdieu, 1979: 90). The habitus plays a key role in this classification, allowing individuals to recognise and (sometimes) reproduce the habitus necessary to engage with a social field. When an agent can engage with a field, through embodiment and reproduction of habitus, they are thus able to access the capitals associated with that field. However, when they are unable to do so, that agent is potentially excluded from a field and placed in a subordinate social position, unable to access required capitals/resources.

3.1.1.3 Practices

The habitus of a social setting may be strongly enough engrained and supported that they form a set of 'practices' which are the social norms for that space, which can lead to the development of a field. Practices of a social space are created and maintained by the habitus of that social space (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu observed practice as part of his anthropological project (Bourdieu, 2003). He observed practice in various social settings and

[12] "…, les objets sont classés-classants" (Bourdieu, 1979: 90). Translation by Helen Ross.

sought the 'scientific truth' of that setting (Bourdieu, 2003: 283). He attempted to understand the origins of practice and its transmission. Through his various observations, he linked practice to the concept of habitus; habitus is an objective structure which is "capable of guiding and constraining their [social agents'] practices or their representations" (Bourdieu, 1989: 14).

It is clear from this discussion of the concepts of field, habitus and practice that the three are inextricably linked and that it is near impossible to understand one of them, without understanding the other two. Crossley (2013: 147) argues that Bourdieu glosses over the evolution of habitus and does not account for its formation both individually and collectively. However, Bourdieu does acknowledge the notion that habitus is evolutionary and does account for the process involved; he argues that "Classifications tend to espouse distributions, thereby tending to reproduce them" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013: 296) thus reinforcing the idea that habitus is self-sustaining. Although epistemologically and ontologically challenging according to Archer (2010), who argues that Bourdieu does not elucidate separately his ontology and epistemology, I suggest that the nature of knowledge and experiences within Bourdieu are understood through the habitus which is both a system of knowledge about a social setting and an objective, ontological structure related to that social setting. Bourdieu does not conflate ontology and epistemology; he accepts the ontology of external structures (the habitus) and notes that they are experienced and (re)produced within individuals. Thus the individual experiences the external structure that is the habitus, and subsequently the field, and embodies this experience, translating the experience into knowledge in order to reproduce those external structures via practices.

3.1.2 Bourdieu and power

A recurrent theme in Bourdieu's work is that of exclusion. By arguing that

> "The prestige of a salon hinges upon the strictness of its exclusions (one cannot admit into one's place a person of little repute without oneself losing in repute) and on the 'quality' of the persons invited, which is itself measured by the quality of the salons which invite them." (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013: 295)

Bourdieu clearly illustrates the importance which can be placed on a person's capacity to access a given social field. The means by which access is granted/refused may be through active exclusion by the dominant class or by a social agent accepting that the given social order (and their place within it) is natural. The tendencies of the dominant class to move in closed circles such as professional associations, clubs etc. (Bourdieu, 2011: 128) can, by

default, exclude those who are not part of that social group. Not being a member of such associations is an active demonstration of the presence of 'symbolic capital' as a means of exclusion and legitimation of the power of the group that holds said capital (Bourdieu, 1999). Bourdieu argues that 'symbolic capital' is a key resource possessed by any group holding power and argues that, in order for it to exist, those who are subordinated by it must submit to it through cognitive recognition of objective structures which make it real when they acknowledge it, for example, masculine/feminine, young/old etc. This leads to the possibility that, if actors do not draw on the objective structures implicit in a field of symbolic capital, the associated symbolic capital ceases to be of use to a dominant group, thus rendering them powerless to exclude. Exclusion or inclusion can also happen by means of integration, i.e. an actor may be integrated into a group and normalised, having the required habitus and practices imposed upon them (Bourdieu, 2004).

Inclusion/exclusion from social capital and thus power can be achieved through the commandment or occupation of certain social positions. As described above, access to a certain social group or setting is linked to the prestige of that group or setting (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013). This access is granted or made impossible as a result of an actor's position relative to others and is a process of classification (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013) which relates to collective judgements on that actor's worth and the value of their symbolic capital. Bourdieu (2011: 128) argues that the "field of power is defined as the location from which actors can exert power on the different types of capital" and that although some social actors may possess capital, they may not have a form of capital which can exert power over other capitals.

The objective relationships created through the differences in social positions of actors are linked to the distribution of resources (forms of capital) within that social field. The structure of any field is determined dialectically by the state of power relations between those struggling for resources (Bourdieu, 1991) and as capital moves between agents, so the relationships within that field change. The dominant class, according to Bourdieu (2011: 128), is defined as those who "occupy the positions of power over capital"[13] and control access to resources (be they material or other types of capital). These resources are often unequally distributed throughout a given social space and thus there is "competition for the appropriation of scarce goods" within that social space (Bourdieu, 1989: 17). Those who have symbolic and social capital are able to appropriate those resources, excluding others from accessing those goods.

[13] "… la classe dominante est l'ensemble des agents qui occupent de fait les positions de pouvoir sur le capital" (Bourdieu, 2011: 128). Translation by Helen Ross.

Bourdieu (1999: 337) argues that the state holds a "monopoly over legitimate symbolic violence [power exerted due to symbolic capital], capable of acting as the central bank of the symbolic capital accumulated by a nation" and can bestow "upon a singular agent of a group an *official* identity, universally recognised (within the limits of its jurisdiction, its social titles of recognition (academic or occupational in particular) …". Otherwise put, Bourdieu views the State as exerting much power over its citizens in the form of symbolic capital, which then serves to limit or facilitate certain groups' access to other forms of capital. He notes that for power to be maintained, it has to be legitimated by other actors (Bourdieu, 2011), an act which the state is able to undertake through its legal and administrative frameworks. The roles of the teachers and other public officials within the educational field are part of this process in that "the holders of a designated authority can derive all kinds of profit from their position as intermediaries" (Bourdieu, 2004: 27) between the State and members of the public. Through the self-legitimation of their positions within the State, teachers and other educational professionals thus control access to various resources (capitals) within the 'school space'.

The different types of capital and their structure vary according to the field and are a vital tool in the struggle to dominion in that field (Bourdieu, 2011). He asserts that each field is dominated by a particular type of capital that attempts to control access to that field's associated resources. However, he does acknowledge that, although there are different types of capital associated with different fields, symbolic capital essentially can be equated with cultural, or more commonly, economic capital when it is recognised and legitimated (Bourdieu, 1989). So, although he does accept that there are different types of capital, he does suggest that a social actor's capacity to exclude or exert power over another social actor is essentially linked to the money or the other social connections they can access. Within the field of education, this then leads to the position where the social or professional roles of an individual can "represent true title of symbolic property which give one the right to share in the profits of recognition" (Bourdieu, 1989: 21). Otherwise said, having certain qualifications allows social actors to place themselves in privileged positions, with access to cultural and economic capital (both in terms of salary and funding for projects) within the field of education and that these positions are legitimated through legal and administrative frameworks.

Bourdieu (1989, 2011), Bagley (2011) and Farnell (2000) all agree that power is a socially defined concept and that various forms of capital are useful in understanding the distribution of that power. Jenkins (2002) asserts that the relationship between

institutionalised processes and the social actors who operate within them is mutually constituting. This leads Jenkins (2002) to claim that, although people do not consciously produce and reproduce social fields within schools, nevertheless schools are effective spaces for the inculcation of the dominant cultural arbitrary through the internalisation of their habitus, as formed in the education field, an understanding supported by Fowler (1997). As such, schools are an important site in the study of power relations and structural changes such as policy enactments. Thus in this study, part of the focus will be on participants' capacity to access the economic capital of the education system, via the school site, through the developing and understanding of their social capital and their understandings of the practices and habitus of the educational field.

3.1.3 How others view the social world

Bourdieu's (1988) acknowledgement of the importance of all social scientists having an understanding of the works of other authors, such as Foucault, is the basis upon which I discuss different ways in which the social world is modelled here. Firstly, I discuss Foucault's work, drawing comparisons between his and Bourdieu's views of the social world. A key point I discuss is the difference between Bourdieu's and Foucault's views of the nature of structures within the social world: Bourdieu views them as objective entities, outside of the individual but also as embodied enabling actors to produce and reproduce them; Foucault views discourses as socially constructed subjective concepts which do not exist separately from social actors.

3.1.3.1 Foucault: institutions, authors, disciplines and discourse

Foucault (1970) argues that the major mechanism of social exclusion and oppression is historically transmitted discourse. These discourses are not static, unchanging objects; rather they are dynamic constructions whose meaning and definition varies in different social settings. Foucault (1970) suggests that there are discourses that are internalised by social actors and then reproduced. He argues that discourses are thus maintained, produced and reproduced by such an internalisation process. This concept is similar to that of habitus as described by Bourdieu (1989), where individuals embody the habitus as a means of producing and reproducing it within a certain social space. However, there are differences that will be explored in this section; I will then outline my reasoning for constructing my theoretical framework within a Bourdieusian paradigm in the next section.

3.1.3.2 Disciplines and discourses

Foucault (1970) developed the concept of 'discipline', which he describes as a means of controlling the production of discourse.[14] However, he also noted that discourses can produce disciplines (ibid.) so that they are thus co-producing and co-sustaining. His framework is based on the notion that discourses are not static objects; rather, they are dialectic relationships that are in continual negotiation and renegotiation.[15] He suggests that disciplines possess an associated discourse, i.e. a set of tools, language and practices that are specific to that discipline (ibid.). Foucault (1970) claims that truth is a key element of knowledge and that, within different discourses, truth is a key concept that can suppress or elevate the status of different types of knowledge and truth. Bourdieu (1989: 21) also acknowledges the power inherent in a discourse and that "official discourse imposes a point of view, that of the institution". Both writers assert the importance of social position and its link to the ability to influence production and reproduction of discourse (Bourdieu, 1989; Foucault, 1970). Foucault's (1970, 1967) theory hinges on the internalisation of discourses and their reproduction via social actors. This internalisation of discourse then reproduces it and propagates it, in a similar way to that of Bourdieu's habitus. However, Foucault's 'discourse' focusses on the construction of discourses within and by individual social actors, not allowing for objective, external structures which are the structures supporting the propagation of those discourses. Bourdieu (1991: 11) illustrates this clearly in his own critique of Foucault's work: "Foucault refuses to look anywhere except in the 'discursive field' for the principle that will elucidate each of the discourses inserted in it." That is, he argues that Foucault focusses entirely on the discursive field and does not consider the interplay between social positions that also contribute to social relationships.

3.1.3.3 Foucault and power

Those individuals/institutions that can author new discourse are known as 'transdiscursive' (Foucault, 1969: 113). He suggests that when discourses develop sufficiently, they form a 'discipline' and begin to determine the practices that are linked to that field. However, a fundamental characteristic of a discipline (and one which differs from Bourdieu's field, in which struggle is for the acquisition of capital (1991)) is the capacity for the "creation of new statements" (Foucault, 1970: 32). This capacity is associated with power and for Foucault, is a significant aspect of his work.

Foucault (1976: 90) viewed power as "that which represses". He (Foucault, 1969) argued that, although power relationships had been discussed, its propagation mechanisms

14 "La discipline est un principe de contrôle de la production du discours" (Foucault, 1970: 37).
15 "le discours … est un rapport qui ne cesse de se modifier a travers le temps" (Foucault, 1970: 26).

had not been modelled and thus it had not yet been possible to challenge them effectively. His view was that knowledge was a product of power. He argued that production of 'truth' is also only available to those who have power and to have power a social actor must have the capacity to produce truth, i.e. that there are self-propagating hegemonic agents who limit others' access to the 'author function'. This, he suggests leads to the oppression of those other agents. This differs significantly from Bourdieu's (1989, 1991) view of the social 'field' in which struggle for capital in its various forms is its primary reason for existence and propagation. Foucault (1976) suggests that the new type of power that we are subject to is that of the 'bourgeoisie' and that this new type of power is associated with 'normalisation'.

3.1.3.2 Relational social spaces

Bourdieu et al. (2003) note that language has the capacity to both make concepts exist and to modify already existent ideas. This aligns somewhat with Foucault's idea of the social world in which discourse can construct and thus control knowledge (see above). Bourdieu devotes a lot of his work to how structure and agency intertwine and affect the way in which social actors behave. Bourdieu (2011) argues that social order only exists because of the social actor or institution as 'intermediary' between external structures. This intermediary then acts to propagate the existence of those structures, thus legitimising them.

The notion of symbolic capital is a powerful way of understanding the process of linking actors together in a social space. Bourdieu (2003: 17) notes that "everything leads one to think that classes on paper are real groups". These 'real groups' of actors thus have an understanding of their position, relative to each other. Within those fields and relational spaces, Bourdieu (2003: 23) sees 'symbolic capital' as the means by which actors maintain their position as that of others: "Symbolic capital is a credit; it is the power granted to those who have obtained sufficient recognition to be in a position to impose recognition." The dominant class uses symbolic capital to create structures that legitimise and maintain their dominant position (Bourdieu, 1972–1975). Structural analysis therefore allows us to understand their positions occupied within individuals in a social field. Foucault, although allowing us to see how power to oppress is contained in discourse and how individuals embody that discourse, does not allow us to analyse the objective relationships between these individuals.

This then means that the relationship between social actors is a significant matter in the construction and propagation of social structures. I would suggest that, in order for social actors to perceive constraints on their social behaviour, there must be objective and also subjective entities present. In my study of the educational setting, I can see that

Foucault's understanding of discourse and its internalisation is potentially very useful, particularly when considering the provision of support for young people with SEN. The linguistic and discursive skills required to contribute to, and author, new discourses with educational professionals are not always accessible for those from different social settings. These do not differ greatly, in practical terms, from Bourdieu's principles of habitus, practice and field. However, the underlying reasons for their existence and Foucault's lack of consideration of external objects, for me, do not lend themselves well to developing a rigorous understanding of the objective, structural constraints present on individuals within the education system. At best they allow for individuals to be surrounded by discourses and to take them on, internalise and reproduce them. At worst, they do not account for the presence of objective, created structures, which operate within an educational setting and control individuals' and institutions' capacities to access and disseminate varying forms of material resources and social capital.

3.1.4 Bourdieu's theoretical standpoint: a critique

Although Foucault and Bourdieu both appear to seek a means of bridging the gap between the agentic and the structural, there is much debate surrounding their work and their own theoretical frameworks. It is possible to argue that Foucault was a constructionist through the common use of 'construction' and 'production' throughout his work (Foucault, 1969, 1970, 1975, 1976). It is also possible to claim that Bourdieu is an objectivist, due to his understanding of social structures as objective entities which exist externally to the subjective social actor (Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). However, subsequent works have argued that this is not necessarily the case. Here, I critically discuss those varying understandings of both Foucault's and Bourdieu's projects and the understandings of structure and agency as foci of the study.

3.1.4.1 The world and knowledge

According to Robbins (2006), Bourdieu was attempting to find middle ground between positivism and hermeneutics. Jenkins (2002) suggested that the notion of habitus, as developed by Bourdieu (1977), attempted to bridge the gap between the extremes of subjectivism and objectivism. Bourdieu and Wacquant's (2013) work promotes a model of the social world, in which the world is socially constructed but also in a constant state of change due to struggles within social spaces. They argue that the world is made up of objective structures, which act to constrain the behaviour and choices of actors in a social setting. Bourdieu argues that, through structural analysis it is possible to understand these structures and the effects they have on the everyday lives of social actors (Bourdieu, 1989). This, he argues is a means by which both structure and agency are considered in his work. I

find that he considers well the different ways in which structure can constrain and inculcate individuals to act in certain ways. However, Bohman (1997) argues that Bourdieu does not adequately consider agents' capacities such that they can consciously interpret their surroundings and make active choices about their actions. Referring back to Bourdieu's (1988: 782) own work, it is possible to very clearly refute the notion that individual agency and choice is not considered within the work: "objective structures that the sociologist constructs in the objectivist moment … provide the foundation of these subjective representations and determine the set of structural constraints that bear on the interactions". Critiques of Bourdieu which contest his lack of robust consideration of individual agency can again be countered from within Bourdieu's own work; he acknowledges that different social actors will perceive that objective structure differently and that thus there will be different interpretations of it, some of which will lead to "antagonistic points of view, since points of view depend on the point from which they are taken, since the vision that every agent has of the social space depends on his or her position in that space" (Bourdieu, 1989: 18).

He seeks to account for this different interpretation of the social world through his methodological conceptualisation of 'participant observation'. What makes Bourdieu's brand of participant observation particular is the notion of 'objectivation', in which he argues that "participant objectivation undertakes to explore not the lived experiences of the knowing subject but the social conditions of possibility – and therefore the effects and limits … it aims at objectivising the subjective relation to the object, which far from leading to a relativistic and more-or-less anti-scientific subjectivism, is one of the conditions of genuine scientific objectivity" (Bourdieu, 2003: 282). Thus, Bourdieu does not specifically consider the expert knowledge that an individual has about their own social position. This approach is in direct contrast with that of Foucault whose work is based on the principle of privileging experiential and suppressed knowledge (Foucault, 1976). Rather Bourdieu argues that the observer's understanding of the social situation and their interpretation of it is salient, and in fact that a "scientific investigation is not complete unless it includes the point of view of the objectiviser" (Bourdieu, 2003: 284). That is, the observer must locate themselves in the social space and understand, and declare, their interests in the space and their influence, both current and past. Although Foucault does require the investigator to be reflexive about their position, the experiential knowledge of participants is paramount. Like Morrow (1999), I believe that the strength of Bourdieu's project is that social settings are constructed and re-constructed as part of everyday practices undertaken by people. Bourdieu's own work argues that through structural analysis, we can understand the position of individuals

relative to one other within a social setting and that this can be undertaken through participant observation and the 'objectivation' of the subjective.

3.1.4.2 The world and its production

As noted by Morrow (1999), Bourdieu understands social relationships as being constructed through routine practices of everyday life. Within these practices, he argues that there is a constant process of classification and struggle for resources (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013). The world, for Bourdieu (1989: 18), is constructed not "within a social vacuum, but subjected to structural constraints", known as 'structuring structures'. He (Bourdieu, 1989: 19) suggests that these structures can be perceived through their presentation in social space "in the form of agents endowed with different properties that are systematically linked among themselves".

The means by which these 'properties' are produced and re-produced is known as symbolic capital, "a system of schemata of perception and appreciation (habitus) which is itself the embodied product of a condition defined by a definite position in distributions of material properties (objectivity I) and of symbolic capital (objectivity II)" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2013: 296). Symbolic capital is one form of capital that underpins the key concept of Bourdieu's sociological project: habitus. He argues that social capital is the means by which the dominant class maintain their dominant position and construct habitus such that their position within a social field is perceived as 'natural' and thus legitimised by other social actors (Bourdieu 2011). However important symbolic capital is, though, in the struggle to gain a dominant position within a social setting, I believe that the underlying 'struggle' highlighted by Bourdieu positions economic capital as the most desired form of capital and that symbolic capital is merely a means by which actors can gain economic capital. However, Zembylas (2007) suggests that symbolic and other forms of capital are interchangeable and that they provide us with the means to understand how cultures and practices may be generated in certain settings. I disagree with this notion in its pure form and tend to agree with Yang (2013: 1528) in that although the capitals may superficially be interchangeable, actually "economic capital" is the root capital, "field is a set of power relations" and that within this space, actors produce and reproduce the social order.

Bourdieu's view is that social orders, relationships and practices are propagated through actors' embodiment of habitus. Habitus is discussed in more detail in section 3.1.1.2. However, Bourdieu (1989: 19) defines it as "both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practices". It is with difficulty then that I read work such as that of Crossley, who explicitly states: "There is no single,

authoritative and consistent definition of it [habitus} in Bourdieu's work." He does concede that "[Bourdieu] continually revises it in order to both address criticism and meet the demands raised by his successive empirical projects" (Crossley, 2013: 137). As discussed in section 3.1.1.2, habitus is an evolving concept throughout Bourdieu's work, but I have not observed, in my readings both in the original French and texts that have been translated by others into English, inconsistency in his explanations. I have noted that more detail is added throughout his sociological project, but he does not contradict himself. Crossley (2013: 141) attempts to clarify ambiguities in Bourdieu's work, arguing that he writes "a structurist type argument regarding the reproduction of social structures". In this instance, he appears merely to be repeating what Bourdieu states himself: that there are objective structures, created by social actors. I cannot see, in this instance what point Crossley is attempting to make about Bourdieu's work, other than his own dissatisfaction with certain opacities within Bourdieu's model of the social world. Bohman (1997) articulates clear objections to Bourdieu's work around the notion of habitus, arguing that he needs to clarify his views on the importance of analysis of interpretations of shared social experiences. I do not agree with this view; Bourdieu clearly explains the possibilities of different views of the same realities due to differing positions within the same social field in his work on Social Space and Symbolic Power (Bourdieu, 1989). He clearly addresses the significance of different social positions within a field and the effects that these may have on interpretations of that objective structural setting, associated power relations and ability to access varying types of capital.

3.2 Identity formation: structure, agency or both?

As noted by Bourdieu (1977), social actors understand their social position in relation to others. His work echoes that of Goffman (1963) who argues for the importance of social roles/social positions in actors' own understanding of themselves. The way in which individuals develop their concept of self and identity is discussed in this section with reference to the differing ontologies used in the conceptualisation of self. As discussed in section 3.1.4.1, there are both realist and constructionist models of individuals' interaction. Classification of social actors is discussed in this section. Goffman's notion of 'stigmatising characteristics' informs how society understands classification of those with SEN, and later discussion of conceptualisation of childhood (see section 1.6). They are each discussed and related to Bourdieusian and Foucauldian perspectives. The significance of roles and labels assigned to or adopted by individuals in their identity formation is also discussed in this section.

3.2.1 Construction of identity

Smith-Lovin (2002) argued that every individual has multiple selves and the current social context dictates which one is manifested by that individual. Chen et al. (2011) assert that these multiple selves are linked but separate from each other. According to Chen et al. (2011), in relational-self theory, individuals have various selves, containing aspects of their 'real' self, which they project. Their key argument is that the aspects of self, which are projected, depend on the relationship between the individual and those surrounding them in a social setting. Abrams (1996) also suggested that multiple selves within an individual may be multi-levelled, i.e. the private self is based on an individual's view of themselves whereas the social/collective self relates to their social networks and group memberships. For Burkitt (2008), self is constructed through a social actor's interaction with others and is linked to both who we are and also who we would like to be. Thus motivation and social expectations from others and 'self' play a role in the definition of self and social identity, a view supported by Foddy and Kashima (2002), who argued that motivations and feelings experienced by humans differentiate us from other animals and machines. Thus we can link identity to social expectations and motivations of an individual.

Oyserman and James (2011) described 'possible identities' as roles and identities potentially attributable to a person in the future. These possible identities, which may be both positive and negative, affect the behaviours of an individual in their present. They assert that a future self is linked to a possible future and thus may also galvanise that individual in the pursuit of future goals (Oyserman and James, 2011). Goffman's (1963) understanding of virtual and social selves relates to these 'possible' identities thus: a person may perceive a discrepancy between their virtual and actual identities. According to Goffman, observers and the individual actors can easily perceive this discrepancy between virtual and actual social identities (Goffman, 1963). An individual may thus be motivated to reduce that discrepancy and 'improve' their actual identity. This was supported by Foddy and Kashima (2002), whose work found that this gap between actual and desired selves can serve as motivation to change the actual self. This can be associated with Goffman's notion of 'stigmatising characteristics', which may be associated with negative self-concept and is discussed in section 3.2.2.

Burkitt (2008) suggested that dialogue within an individual's own mind is necessary for an individual to make meaning in their life and to understand the roles that both their internal voice and structural factors have in the transformation of their existence. However, the notion of 'relational self' described by Chen et al. (2011), Goffman's (1963) 'virtual' and 'actual' selves, as well as Abrams' (1996) 'social/collective' and 'private' selves, all

incorporate factors external to the individual in the formation of self. It would thus seem that 'self' and 'social identity' are concepts that must be investigated with reference to both the agentic individual and the socially constructed individual. Gergen and Gergen (1993) argued that within any society, meaning and sense are made through discursive practices. Jenkins (2008) supports this view and refers to the self as an internal concept; however, he does concede that the 'self' is not directly accessible by anyone other than the individual. He thus demonstrates the importance of structural and agentic factors when describing the nature of self and identity (ibid.).

However, McAdams (2011) disputes the validity of a constructed identity. He suggests that there is an objective 'me' within individuals. He describes a dialogic process of identity development, in which 'I' examines the 'me' part of a person to make sense of events that happen to the individual. However, the notion of an objective 'I' is difficult to access according to Jenkins (2008). He argues that we can only ever access our own internal processes, not those of others. As such, for Jenkins (2008) we cannot ascertain whether or not people have an 'objective' self.

Different theories of 'self' rely on different underlying epistemologies and processes for the realisation of self. For example, Oyserman and James (2011) viewed 'possible selves' as projections of a true self, within a realist tradition, whereas Bamber et al. (2011) viewed self as constructed and in a constant state of flux. While Goffman (1963) argued that discrepancies between an individual's identities may provide motivations for changes in their behaviour, according to Oakes (1996), some models of identity do not consider motivations well. Thus, to negotiate a favourable position within a given social field, actors will present a positive version of 'self' in order to portray certain symbolic capital and habitus necessary within that field.

Jenkins (2008) highlighted the importance of an identity, perceived or real. He views identity as a collective process rather than a purely individual phenomenon. This aligns with Bourdieu's (1977) claim that individuals understand their own social identity only through their relationship with others. Thus, consideration of external factors in an individual's understanding of themselves and their social position is necessary when exploring the effects of policy on an individual. The notions of difference and similarity for young people with Special Educational Needs (SEN) are externally imposed on them through legislation (for example Children and Families Act, 2014), and through their interactions with structures at a local level, as well as their interactions with individuals. This suggests that, when

developing a framework, external, structural and internal agentic factors affecting a social actor's sense of self and experience should be considered.

3.2.2 Stigmatising characteristics

As outlined above, Burkitt (2008) argued that we discover ourselves as individuals through comparison with others. This directly aligns with Bourdieu's (1977) understanding of social position: actors understand their social position through their relationship with others. Oyserman and James (2011) claimed that people do not want to be associated with an 'outgroup' and thus act to maintain favourable social positions through the minimisation of difference between themselves and 'ingroup' members. Young (2004) suggested that, in response to exclusion from 'ingroups', 'outgroup' individuals may construct a 'counter-identity' to harbour a sense of inclusion. He argued that these 'outgroups' may be based on factors such as gangs and neighbourhood. However, the ability of 'outgroup' individuals to form groups may apply in an education setting such that groups of students who share a social status may draw together.

Hogg (1996) argues that groups aim to homogenise by setting norms. However, an individual's ability to 'belong' and create a favourable social identity for themselves is at risk when they are designated as 'other' or 'different' from the norm. Becker (1963) suggests that 'deviance' (behaviour or characteristics which diverge from social norms) is created by society, i.e. that an individual is deviant if someone else categorises them thus. Goffman (1963) argued that, although an individual may have been identified as stigmatised and deviant by others, they may not accept the imposed category.

Fox's (1996) work also exposed the potential negative impacts of 'abnormal' characteristics on a person's social identity. Goffman (1963) argued that people whose categorisation is not favourable will seek to renegotiate their social identity and group together with other individuals to gain a sense of normality and belonging. Shotter (1993) asserted that people who are viewed as deviant or 'othered' in modern society are, within the 'post-modern' world, able to develop a sense of collective identity and use it to raise their social profile. Shotter (1993) suggested that political struggle may be experienced by individuals who are in the process of negotiating their identity, due to the intrinsically political nature of identity construction. This aligns with Burkitt (2008) who also argued that there is a political negotiation in the process of constructing the 'self'. Goffman (1963) noted that individuals may be expected to renegotiate their position within the social structures surrounding them as part of continual development of their identity. However, he conceded that, although individuals may try to renegotiate their social categorisation, they may not be able to control how other individuals undertake this categorisation. This, according to

Goffman (1963) leads individuals not to present that aspect of themselves to the social world, rather, they hide an aspect of their identity, and shame becomes an intrinsic part of that person's 'self' and thus their identity (1963).

In order to negotiate their identity and to become associated with those whose attributes are deemed desirable, individuals may publicly present these desirable attributes. This is a means through which social actors can become associated with desirable groups. Dominant 'ingroups' may be linked to Bourdieu's understanding of dominant 'cultural arbitrary' and their dominance may be reinforced through structure. These structures are evident in the roles that actors are assigned within a social field and, in the context of education, are those such as 'teacher', 'parent, 'young person' and 'young person with SEN'. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the positions of parents, teachers and young people will be studied with consideration of their institutionalised roles, within statute and socially, in addition to their individual and interactional experiences.

3.2.3 Roles in identity construction

Foddy and Kashima (2002) claimed that in 'role identity theory', "people organise the self-concept around central or important role identities" (Foddy and Kashima, 2002: 13). This supports the earlier work of Aronsson and Evaldsson (1993), who found that the roles assigned to an individual in life reinforce the social expectations of that individual. This was demonstrated in a school setting by Staton (1993) who found that children's understandings of their role as learner were developed via interactions with other students. He also found that as students aged, their understanding of their role changed through further interaction with teachers and other students.

Smith-Lovin (2002) suggested that individuals make meaning from their experiences and the roles they adopt. She argued that the meaning associated with this role then becomes part of the identity of the individual and is maintained through social interactions. Smith-Lovin (2002) claimed that interactions of individuals with others (both people and objects) are affected by the meanings contained in those objects. Burkitt (2008) also claimed that a person's social position, and potentially their power, comes from the role that they have in society, via the meaning attributed to those roles. He described an example in which doctors exerted great power over patients who have mental illness; this power came from their role as doctor. He suggested that people's abilities to act are linked with the roles that they assume in their day-to-day lives, which are defined through the culture in which people are acting (Burkitt, 2008). Smith-Lovin (2002) suggested that when an individual is constrained by structural/institutional factors, they will act to renegotiate their role.

However, as Oakes (1996) noted, it may be difficult for this categorisation to be undertaken as certain social categories have meanings attributed to them, which are not easily challenged. Abrams (1996) also argued that certain categories are viewed differently by people, depending on their individual circumstances. These potential difficulties may translate into a classroom context, where external policy changes have an effect on the SEN categorisation of a young person and the related role they adopt. In the classroom, teachers and young people's roles have different levels of power and authority associated with them (Christensen, 2004). In addition, the role of parents and their capacity to embody and reproduce the habitus of the field of education, allowing them to engage in the practices associated with the field, are subject to cultural and legal aspects of the society within which the field of education sits. In this study, I will explore roles linked to education both locally, within the classroom and in a broader setting, related to legislation and statutory frameworks.

3.3 A dual analysis: Jenkins and Bourdieu

In this section, I introduce Jenkins' (2008) framework for the analysis of social position, in which he breaks down communication into three levels. I link these levels to the work of Bourdieu in order to further develop the framework and mould it for use in the context of this study. I then fully explicate the research aims and link them to my theoretical framework, laying the foundations for discussion of the methodology in Chapter 4.

3.3.1 A Bourdieusian basis

According to Jenkins (2002) Bourdieu's attempts to overcome the subjectivist/objectivist dichotomy are successful in varying degrees. He accepts the Bourdieusian view that the social world must be considered from more than just cumulative acts by individuals; social life is constructed through thoughts and actions (habitus) and social structures linked to fields and groups (Bourdieu, 1989). A salient feature of Bourdieu's work is his attempt to link the subjectivity of individual social experiences as lived by the individual within the context of a structured social world (Bourdieu, 1989; Jenkins, 2002); it is impossible to separate an individual from their social context according to both Bourdieu (1977) and Jenkins (2008). This key element of Bourdieu's project will support the methodology for this project. Young people's views and experiences of dyslexia (and those of their teachers and parents/carers) will be contextualised within the structures of their educational setting. The material and discursive structures will be explored through analysis of classroom observations and focus groups and interviews with young people, education professionals and parents/carers. The way in which these structures dispose participants to accept and reproduce or reject different aspects of the habitus of their setting and their own social position within that

setting will be explored as part of this study, through the afore-mentioned ethnographic methods.

Jenkins (2002) believes that Bourdieusian structuralism does not value the regular, everyday social interactions of individuals. Rather, he suggests that structuralism tries to systemise and impose itself on people without considering them as individuals. So this does not rule out using Jenkins' and Bourdieu's frameworks and tools to complement each other. Jenkins does not object to the notion of external structures and argues that there is an agentic component to social interaction; Bourdieu does not disagree. As such, Jenkins' (2002) suggestion that it is necessary to consider different levels of interaction to understand the nature of subjective–objective relations will be used to help frame and support a Bourdieusian analysis of the school site. Jenkins' framework for this deeper level analysis is discussed in the following section.

Jenkins (2002), however, notes flaws in the theoretical framework devised by Bourdieu. He claims that in conflating epistemology and ontology, Bourdieu attempts to mask ways in which his work can be critiqued. According to Jenkins (2002), Bourdieu's consideration of only one type of participant observation limits the applicability of his framework; his view that social actors (in this case academics) lack the capacity to undertake objective participant observation leads Jenkins to question why Bourdieu considers himself capable of such research but not others. I will be using Bourdieusian principles when undertaking my observations and interviews and will attempt to analyse the structures surrounding individuals as well as attempting to locate them within their surrounding social structures. In order to develop a framework within which to analyse these surroundings in a robust manner, I will draw on Jenkins' (2002) 'levels of interaction'. This will allow me to locate objective structure, embodiment and reproduction of habitus and practices/roles in a field within the different types of interactions experienced in the 'everyday' setting of the classroom.

3.3.2 Levels of interaction

In order to explore the nature of the social world, Jenkins (2008) developed the concept of 'levels of interaction'. According to Jenkins (2002) and others (see section 3.2.1) categorisation and classification are salient features of any social world, both at individual and institutional levels. They argue that if there is no process of classification then groups and, subsequently, identities cannot be formed. Jenkins (2008) argues that an individual may exist in isolation but they are not a 'self' as their identity has not been socially constructed through interaction with others. He argues that power relations are central to the development of any identity and that social actors strategise in order to maintain their

identity/social position (Jenkins, 2008). In line with his assertion that identities may change over time through a continual process of negotiation and renegotiation, Jenkins (2008) asserts that they are claimed and are first and foremost a practical accomplishment.

This aligns with both Bourdieu's (1977) understanding of the social world, i.e. that for an individual (either person, group or institution) to develop a sense of identity and a social position, they must interact with others, become aligned with those who are similar and distanced from those who differ. Goffman's (1963) work is also helpful here. He views social actors' positions relative to each other as salient features in their identity construction and its continual renegotiation. Goffman's (1963) notion of 'stigmatising characteristics' informs the exploration of labelling in this study; however, his work does not offer the flexibility and depth of approach in the understanding of identity, role and social position that Bourdieu's work provides. Use of Jenkins' framework provides a tool with which an analysis of these factors can be undertaken. When considering Jenkins' levels of interaction, Bourdieu's views of the social world can offer useful insight.

Jenkins (2008) claims that the study of the social world, identity development, classification of social actors and associated power relationships can be explored by considering interactions at different levels. This allows the researcher to understand how, at each level the social world is produced, maintained and reproduced. The levels of interaction are defined as follows:

- *"the individual order* is the human world as made up of embodied individuals and what-goes-on-in-their-heads;
- *the interaction order* is the human world as constituted in relationships between individuals, in what-goes-on-between-people;
- *the institutional order* is the human world of pattern and organisation, of established-ways-of-doing-things." (Jenkins, 2008: 39)

3.3.3 Frameworks to support a 'levels of interaction'-based analysis

Bourdieu (1977: 3) described three types of knowledge through which this understanding of the social world and its structures is framed. The first he called 'phenomenological' and suggests it is to do with finding the "truth of the primary experience of the social world", where questions relating to the understanding of the social world are not posed. The second type of knowledge is known within Bourdieu's work as 'objectivist' and is associated with "the objective relations … which structure practice and representations of practice, i.e., in particular, primary knowledge, practical and tacit, of the familiar world." He noted that there

are unvoiced assumptions held by individuals relating to their primary, phenomenological knowledge of the world, which are broken away from when considering 'objectivist' knowledge. 'Theory of practice', the third type of knowledge, required a break away from 'phenomenological' knowledge (Bourdieu, 1977), known as 'objectification' of the object of study. That is, to say, he believed that the researcher must question the practices which are set up within the 'phenomenological knowledge', to delineate their provenance and methods of reproduction. However, Bourdieu did not appear to offer a means by which to do this. Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' appeared to provide a practical way to explore the social world and construct knowledge within a Bourdieusian paradigm. The 'individual' level helped to explain the 'phenomenological' knowledge that individuals used to make sense of the world and themselves internally. The 'interactional' and 'institutional' levels helped provide insight into 'objective' knowledge about the interactions between individuals and institutions. 'Theory of knowledge' was explored in this study through deeper analysis of the internal negotiations that individuals undergo, and through analysis at the interactional and institutional levels (Jenkins, 2008).

I linked his conceptualisation of the social world to Bourdieusian paradigms and developed a framework for analysis of young people's, parents'/carers' and teachers' experiences of the field surrounding provision for children with SEN. This framework is discussed here with relation to the 'individual', 'interaction' and 'institutional' orders of interaction (Jenkins, 2008). I outline the underlying theoretical building blocks that will allow me to explore the experiences of social actors and structure at each of these levels and draw on Bourdieu to do so.

3.3.3.1 The 'individual order'

Through their conceptualisation as 'incomplete people' (Humphrey, 2000) both young and 'disabled' people have been denied access to discourse production and thus power. Young people with dyslexia are thus particularly vulnerable to oppression (Hasler, 1993; Watermeyer, 2009) with their voices often represented through their parents/carers; legal frameworks are written such that parents/carers are legally responsible for their children (Wyness, 2012). If viewed as active citizens (Jans, 2004) whose views of their own educational provision should be considered (as indicated by the Children and Families Act, 2014), then young people through legislation, are afforded symbolic capital. That is, structurally, they are granted access to the field of their own education. However, in order to access this field, young people will need to understand and accept the habitus of that field, then they will need to reproduce it through the practices they adopt. These practices

will then be indicative of the social position and social role adopted by young people in the educational setting.

3.3.3.2 Bourdieusian analysis of the 'interactional order'

Within Jenkins' 'interactional order', we can consider the interactions between individuals and thus explore the effects that social roles and positions of individuals have on these interactions within a field.

The roles that social actors fulfil carry symbolic meaning as a result of their location within a social space and thus become part of an objective social world, which constrains actors and maintains power relationships (Bourdieu, 1977). The nature of structural relationships will be explored from a Bourdieusian perspective so that external structural elements, which act to constrain interactions between children, parents and professionals in the conceptualisation of dyslexia, and the development and implementation of classroom interventions, are considered. This will be done with reference to the objective structures such as age, parental/professional status, capital and access to markets, which are accepted by Bourdieu (1977).

3.3.3.3 Bourdieusian structures of the 'institutional order'

Bourdieu (1977) suggests that individuals, groups and institutions could author, produce and reproduce structures through language. Bourdieu (1977: 84) accepts the existence of external, objective structures such as age, gender and professional status as being the products and producers of these discourses. Bourdieu's work, according to Geiger (2011), takes a localised 'snapshot' of power structures in space and time and explores external factors which act to dispose individuals and groups towards certain behaviours (Bourdieu, 1989). It is on this basis that structural interactions will be investigated in this study. I will consider recent changes in education policy and their effects, within a short time, on structures in the field of education: the Children and Families Act (2014) has actively reduced the role of the Local Authority in the provision of support for children with SEN, altered the categorisation of Special Educational Needs both at classroom and policy level as well as reinforcing the expectation of the inclusion of children and young people in the development of support programmes for their education.

A Bourdieusian framework will allow investigation into how social structures and institutions affect children's experiences of dyslexia and their ability to access interventions and decision-making processes. How structures are propagated through these social

structures such as age, parental status, categories of SEN and professional fields will also be explored.

3.3.4 Tensions between Bourdieu and Jenkins

Bourdieu's project aimed to remove the dichotomy between structure and agency in a manner which considers the structural pressures that act to dispose actors to act in certain ways, but which also allows for the agency to choose alternative patterns. He argues that there are objective spaces created in the social world that exist externally to social actors and that these spaces may appear different from the perspective of individuals (Bourdieu, 1989). This is due to his understanding of the effects of different social positions on actors' perspective of the social space; as different actors are positioned differently, relative to one another within a social space, how they experience and embody that space will vary. This model of a social space allows for social actors to experience the social world differently through the structures surrounding them. However, Bourdieu also allows for individual agency within this space "since the vision every agent has of the space, depends on his or her position within that space" (Bourdieu, 1989: 18). Bourdieu does not expect all occupants of a social space to behave in a determined manner. Rather he acknowledges different social positions and their associated experiences.

However, Jenkins (1982) argues that Bourdieu's work is deterministic in its understanding of actors' behaviour and that there is not adequate consideration of agency. His view is that Bourdieu's work is "circular" in that "objective structures produce culture, which determines practice, which reproduces structures" (Jenkins, 1982: 270). Jenkins' (1982) own criticism of Bourdieu essentially parrots the notions described by Bourdieu himself (1989) in that objective structures are perceptible through the experiences of social actors within a social space. Jenkins seems to question the ontology of the structures but does not appear to do so explicitly. Rather he reverts to his position that the work of Bourdieu is circular and that it evades ontological questions. I would, however, argue that in practical terms, it is entirely possible to know that some social structures exist within the social world. For example, legislation is a very tangible social structure (in the case of this study, I refer to legislation relating to SEN provision in schools), which is experienced very differently by social actors, depending on their position within the social field of education. As such, Jenkins' argument that all social structures are self-producing and reproducing, but not necessarily objective or detectable, loses some of its weight. He appears not to accept that structures also change. I accept his assertion that objective structures are salient in the production and reproduction of culture and practice. However, he does not appear to account for changes in those structures and the effects of those changes on culture.

Jenkins (1982: 272) argues that there is a "dichotomy between the objective world and the subjective internal reality" and that this dichotomy is "mediated by the habitus" (ibid.). Jenkins' view of the habitus however, is that it is not a sufficient means of bridging the gap between structure and agency. Instead he argues that habitus is just "another version of determinism … or a sophisticated form of functionalism" (Jenkins, 1992: 82). Jenkins (1982) argues that Bourdieu does not value social actors' experiential knowledge and that he doesn't accept their own interpretations of social spaces due to 'misrecognition'. This is partly true, in that Bourdieu's view of participant observation values the process of objectivation undertaken by the observer (Bourdieu, 2003) such that there is an additional layer of interpretation and understanding of the social space developed through the investigator's distancing of themselves from their observations. I contest though, that this does not devalue the knowledge and experience of the 'observed', rather it listens then adds to their understanding of their own social position. He does state that "scientific objectivation is not complete unless it includes the point of view of the objectiviser and the interests he may have in objectivation" (Bourdieu, 2003: 284), which shows the value placed on 'researcher' knowledge and interpretation but I do not believe that this detracts from the importance placed on the experiences of the participants in a study.

Jenkins (1982) argues that his own theoretical standpoint is very different from that of Bourdieu (1982) and that his reasons for this are based around his view that Bourdieu's work is founded on epistemologically and politically incompatible ideas. He does not find it possible to reconcile structure and agency within Bourdieu's paradigm due to his difficulty in accepting habitus making it possible. This could potentially make the two different frameworks incompatible for the purposes of this study. However, I do not believe that this is the case. Jenkins' difficulties with reconciling structure and agency through the habitus can be surmounted through use of his 'levels of interaction' model as a method rather than as an entire framework. The pragmatic view I have taken of Jenkins' interaction model allows for me to explore different positions in the social space associated with education and to cast a different lens over interactions between actors in that setting. For example, 'levels of interaction' can be applied at interaction order when analysing classroom observation between an individual young person and an individual adult in their personal spaces. However, the same interaction can be explored at institutional level as a means of delineating the effects of the role of 'teacher' and 'pupil with dyslexia' and how each actor embodies those traditional roles and propagates them in a Bourdieusian sense. I argue that actually, through a pragmatic combining of Bourdieu's view of social spaces and relationships, and Jenkins' levels of interaction, a robust, and rich framework for data

analysis can be developed, which will allow for a deep understanding of experiences of dyslexia within the current field of education.

3.4 Research aim and objectives formulated from, and embedded within, this theoretical framework

As outlined above, the framework within which this study will be undertaken draws on Bourdieu to underpin an analysis broken down according to Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction'. Through conceptualisation of childhood where young people are positioned as both 'beings' and 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008), and of disability as a bio-social matter in which impairments exist objectively but disability is caused socially, I aim to answer the following question:

> How much room do actors have to negotiate and renegotiate their social position and role linked to dyslexia within the social field of education?
>
> I consider the standpoints of young people, parents and education professionals through a Bourdieusian ethnography, in which the internalisation of habitus and associated practices will be explored, along with their contributions to the roles taken on by individuals in the setting of a school. To do this, I break down the overall aim into the following objectives:
>
> - Analysis of young people's, teacher's and parents' individual understandings of, and responses to, dyslexia and related classroom experiences using analysis of interview data and classroom observation through the lens of Jenkins' (2008) individual order.
> - Based in Jenkins' (2008) 'interactional order', I undertake analysis of classroom and school-based interactions through interview data and classroom observation, to explore how views of dyslexia inform those interactions and influence educational provision for young people.
> - Through analysis located in Jenkins' (2008) 'institutional order', I explore positions occupied by different actors and institutions within the field of Hilltop View School and how these positions influence the provision of resources for young people, facilitate/restrict access to the field of education for parents/carers and to what extent dominant positions are reinforced through the current structures in place in and around Hilltop View School.

In Chapter 4, the theoretical framework is summarised and forms the foundations for the methodology of the study, which is also detailed.

Chapter 4
An Ethnographic Methodology

This study will use a Bourdieusian lens, applied to Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction', to explore young people's experiences and understanding of dyslexia and related classroom interventions, with a focus on how these affect the identity and self-concept of young people. In this chapter, the interactions of structure and agency, and how these underpin this methodology are outlined. In section 4.2, I then discuss the way that young people are framed in current education policy and how they are expected to contribute to discussions surrounding their own provision.

Section 4.3 details the methods I used in my fieldwork, beginning with how I gained consent to work at Hilltop View School; then how teachers, parents and young people were identified as participants. I also discuss the ethical concerns surrounding working with each group of people. Finally, in section 4.4, I outline the procedures I used for data analysis and conclude by summarising the framework within which this will be undertaken.

4.1 Agency and structure in this study

Both agency and structure are understood as critical factors in the shaping of individuals' experiences and knowledge in this study. Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' are based within a structuralist framework, developed following Jenkins' dissatisfaction with Bourdieusian structuralism (Jenkins argues that Bourdieu does not, in fact, succeed in bridging the gap between the subjective and objective). Cicourel (1993) and others (see section 3.1.5.3) also argue that Bourdieu's framework for analysis of interactions within the social world does not adequately consider agency. They suggest Bourdieu's frameworks do not allow for social actors' own individual agency and that internal reasons for their actions are not sought.

However, when referring to Bourdieu's own work, he does account for individual agency; his assertion that objects (the actors and structures which he is studying) are classifying and classified (Bourdieu, 1979) is evidence of this (see Chapter 3 for further discussion). His understanding of the social world is that structures exist which predispose social actors to behave in certain ways. However, he also acknowledges that they make choices within those structures, such that they are able to exert individual agency. As such, using Jenkins' 'Levels of Interaction' to form the basis of analysis, within a Bourdieusian framework, although potentially difficult, is not impossible. Agency will be considered

through particular attention to individual and interactional orders; and structure will be considered fully through investigation of the institutional order. The crossover between these different 'levels of interaction' are briefly outlined, i.e. how individuals use their agency to challenge structures such as social roles and their own position within a social network.

4.2 Young people and policy in this study

Uprichard (2008) views children as both 'beings' who act and react in the present, and as 'becomings' who are constrained by structural factors, such as age, which limit their capacity to enact their own agency. In this study, I use this model of children as the basis for my own understanding of childhood and young people's social position. I consider the legal and social constraints placed on children and work with them so as to limit/facilitate their access to policy- and decision-making processes.

Young people's perceptions of their own experiences will be privileged in this study. Bourdieu's view is that perception of structures is key to developing an understanding of them (1979). The area of education is salient in considering the nature of young people's knowledge; current policy explicitly draws on their views and opinions regarding educational provision (Children and Families Act, 2014), particularly given that Bourdieu views education as a key location for the propagation of the dominant social group through the embodiment of habitus (Bourdieu, 1970). However, as noted by Wyness (2012), in academic research young people's views are often gleaned second-hand through adults rather than directly from young people themselves. Year 9 is a particularly significant year within discourse (DfE, 2014a: 88); from this school year onwards the views of young people about their future career path are sought by their teachers and other educational professionals. However, there is no explicit call for their input before this age. Thus, despite the greater importance placed on young people's voices, there are still structural constraints limiting young people's capacity to meaningfully participate in planning their own education. These will be explored in this study.

4.3 Outlining an ethnography for this study

Much research has been undertaken using ethnography, on the basis that it provides an insight into cultural and social interactions in an educational setting (Eder and Corsaro, 1999; Jeffrey and Troman, 2004; Nind et al., 2007). Bundegaard and Gulløv (2006) argue that, because children and young people spend such a large proportion of their time either at school or in day-care, it is necessary to take the time to learn about their interactions with professionals in those settings to understand the context and structures within which these

young people enact their own agency. This view is echoed by Nind et al. (2007) who also describe ethnography as a powerful tool for understanding the experiences and thoughts of teachers within an educational setting. Both these standpoints are important for the purposes of this study; I will explore both children's and teacher's experiences of dyslexia-related classroom interventions and the structures within which these take place.

A major advantage of an ethnographic study is its inherently flexible nature (Eder and Corsaro, 1999). Eder and Corsaro (1999) argue that 'self-correction' (the ability to modify research methods in the field) allows researchers to bridge communication gaps and misinterpretations of events and actions in real time. They appear to advocate an approach where researchers, having spent time immersed in the research field, then spend time developing interview questions based on their observations of participants, so that questions are then accessible and relevant to participants. In the context of this study, this principle will be applied to the interview schedules and group activities.

4.3.1 How the conceptualisation of childhood affects methodologies

Robinson and Kellett (2004) argue that when children are viewed as the possessions of adults who surround them, children's own views are rarely expressed. Rather, they claim that children's views are filtered by those adults. They suggest that this is due to a social role in which these adults, as 'caring adults' feel the need to protect their children. Research which views children as objects relies heavily on the accounts of adults, according to Robinson and Kellett (2004), and privileges adults' knowledge over that of children. Christensen (2004: 165) criticises such a view of children and argues that they should be viewed as "fellow human beings" and as such that they are active social agents who do not intrinsically differ from adults.

The view of the child as a 'competent social being' is discussed by Harcourt and Conroy (2006) who argue that if a child is viewed as a competent social actor, rather than an object, then they should be framed as a reliable informant, in the same way as an adult, for the purposes of research. Their understanding also aligns with that of Mallan et al. (2010). However, although they view children as active agents, they also suggest that their competencies differ from those of adults and, as such, specialised research methods may be necessary to facilitate children's participation in research.

These views of young people and their agency align with Uprichard's (2008) view of children as capable social actors who are both 'being' and 'becoming' ontologically. As such, viewing children in this way is entirely compatible with an ethnographic methodology where

both young people and adults are participants. Although, as I noted in section 1.7, the position of young people with impairments is potentially more subject to external constraints (becoming) than that of young people without impairments. As such, and in line with Mallan et al.'s (2010) observation that young people's competencies differ from adults', research tools were developed following ethnographic observation in schools. These are discussed further in the following section.

4.3.2 Methods

Here I will discuss the methods that I have developed and outline ethical considerations relating to each discrete group of participants. Firstly, I will describe how I selected the research site for the study and the negotiation process that I went through to secure full, and comprehensive consent for undertaking the study at Hilltop View School. I then outline the methods by which consent for teachers', parents' and young people's participation was obtained both at the 'in-school' level and also when I have contacted them further. I also discuss the procedures adopted in school to ensure the school's compliance with county child protection procedures.

4.3.2.1 The role of pilot studies in developing this ethnography

Although I did not undertake pilot studies of all of the methods in this ethnography, I had piloted certain aspects of it before undertaking interviews. In Ross (2013b), I piloted using semi-structured interviews with participants. The schedule was relatively successful and certain elements, such as questions relating to participants' understanding of dyslexia helped to inform the longer, more-detailed interview schedule developed for this study. The interviews I undertook with participants were processed and thematically analysed. I then used the initial findings as 'discussion prompts' for focus groups. Using participants' own data as points for discussion was fruitful in terms of the data constructed. However, it was problematic because views expressed during the interview process may have been censored due to the fact that participants were aware that quotations and findings would be disseminated to their colleagues. As such, when I designed the process of data construction for this study, I decided that focus groups should be undertaken before interviews, with the data from focus groups being used as discussion prompts for the young people. That was, data was not shared with individuals who had not been party to the interviews. Rather young people's own data and views acted to prompt construction of further detail within the study.

Methods for working with young people were not piloted before the full study began, due to time constraints. I had shown the materials I had developed for working with

young people to my supervisory team at University, as well as to my colleagues at work and modified them in line with feedback I was given. Despite this feedback and subsequent modification of materials, during the running of the first focus group, it became apparent that the proformas developed for use with young people were not appropriate. Thus, in subsequent focus groups young people either drafted their own responses using felt tips and paper or asked me to make notes.

4.3.2.2 Research site selection and access

Discussion of how I gained access to Hilltop View School is undertaken here and some of the idiosyncrasies of the research site, both as an individual school and within the Local Authority and Academy Trust where it operates. Ethical considerations are discussed in section 4.3.3.

4.3.2.2 (i) Access to school

A major factor affecting my capacity to undertake fieldwork in a school was the fact that I work part time. Thus, I was obliged to be at work for three days a week. This limited how I could engage with fieldwork: I could not fully immerse myself, 5 days a week, in the field site. I had to ensure that I was at a school within a commutable distance to my house (it was impossible for me to work away from home due to cost implications). I also had to ensure that there was no professional conflict of interests relating to working in a school in my local area. As such, school selection had to be done with the explicit proviso that I worked locally in an independent school as a "Learning Support and Mathematics Teacher". I made this information known when initiating contact with all potential participant schools.

All schools I contacted were located within one of the areas in which Pilot Studies relating to the Children and Families Act 2014, had been in progress since 2011, as allowed for by the Education Act (2011). This was done so as to understand the experiences of young people, their parents and teachers within a new policy framework, where substantial inroads had been made into its implementation. This Local Authority was known as a 'Pathfinder' and thus their work was intended to be an example for others to follow upon the Royal Assent of the Children and Families Act 2014.

David et al. (2001) noted that not all schools they contacted wished to participate in their study. So for my study I decided to contact 21 schools. My initial point of contact was either to the general school email, as denoted on their website or a specific email to the school's Special Educational Needs Coordinator (SenCo) and/or Head Teacher. I then

followed up the emails with another message if I had not heard anything within 2 weeks. Three schools replied saying that they were unable to participate for varying reasons. Other schools did reply and request further information however they later indicated that participation was not possible. After detailed exchanges with 4 schools, I visited 2 schools and had a meeting scheduled for the third site, as well as a phone appointment with the fourth. They were all similar schools; young people achieved above-average results and they were all located such that I would be able to commute to them.

In choosing Hilltop View School as a research site, there was an element of pragmatism: which school would 'allow' me to undertake research with their students, teachers and parents? There was also an element of luck; staff at Hilltop View had strong links with the University of Bath (I am a student there) and thus were amenable to my presence at the school.

Following my initial meeting with the (SenCo) and the Support Coordinator, where we discussed the practicalities and expectations involved in the school's participation in the project, they agreed to participate in principle. I then forwarded full, detailed consent forms and participant information sheets specifically to the Head Teacher (see Appendix 1), in order to obtain their written consent for participation in the project. Importantly this consent form did not oblige any teachers, young people or parents to participate in the study; rather it was so that I had written authorisation from the Head Teacher to begin recruitment of potential participants. How this was undertaken is detailed in section 4.3.2.2.

4.3.2.2 (ii) Follow-up and initial findings

I spent 5 months, between January and June 2015, at Hilltop View: observing lessons, engaging with staff (teaching staff, support staff and teaching assistants) in the staff room, covering lessons and interviewing staff and young people. The detailed logistics and breakdown of this time is explained further in section 4.3.2.2.

Once I had completed the fieldwork, I remained in contact with the school and ensured that emails had been sent to them, detailing what work I was undertaking and when. I had arranged with the Head Teacher that I would send a report to the school detailing my initial findings. This was done at the beginning of December 2015. I sent both a full report, which was sent only to the Head Teacher and the SenCo for dissemination as they viewed appropriate, and a shorter, poster-style document, which I sent out to all teacher and parent participants. The poster was designed with a view to being accessible to young people with dyslexia and also to a non-specialised audience. Both documents are in the appendices to this thesis.

Unfortunately, I did not have email contact details for the young people, so I was unable to share the findings with them directly. However, I did suggest that parents share the findings with their children using the poster-document as a prompt.

4.3.2.3 In-school schedule and teacher participants

In this section I detail how the teacher/student observation schedule was devised through negotiation and discussion with my contacts at Hilltop View. It is important to note that, although I was granted access to teachers readily via the 'staffroom' and getting to know them at lesson changes, I did not have 'free rein' to go into lessons and observe teaching or students. Parents of any dyslexic children in classes were informed about the research before observation took place and teachers were also given information sheets and all my contact information before I began my fieldwork.

Details of Teacher Participants are in section 4.3.2.5, with full information about the number of lessons observed and interview durations, as well as their subject area. However, to summarise, I observed lessons with 9 different teachers across 11 subject lessons and 3 groups. I observed teachers for between 2 and 7 hours, dependent on the subject and whether there were lessons on Tuesdays and Wednesdays.

Of those 9 teachers, I interviewed 7. I also interviewed 3 teachers who I had not observed, but had interacted with in the field and who showed interest in the research. Interviews lasted between 11:38 (the recorder stopped working) and 31:07.

4.3.2.3 (i) Observations

Observations took place between January and June of 2015. I spent time in classes observing how the needs of young people with dyslexia were met in class, how they interacted with other students, staff members and their work.

The approach I took lay on a spectrum between that of Nind et al. (2007), whose work involved an intense, week-long period of classroom observation, and McGregor (2009), who spent two years in the field to gain a deep understanding of the site. Due to my own professional commitments and time limits on the duration of my PhD fieldwork, such a long time in the field was not possible. With these practical constraints borne in mind, I undertook what Jeffrey and Troman (2004) defined as 'recurrent' fieldwork, with this type of ethnography aiming to do more than take a snapshot in time at the research site (compressed ethnography); they define this type of ethnography as lasting between 3 months and two years with variation in regularity and duration of visits, varying according to

researcher/field site needs. The key feature of 'recurrent ethnography' is that the researcher can build up their understanding of the field site through numerous visits undertaken over time. In the case of this study, I could build up a rapport with teachers, get to know them and they me during the extended observation period. I was also able to explain my presence to young people in the classroom and get to know them.

After I had secured written consent for me to undertake fieldwork in the school, I met with the SenCo and her Assistant to discuss the requirements of the project in terms of participant numbers, ages, demographics, levels of need, etc. I suggested that, ideally, I wanted to observe teachers from across the full range of academic subjects, in Key Stage 3 classes, where young people had diverse manifestations of dyslexia-related needs. The meeting took place in November 2014 with a view to me beginning work in January 2015.

Between November 2014 and January 2015, I exchanged emails and telephone calls with the SenCo and her Assistant regarding the timetable of observations I would follow in school. I sent copies of Participant Information Sheets (PIS) to my contacts electronically. All teachers were informed that I am a fully qualified, Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS)-checked teacher, working in an Independent School near Hilltop View School. The information on these sheets was aimed specifically at teachers (see Appendix 2), detailing the nature of the research project, the timeline for fieldwork, the nature of observations I would undertake and the time/work commitment required from teachers who wished to participate. The SenCo and her Assistant then contacted teachers in the school to discuss the project on my behalf; following their own, 'in house' negotiations with my own requirements borne in mind, they then devised an observation schedule for me in the following January.

Before undertaking any observations, I went to the school for a morning to meet the Teacher Participants, have a tour of the school and undertake Child Protection Training. This was necessary for the school to fulfil its own 'Child Protection' policy; although I am a fully qualified and DBS-checked teacher, my DBS was not carried out by the Local Authority and was thus not transferrable to Hilltop View. It was important to develop a rapport with participants (Bryman, 2012) to build a positive working relationship with them. The SenCo's Assistant suggested it would be useful for teachers to have interacted with me before I observed their lessons so that they were fully aware of my role and status within the school; she said a key factor for participants was that they did not feel 'judged' by me. After the initial induction meeting, I undertook observations between January and June. In these observations, my role varied depending on how the teacher framed my presence for the

young people in the class. Broadly, the roles I undertook were 'Participant Observer' and 'Observer'.

4.3.2.3 (ii) Participant observer

In line with Mallan et al. (2010), I believe that in an ethnographic study, data is co-created with participants. So for me, it was important to interact with both the teacher and young people during the observation stages of this project. I also have the advantage of 'insider knowledge' in a Bourdieusian (Bourdieu, 1970) sense; I am a fully qualified teacher and I currently work as a teacher. As such, I was able to participate in lessons. It also allowed participants and me to have shared experiences, which could then be drawn upon at later dates. I suggested that participant teachers present me to their class as they felt it appropriate. Out of the eleven classes, I was actively participant in nine of them. As a participant observer, I tended to act as 'Teaching Assistant', where I supported young people with their work, answered their questions and discussed their progress with teachers. Whilst doing this, I also made sure that I documented classroom activities in a notebook. Those notes were then written up formally and annotated on the day of the lesson. Copies were kept electronically and the physical copies removed from my notebook to ensure confidentiality of data.

On a personal level, I found the process of observation in the classroom very challenging. As a teacher, I have expectations of my own role within the classroom, in line with Bourdieu (1989). I know that as a teacher, I am expected to teach the class, to maintain discipline and ensure that learning takes place. In this study, I generally adopted the role of teaching assistant, particularly in the situations where I had been introduced and was fully interactional with the young people. However, this was very complex for me. As a teacher, I have preconceptions as to how I would expect teaching assistants to act, based on my prior experiences working with teaching assistants. With these prior experiences borne in mind, I did attempt to adopt the role as I had known it in the classroom, whilst presenting myself as a 'friendly adult' (Christensen, 2004). This was not problematic, as the roles of teaching assistant and 'friendly adult' can be very compatible in my professional experience, with teaching assistants often mediating between the teacher and the pupil. However, for me, as a teacher with the 'baggage' of expectations that I had of myself combined with the challenge of also undertaking research in the setting, it was very difficult not to step over into the role of teacher. This was exacerbated as a position for me when I was asked to support young people's learning and oversee classes during brief periods where teachers were not in the room.

In two classes I was not introduced to pupils. Before the lessons, I had discussed with teachers how they wanted to present me to their class. However, I was not formally introduced to them. I thus attempted to be as unobtrusive as possible and thus not affect classroom interactions too much (Curtis and Curtis, 2011), whilst maintaining my position as a 'friendly outsider' for the teacher (Greenwood and Levin, 1998) and approachable for the pupils (Christensen, 2004). The young people did ask me what I was doing there and were aware of my study through these discussions. I spent time in those classes documenting activities and was seated away from pupils in the classroom. When working with young people from these classes, there was not a shared experience and familiarity. This meant that the focus groups were a vital part of the the research process; young people could speak more freely than in class and could ask me questions directly about my presence in the school and the research I was undertaking.

4.3.2.3 (iii) Interviews

Interviews were conducted with both the teachers who had been observed and those who had not. The interview schedule was developed following observation of lessons. Much like Eder and Corsaro (1999), I believe that ethnography's strength is its flexibility and its capacity for adaptation in the field. Subsequently, once I had spent time in the field, I was able to draw on academic literature, classroom observations and personal, in-field knowledge of participants when devising the interview schedule (see appendices) so that questions were relevant to participants but also related to the broader research aims. All but one of the interviews were held one-to-one away from other staff members (see details of participants for location information) so confidentiality was ensured. The other interview was undertaken in a common area. However, it was during lesson time and we were sitting away from other staff members in order to reduce the likelihood of being over heard.

Where possible, teachers who had been observed were consulted as to whether they wished to participate in an interview. However, one teacher began maternity leave before I could interview her and another teacher did not have free time on a Tuesday or Wednesday so it was not possible to arrange an interview time with her. Two teachers I interviewed (whose lessons I had not observed) were recruited following my interactions with them in the staffroom and in the corridors during lesson changes. They had shown interest in my research and agreed to me interviewing them about their own practice and understandings of dyslexia in the classroom. The final teacher I recruited was recommended

to me as a potential participant by one of the other participating teachers. I sent them an email with the Participant Information Sheet (PIS) attached to it and then met with them to discuss their potential participation in the study.

Interviews were recorded on an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder. Files were removed from the recorder as soon as possible after the interview and stored on password protected ICT equipment which was stored away from the field site at all times. Interviews were then transcribed fully to convey as much information as possible about pauses and intonation of speakers. Generic file names of the format were given to both transcriptions and audio recordings to maintain confidentiality. Procedures for data analysis will be detailed below in section 4.4.3.

4.3.2.3 (iii) Initial findings and follow-up

Ethnographic research should be useful and empowering for all participants, in line with Greenwood and Levin, 1998; Mallan et al., 2010; Parr, 2010). Therefore wanted to make sure that the school had feedback on the findings of the project within a reasonably short time frame. Teachers were provided with a shortened, poster-style version of the formal report discussed in section 4.3.2.1 (ii) so that they could readily access the information and make practical use of the initial project findings. I also emailed teachers and offered them the chance to contact me either via email or on the telephone to address any queries arising from the initial findings. I also attempted to organise a time when I could come to the school for a meeting to discuss the project in person. However, this was not possible due to conflicts in availability and a change in my employment status; I had begun a full-time job before it was possible to arrange a meeting.

4.3.2.4 Young people's participation

In this section, I outline how young people were identified at school level for participation in this study. I then discuss the procedures I followed when obtaining consent from parents and young people themselves for their participation in this study. Ethical issues surrounding young people's participation in this study are also detailed with consideration given in particular to child protection and safeguarding issues.

4.3.2.4 (i) Observations

Following discussions with the SenCo and her Assistant in November, a cohort of Key Stage 3 (aged 11–14) children was identified to participate in the study. Initially, 11 young people were selected as potential participants in the study. They had varying levels of dyslexia ranging from mild to severe: one child had a Statement of SEN for his dyslexia; 2 others had

a Statement of SEN for which dyslexia formed part of their learning profile; 1 child was identified as dyslexic and also as having English as an Additional Language (EAL); the other 7 young people were on the school SEN register. A difficulty encountered with the participating pupils was that only one young person was female. As the school had selected pupils to participate in the study, my capacity to steer selection of pupils for a more equal gender distribution was limited. Full and anonymised details of the young people involved in this study are given in section 4.3.2.5.

The parents of young people who were identified as potential participants were sent a letter from me, by the school, in November. The letter outlined the project and contained an 'opt out' consent form echoing Balen et al.'s (2006: 43) notion of 'passive parental consent', such that parents who did not want their child to participate in this stage of the project should contact me. Although a potentially problematic method, due to the lack of evidence that parents/carers have read the form, as I will not use identifiable information about the school, participants or particular classes, and observation will not entail working exclusively with the 'observed' child, risks to young people are minimal. The fact that I am a Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) vetted, fully qualified teacher, also attests to my own professional integrity relating to my responsibilities to participants.

In January, before formally beginning my observations in class, I discussed with the young people their involvement in the project (I met them during tutor period to minimise disruption of their lessons and avoid drawing unnecessary attention to their participation). Participants were given pseudonyms to protect their identity. Young people were then presented with an accessible participant information sheet; as young people were viewed as active agents in the research process (Kirk, 2007), it was important that their consent was also sought. All eleven young people consented to me observing them in principle, although due to timetable constraints, it was not actually possible for me to observe one of the students in a classroom setting. Once full consent from young people was obtained, observations and note taking were then undertaken as detailed above in section 4.3.2.2.

4.3.2.4 (ii) Group activities

Ingram (2011) used group activities as part of her study into the habitus of working-class boys in a school setting. During these activities, boys produced plasticine models which acted as stimuli for later discussions. The sessions also acted as a forum in which young people were able to get to know her better, in an informal setting. This aligns with Christensen's (2004) and Swain's (2006) work in which they worked with young people in pairs as they found that young people were more comfortable with that arrangement.

Echoing these studies, I asked young people to participate in a focus group activity with other participants from the cohort and me. In order to ensure that sessions were as unobtrusive as possible, they were designed to last 20 minutes and were run during tutor time (a 30-minute session in which young people meet with their form tutor group). Five group sessions were run and each session had two or three pupils present. Full details of groupings can be found in section 4.3.2.5.

In the first session, I presented young people with worksheets of varying formats as a means of recording their information. This was done so that their interactions were not with me but with the paper; Punch (2002) used a similar method for reducing power differentials between adults and young people. However this was not very successful, as even the pictorial worksheets relied, to some extent, on literacy skills. Reflecting on this, and bearing in mind the flexible, 'self-correcting' nature of ethnography (Eder and Corsaro, 1999), to subsequent sessions I brought large pieces of paper (A2), felt pens and offered young people a choice of methods for recording their experiences of dyslexia and classroom interventions. They could either make their own notes or I offered to note down what they said as we discussed their experiences. In 3 out of 4 sessions, young people wanted me to write.

As young people are viewed as active agents in this study and in charge of producing their own data, I encouraged them to talk to each other during the group sessions, rather than focussing on me, as would be expected in a 'traditional research process' (Leitch, 2005). In the activity session, young people were asked to discuss how they thought dyslexia affected young people in the classroom, what they thought dyslexia was and how young people with dyslexia should be supported. The session was depersonalised, in order to reduce potential emotional distress or embarrassment, such that they were asked about young people in general, rather than themselves, in line with Messiou's (2006) 'message in a bottle' technique. I took notes in the form of large mind-maps, written in felt-tipped pen whilst the young people spoke. They could thus see that I was writing, as the process was transparent; where necessary, I also read my notes aloud to the young people. These mind-maps were then scanned into password protected ICT equipment with the hard copies being stored securely, away from any identifiable information.

4.3.2.4 (iii) Interviews

Interviews with young people were undertaken between April and June 2015. Nine young people were interviewed following full consent being obtained from their parents and themselves (see young people's consent forms in Appendix 3 and parental consent forms in

Appendix 2). One young person chose not to participate further in the study and another child's parents did not consent to his participation. Full details of participating young people can be found in section 4.3.2.5.

Interviews lasted from 16 to 23 minutes. In order to comply with Hilltop View's child protection policy, interviews were conducted in a glass-fronted classroom in sight of other staff members, but with the door closed so that confidentiality was maintained as much as possible. There were however occasional interruptions when staff or other young people needed to access resources from the room. They were organised following discussion with young people during lesson observations as to when they would prefer them to take place, as well as following negotiation with the SenCo and form tutors. We decided that interviews would be scheduled to take place during tutor period, house assembly or collective worship so that young people did not miss lessons.

Unlike Watts and Ebbutt (1987) I decided that individual interviews would be a better way to talk to young people in depth about their experiences of dyslexia. Although Messiou (2006) and David et al. (2001), like Watts and Ebbut (1987), found that young people preferred to be interviewed with a friend, I decided that I would not follow this strategy. The loss of confidentiality brought with paired interviewing might have meant that young people did not feel able to speak freely. Thus, in the interests of, and in order to maintain, participant confidentiality (see below), young people were interviewed alone. I met young people from the lessons prior to their interview and made sure that I chatted to them on the way to the interview classroom; as Christensen (2004) notes, it was not possible to remove my 'adult' status, but I could take steps to minimise social distance between myself and the young people and to frame myself as a 'friendly adult' rather than a teacher.

The interview schedule was devised following classroom observation with the young people being interviewed (see Appendix 4) and broadly enquired as to young people's understanding of dyslexia as a specific learning difficulty; how it affects people both in school and outside of it; how they think young people with dyslexia should/should not be supported at school; exploration of their understanding of any social effects of dyslexia. Notes taken during the group discussions were used as prompt material in the interviews; young people could explain their thoughts in more detail and clarify their explanations. They also could discuss anything that they felt had been missed out of prior discussion. All interviews were recorded on an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder. Data files were then removed from the recorder as soon as possible after the interview and stored on password

protected ICT equipment, which was stored separately from identifiable information. Interviews were then transcribed fully.

4.3.2.4 (iv) Follow-up and initial findings

I discussed with young people the process involved in bringing a study such as this to fruition and described data processing/analysis methods to them. I also said that I would contact the school to give feedback to all participants to the project before Christmas.

As discussed earlier, both from a 'disabling environment' perspective (Crow, 1996) and when working with young people, it is important to ensure that materials supplied to research participants are accessible to them (Morrow and Richards, 2006; Porter et al., 2012; Punch, 2002). As such, the short poster summary of the initial research findings (found in the appendices) was emailed to parents and I suggested that they share findings with their children using the summary for reference.

4.3.4 Details of participants

The participants in this study included twelve teachers. Of these teachers, two were not observed teaching but were interviewed, two were observed but not interviewed and the remaining 8 were both observed and interviewed. The full details of training, experience and management level of each of the individual teachers in this study is not given because to do so would risk identifying those individuals. However, the teachers participating in this study are not NQTs and have undergone teacher training with the English system. Some have further training as dyslexia specialists and others have middle leadership training. Information relating to teachers' subject specialisms is given in appendix 7.

Eleven families are involved in this study. Of these families, both parents and children from 9 families were interviewed; in one family the mother (Alexandra) willingly participated whereas here son, Alfie, chose not to be interviewed (he was also not observed due to timetable restrictions). Another family did not opt into the interview process, meaning that I did not interview either Yvette or her son Callum. However, Callum did participate in a focus group and was observed in lessons. Within the young people, only one participant was female. As such, it is not possible to ascertain whether any views or experiences which are unique to her are as a result of her gender. Within an 'ideal' sample, there would have bene a greater proportion of female participants so that any potentially gendered experiences or themes emerging from the data could be explicated and a deeper understanding gained.

However, due to the nature of the sample in this study, such an exploration was not possible.

Full information relating to participants is given in the appendices.

4.3.2.5 Parents' participation

Here I discuss how parents were identified for their (and their children's) participation in this study. I discuss how I obtained consent for their own participation in an interview and then outline the ethical issues surrounding this.

In total, parents from ten families were interviewed. Parents from another family did not opt into the interview stage of the project, although their child was part of the 'observation phase' of the study. In the case of two families, both parents were present during the interview. In the other eight interviews, the mother was interviewed. For full anonymised details about the participating parents, see section 4.3.2.5.

4.3.2.5 (i) Interviews

As discussed in earlier sections of 4.3.2, the school identified parents who would potentially be willing to participate in this study. I contacted them by letter in November and provided information about the project. The letter was sent via the school due to data protection issues (Data Protection Act, 1998). The initial letter introduced the project to them and focussed on the initial stages of the project where classroom observations involving their children would take place.

At the end of January, young people were given letters to take home to their parents with a Participant Information Sheet enclosed. I then followed up these letters by contacting parents by telephone, beginning the process at the start of February. Following initial conversations with parents, where I gauged whether they were interested in participating in the project, I organised interviews. Interview dates between March and June were organised at the convenience of parents. Yvette did not return the consent form and when I contacted her again by telephone, she requested another be sent to her. I did not receive further contact from her and did not contact her further as I did not wish to become a nuisance to her. However, it is possible that she may have wished to participate in the study and had forgotten to post her form. It is not possible to know whether this was the case without contacting her further, which I chose not to do.

The interview schedule was similar to the schedule used with teachers. However, there were some differences: teachers were not asked about their own experiences of accessing the support system while parents were asked about their own experiences of accessing resources and support for their children. Parents and teachers were also asked about their own understandings of dyslexia and its effects, and how they think young people should be supported in school. The full interview schedules are in Appendix 4.

Interviews lasted from 30 minutes to just over 1 hour and undertaken in family homes, although one took place in the meeting room at Hilltop View School. In all interviews the child's mother was present, however in two cases, their father was also present. Full anonymised details of participating parents can be found in Appendix 7. Interviews were recorded using an Olympus Digital Voice Recorder, files removed following the interview and stored on password protected ICT equipment and then transcribed using fully.

4.3.2.5 (ii) Follow-up and initial findings

Following initial and thematic coding of data, I produced a poster-style summary of the initial findings of the project. I emailed this to parents and invited feedback from them. I gave them my contact phone number and email address again so that they could raise any issues with me arising from the initial findings of the project. I did receive some feedback which is included in Appendix 6.

4.3.3 Ethical considerations

4.3.3.1 Voluntary participation and consent

To obtain consent for participation in research in a closed site such as a school (Bryman, 2012) where young people and parents/carers as well as teachers may be asked to participate, it has been noted in prior studies that it is often necessary to contact gatekeepers in order to gain access to the site (Dockett et al., 2012b; Eder and Corsaro, 1999; Morrow and Richards, 1996). In line with British Educational Research Association (BERA, 2011) ethical guidelines, the Head Teacher was sent information sheets and asked to provide full written consent. At this stage of the consent process, general permission to undertake the following was included: classroom observations; permission to contact teachers, parents/carers and young people via post/email, regarding their potential participation in observations, group activities and interviews. It was made clear throughout the study, that the school was under no obligation to participate. The high proportion of schools that chose not to participate does indicate that the Head Teachers did not feel under any coercion from me to participate in the study.

Paricipating adults were given information about the project before the fieldwork began. In line with BERA (2011) and SPA (2009) ethical guidelines, they were provided with participant information specifically written for participating teachers a month before I began visiting the site. The SenCo and her Assistant then negotiated on my behalf for authorisation to observe lessons during my time at the school. Before any observation took place, teachers were given my contact information. I also met with them to discuss any concerns about the study. None of the participant teachers chose to withdraw. However, this may also be due to the hierarchy of the school; it is possible that teachers felt coerced into participating due to professional power differentials between themselves and those asking for their participation (Bourdieu, 1977).

Consent for observations did not include consent for participation in interviews undertaken. Opt-in consent was used for the interview process in line with Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2012) and BERA (2011) guidelines. Both parental and young people's consent was sought before interviews were undertaken and I stressed the voluntary nature of the project ; participants were free to withdraw from the study without explanation or consequence any time up to the 31 December 2015. As such, participation in interviews was organised separately after I had spent some time working with participating teachers and gained separate formal written consent from them (see Appendix 1). Generally, interviews were arranged at the convenience of participants. They were provided with another copy of the information sheet, given time to read it, then sign it. As only one parent did not opt into the interview phase of the study, this indicates that parents were participating voluntarily rather than through coercion.

Young people's participation in the observation phase of this project was sought actively. Full details of the project and its requirements were supplied through 'Participant Information Sheets' to parents and young people. As described above, 'passive parental consent' was the consent process undertaken in the observation phase (Balen et al., 2006: 43). As such, parents' participation was secondary to that of young people; although it was necessary to provide them with information detailing the project (ESRC, 2012; SPA, 2009). Young people were viewed as 'active agents' in this research study (Prout, 2003; Uprichard, 2008), their consent to undertake observations in class was sought; accessible information sheets were produced and young people were given time to discuss them with their parents and me before they were observed.

All but one parent returned consent forms for their child to participate in group activities and interviews. When discussing his potential participation, Alfie decided that he

did not wish to take part further in the project. These incidents demonstrate that ethically, I positioned myself well; participants did not feel coerced and compelled to be part of the project.

4.3.3.2 Harm to participants and confidentiality

In line with ESRC (2012) and BERA (2011) guidelines, a key factor in the participation of the school was to prevent any potential harm to the institution. All data in this study was kept in line with the Data Protection Act 1998 to best protect participants' confidentiality. To achieve this, all correspondence with the school is held on secure, encrypted and password-protected data platforms and/or locked in secure locations in my workplace. I anonymised all data relating to the school and its location when publishing or discussing findings from this research so that the identity and thus the reputation of the institution is not harmed. As such, confidentiality was ensured and thus risk of harm to the institution minimised. All participants were also given contact information for my supervision team at the University of Bath so that, in the event of a complaint about my conduct, they could deal directly with the University of Bath.

Prevention of harm to participants resulting from this study, be it physical or psychological, was paramount (BERA, 2011; ESRC, 2012). Identifying information was removed from transcripts and any reference to data in public material was and will continue to be anonymised. To reduce risk of harm, participants were provided with contact information for support networks such as the school Designated Child Protection Lead,the Teacher Support Network, Parentline or Childline during their interview. They were also reminded during the interview that they could stop at any point, without consequence.

BERA (2011), ESRC (2012) and British Sociological Association (BSA, 2004) ethics codes all assert the importance of confidentiality in research proceedings; only in very specific circumstances should that confidentiality be broken. Focus groups brought a particular challenge to the fore when working with young people and discussing potentially sensitive information. As not all young people in this study were comfortable discussing their dyslexia and associated experiences in 'public' settings, before I ran focus groups, I ensured that young people were fully aware of their purpose, and that data constructed during focus groups would be accessible to all members of that group. Young people were briefed at the start of focus groups with respect to maintaining confidentiality of information and experiences shared during that time. As such, they were aware that their dyslexia would be discussed with other young people who also had dyslexia. Young people were briefed on the

voluntary nature of the focus groups and that dyslexia was the commonality between all participants. That way, if they did not wish to disclose their own dyslexia in a 'public' forum, they could opt out and not risk doing so before the group took place. They were also reminded that they could withdraw from that group at any time, without consequence. Data constructed within each focus group was only shared with members of that group as 'prompt material,' so as to maintain confidentiality within that group of young people. I was also mindful that, within focus groups, some members are likely more reticent to speak than others (Bryman, 2012) while others would enjoy the opportunity to express their views. Thus, individual interviews following the focus groups served to ensure that, ethically all data constructed with each participant reflected their experiences and that each participant was given the opportunity to fully express themselves.

Participants and the school were also given pseudonyms. The school was given a pseudonym in order to protect the institution from potential harm. Within the focus groups, individuals were not given pseudonyms as all participants knew each other, so a pseudonym would not have ensured confidentiality in that sense. However, when discussing initial findings with participants, pseudonyms were used to protect the identities of participants from potential harm arising from any potentially contentious viewpoints shared. Pseudonyms were also used in any communications relating to the study outside of the school setting or participants' homes. This was done to maintain confidentiality and anonymity of participants and the school in line with BERA (2011) guidelines.

BERA (2011) states that any harm affecting participants should be brought to the attention of their guardians and/or the appropriate authorities. Their guidelines also note that any potential malpractice should be reported to the relevant authorities and professional regulatory bodies. Dockett et al. (2012a) noted that this may be in circumstances which reveal a situation harmful to children. As such, in this study, complete confidentiality could not be guaranteed for any of the participants in the observations, group activities or interviews; the specific instance of disclosure of circumstances which are harmful to children were highlighted to participants as an area in which reporting the matter to the appropriate authority was necessary. This was applied to adult and young participants alike. I ensured that I was familiar with the school's designated 'Safeguarding Lead', in line with the current government child protection and safeguarding guidelines outlined by the DfE (2013c) and the school's internal procedures to deal with safeguarding-related disclosures. No disclosures of any type were made to me during the study, so it was not necessary for me to report any matters to the school's designated 'Child Safeguarding Person'.

4.3.4 Details of Participants

The participants in this study included twelve teachers. Of these teachers, two were not observed teaching but were interviewed, two were observed but not interviewed and the remaining 8 were both observed and interviewed. The full details of training, experience and management level of each of the individual teachers in this study is not given because to do so would risk identifying those individuals. However, the teachers participating in this study are not NQTs and have undergone teacher training with the English system. Some have further training as dyslexia specialists and others have middle leadership training. Information relating to teachers' subject specialisms is given in appendix 7.

Eleven families are involved in this study. Of these families, both parents and children from 9 families were interviewed; in one family the mother (Alexandra) willingly participated whereas here son, Alfie, chose not to be interviewed (he was also not observed due to timetable restrictions). Another family did not opt into the interview process, meaning that I did not interview either Yvette or her son Callum. However, Callum did participate in a focus group and was observed in lessons. Within the young people, only one participant was female. As such, it is not possible to ascertain whether any views or experiences which are unique to her are as a result of her gender. Within an 'ideal' sample, there would have bene a greater proportion of female participants so that any potentially gendered experiences or themes emerging from the data could be explicated and a deeper understanding gained. However, due to the nature of the sample in this study, such an exploration was not possible.

Full information relating to participants is given in the appendices.

4.4 My position as researcher–practitioner in the classroom

My position within the classroom was difficult for young people and myself to determine. As an adult in the room, I was demographically akin to teachers. However, the young people I interacted with knew that I was not their teacher. This was due to my deliberate positioning of myself as a 'friendly adult' (Christensen, 2004) and the fact that I openly told young people that I did not work at Hilltop View School. However, as noted in my field notes by a member of support staff in the school "kids will just see another staff member, and not differentiate between me as an adult, and other workers. It was really hard as I had to discipline some kids and talk to them about their behaviour". This was due to being placed, at times, in the position of Teaching Assistant and asked by the class teacher to assist them

with classwork. Bourdieu (1989) noted that practices within a social space are systems of behaviour, which take place in a social field and where certain behaviours are expected from and by social actors occupying given positions within that network. Within the classroom, as noted by the support staff member, I occupied the position of adult and thus young people expected certain behaviours from me. This may have affected how young people chose to interact with me during interviews.

Where I had been introduced by the teacher as a researcher, and where I participated actively in lessons with young people, I found that interviews and focus groups flowed more easily. This is likely due to young people's knowledge of 'what to expect' from me in terms of my position (Goffman, 1963). They knew my role in their social network and knew that I was not in a position of holding power over them; in their social setting, I was not employed as a state functionary and thus I did not have the associated symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989). We had built up a rapport (Bryman, 2012). However, in cases where I wasn't introduced to young people in the classroom, it was clear that they were unsure of my position and it was more difficult to take the time to build up a rapport with them; I had not been positioned by their teacher as a 'friendly adult' (Christensen, 2004). Rather, I was just another adult in the room and young people did not know my purpose in the classroom.

The adults in classrooms at Hilltop View were either teachers or teaching assistants which meant that there were expectations surrounding my position in the room from young people. However, there were also expectations around my position from adults. Some of the teachers discussed my role with me before introducing me to the class. In these instances, I was presented to the young people as a 'researcher' at the school to learn and to help improve school experiences for people with dyslexia. This facilitated my position as a 'friendly adult' (Christensen, 2004). However, other teachers did not introduce me to their classes, which meant that there was ambiguity surrounding my position for young people so that their expectations of my role were blurred. I was asked on a number of occasions to supervise classes while teachers attended to specific needs outside of the classroom, which made my position more difficult. It was necessary to differentiate myself from other teachers and adults in the school but it was also imperative to build positive relationships with participating adults (Bryman, 2012) in order to build a rapport with them. Thus the behaviour expected from me in the classroom from different groups was in tension and made my position, at times vague.

4.5 Data analysis

Initial, open coding was undertaken on observation notes to begin to develop a coding framework for the data. Following this process, interview transcriptions were entered into NVivo 10. Following thematic coding of interview data from a young person, a child and a teacher, my coding framework was checked by my supervisor Dr Tina Skinner. I gave her full transcripts and coding applied to those. I then used her feedback on my initial thematic coding to further refine the coding framework before undertaking coding of all interview data and re-coding observation notes. All data was then organised according to the category of the participant and full, thematic coding was undertaken. The coding framework I used is given in full in Appendix 5.

Once I had coded data using NVivo, it was important for me to visualise the links between themes arising from the data and to further sift through data to find key ideas and issues discussed by participants. To do this, using MindView 4.0, a specialist mind-mapping software package, I produced mind-maps for each type of data. In total, I produced four mind-maps based on the different data 'sources': observational data, young people's interview data, parental interview data and teachers' interview data. Using these mind-maps, I built up a picture of participants' understanding of dyslexia and young people's experiences of it in the classroom, and how these inform the identity of young people with dyslexia, using a Bourdieusian lens, informed by Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction (see Chapter 3 for full explication of the theoretical framework used in this study). I outline below how I applied this lens at the different levels. Mindmaps have been attached to the appendices. Due to the print size, they are better viewed on an electronic version of the thesis.

4.5.1 The Individual Order

Data analysis at this level consisted of focussing on both observational notes and interview data to gain an understanding of the habitus embodied by young people when framing their own dyslexia and its effects on their view of themselves. To understand the embodiment of practices, using both visual and interview data gave a rich understanding of the classroom experiences of young people with dyslexia. Strategies used by young people to access the curriculum were also explored and the (potentially) emancipatory nature of these strategies discussed. Young people were the focal point of the interview data constructed. They were viewed as key informants in this process in line with the Children and Families Act 2014 and the conceptualisation of young people as active citizens (Jans, 2004), which was underpinned by their conceptualisation as both 'beings' and 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008).

4.5.2 The Interactional Order

Bourdieu argued that social roles are propagated through the social field of education (Bourdieu, 1977) through labelling and categorisation of social actors to constrain them and inculcate them to behave in certain ways. At this level of interaction, the focus was on how young people, teachers and parents interacted both as individual social actors and also within their social roles in the field of education. Thus, I hoped to understand how and to what extent dyslexia affected the roles adopted by participants in this study and whether, as individuals, they embodied the habitus associated with these roles. I drew on interview data and observational data to explore this interaction level. The lens applied to the observation data was different from the 'individual order': there was greater emphasis on how teachers/young people related to each other in the classroom to gain understanding of their relative social positions and how much dyslexia informed these social positions. Analysis of interview data focussed on how participants described their interactions with others in the classroom and how their understandings of dyslexia, and the needs of dyslexic young people affect these classroom interactions.

4.5.3 The institutional order

Bourdieu's (1977) work on how objective social structures propagate and maintain social power informed the lens applied to data when performing analysis of the 'institutional order'. Social structures such as roles (this was analysed in more depth as part of the 'interactional order'), organisations and other social fields were explored through analysis of interview data. Although observational data was drawn on in part, interview data was the primary source used here, as details of institutions/professions such as 'educational psychology' were not discernible based on classroom data.

How these structures propagate power and social roles was also explored through analysis of how participants felt that they could access resources and dialogue, and the effects of their social position on this process. Effects of recent policy changes (Children and Families Act, 2014) and government (both local, national and at school level) were also analysed through this lens, when it was applied to interview data.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed the methodology that I developed and used for this research study. In section 4.1, I outlined how structure and agency were understood for the purposes of this study and how, through the application of a Bourdieusian lens to Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction, the effects of structure on social actors' agency within the

educational setting of Hilltop View School were explored. Section 4.2 described how young people relate to policy and their capacity to access/contribute to policy discussions.
In section 4.3, I discussed the methods used to undertake this study. Section 4.3.1 detailed the modelling of young people and their capacity to act as independent social actors (Prout and James, 2002), whilst still being constrained by social structures external to them as 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008). I discussed how I undertook fieldwork on a practical level in section 4.3.2, beginning with a description of how I gained consent to undertake my research at Hilltop View School, with ethical considerations delineated. I then discussed how teachers were recruited to participate and related ethical considerations were explored. In the following section, I detailed how young people and their parents were identified as participants in the study and outlined specific ethical considerations for each group of participants. In section 4.4, how data analysis was undertaken was described with reference to the Bourdieusian lens applied to each level of interaction on a practical level. Section 4.5 contained my reflections on the research process, drawing on my professional experiences as a teacher and working with teaching assistants in mainstream settings.

In the following chapters, findings from this study are discussed, then conclusions are drawn and finally the implications of this study and its results are detailed.

Chapter 5

What Does It Mean to Be a Dyslexic Young Person?

In this chapter, dyslexia and related interventions are explored from the perspective of young people. The data used is drawn from my field diary, focus groups and interviews. The Jenkins-based framework (2008) is used to inform a Bourdieusian analysis of young people's agency and identity at three orders: the 'individual', 'interactive' and 'institutional' orders (Jenkins, 2008). In section 5.1, I discuss the individual order (Jenkins, 2008) and young people's framing of self, relating to their dyslexia; their negotiation and renegotiation of their sense of self, and their public and private selves. In section 5.2, I discuss the 'interaction order' (Jenkins, 2008) and how young people's interactions with others frame their understanding of themselves in the social field of education. Through focussing on the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008), section 5.3 discusses how the roles embodied by young people, teachers and parents interact and allow for young people's agency to develop in the field of education. I then present an analysis of how government and academic discourses interact with young people's, teachers' and parents' understandings of dyslexia and related interventions.

Section 5.4 draws on theory to deepen the analyses of the findings outlined in 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3. I draw on Oyserman and James' (2011) notion of 'future selves' and 'present selves' to do this, as well as relational-self theory as explained by Chen et al. (2011) where an individual has a 'real' self and projects different aspects of that 'self', depending on the social setting. I then discuss dyslexia as a 'stigmatising characteristic' (Goffman, 1963) and the effects of dyslexia-related interventions on young people. I explore how young people with dyslexia are understood by parents and teachers. I relate dyslexia as a stigmatising characteristic (Goffman, 1963) to young people's interactions with others and how these interactions are informed by young people's perception of a discrepancy between their 'virtual' and 'actual' identities (Goffman, 1963). How dyslexia-related interventions affect young people socially is then discussed, followed by the positive–negative nature of a 'label' of dyslexia (Riddick, 2010) within the mainstream education system, its importance as a means of accessing resources (Bourdieu, 1999), and how the role of 'dyslexic learner' is embodied and propagated by young people and their teachers through the related habitus.

5.1 The individual order

Using Jenkins' (2008) 'individual order' to frame Bourdieusian analysis of young people, I explored how the habitus they embody affects their self-image and identity. I investigated their internal negotiation and renegotiation of 'self' in relation to their dyslexia. In literature,

young people have been conceptualised as incomplete people (Humphrey, 2000), similarly to 'disabled' individuals, whose social position in their own networks is often oppressed (Hasler, 1993; Watermeyer, 2009). As such, their voices are often not heard. Although, when undertaking such a project, it is important to recognise that Jenkins (2008) noted how we cannot ever access the 'true' self of an individual. As such, although, I attempted to understand young people's own views of themselves, I could not access their internal thought processes and was thus unable to determine whether they have a 'true' self. However, my observations and interview data allowed me to interpret their actions and words so that I could delineate the aspects of their identity linked to dyslexia and in which contexts these are projected.

5.1.1 What is dyslexia?

Despite describing diverse manifestations of dyslexia, young people tended to draw on medicalised conceptualisations of it. Connor (year 8), and other young people, understood their dyslexia in a medicalised way as a 'thing' that causes 'symptoms' such as making "learning slow and it's stopping you from doing other stuff". In describing dyslexia as a

> "condition, um, really make your mind feel like, it's like, your mind can't do all the reading and stuff. Kind of basically, it makes your mind not to learn a lot of stuff but some stuff, lessons or activities, you're better at."

Samuel (year 7) also stated that when "I first noticed that I had dyslexia, I didn't really know what to think … 'cos I had dyslexia, I didn't know what to think or what like". He equates the concept of 'having dyslexia' with being "just not a very good reader or something like that", which suggests that he viewed dyslexia, at least in part, as something which was the root cause of some of his difficulties rather than part of his personality.

David (year 9), demonstrated an understanding of dyslexia which aligns with medicalised understandings of specific learning difficulties. It also demonstrates a view that those with dyslexia have particular abilities, which coincide with their difficulties. Emily (year 7) had spoken to her mother, Alison, about what dyslexia was and drew her understanding of it from those discussions:

> "I asked my mum and she said it's like how, in like maths or something, if somebody gave you and one of your friends a sum to add up, they might be able to add it up different. And then I asked why and she said because your brain works differently than everybody else's."

Emily (year 7) did not specifically allude to reading/writing difficulties, but rather described experience of a generalised difficulty with learning. Thus, for these young people, their dyslexia was not part of their innate characteristics but rather something that they had to overcome in the classroom. In viewing it thus, they all appeared to draw on a medicalised conceptualisation of dyslexia.

5.1.2 My 'dyslexic' self

In this section, I use observation and interview data to gain an understanding of young people's 'self'; how/if dyslexia affects their identity. I draw on relational-self theory (Chen et al., 2011), where individuals have a 'real' self, but dependent on context and how they wish to frame themselves within social networks/groups (Abrams, 1996), they project different aspects of that self. These theories are used within a Bourdieusian framework, which supports the view that identity is a social process and that individuals make sense of their own identity through their relationships with others (Bourdieu, 1977; Goffman, 1963). Jenkins (2008) suggests that this sense-making process occurs within individuals, thus supporting the use of interview and observational data here. The 'selves' young people project are analysed with reference to Goffman's (1963) concepts of 'virtual' and 'actual' self and the discrepancy between the two. The effect of current 'selves' as adopted by young people, and the associated habitus, on the potential future selves of young people is discussed. The effect of these different 'selves' on young people's individual social position is also discussed.

5.1.2.1 Positive constructions of self

When constructing their understandings of self, young people appeared to view dyslexia as an entity which affected their ability to engage in certain activities. Such a view aligns with medicalised notions of dyslexia as a separate 'thing' rather than an intrinsic part of them. Two young people described their 'dyslexic self' as different from that of their non-dyslexic peers through sense-making of their social network. It was viewed positively in a private setting, where young people could make positive associations with potentially stigmatising characteristics. David (year 9) did this through association with influential people:

> "Sometimes people might be smart at something like Albert Einstein … he was apparently dyslexic. We searched him with Miss. He was very bad at reading but he was good at maths so that's all. That's one idol we look up to."

Whereas John (year 7) made more localised positive associations with individuals within his own social network, “Well I’m not really too bothered, ’cos I know a lot of adults who have it and they’re really clever.” Both he and David were unusual in that they made direct reference to other people with dyslexia who provided a positive model of dyslexia for them to draw upon.

Other young people in the study tended to make comparisons between themselves and others, highlighting areas in which they excelled over their non-dyslexic peers. Connor described how his success at ‘Minecraft’ (an online computer game has helped him with his literacy and “all my friends say how can I type so fast?”. Emily (year 7) described her success at trampolining and how she’s “always liked singing and … was in the Sound of Music and she did the sound of music [she] really enjoyed it, being on stage”. Josh’s description of enjoying working with ICT, “wanting the iPad”, alongside his demonstrated knowledge when using ICT, suggest that his public performance in this small group setting has helped him to form a positive self-concept, where he is confident enough, despite his dyslexia, to intervene with the teacher’s difficulties with ICT as described in my field notes below. It may also indicate that because of his dyslexia, he is reliant on ICT but has also gained skills because of it.

> “When Josh had changed the [computer] settings, he was in the position of expert, having knowledge of changing settings.” (Small group English, field notes)

Generally, young people could articulate areas in which they excelled. Benjamin (year 9) is an accomplished footballer and was keen to tell me how dyslexia does not negatively affect his abilities:

> “So it’s like me with football. It’s fine with that. It’s fine. Dyslexia doesn’t come into that. There’s not like writing or anything. It’s all, it’s how I play the game so like I can decide what, what I want to do when I’m in goal.”

5.1.2.2 Negative constructions of self

Despite her success as a trampolinist, Emily conceded that dyslexia forms part of her ‘sporting identity’ and is conscious of a perceptible difference between her and her peers.

> “I don’t think it holds me back in any of the stuff I really like to do, like definitely doesn’t hold me back that much in trampolining or sports or anything. But

sometimes in sports I have to um, have somebody, like explaining it to me fully just so I know everything that's going on."

Similarly, Connor asserted the importance of his social network to his learning, stating that, "it's easier to learn with your friends … they don't like judge you like other people." His reference to judgement by other people suggests that he felt stigmatised by his dyslexia. However, he also tried to find positive experiences to relate to his dyslexia. Interestingly, Alexander was not forthcoming when discussing his dyslexia in relation to his identity, and its importance in making sense of himself. Rather he discussed ways he had found to work independently in spite of his dyslexia.:

H – Has, has it bothered you having dyslexia, like sort of known as having dyslexia or?

A – hmm. No.

H – no?

A – mmm.

H – Just part of who you are?

A – mmm. I tell people when I need to tell them.

H – mmm

A – but I don't think many people know that I'm dyslexic.

During most of the interview I shared with him, Alexander spent time showing me his iPad and how the software improved his access to the curriculum. In class, his dyslexia caused him difficulties surrounding reading, where I noted that he "read very quietly and I would suspect that much of the class didn't hear what he said" (field notes) and his iPad seemed to help alleviate these difficulties. This is similar to my experience when observing and interviewing Josh. He was willing to discuss how dyslexia affected him and the ways in which he was helped at school, but his reluctance to discuss dyslexia's link to his own identity suggests that he may view it negatively. However, it may also be that he had not considered the matter and thus had not formulated a view on it.

Thus, we can see that some young people can make positive associations with their dyslexia and to construct positive visions of themselves, whereas others are less able to do so and more reluctant to refer positively to their dyslexia in relation to their self-concept.

5.1.3 My 'public' self

This section discusses how young people determine which aspects of themselves they project in public and how their dyslexia links to this projection. I will use the constructs of 'stigmatising characteristic' (Goffman, 1963) and 'possible selves' (Oyserman and James,

2011) as tools to understand how young people's 'public self' was internally negotiated as outlined by Burkitt (2008) and Jenkins (2008).

In relation to their peers, some young people reported not feeling 'normal' and attempting to hide their 'dyslexic' characteristics, despite its reported importance in their sense of self. The difference perceived by young people between themselves and their peers resulted in them feeling unable to adopt the role of 'normal learner' within their social setting. Year 7 Samuel's perception of difference is clear, "You feel a lot different than other people. You don't. I don't feel normal", while year 8 Jake's metaphysical reflections still draw negatively on the notion of difference,

> "It's quite frustrating knowing that you're, in a way different, but you're not really different. I think human and just … yeah. It's just like, you have it and another person doesn't."

Connor (year 8) noted that, "sometimes you don't' want to feel like picked on, like special or whatever" and Emily asserted that in some subjects she needs "to have someone explaining it". These young people's perceptions of difference between themselves and others seemed to carry negative connotations, as these young people described negative feelings of difference and their need for interventions, which highlighted their difficulties and reinforced their perception of difference between themselves and their peers.

Young people's negative views of their dyslexia led them to alter their behaviour in order to moderate their public identity. This was done differently by different individuals. John (year 7) said he became frustrated in primary school, "Cos I couldn't do well in class so I just probably thought do well in other stuff"; he viewed himself as academically deficient and acted to obscure that aspect of himself. Like John (year 7), Connor (year 8) moderated his behaviour in school, "'cos in year 7 I never read in tutor [periods]" because he was "just that a bit nervous at first". Although now he is willing to read in his tutor periods, following participation in a reading improvement programme.

Young people's modification of their behaviour in public, as described above, as well as their descriptions of not 'feeling normal' or 'feeling different' from their peers suggests that there is an internal negotiation of identity which then moderates which aspects of that identity young people project publicly. The following section will focus on the interactions that young people experience and through those interactions which aspects of self are projected, how their identity is informed via these interactions, and how interactions

between young people and others frame young people's capacity to enact agency through these interactions.

5.2 The interactional order

Both Bourdieu (1977) and Jenkins (2002, 2008) view social interaction as a key process by which individual actors are classified and classify others. How young people are framed via interactions is discussed and the implications of these understandings of young people as individuals at Hilltop View School are then delineated. The 'interaction order' (Jenkins, 2008) provides the framework to facilitate this and is defined as "the human world, as constituted in relationships between individuals, in what-goes-on-between-people" (Jenkins, 2008: 39). While most data in this section is taken from interviews with young people and observations, some data from parents and teachers is also used to provide context for young people's perspectives.

5.2.1 Influences on young people's identity through interactions

Some young people actively viewed dyslexia as a major part of their identity and an intrinsic part of themselves through their interactions with others. John (year 7) thought of it as:

> "a really big [part of me] really, 'cos it. I am different to, what I like and my friends like somethings. They're all into like skateboards and stuff. I'm into cars and rugby. And then a lot of sport and some of them are more into reading and stuff."

Although John directly described the importance of his dyslexia in relation to who he is, Samuel highlighted its importance in relation to his best friend:

> "I've got, my best friend is dyslexic as well … so we kind of interact more than say, I would do to one of my friends that doesn't have any problems at all. They're just like, I want to say they're not, how do you say that they're not a normal child?"

Although not discussed explicitly, Samuel's strong friendship with another child with dyslexia, and the importance that he placed on their dyslexia as common ground, suggests that, either consciously or subconsciously, his dyslexia is an important part of how he understands himself internally.

Benjamin and other young people described the importance of their friends as shaping their identity, with Benjamin (year 9) noting that:

> "it's hard with like friends and that, it it's, it is hard, what you want to say to like popular kids. Um, in the playground it's hard because um they think more quickly about what they're going to say or say back."

It is clear that Benjamin (year 9) does not view himself as a 'popular kid' and he views the manifestation of his dyslexia as part of the reason for this; that is, difficulties with processing speed. Connor (year 8) states the dyslexia "makes you less confident" relative to his friends. When discussing his word-finding difficulties, John described how, when with his friends:

> "I'm like, I want them to pass the drink and I'm like 'can you pass the French?' or something really weird… I think they find it funny but yeah, it's sometimes annoying. But I'm not too bothered."

Despite his assertion that "I'm not too bothered", this description of his interaction with friends indicates that he perceived an element of shame surrounding his dyslexia and its manifestation which, like Ben and Connor, impeded their social interactions with their peers. These admissions and Alexander's assertion that "I tell people when I need to tell them", suggest then that some young people are reticent to disclose their dyslexia to adults and their peers. This is in contrast with Jake and Samuel, who both alluded to the importance of having friends who knew about their dyslexia; they felt that they had more in common with them and did not have to conceal their dyslexia. This suggests that young people project certain aspects of themselves when interacting in different social contexts.

5.2.2 Perceptions of young people's active use of interactions

Young people in this study were generally thought to be able to actively engage with their teachers and influence how their dyslexia was 'handled' by them. In this section, I explore how teachers understand their interactions with young people and how they perceive young people as active agents in those interactions. I also describe these interactions from the perspective of young people as identity formation, which according to Bourdieu (1989) and Jenkins (2008) is an interactive, continual social process.

Claire (teacher) noted that Josh was "one of those students that likes that relationship with teachers around the school and strong relationships with different teachers. And he'll use that and go and speak to them". Claire felt that Josh could actively engage with teachers and negotiate social interactions with teachers as capable social agents. In her lessons, Anna (teacher) facilitated positive relationships as I noted in my field diary, "Teacher taught from the front but also moved around the room – there was a lovely,

open dynamic about the room" and on another occasion, I noted "that there was a lot of dialogue between the kids and her". Other teachers also enjoyed very positive relationships with young people as I noted in my field diary on numerous occasions: "She's such a positive teacher" (in reference to Kate, teacher); "She really does make a productive, positive learning environment" (in reference to Jane, teacher). Teaching Assistants (TAs) also fostered positive working relationships with young people during lessons as I noted in my observation diary: "TA is lovely – helping Josh to stay on task … all done very calmly and in very good humour"; "TA was giving lovely feedback to students – really positive."

Young people negotiated their interactions differently. John (year 7), and others, indicated a preference that teachers act "just to give you sly bits of help, every now and then … I just want to kind of be the same". This type of classroom interaction suggests that young people wanted to control their public identity so that they did not perceptibly differ from their peers when interacting with teachers and other adults. Josh's interactions suggested that his need to reduce perceptible differences relating to his 'public self' between himself and his peers was less pronounced than others in this study. Some young people were viewed, by adults, as preferring any dyslexia-related intervention to be available to the whole class. Jenny (teacher) suggested that all "classes should have a set [of reading rulers]", meaning that young people's public identity when engaging with adults or the curriculum should not differ from their peers. Connor preferred to take an understated approach regarding his dyslexia in the classroom and not discuss it with teachers, as shown below:

H – Do teachers ever talk to you about it?
C – Um no.
H – Would you want them to?
C – No. 'Cos it'd be awkward.

Conversely, Jake stated that "it'd be quite nice, like a bit, if they talked to me about it [dyslexia and support]".

5.2.3 Intervention strategies and young people

Parents and teachers in this study were acutely aware of the stigmatising effects of interventions, which highlighted young people with SEN and meant they were "seen to be different" (Jean, parent). Alexandra, a parent who works as a primary Special Needs Coordinator, highlighted the "stigmas with children and SEN you know. So, we try to make it [personalised provisions] a whole school thing". Each of these parents perceives a need for young people not to be discernibly different from their peers and that dyslexia-related

interventions should reduce the oppressive and stigmatising label of dyslexia in line with Riddick (2000).

Teachers working with young people also described the importance of helping young people to 'fit in' and not appear different. Jenny did this through the use of "green paper" when preparing worksheets; Hannah (teacher) would "try to make everything so normal". There is a point of tension for teachers when working with young people with dyslexia; the interventions which support them may not always be inconspicuous, which leads to young people being identified. However, for some young people at Hilltop View (and potentially elsewhere) this was not desirable, due to a conflict between their wishes and the teachers'/parents' view of what is educationally 'best' for the pupil. Kathryn (teacher) noted the importance of in-class support measures, "if you don't do those little things you know, it will definitely impact on them [young people]" while Anna (teacher) argued the importance of having "extra people around to help them [young people] become independent agents". Both of these comments demonstrate the inherently 'visible' nature of intervention strategies, which serve to highlight the 'difference' between young people with dyslexia and their peers, whilst previously highlighting young people's desire not to appear 'different'.

It is important to note that while most teachers and parents did view young people as able to contribute to their provision and voice their wishes, not all young people felt supported. Samuel (year 7) did note that he did not always feel supported in class, particularly in a test when "I see everybody else writing and … I've just wasted 20 minutes 'cos I don't know how to get started and obviously, teachers can't help you with that". Young people's own perception of their support system is a key feature as to whether they feel they can access and act within it. Lottie (parent) said of Samuel that "he doesn't feel helped a lot when he's at school", despite her view that he is given a good amount of support. It is at these points of tension that young people's lack of capacity to generate 'wriggle room' and influence their own position in their social network is evident. Samuel's view that he is not well supported demonstrates how teachers' attempts to position themselves as 'friendly adults' (Christensen, 2004) are not always successful and that he felt unable to challenge the nature of his dyslexia-related support. His mother believes he views himself negatively and has not experienced positive effects of support. Instead he finds himself in the position of dependent, unsuccessful learner.

5.3 Institutional order

The 'institutional order' was defined by Jenkins (2008: 39) as "the world of pattern and organisation, of established-ways-of-doing things." Based on this, I explore how roles within the field of education impose certain types of interactions on agents and to what extent actors can reject these impositions. Bourdieu's (1977) social project accepted the existence of objective social structures within society and that these structures are produced/reproduced through their embodiment by agents. At this level, I draw on Geiger's (2011) view that Bourdieu's work allows us to take a localised snapshot of power structures and will explore how dyslexia is addressed at an institutional level. The propagation of structures such as professional fields, parental status and categories of SEN will be explored and their embodiment and (re)production will be explicated.

5.3.1 How are dyslexic children perceived?

In this section, young people with dyslexia are discussed with reference to the structures surrounding them and how they are positioned within these structures. I draw on data from young people, teachers and parents to explore how dyslexic young people are seen by each of these groups and whether there are points in common. The effects of labelling young people are also discussed and, again, I draw on interview data from teachers, parents and young people to do so.

5.3.1.1 Stereotypes

In this study, as individuals, some of the young people were constructed as dependent on their teachers. Hannah (teacher) described "dyslexic students … who are in my class are probably, suffer with um being able to read um texts, spelling. It's probably one of the most, sort of weaknesses", while Kate underscores the importance she places on "making sure that homework's differentiated because there are some students who can't read off of 'show my homework' and they can't access it". Both of these quotations paint a picture of pupils who are dependent on intervention from others in order to access curricular learning. Anna also described the difficulties experienced in class by Alexander, in that "he wasn't very independent and was reliant on TA [teaching assistant] support" before he was given access to technological support in class.

Teachers often added a caveat to their views, in which they drew on a more 'enlightened' view of dyslexia, i.e. that those with dyslexia may be academically capable. Mike (teacher) argued that he does not "dumb down" the curriculum due to young people's dyslexia, which reinforces this 'dependent' discourse as he positions teachers as those who have the power to allow young people to access the curriculum. His experience having

"taught some very high achieving students who are dyslexic" demonstrates his 'enlightened, inclusive' view of dyslexia and suggests that those children have been successfully able to renegotiate their own role as a learner from 'unsuccessful', to 'successful' through their perseverance; the onus of responsibility for this renegotiation is on the young person rather than structure.

Jenny (teacher) defaults to positioning 'able' students as deficient within a classroom setting: "They'll give up and often be portrayed as um, a student who is not as clever or able, when in fact, they do know what they want to do." She appears to suggest that young people with dyslexia could access the curriculum if they tried harder but then adopts the default position of the dyslexic student as a poor learner, "They just can't do their work." This seems to point to a tension in how young people are viewed by teachers; at a personal, interactional level, they are capable actors but when discussing the abstract 'dyslexic child', some teachers appear to draw on stereotypes of a dependent child, who is subject to external interventions.

5.3.1.2 Labels applied to young people

Here, labels applied to young people are described, from the perspectives of both young people and adults. Teachers generally agreed with Mike's assertion that, "dyslexia itself can, can be a label. It shouldn't be a label. It should be something that teachers are aware of but it shouldn't it shouldn't define the student. It shouldn't put a ceiling on what they are capable of." Olivia (parent) strongly emphasised the positive aspects of labelling:
"They said that we don't want to label him and I said 'well sometimes, when you label something it can be a life-saver'. I said, 'so if you don't want to label a child,' I said, 'Benjamin really needs to be labelled so that he can get some help."

Such labelling was seen by parents as necessary for young people to be able to access the support system; young people must be cast as 'dependent' to receive support. Kathryn (teacher) also highlighted the positive aspect of labelling within the system, "If the label helps them then why not?" Some parents were, however, frustrated by structural factors which limited opportunities for positive definition of identity, relating to dyslexia. Lottie and Sophia (both parents) felt particularly strongly about this, suggesting that young people with dyslexia were failed by a system which seemed to put "a square peg in a round hole in this system" (Lottie, parent) and that we needed a system (such as in Germany), where people with dyslexia can do "really good apprenticeships" (Sophia, parent). However, these views also have the effect of stereotyping young people with dyslexia as non-academic.

Young people tended to adopt dyslexia into their identity, but only revealed that aspect of their 'self' in certain social settings as discussed in section 5.1.2 and 5.1.3. However, although young people may feel in control of their 'dyslexic-'and 'public'-selves in a classroom setting, that teachers can access documentation detailing young people's needs, without warning or consent of young people suggests that professionals can override young people's agency. This could mean that, in some settings, there might be tensions, if young people did not want adults to have such access.

The views of young people with dyslexia held by parents and teachers are somewhat dichotomous. Young people acted agentically when projecting their public identity. However, their 'control' over their 'public' identity was not substantiated in how it is received; identity is a social process and where one agent may attempt to project a particular identity but through interaction, another agent does not perceive that projection as intended. These tensions can be seen in the 'jump' from the interactional order, where parents and teachers viewed young people in their care as capable social actors (see section 5.2.3). However, when they discuss 'generalised' young people with dyslexia, at the institutional level (see section 5.3.1), teachers draw on stereotypical views of young people with dyslexia, where they are subject to teachers' interventions and incapable of accessing the curriculum or enacting social agency.

5.3.2 Young people's voices in their own education

Conservative education policy, as outlined in the Children and Families Act (2014), asserts the importance of young people with SEN having an active say in their own educational provision. On paper, then, young people with SEN are framed as competent social actors, as well as subject to constraints. This is congruent with Uprichard's (2008) view of children as both 'beings' and 'becomings' within their social world. Historically, young people and 'disabled' people are marginalised groups who cannot readily participate in policy processes (Oliver and Barnes, 2010; Woodhead, 2002). Wyness (2012) found that young people had little real opportunity to participate in the policy and development of their own educational provision.

In this study, teachers were keen to highlight how young people could contribute to dialogue relating to their own educational provision. They viewed the 'support plans' positively because, "a child can choose what to say in that [support] plan and you know, if a child is able to say that, 'I'm dyslexic and it would really help me if …' a child can choose to articulate all that or not to" (Jonty, teacher). Jonty, Kate and Anna argued that the 'support

plans' were "empowering" for young people and that these plans within Hilltop View formed "part of their learning identity that they should be able to feel confident to talk to others about" (Anna, teacher). Jonty's view that, "There's something that's very powerful, that the child has written 'it will really help me if you do this'. It's more powerful than, you know, 'make the child sit at the front.'" According to policies within the school, which are based on government legislation, it appeared that young people have social agency and voice relating to their educational provision. However, in practice, it would seem that young people are not always able to enact their voice.

However, Anna (teacher) acknowledged the reality that young people are unlikely to use the plans in the classroom. She believed that reasons for this are multifaceted; young people are subject to constraints according to the law. Being under 18, they are not legally adults and are thus subordinate to teachers. These teachers act as 'state functionaries' in control of allocation of resources and symbolic capital associated with 'successful education' (Bourdieu, 1999). They are also unlikely to publicly challenge teachers for control over their 'dyslexic' self as an aspect of their identity, as doing so risks exposing their dyslexia to their peers, potentially costing them an advantageous social position.

Despite this, Alexander (year 7), was willing to challenge his teachers as he assumed they knew about his dyslexia: "it's usually when teachers try and make you do something and I go and show them this [support plan]." Interestingly, Alexander had also spent time in a specialist dyslexia school, where his needs were explicit and where, according to his mother Grace, he had gained confidence. His willingness to address his own learning needs are in line with Humphrey and Mullins' (2010) work in that he was able to articulate the needs associated with his 'label' in a specialised setting. However again, he clearly felt a sense of shame associated with his 'dyslexic self' as he was not openly dyslexic and "only told people when they need to know".

5.4 Discussion

Here, results from each level of interaction (Jenkins, 2008) from young people's standpoint are discussed in more detail in relation to existing literature. Firstly, I outline the salient findings from the 'individual order' (ibid.) where young people were found to draw on medicalised models when discussing their dyslexia. Most young people viewed dyslexia as something within themselves and as the cause of their difficulties. They then used this knowledge to either develop positive views of dyslexia through making reference to other individuals with dyslexia who they viewed favourably, or through focussing on other areas in which they were successful. They then used these different internal attributes to help frame which aspects of their dyslexia they would/would not project publicly.

Secondly, I discuss the 'interaction order' where young people's interactions with others were explored. At this level, the provenance of young people's views of dyslexia were found to draw on medicalised models referred to by their parents and teachers. Young people's identities as developed through their interactions are discussed and framed young people as dependent on them and unable to articulate their own needs in relation to their dyslexia. Teachers' viewed the label of dyslexia as important for securing provision for young people. They acted to reduce social distance between themselves and young people through their use of inclusive language. Young people appeared to benefit from positive relationships with teachers and found that interventions that did not draw specific attention to them, as having SEN, were particularly useful.

Finally, when discussing the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008), I outline how young people's role as 'children' and 'dyslexic' interact with the roles of adults in the social setting of Hilltop View. I found that young people were viewed as dependent, linked with a deficiency model of dyslexia (DfE, 2010a; Riddick, 2010), where they are dependent on adults for support as they cannot access the curriculum without such support. Stereotypes in which dyslexia was associated with low achievement permeated some teachers' understandings of young people's capacities despite their drawing on bio-social models of dyslexia, where young people with dyslexia may be academically capable but need support to access the curriculum. Teachers valued the 'label' of dyslexia but asserted that it alone should not define young people. Structurally, I found that young people with dyslexia were subject to academic expectations that did not consider the effects of their dyslexia. Young people at Hilltop View who had dyslexia were framed dichotomously by adults surrounding them; to access support, young people had to be constructed as dependent and deficient. However the support they were provided with was intended to increase their independence and reduce their need for support. Young people felt that their voices were not considered when support was implemented and teachers also recognised this perception.

5.4.1 The internal understanding of dyslexia and 'self' experienced by young people

Here I discuss these findings and draw on relevant literature to discuss their significance and potential practical applications. When using these frameworks to draw conclusions from findings it is important to note that, although 'relational self' theory according to Chen et al. (2011) does argue that there is an objective, 'real self' present in each individual and that only certain aspects of that self are presented in different social contexts, I am unable to ascertain definitively whether there is an objective self. This is in line with Jenkins' (2008)

work, in which he also argues that we are unable to ascertain whether individuals have an 'objective' self or not as we cannot access their internal thoughts.

5.4.1.1 Medicalised understandings of dyslexia

Young people were asked to describe their views of dyslexia in relation to themselves. Their understandings of dyslexia were varied and could be linked to different theoretical models. This was congruent with Kelly's (1998) view that, if dyslexia is indeed a separate condition, it manifests itself in many different ways. The use of medicalised language surrounding dyslexia was exemplified by David in his description of dyslexia. In line with Kelly's (1998) work, language such as 'condition' to describe dyslexia is linked to medicalised notions of it. This medicalised language was echoed by Connor and Emily, whose understanding of dyslexia appeared to derive from conversations with her mother. Young people's allusion to medicalised understandings of dyslexia suggests that they have, at some point, been exposed to the notion that dyslexia is a specific learning difficulty which originates within the individual and is the reason for which they experience their difficulties. In asserting dyslexia as the reason for her difficulties, Emily drew on a medicalised notion of dyslexia in which it is a 'thing' that causes certain 'symptoms'. Solvang (2007) suggests that this is common and potentially beneficial as young people can blame difficulties at school on their dyslexia rather than their own deficiencies.

5.4.1.2 Dyslexia as part of me

For some of the young people in the study, dyslexia was a fundamental part of their identity. John and Samuel (year 7) both noted differences between themselves and their peers, which, in Samuel's case, were viewed negatively and in John's case appeared to offer him an explanation for his having different interests from his peers. These differences, particularly in Samuel's case, appear to carry a certain stigma (Goffman, 1963), which could lead to these young people's understanding of dyslexia gaining negative connotations. However, despite having the potentially 'stigmatising characteristic' (Goffman, 1963) of dyslexia, both Samuel and John, as well as Emily (all year 7) and most of the other participants, were willing to share their views of dyslexia and how they related to it. These young people's understanding of dyslexia as significant in their own self-concept aligns with Foddy and Kashima's (2002) work, in which actors organised their own self-concept around important aspects of their life. John, and other young people, attributed a significant part of their identity to their dyslexia and the perceived differences between them and their peers. They link these perceived differences to their role/label of dyslexia, an association which aligns with Aronsson and Evaldsson (1993), who, like Bourdieu (1977) and Jenkins (2008), believe that assigned roles reinforce social expectations of an individual. In the context of this study,

John is labelled as dyslexic; he has certain experiences with his friends and perceives differences between himself and them. He then attributes these differences to his dyslexia. Through these perceived differences, young people in the study then internally negotiate their own identity (Bourdieu, 1977).

Alexander and Josh appeared to address their dyslexia differently from the other participants. When asked about his dyslexia during interviews and during mainstream lessons, Alexander did not readily discuss his dyslexia, despite viewing it as part of himself. Josh's responses when asked about his understandings of dyslexia and its impact on his learning were short and did not describe his understanding in detail; there was a reluctance to share information with me. Alexander's open admission that dyslexia was part of him but that he only disclosed it when he felt it appropriate suggests that he viewed it as a stigmatising characteristic (Goffman, 1963). His internal understanding of dyslexia did not allow him to view dyslexia positively. Josh's reluctance to discuss his dyslexia suggests a similar desire.

5.4.1.3 A dyslexic identity

Both Bourdieu (1977) and Goffman (1963) view identity as a social process, where actors make sense of their own position and role relative to others. Jenkins (2008) also views identity formation as a collective process, through which an individual's internal 'self' tries to understand their social role. Young people's sense of identity was clearly affected by their dyslexia. David's (year 9) and John's (year 7) conscious efforts to reframe their dyslexia positively within a mainstream setting, through reference to individuals positively associated with dyslexia, suggests that congruent with Humphrey and Mullin's (2010) findings, young people with dyslexia in the Hilltop View, mainstream setting experienced shame. The presence of the label of dyslexia then suggests that internally, young people are anxious that there is a perceptible, 'stigmatising characteristic' (Goffman, 1963) which may have a negative impact on their social position relative to their peers (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Thus, young people in this study appeared to attempt to renegotiate their understandings of dyslexia as negative and instead frame it positively internally.

Reference to individuals positively associated with dyslexia was not the only way through which young people renegotiated their understanding of themselves in relation to their dyslexia. They drew on areas where they demonstrated particular success outside of their dyslexia; Emily discussed her success at musical theatre and trampolining; Connor talked about online gaming and Benjamin highlighted his talent for football. The mechanism by which young people's positive view of self was generated in this context differs from

those young people who made reference to individuals positively associated with dyslexia. While those who made positive, personal links to others with dyslexia, attempted to associate themselves positively with dyslexia, thus reducing the stigmatising effect of dyslexia as a label, Connor, Emily and Benjamin dealt with the stigmatising characteristic through emphasis on other aspects of their 'self'. Through focussing on positive aspects of dyslexia, young people mediated its stigmatising characteristics (Goffman, 1963). By emphasising their own and other people's strengths, young people manage their own identity by incorporating what they view as positive attributes of dyslexia. These sense-making processes, which frame young people's 'dyslexic self', appear to form a strategy through which young people can achieve better 'possible identities' (Oyserman and James, 2011), through a reduction in the discrepancy between their 'virtual' and 'actual' selves (Goffman, 1963).

For some young people, the positive aspects/associations of dyslexia incorporated into young people's 'present identities' allowed them to display a positive attributes identity and enjoy positive interactions with their peers within their social networks. However, for other young people, such as Alexander who did not view himself as a successful reader or John, who did not view himself as academically successful, these negative understandings of themselves limited their possible 'future identity' (Oyserman and James, 2011), through construction of themselves as unsuccessful, academically. The implications of such adopting of positive social identities in the 'now', 'being' aspect of childhood and their effects on the 'becoming' aspect of childhood/adulthood, will be discussed in Chapter 8 in detail.

5.4.2 Dyslexic young people's interactions with adults

This section focusses on how young people and their views of dyslexia have been informed by social interactions. As Jenkins (2008: 42) states, "what people think about us is no less significant than what we think about ourselves … *identity is never unilateral*" and later that "we identify ourselves in the internal–external dialectic between self-image and public image", we can see that the use of interview and observational data here is important. The self-image of young people can be ascertained through interview data; the image that others have of those young people can also be gleaned through interview data and both of these views can then be expanded upon through drawing on my observational data. Thus, through the individual order, we can understand how individuals attempt to 'present their 'self'' (Goffman, 1963).

5.4.2.1 Interactional influences on young people's identity

Social interactions are argued by Bourdieu (1977) as forming the basis through which social actors understand themselves. Jenkins (2008) also views identity as constructed socially. Thus, at the interactional level, where interactions between social actors occur, it is salient to include data from both young people themselves and also adults within their field. At this level, I draw on 'relational-self' theory (Chen et al., 2011), where actors project different aspects of themselves in certain settings in order to manage their perceived, public identity (Goffman, 1963).

Young people, when interacting with their teachers and peers (not their immediate friends) presented a 'self' which aligned with their desired virtual self (where dyslexia was not perceptible) to reduce the 'stigmatisable characteristics' associated with them in their social network (Goffman, 1963). It was also evident that young people presented a different form of themselves when in small group situations and in particular when they were interacting with friends. There were, however, differences in how young people presented themselves with their friends as well.

Samuel's (year 7) reference to the importance of his best friend's dyslexia and the value Jake (year 8) placed on his friends with dyslexia for the common ground in their interactions suggests that their projected identity incorporated some of the 'stigmatising' (Goffman, 1963) aspects of their dyslexia and that such relationships reinforced a positive position within their social network. For them, it was important to have a social space in which having dyslexia was not a negative attribute. However, other young people viewed interactions with their friends similarly to those with their peers; they acted to conceal their dyslexia. Their projected identity was one that acted to reduce the deficit between their public and private selves. Those young people appeared to act to secure a positive present identity (Oyserman and James, 2011), so that their future, possible selves within their social network would be advantageous, potentially allowing them to gain a privileged position within the field of Hilltop View School through embodying a habitus[16] (Bourdieu, 1989) that would facilitate this progression.

5.4.2.2 Young people as framed by their interactions and support interventions

When discussing interventions and classroom support strategies with young people, teachers in this study acted to mediate the effects of having dyslexia. The interventions they

[16] For a full discussion of 'habitus' see section 3.1.1.1.

applied when working with young people were generally designed not to draw attention to young people's difficulties. Teachers appeared to act to preserve and support the identities young people projected to their peers in the classroom setting (Chen et al., 2011), thus minimising their peers' perception of stigmatising characteristics (Goffman, 1963). Hannah (teacher) did this by "making everything so normal" and Jenny did this through the resources she supplied to her pupils.

It seems that teachers' presentation as 'friendly adults' supported young people in acting agentically. It could also be viewed as evidence that young people's agency is controlled by teachers such that they are inculcated to act in a certain way (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991), so that they become 'good learners'. As evidenced, teachers and teaching assistants enjoyed positive interactions with young people and appeared to support young people so that their behaviour/identity supported them in developing successful 'future selves' (Oyserman and James, 2011), whilst positively experiencing the present.

Young people also benefitted from their interactions with adults in the Hilltop View setting, as described by teachers. Claire and other teachers, particularly Anna, viewed young people as capable young adults who were 'beings' rather than purely 'becomings' who were incapable of actively and agentically controlling their own social identity/position (Uprichard, 2008). Claire noted that Josh, in particular, made use of relationships with adults and that this had the effect of easing his interactions with them. He was clearly an active social agent in the sense that he could access the discourse necessary to interact with teachers and gain a positive position in a classroom setting relative to those staff members, which afforded him resources in that setting as teachers were willing to support him (Bourdieu, 1977; 1989). My observation notes highlight teachers' efforts to create supportive learning settings which then may help young people to embody the habits of that classroom and facilitate their interactions with their teachers and their peers (Bourdieu, 1977). In fostering these relationships, some young people were seen by teachers in this study as active social agents (Uprichard, 2008) who were able to negotiate the field of education well despite being in a subordinate position where they were subject to the constraints of being pupils in a school setting. Thus, the construction of some young people in this study as 'dependent' actors shows a diversity of opinion amongst teachers in this study; some young people are capable social agents, despite their dyslexia and tend towards 'being' rather than 'becoming', in contrast with Brunnberg's (2013) study, where hearing-impaired young people appeared to be ontologically 'becoming'. Notwithstanding teachers' attempts to facilitate positive communication surrounding dyslexia, however, some young people were not able to discuss their dyslexia and interact comfortably with teachers. Jake wished to embody a habitus that

would have facilitated this type of discussion but did not appear to have achieved this embodiment. He is a very reserved person and was generally quiet in class, which could have contributed to this; in a small group setting, he may have been more confident to do so.

Other young people rejected teachers' efforts to use positive relationships to form a foundation for discussion of their dyslexia. Connor and John rejected a habitus in which they discussed their dyslexia with teachers and projected that aspect of themselves in a classroom setting (Bourdieu, 1977). They were thus, entirely capable social actors in this field according to Uprichard's (2008) view of children as actors; they chose not to represent their dyslexia in their interactions with others.

We can thus see that young people acted and were acted upon in the classroom setting through their interactions. These interactions informed and developed their sense of self, their understanding of dyslexia and their "sense of place" within their network (Bourdieu, 1989). Some young people embraced their dyslexia as a basis for interaction and others rejected it, choosing to project a 'self' that concealed their dyslexia as much as possible.

5.4.3 The position of young people within the mainstream education setting: Hilltop View

In this section, the perceptions of young people with dyslexia at an institutional level are discussed. How teachers viewed young people with dyslexia in a generalised sense is explored alongside views of parents and young people. Stereotypes of young people emergent in these views are discussed with reference to the concept of childhood within Prout's (2003) 'new paradigm' of childhood and Uprichard's (2008) view of young people as both 'beings' and 'becomings'. The label of dyslexia is explored and its effects on young people's position within an institutional setting are discussed alongside the models of dyslexia represented in different institutional settings. How young people are able to articulate their voice institutionally and barriers to their agency are discussed in the final section, drawing on localised school policies and broader, national policies.

5.4.3.1 Institutionalised views of young people with dyslexia

At an institutional level, that is when discussing generalised views of dyslexia and young people, some teachers in this study viewed young people as incapable actors, dependent on their (teachers') actions in order to be able to access the curriculum. It is important to note that, at this level of interaction, the young people discussed by teachers are not those who they work with, but rather they are discussing the generalised view of a young person with

dyslexia. This discourse can be found in both government (DfE, 2010a) and academic literature (Riddick, 2010). Young people's position relative to teachers tended to be view by teachers as dependent, and subject to their actions rather than capable of enacting their own agency. Where young people with dyslexia are viewed as incapable social actors, their position as marginalised within the structures of education can be reinforced. Other work has already found that young people are marginalised within the education system (Smith, 2007; Wyness, 2012). These views are reinforced and created by structures such as policy, in which adults are responsible for the educational provision of young people (Children and Families Act, 2014).

Bourdieu (1977) viewed education as a highly significant social site through which the dominant social group propagates its position. In this study, this seems to be the case for teachers regarding young people with dyslexia. They, through their role as 'state functionaries' (Bourdieu, 2011), whose position as responsible for educational provision, promotes (at institutional level) a model of dyslexia whereby young people are incapable of acting agentically without their intervention. However, within policy (Children and Families Act, 2014), to obtain support and extra interventions at school, young people must be perceived to be incapable of accessing the curriculum. Thus, at institutional level, for teachers to be able to support young people with dyslexia, 'officially' those young people must be dependent on a teacher for their curricular access. This would go some way to explaining why, at the interactional level, teachers relate dyslexia to young people such that young people are active agents and that dyslexia may be socially constructed and why at the institutional level, young people are viewed as incapable. This suggests that, teachers in this study drew on a bio-social model of dyslexia (MacDonald, 2012); there are able students who could achieve academically who have an impairment, but they cannot access the curriculum and teachers/professionals are the gatekeepers to that curriculum.

5.4.3.2 Labelling young people

In literature, Mullins (2010) argues that by labelling people as 'dyslexic' they are attributed with what Goffman (1963) would describe as a "stigmatising characteristic", affecting their current and future identities. This contrasts with Riddick's (2000) view that people have that 'stigmatising characteristic' whether or not they have an official 'label'. Riddick later describes the potentially emancipatory nature of a 'label' of dyslexia for an individual; they can locate reasons for their difficulties within that label instead of having intrinsic failures. In this study, teachers, parents and young people generally ascribed to this standpoint. In line with Riddick's work (2000, 2010), both parents and teachers suggested that despite resistance from young people, sometimes 'labelling' was a positive thing.

Olivia and Mike firmly believed, however, that the 'label' of dyslexia should not define a child. Mike and other teachers' view that achievement should not be impeded due to dyslexia meant that a label of dyslexia would give them an understanding of how to support that child. They would have a clearer expectation surrounding that young person's learning. These expectations can be linked to Goffman's (1963) notion of the 'anticipated other', which facilitates social interactions such that, a 'teacher' will 'know how' to interact with a 'dyslexic child' and vice versa. In suggesting that dyslexia "shouldn't define the child", Mike (teacher) seems to argue that young people with dyslexia should be considered holistically and that other aspects of their identity should also be prominent. Thus, as in literature, 'the dyslexic child's' role focusses on deficiency (Snowling et al., 2003; Ziegler and Goswami, 2005) and on status as an 'acted upon' child (Wyness, 2012) despite teachers' attempts to define young people holistically. Government and academic literature supports parents' and teachers' understandings of the label of 'dyslexic' as a stigmatisable impairment, where young people, although liberated by the label, still view dyslexia as a negative aspect of their current identity (Oyserman and James, 2011). However, once a young person had received the label and was defined as dyslexic, they could then actively begin to renegotiate their sense of self and their position as a 'young person with dyslexia'. Young people's capacity to renegotiate their sense of self and social position will be discussed in detail in Chapter 8.

However, labelling was at times problematic for young people. At the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), as described in sections 5.1.2 and 5.1.3, young people did embody their dyslexia. However, at the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008), young people did not always want to reveal their 'dyslexic self' in a classroom setting; they preferred to exercise control over who knew about their dyslexia. At these levels, they thus positioned dyslexia as a 'stigmatising characteristic' (Goffman, 1963) despite their attempts to redefine it positively.

5.4.3.3 The voices of young people with dyslexia

The position of power occupied by teachers as state functionaries (Bourdieu, 2011) is written into objective social structures, such as the Children and Families Act 2014, such that teachers and schools are responsible for supporting young people with SEN in the classroom where possible, particularly where they do not have an EHCP. Within the Children and Families Act 2014, the wishes of young people with an EHCP should be considered with regard to their educational provision. Thus, within this documentation, young people are framed as at least partly competent social actors, able to articulate their views (Prout, 2003).

Although their views 'should' be considered, they may not be. They are also, however, subject to constraints due to their biological age. This is in line with Uprichard's (2008) view that young people are both actors and acted upon in policy. This also appeared to be the case in the Hilltop View setting. At school level, young people could voice their wishes surrounding their dyslexia through their support plan, which was written in consultation with young people, including information as they wished, written in the first person. Such a measure suggests that young people were viewed at school level as competent social actors (Prout, 2003) who can articulate their own views (Eder and Corsaro, 2011).

Uprichard's (2008) dual model of young people, in which they are actors and acted upon ('beings' and 'becomings') is salient when considering young people's voice in their academic provision at the institutional level. Anna's acknowledgement of the power differential between teachers and young people, which may limit young people's capacity to challenge their provision, echoes Bourdieu's view of power and propagation of social structures within education. Young people are pre-disposed to act in certain ways through their exposure to, and embodiment of, the habitus of the field of education (, 1977) thus it runs counter to that habitus to challenge their teacher's practices. So, despite there being the potential for young people to voice their views on educational provision, both at the national level and the local level institutionally, due to the position of teachers versus that of young people, they are unlikely to challenge teachers. Thus, due to young people's position at the institutional level relative to teachers, at the interactional level, despite positive working relationships with teachers, they are unlikely to challenge teachers' methods or provision relating to their dyslexia.

5.5 Conclusion

In this section, from the findings presented and discussed above, I draw conclusions. I highlight key themes arising at the three different 'levels of interaction' (Jenkins, 2008) from the perspective of young people, but also drawing on data from adult participants to provide context. I link these key findings briefly to literature and then describe their theoretical and practical implications.

5.5.1 Young people at the individual order

In this study, dyslexia was found to be a key aspect of young people's identity, both in the classroom and outside of it. All young people knew about their dyslexia and found a sense of relief when they received their diagnosis. In line with Solvang's (2007) work, it provided a tangible source for their difficulties. Young people drew on medical models of dyslexia when describing their dyslexia and used medicalised language in its description. Most young

people in this study appeared to associate their dyslexia with difficulties in the classroom and all of them attempted to negotiate a positive understanding of it, through reference to positive role models and focussing on their strengths. Young people who did not attempt such a process tended to be more reluctant to discuss their dyslexia and kept their diagnosis close to themselves, only disclosing it publicly when they chose. Both of these processes suggest that dyslexia can be understood as a stigmatising characteristic, in line with Goffman's 1963 work.

5.5.2 Young people at the interaction order

When interacting with others, young people in this study tended to only present a self which did not disclose their dyslexic identity. They appeared to do this so as to reduce the perceptibility of their dyslexia by others in line with Goffman's work (1963) so that there were imperceptible differences between themselves and others within their social field. This acted to maintain their positive position in their social network at Hilltop View so that they could maintain control in line with Bourdieu's (1977; 1989; 2011) view of the field of education. Adults noted that some young people used positive relationships to help mediate difficult interactions in the classroom and to help them gain support of teachers in the classroom. Some young people chose not to discuss their dyslexia with teachers and rejected publicly displaying their dyslexic self. Young people, however, were not able to control their identity projection entirely, as their interactions with teachers were subject to power differentials in favour of the teachers.

5.5.3 Young people at the institutional order

Institutionally, young people's position was found, at Hilltop View School, to be one in which they were framed as dependent on adults in the school in order to access the curriculum. This was particularly prevalent during discussions with both young people and adults; young people were perceived and perceived themselves, as not having the capacity to enact agency surrounding their own provision. They were somewhat marginalised within the system, in line with Wyness' (2012) and Smith's (2007) work, where young people's voices were not heard. This was despite individual teachers attempting to frame young people as capable actors through their interactions. Thus, in line with Bourdieu's (1977; 1989; 2001) work, education seemed to be a site at Hilltop View, where young people's position within the system was still subordinate, despite the 'support plans' and teachers' best efforts to reduce social distances between themselves and young people.

Labelling publicly was found to be problematic for young people. On receiving an 'official' diagnosis of dyslexia, young people were framed as dyslexic in their interactions

with teachers. This was at odds with the views expressed by some young people, who did not choose to share this information with others. As such, the voices of young people, at the institutional level were not always heard, despite statutory expectations (Children and Families Act, 2014) that the voices of young people be heard in relation to their educational provision.

5.5.4 Theoretical and practical implications for these findings

A Bourdieusian analysis of young people's experiences of dyslexia in the classroom was undertaken using Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' as a framework through which to undertake it. Young people's views of their own dyslexia and social interactions were analysed and parents'/teachers' perspectives of young people's experiences were also drawn upon to provide context and broader understanding of young people's experiences. Here I discuss theoretical and practical implications for the findings from this section of my study.

5.5.4.1 Theoretical implications

Young people attempted to positively frame their dyslexia in the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008). Young people incorporated their dyslexia into their private identities and it provided a positive outlet and explanation for their difficulties. However, when considering their interactions at the interactional level these positive views of dyslexia appear in tension with young people's perception of dyslexia as a stigmatising characteristic (Goffman, 1963). Thus young people's acceptance of the label of dyslexia at an individual order seems to clash with the habitus that they aim to adopt within the classroom: that of the 'normal learner'. Emily could incorporate her dyslexia into her classroom experience, as she openly addressed teachers in relation to her difficulties, however she was not in the majority in this study. Most young people rejected the 'practices' associated with being a dyslexic learner in the classroom and instead tried to embody the habitus of a 'normal' learner to maintain their position within the field of education.

At an institutional level, young people's marginalised position within the field of education, in the localised setting of Hilltop View School, is confirmed. Despite interactions between teachers and young people being based around positive relationships and teachers as 'friendly adults' (Christensen, 2004), young people are subject to being labelled and their dyslexia being disclosed publicly whether they wish it to be or not. The use of 'support plans' aimed to address this, and to some extent appears to do so; the information contained in them is edited by the young people before final dissemination to professionals. However, due to power imbalances between young people and teachers, young people were unlikely

to challenge teachers' practices through their 'support plans'. Thus, in line with Wyness' (2012) work, it would appear that young people are still in a subordinate position regarding their ability to influence their own educational provision at the structural level.

Thus, at the individual level and to some extent, at the interactional level, young people are viewed as capable social actors who can enact their own agency. However, at the institutional level, they are subject to constraints which serve to restrict their capacity to enact their own agency. These findings suggest that Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' are a useful lens through which to explore the experiences of young people in a school setting and that Uprichard's (2008) model of young people as 'beings' and 'becomings' was an appropriate way to frame the position of young people with dyslexia in the Hilltop View setting. The applicability of the model could be further explored, however, through exploration of the experiences of young people without impairments in relation to negotiation of their own educational provision.

5.5.4.2 Practical implications

At a practical level, some young people seemed to value their diagnosis for dyslexia and found it to be a source of relief. Within the Hilltop View setting, young people valued their positive relationships with teachers and found them very useful in relation to provision for their dyslexia. However, most young people in this study highlighted the importance of classroom interventions not drawing attention to their specific need; teachers did show awareness of this (see section 5.2.4) and in Chapter 7, teachers' experiences of dyslexia in the classroom are explored. Young people do not share uniform views about how they wish to interact with adults in relation to their dyslexia, which suggests that teachers adopting a 'friendly adult' (Christensen, 2004) role is their way of mitigating any uncomfortable interactions with young people.

At the institutional level, young people's ability to enact their own agency appeared to be more restricted due to constraints acting on them. Hilltop View School is already attempting to improve young people's ability to enact agency through their use of 'support plans' and hopes that young people will use them to support their learning needs. However, some of the constraints to which young people are subject are outside of the Hilltop View setting and relate to the wider field of education and childhood. Young people are biologically younger than adults and as such, are not able to participate in some processes to the same extent as adults. These wider constraints, require deeper study so that salient evidence-based recommendations can be made in relation to them.

Chapter 6

Being the Parent of a Young Person with Dyslexia

In this chapter, I explore dyslexia from the perspective of parents of dyslexic young people. I analysed interview data using the Jenkins-based framework of 'levels of interaction' (Jenkins, 2008) to inform a Bourdieusian analysis of parents' agency and experiences of dyslexia at three levels. In section 6.1, through the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), I explore parents' understandings of their children's dyslexia and relate it to their expectations of childhood. I discuss the models they draw on when internally negotiating their understanding of dyslexia in their children and how these understandings inform how they view themselves as parents. I draw on Watermeyer's (2009) model of children as 'incomplete' and link dyslexia to his understanding that when confronted with disability, some individuals experience a sense of mourning for a 'lost' ability. I then liken this to Shakespeare's (1996a) 'personal tragedy' views of disability as parents try to internally make sense of their children's dyslexia. Section 6.2 covers the 'interactional order' and discusses the interactions that informed parents' understandings of dyslexia. I then draw on notions of 'future' and 'present' selves (Oyserman and James, 2011) and 'stigmatising characteristics' (Goffman, 1963) when exploring parents' interactions relating to dyslexia with professionals. 'Normalisation', through comparison of young people with their peers, and medicalisation of dyslexia (Solvang, 2007) were salient matters arising in this section, as well as the difficulties experienced by parents when engaging with professionals about educational provision for their children. In section 6.3 of this chapter, I discuss the parents' interactions at an 'institutional' level (Jenkins, 2008). Here I reveal parents' experiences of the structural institutions surrounding education, highlight the self-propagating nature of these institutions (Bourdieu, 1970) and discuss changes in power dynamics which may shift power from professionals, as state-appointed controllers of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989), to parents. These matters will then be expanded upon in Chapter 8. In section 6.4, I discuss the implications of findings in the prior sections and draw links between teachers' views and academic literature.

6.1 The individual order

In this section, analysis of parents' experiences at the 'individual order' is undertaken. The 'individual order' specifically looks at "embodied individuals and what goes on in their heads" (Jenkins, 2008: 39). Here I explicate the internal negotiations that parents undertook when making sense of their children's dyslexia and their own relationship with dyslexia. In literature, young people are often conceptualised as incomplete (Humphrey, 2000) and unable to access political and decision-making processes (Watermeyer, 2009). Here I will

investigate how parents negotiate their understanding of their children and their child's dyslexia. I also analyse how parents have renegotiated their expectations for their children in light of their dyslexia and the parents' concepts of 'self' having developed.

6.1.1 There's something wrong with my child?

Parents described a need to understand the differences experienced with their children. This is illustrated in Alexandra's (parent) view of her youngest child, "We know because he's our third child, so we knew when he was tiny that there was something not quite right". She refers to the notion of a problem with her child and suggests that he does not have the capacities that 'normal people' do.

The understanding, that something is 'wrong' with their child, was echoed by all parents. Their acknowledgement of a learning difference in their children came through a comparison of their child with other children, either at school or within their family. Kelly (parent) also used language which linked her son's dyslexia to a deficiency relative to her other children: "it's hard when you find that there's something wrong with them to be honest, because I had the other two. Obviously, I had realised there was something wrong with Connor."

Some parents in this study alluded to a mourning process on learning of their child's dyslexia. Lottie described her own expectations and how they changed: "So all those things you assume that your child is going to be able to do when they go to school become issues." Alexandra also went through a similar process with her son:

> "I mean, I know as a parent, well, um, when we first realised the extent of his difficulties, you do go through an almost, a mourning period. You go through this sense of, I don't know. I don't know. I've had other parents sort of describing it to me. Not really mourning but you're it, you find it difficult, think of you know, the difficulties and not being able to do much about it. And um, he's struggling and how your child can cope with it."

In this study, there was a level of anxiety within parents' sense-making of their children's dyslexia. This was highlighted by Alexandra (parent), "I think, sort of, within the early years when you see the peer groups suddenly taking off and they feel really left out. It's really hard as a parent because it does affect their self- esteem." In order to counteract their initial views, parents seemed to engage in a process of renegotiating their views of dyslexia and its connotations in order to positively frame it for their children:

> "We know that he's going to aspire to great things and achieve great things. Um yeah and we sort of tell him that there's loads of successful people in the public eye that have dyslexia." Alexandra (parent)

Whereas Jean (parent) noted that she drew on her own personal network to help frame dyslexia positively, noting that, "We have a really good friend of ours that um, is dyslexic and he's a very successful man, and one of the brightest people we know … We don't treat him differently because he has that issue."

During interviews, most parents seemed to draw on the notion that dyslexia would not preclude their children from success; they appeared to draw on a broad range of 'success' in order to positively frame their children's dyslexia and its connotations. Sophia (parent) gave a particularly detailed example of this, drawing on a German model:

> "Can't we just have, as they have in Germany? I mean, my two cousins are very proud of what they do. Neither of them went to university, they're both dyslexic by the way. And they're really, really proud of what they're doing and they've both done really good apprenticeships."

In a similar way to young people, parents appeared to frame dyslexia positively when discussing it with me in interviews. This may be a reflection of their internal negotiation process, whereby, if they develop a positive view of it themselves, they can then present this to others during interactions. This is discussed further in the following section.

6.1.3 Reinventing dyslexia and parenting

As part of parents' internally developing understandings of dyslexia, they transferred 'blame' for their children's difficulties onto dyslexia rather than their child. Parents in this study were glad of the 'label' as a means of exonerating them and their children from blame for difficulties experienced by their child, as summarised by Jean (parent), "I think it has [been useful] because now we know that he's not just being difficult when it comes to homework. You know, there's a reason why we went through all the grief."

Parents who attempted to modify their understanding of their children's dyslexia tended to view dyslexia medically, in that there was 'something wrong' with their children. Parents accepting the presence of an impairment within their child, however, also drew on a social model of dyslexia. They explored the effects that dyslexia had on their children both in terms of their academic work, and socially. This appeared to form the basis of parents

developing a more positive understanding of dyslexia. To renegotiate their understanding of dyslexia, they tended to highlight their children's capabilities, rather than focussing on deficits vis-à-vis their peers. As part of this process, Sophia (parent) linked to the idea that, "They're very creative people. They're very good in and fantastic in thinking outside the box, and you know, lots of inventors … are dyslexic, and, and you know, very creative people", highlighting her perception of the intrinsic strengths of individuals with dyslexia. Alexandra (parent) did this by, "trying and sort of pushing him in his strengths and telling him that it's not necessarily a bad thing to be dyslexic because it's you know, you can excel in other things". The reasons for this process appeared to be two-fold; parents wanted to view their children positively and to support their children in interactions. Through redefining their understandings of dyslexia more positively, parents attempted to support their children's interactions with other individuals at the 'interactional level'.

However, some parents also described their anxiety surrounding their children's dyslexia. Kelly (parent) discussed her concerns surrounding GSCEs (all young people were in KS3, so they were not yet undertaking GCSE study):

> "I do worry about the future though because, because again I've had the other 2 that have gone through GCSEs I think hmm … You know, it is a lot of essay writing and … that will come hard."

Olivia also described the difficulties experienced by Benjamin and her response to them:

> "You wonder how much, you, you can get snippets of things but it, how long is that going to stay in there. You know, how long is he going to retain that. That's what you worry about you know. When it comes to obviously exams, I mean. He hates tests or anything like that because obviously, when we were going through all the statement and everything, there were so many tests that it stressed him out constantly."

These parents clearly felt concern surrounding the academic success of their children, which was also mirrored by Alison and Grace. Parents' concerns surrounding academic success seem to be summarised by Lottie, who felt that the needs of young people with dyslexia are not met in the current system:

> "they're being failed in my eyes, in my eyes … So I just think that their strengths should be celebrated a lot more and I think that schools should, which is I know a full task, but should have more readily available things for them to do in schools so

> that they can access their learning so that they can flourish at what they're good at 'cos they're a square peg in a round hole in this system,"

and Sophia who thought it

> "odd that the education system doesn't incorporate something to do with dyslexia and, and diagnosing it and then being able to work with that child to learn in a different way, as part of the norm and why we have to do it the way we do".

6.2 The interaction order

In this section, parents' experiences of dyslexia at the 'interaction order' will be discussed. The interaction order is defined by Jenkins (2008: 39) as the "human world as made up of embodied individuals and what-goes-on-between-people". I will use this idea to investigate how, as individual social actors, parents have formed their views of dyslexia and how children's dyslexia affects their interactions with others. How dyslexia is viewed publicly will be explored and how parents present their children's dyslexia publicly will be discussed.

6.2.1 How parents' views of dyslexia are formed

Here I discuss both how parents developed an understanding of their children's dyslexia through researching how dyslexia affects individuals and then how parents pursued an official recognition of their children's dyslexia.

6.2.1.1 Where do I find my views of dyslexia?

In this study, parents all described their need to undertake personal research into dyslexia. Some parents drew on their professional experiences, either in the teaching profession or outside of it, to recognise their children's difficulties linked to dyslexia. Other parents drew on knowledge they had gained through interactions with other parents as well as online research. Here the way in which parents' interactions with other individuals acted to frame their understanding of dyslexia is discussed.

> Clive (parent) described his initial encounter with dyslexia in his workplace:
> "Our first experience of it was, I run a warehouse where we pick item numbers … which are letters and numbers and my first experience of it was probably only about 10 or 15 years ago. Where one of the chaps constantly picked everything wrong. And we couldn't work it out … And then he finally admitted that he had dyslexia and I didn't actually know what that meant."

Although Lottie's and Alexandra's (parents) knowledge of dyslexia was framed by their professional history – both had worked as SenCos in a primary school setting – they tended to draw on comparison with their other children to highlight their children's dyslexia, "we knew because he's our third child". Grace described the differences between her three children, "Well, actually all three of them are different … but Alexander is the only that is officially diagnosed. Um and they are, they all have within the same sort of elements but at different sort of levels." She also mentioned a training course that she had been on which, in either a professional or a personal capacity, she had attended in order to learn more about dyslexia.

Olivia's and Christine's (parents) personal research was largely internet-based as Olivia states, "Most of it's been from the internet, that I've got information about, how, what, what we could do and how we could help … the internet has been the best thing really". Interestingly, through this quotation, we can see evidence that she accepts that Benjamin has an underlying difficulty but that parents/teaching/environment may affect his experiences of dyslexia, i.e. that it is possible to help him through interventions. This was also echoed by Sophia and Kelly (parents) who sought ways to help Jake (year 8) through online research and discussion with other parents.

6.2.1.2 Getting it recognised

Parents in this study had varied experiences in obtaining official recognition of their children's dyslexia. Both Olivia and Darren's, and Christine's sons have a 'Statement of SEN' (they and David were the only young people to have a Statement of SEN – see section 4.3) for their dyslexia and both have endured long conflicts with school authorities in order to obtain those Statements. Olivia and Darren suggested that a difficulty faced by parents when trying to obtain official recognition of their children's dyslexia was its hidden nature (Riddick, 2000, 2010). Darren believed that, "if Benjamin walked with a limp and had a wonky eye, no problem at all. They could physically see what was", while Olivia added that, "It's physical. You know, you can see that."

Sophia (parent) believed that too much of the onus for obtaining a 'diagnosis' for dyslexia lies with the parents. Her son has dyslexia but does not have a statement. She suggested that schools should undertake diagnoses for dyslexia rather than parents having to pay for assessments:

> "But it seems in schools to be slow and why can't children be, you know, why are they not diagnosed in schools, why tests aren't performed and I, I'm not a teacher so

> I can't you know, I um. Why is it I had to pay 500 quid to have a test done on my child to say 'this is what's the matter with my child' and it's not that it's the matter with it, but it's that the child is finding it hard to learn."

She alluded to the importance of having 'official' processes linked to diagnosis within the school system, which are available to all. However, in line with McKay and Neal's (2009) work, due to the prevalence of similar hidden disabilities whose symptoms overlap with dyslexia, it was very difficult for Sophia to get a diagnosis of dyslexia for Jake.

6.2.2 Dyslexia and my child

6.2.2.1 How can I explain my child's dyslexia?

In this study, parents generally discussed their child's dyslexia with their children. They usually framed it positively and in doing so, drew on varying models of dyslexia. A common theme apparent in interview data was the need to know how to support their child with dyslexia. Alison (parent) explained dyslexia to Emily through comparison of Emily with her friends and their different skills, "I asked my mum and she said it's like how, in like maths or something, if somebody gave you and one of your friends a sum to add up, they might be able to to, add it up different. And then I asked why, and she said because your brain works differently than everybody else's" (Emily, year 7). Alison noted that for Emily, "All through Key Stage 1, she had help constantly. So I think for her, there was no um, Oh God, There was no big labelling when she got into Key Stage 2 as such", showing that Emily was aware of her dyslexia and that she knew she had difficulties. However, her assertion that Emily has "got no qualms about just saying, 'yeah, I've got dyslexia' or 'I can't do number because I'm just, I've got dyscalculia'" suggests that Emily has understood her dyslexia/dyscalculia as learning differences but does not associate them with shame, or blame.

Jean, in her discussions with John, refuted the model of dyslexia where it was viewed as a discrepancy between ability and achievement (Regan and Woods, 2010). She, "sort of told him that it is a, you know that is doesn't mean he's not clever". Interestingly, Kelly (parent) and her family did not tell Connor (year 8) that he had dyslexia:

> "Do you know, we didn't ever tell Connor for quite a long time because they'd had an experience at his school with another child and once he was told he was dyslexic it was, he gave up trying ''cos I'm dyslexic'. So we didn't say to Connor probably until he was in year 5 or so."

As such, Connor might have become aware of his difficulties relative to his peers and adopted negative behaviour characteristics regardless of whether he was aware of his label. The family, however, discussed it when Connor's class teacher requested they do so, as the extra support in place for Connor drew attention to him.

6.2.2.2 How we engage with my child's dyslexia

In this study, congruous with Riddick's (2000, 2010) studies, teachers, through their interactions with parents, understood that parents largely found a diagnosis of dyslexia a positive thing. Both Kate and Kathryn (teachers) suggested that parents viewed it as an explanation for their child's difficulties. Kathryn posited that:

> "It can be a very positive thing for the students or for their families and their parents on the one hand, I see, I see it as a positive label if you like … compared with some of the other, sort of, negative labels that are out there. So, when I, student finds out they're dyslexic, 99 per cent of the time, they're quite pleased, because it gives them a rationale, an understanding, 'Oh, OK. That's why I find that difficult. It's because I'm dyslexic.'"

However, she does not discuss a nuanced view of the emotional journey that parents may experience. There may be various reasons for this and she may not wish to discuss them with me in the interview. Equally likely is that parents go through a process of negotiation of self and identity relating to their child's dyslexia. They may also wish to only present certain aspects of their renegotiated 'self' (Chen, 2011) depending on the social situation; in the case of meeting with teachers, parents may wish to present a 'positive' view of themselves as parents of a young person with dyslexia. They may not wish to present their own private difficulties in a social situation with a teacher.

Teachers and parents both felt that support was important and that support "can't be done in isolation. It must be done with home and school" according to Jenny (teacher). However, how this support is implemented caused tension between teachers and parents in their interactions. Anna (teacher) echoed the views of other teachers in suggesting that some parents hinder children's progress at times due to their interactions with young people, "I think there are some students who I teach who are dyslexic and have an 'I can't' attitude. Um and they, and some students it's a case of that perpetuated by their family."

However, parents struggled with the school's expectations of their children. In discussing extra work assigned to their children, both Lottie and Kelly (parents), despite generally being supportive of the school, placed limits on what they undertook in the home

setting. Lottie's views of learning demonstrated a clash between what should take place at home, versus what should take place at school. She was prepared to support her children's learning, "but I won't do any additional reading with [his sister] or Samuel. I don't do that now. 'Cos I actually, think that they get enough of that at school. And I don't think they really need to come home and be made and going on and on about learning and learning and learning". She did not want her interactions with Samuel to be associated with learning and did not want to be a 'teacher' when interacting with her son. Kelly's view of home-based support was similar. She did not wish to adopt an 'educator' into her home life as it clashed with the identity that she wished to project when interacting with Connor, "And I'm the homework lady. Homework! The bane of my life." The reasons for their views differ, however; Lottie's view seemed to arise from her son's tiredness and the idea that academic learning takes place at school, whereas Kelly appeared to attempt to align educational experiences at home with those at school and found it difficult.

Although Kelly and Lottie (parents) both supported the school with learning, they also did not wish dyslexia to become a large part of the basis for their interactions with their sons at home. They felt that it was important to make allowances for their children within the home so that they were not confronted with formal schooling outside of the classroom: "And to be honest, I feel that school's he, he has to work harder than the next child anyway so I was always like, well you've got to want to do it. If you don't want to do it then I'm not going to push you to do it after school." (Kelly, parent)

6.2.3 Foundations for supporting a dyslexic child

In this study, parents felt that they needed to present a forceful 'self' in order to obtain support for their children. Different parents dealt with their interactions with teachers and other professionals differently, using different strategies to engage professionals in meaningful dialogue surrounding provision for their children. Lottie (parent), who is a teacher and former SenCo, had visited Hilltop View before Samuel started there. Lottie concedes that she "only took on the SenCo role because of the children that I have, rather than being my calling. It was my calling after having experiences with my own children and seeing that they were failed by the system." Thus, her experiences as a parent have directly informed her interactions with professionals (and her own professional life) and vice versa. At this point, it seems that there was an intersection of roles for 'professional' parents when interacting with teachers; their position as parent intersected with their professional role in order to secure the best possible provision for their children.

Christine and Clive (both parents) did not feel that they could engage meaningfully with their children's schools and Olivia (parent) felt that, "they didn't take the parents' point of view in it. That's what I felt at the time." In order to support his son and raise his attainment, Clive paid for extra tuition at a tuition centre and Olivia and Darren pursued an external diagnosis of need for Benjamin. Olivia's and Darren's process culminated in a tribunal case, which they lost. However, Olivia did suggest that, having undertaken the tribunal case, it was easier for her and Darren as parents, to secure suitable provision for Benjamin at school. She felt that school "don't want to mess with them. Which is probably a good thing that we did do all that in kind of a way. Because they were all set up for us." However, Olivia did note that the interacting through statutory frameworks negatively impacted on Benjamin's experiences at school because, "it was so much stress and Benjamin picked up on that".

Christine had a similar experience to Olivia and Darren; she had 'fought' to get Joshua extra help at primary school and then at Hilltop View found that, "when I came here, I was just like 'ahhhhhh' because I didn't have to say anything. It was all there for him." Christine did not allude to reasons for this, but it may be because he had an official 'label' and thus had a right to certain support because of this. All parents noted the importance of a 'proper diagnosis' (Grace, parent) or the means to obtain official recognition of their children's difficulties and as shown above, they used different means to access that 'official' recognition.

Unlike Grace, and Olivia and Darren (parents), other parents applied via the school for extra support. Alison (parent) found that although Hilltop View (in particular the SenCo) was supportive of Emily (year 7), there was also a caveat with that support that, "They're really good and they're really understanding. But on the end of it, they've tagged on 'but you've got to remember we've got people here on a level 1 and 2.'" Kathryn (teacher) alluded to the differences in expectations from parents and teachers relating to provision for support. "They're [parents], really worried but from my perspective, the child is nowhere near the threshold at which I would be looking for an EP [educational Psychologist] visit. But obviously, that parent just had their child to think about." Thus there is a tension between teachers and parents when interacting; their positions in the social network surrounding young people with dyslexia are problematic.

6.3 The institutional order

The institutional order is discussed in this section. It is defined as the "human world of pattern and organisation – established ways of doing things" (Jenkins, 2008: 39). I will

discuss how parents frame themselves within their roles as parents and to what extent they can enact their own agency to either embody and reproduce its habitus (Bourdieu, 1970) or renegotiate it. In particular, this section focusses on the position of parents of young people with dyslexia within the field of education and how they are able to interact with professionals and the wider structures of the education system in order to secure adequate support for their children.

6.3.1 Parents and the position of young people

Parents viewed their children as dependent on them and not always capable of engaging in dialogue with the adults surrounding their provision. Olivia (parent) argued that parents' views were not considered which reinforced her worry that young people were not capable of accessing discourse surrounding their own educational provision:

> "it seemed like they didn't take the parents' point of view in it. That's what I felt at the time wasn't it? And obviously it's about Benjamin, but sometimes he doesn't know how to ask for something that he might need because he's not got the knowledge there of knowing what he might need."

Lottie (parent) also suggested that the role of young people with dyslexia is problematic in terms of systematic expectations. For example, Samuel's school report was not personalised:

> "Well his school report's not particularly individual to him because I feel he's made progress from where he is emotionally, physically, academically. Yet his report is telling me he's failing. So it's, it's difficult because he's always going to get these reports where he's not achieving … But I don't think his expectations should be set the same as everyone else's. Well no-one's should be the same as anyone else actually. So I don't know. But that's the whole system and I'm not going to change that."

Thus, systemic expectations of him in his role as 'child' were viewed as unrealistic and did not allow for his dyslexia and its effects on his learning. Lottie also highlighted the tensions within the educational field between the role of 'normal learners', who are expected to make formulaic amounts of progress at school, with those who have dyslexia. Thus, this study suggests that even those parents who have professional knowledge of the field of education, and can embody the relevant habitus due to their professional status, have difficulty engaging in meaningful dialogue with education professionals.

6.3.2 Parents' position in the education system

Parents are viewed in literature, both academic and governmental, as being responsible for their children, as discussed in section 3.3. They are explicitly expected to participate in the decision-making surrounding provision for their children, if those children have a Statement of SEN or an EHCP. Within this study, it is not possible to make definitive statements about the social class of participants as this data was not explicitly sought. However, it is possible to comment on participants' perceptions of others' class and demographic perception as we operate within a constructionist framework, where participants' experiences and understandings of others are key data. Assumptions around parental engagement with the education system have been found to be strongly based around white, middle-class models of how childhood and schooling should be framed (Prout and James, 2002; Tomlinson, 2012). Lottie (parent) embodied and reproduced that view through her statement regarding her friend's understanding of dyslexia and its related interventions: "They're not from an educated background. They, they take an interest in their children. They're just not educated so they don't think about it". She suggested that, because her friends are working class, they are less likely to notice dyslexia and that generally, 'more educated' people take an active interest in their children's schooling.

Sophia is a very engaged parent who takes great interest in her children's schooling and provision but is also able to interact with professionals in the education field to some extent. She also appeared to reinforce middle-class values through asserting that,

> "What the parents want is a complete précis of what the child has achieved, how they are doing, where they are, what they should be doing. And you don't get that. You get a sort of um, generally everything good, but um, perhaps there are a few issues you could focus on. But generally, it's hard to get a true reflection of your child's status from parents' evening."

6.3.3 The role of the parent

In this study, Darren's perceives his own lack of knowledge of how to engage with the structures surrounding education provision. Darren is a building contractor, a traditionally working-class activity. His view that, "You're putting your prized possession in the hands of other people and hope that they're doing their best. 'Cos you don't know how to ask for something and you don't know what to say. What are the questions?" demonstrated two things relating to the position of parents and children within the structures surrounding educational provision: he viewed Benjamin (year 9) as dependent on him and that those

whose background is not middle class may encounter difficulties accessing the educational field. This suggests that further investigation into how parents of different demographic groups can engage with the current SEND provision system is necessary; participants' full demographic information was not sought for this study

Lottie (parent)had been a teacher (specifically a Special Educational Needs Coordinator) and thus could use her professional status to help her engage actively with SEND provision for her children.

> "If I hadn't been in the system, then I wouldn't firstly have known that you can pay to have them tested. I probably wouldn't have done it. I probably would have worried about it and I probably wouldn't have had enough information to make these informed choices."

She could renegotiate her own understanding of parenting her children through her own professional status. Darren and Olivia (parents) did not change their own occupational status to engage in dialogue with professionals; instead they sought advice from other professionals and were able to create social space for themselves to enact their own agency via statute which culminated in a tribunal process. Christine and Kelly (parents) developed their own knowledge through using the internet, while Grace and Alexandra (parents) sought the advice and support of Educational Psychologists.[17] Although it is not possible to make definitive claims in this study, these views suggest that further research should be undertaken.

6.3.4 Engaging with the field of education

6.3.4.1 Engaging administratively

Throughout this study, parents highlighted funding as an issue surrounding access to support. They linked access to funding to official recognition of their children's needs. In line with Riddick (2000), parents found that dyslexia was difficult to identify due to its hidden nature and thus support was hard to secure. Olivia (parent) noted that teachers were cognisant of this too, "One of the teachers actually said to us, if Benjamin was being naughty, she said, he'd probably have got funding by now." 'County Hall', was referred to as

[17] Whether or not parents had obtained an official 'diagnosis' from an Educational Psychologist was not discussed explicitly during interviews with parents. Some parents discussed the fact that they had obtained full reports from an Educational Psychologist (EP), however it did not form part of the interview schedule. As noted in section 4.3.2.3, young people were identified as 'dyslexic' on the school SEN register (potentially following an in-school assessment); their participation was based on this, rather than the existence of a formal EP report relating to their needs.

an entity by Christine and she addressed it as a personified social actor, using third person singular in her sentences. Both Christine and Alison found it problematic when discussing provision for their children; they felt that County Hall held a large amount of power surrounding provision for young people with SEN.

Difficulties accessing the professional field linked to provision were demonstrated clearly but very differently by Alexandra and Christine. Alexandra is a teacher who works as a SenCo in a primary school and felt that, "It's quite difficult to get statemented in West County with dyslexia. I mean, I think if there's co-occurring difficulties but it would have to be. But it would be a bit of a battle to get a statement." Alexandra's assertion demonstrates the perceived subordinate position of those with dyslexia in the field of SEN provision. Christine's view demonstrated a similar net effect. However, her experience demonstrated the capacity of 'County Hall' as an institution to placate their 'audience' but adopt an unmovable position vis-à-vis provision for those with less severe needs. Her perception of 'County Hall' was that they "understand" her position but "there's got to be a bigger picture put out but well, you know, you only have to read about the 3 things, or the 4 things that children have" which precluded her son from support until he was granted a Statement of SEN.

Christine was reliant on County Hall for the 'official' label but could not access the discourse associated with the professionals who worked there. Despite having had the 'official' label for her son, she was unaware of it. This excerpt demonstrates the importance of professional knowledge for interpreting and understanding official documentation and highlights how interaction with the institution of 'County Hall' reinforced Christine's subordinate place within the field of education:

> Christine: So she said, we've had to get Learning Support in to say, um, whether he was dyslexic or not. I was told 2 years later he was. It was in the report but it wasn't written as dyslexic. It was written as um, like, numbers and of course, if you. Unless you know the guidelines of those numbers, then that, then another lady came in 2 years later. And I asked her straight, 'Is Josh dyslexic?' and she said 'yes. He's severely dyslexic.' And I said, 'well, why wasn't I told?'.
> Helen: so they wrote the report in a kind of?
> Christine: with a code.
> Helen: code?
> Christine: with a kind of code, so like the average child was I dunno. So like something and Josh was like something, I dunno. They didn't go it all in percentages. It's done by something else. An average child would be something.

It was only when a professional facilitated Christine's access to the discourse that she could engage and enact her own agency to change her position in the social field relating to provision for her son. This demonstrates the dominant nature of structural institutions, such as 'County Hall' and Educational Psychologists, and their self-perpetuating capacity within the field, Christine did not have access to her own 'employed' educational psychologist.

It seems that parents are highly dependent either on their own capacity to adapt their professional knowledge, employ their own professionals or the willingness of State Monopolisers of Symbolic Capital (Bourdieu, 1989) to facilitate their access to support for their children. The implications of this will be discussed further in Chapter 8.

6.3.4.2 Engaging at school level

Some parents in this study found it easier to engage with secondary schools than primary schools. Olivia and Darren, as well as Christine, asserted that support in Hilltop View was much more forthcoming than in primary school. Christine suggested that it was a question of funding:

> "Secondary schools are, I think, because they've got the funding to help. Primary schools haven't got the funding. So the overall part is just much harder."

Her experience of engaging with primary school was very negative, with the school resisting her attempts to access the field. However, in the Hilltop View setting, she found that professionals have engaged in meaningful dialogue and seriously considered her view. This suggests that, for those who have a Statement of SEN or an EHCP, Hilltop View has been able to consider the parents' needs, in line with statute. This is different from those young people who do not have a statement of SEN or an EHCP.

Parents whose children had no statement of SEN were in a different position; within policy (Children and Families Act, 2014), their views are not explicitly sought as part of the process for provision of SEN support. However, as Alison (parent) noted, 'underachieving' young people who have SEN are targeted for support. Thus, in her position as a parent of a child with dyslexia, who does not have a statement, she has found this empowering:

> "And I can see the other side of it that actually now, schools can no longer say, 'oh well, they're a level 3. We've got worse. Let's just let them tick under the radar' … they've got to be seen to try their hardest to bring them up. So, if you, all of a sudden have got a load of children who aren't getting that level C and the school

didn't have the evidence … I don't think the school would be in a very strong position."

However, in KS3, there is also difficulty with accessing support for young people with dyslexia who achieve benchmark levels; Kelly notes:

"I would say against the support he had at primary school, I was quite shocked at the lack of support … He hit those 4s which is average, so then because he's hit those 4s there are so many other children that haven't; they get the help."

Thus, through the requirement for young people to gain 5 higher level GCSE passes, potentially professionals' position as gatekeepers to resources will become constrained; they will be held more accountable to parents. However, this suggests a point of tension within policy and the conceptualisation of SEN. Young people must be 'disabled' and subsequently in a subordinate position in order to access support. When they have accessed support, and reached benchmarks to 'normalise' them with their peers, removed evidence of 'stigmatising characteristics', and obtained an average social position within the field of education, they then lose access to that support. Loss of access to that support then risks the young person's attainment falling and thus a yo-yo position between 'dependent/not dependent'; disabled/not disabled ensues, which does not consider the biological matter of the impairment remaining present, whether or not the young person receives extra support. This model also does not consider the situation whereby a young person's full academic potential is much higher than 'average'.

The implications of these changes in power structures within their field of education and subsequent access to resources, and how it may impact on parents' and young people's engagement with SEN provision will be discussed in Chapter 8.

6.4 Discussion

The salient points from findings are summarised in this section and linked to literature. The implications of the findings are discussed and how practice and policy may be influenced is explored with reference to parents' experiences of parenting children with dyslexia.

6.4.1 Understanding their children's dyslexia

In this section, parents' understanding of their children's dyslexia is discussed and the findings above are linked to literature. I note how the parents tended to draw on medicalised models of dyslexia and that these views of dyslexia appeared to exonerate

parents and young people from blame for their dyslexia-related difficulties. The process of acquiring a label of 'dyslexic' for their children appeared to help parents in this process. They then used their understanding of dyslexia as a particular impairment to reframe their expectations of their children and how they would experience education to help mediate their anxieties surrounding young people's experiences of education.

6.4.1.1 Parents' understanding of dyslexia

The parents in this study highlighted differences between their dyslexic children and other children when discussing their understanding of dyslexia. When considering their view of dyslexia publicly, Kelly and Alexandra highlighted differences between their children and others, in line with Kelly's (1998) and Snowling et al.'s (2003) work, where dyslexia was found to be modelled as existing when there are gaps between potential ability and actual academic performance of a young person. Goffman (1963) linked perception of differences in humans to medicalisation in that, where there is a perceptible difference between an actor and their peers, that difference may become a 'stigmatising characteristic'. He suggested that medicalisation is a formal way of acknowledging these perceptible differences. This links to a medicalised understanding of the impairment from parents, in line with Shakespeare and Watson's (1997) argument that through medicalisation, disability is located within the individual and doesn't consider the disabling effects of society for that individual. How both Alexandra and Kelly viewed their children aligns with Bury's understanding of disability as "abnormality in the structure of the functioning of the body whether through disease or trauma" (Bury, 1996: 19).

Although parents did later discuss the potential benefits of specialised teaching for their children, their internal understandings of dyslexia seemed to frame it as a difference and a deficit between their children and others. They related it to difficulties experienced at school and located the 'problem' within children. This led to a 'mourning process', congruent with Watermeyer's (2009) view that in a medical model of disability, individuals go through a period of mourning over that 'lost' ability. In this sense, parents mourned their children's difficulties relating to dyslexia and their 'lost' capacities relative to their other children. Christine's and Olivia's (parents) views that having a label of dyslexia would facilitate their children's access to support mechanisms align with Solvang's (2007) and Riddick's (2010) views that having a label of dyslexia is often useful. It seems also that parents need the label to help themselves to make sense of their children's position.

6.4.1.2 Renewed concepts of childhood and education

Parents participating in this study were found to 'mourn' the childhood that they had expected for their children when it came to light that they had dyslexia. Lottie and Alexandra (both parents) described part of the process they underwent when adjusting to their children having been diagnosed with dyslexia as a mourning process where they adjusted their expectations surrounding their children. Watermeyer's (2009) view of the mourning process associated with the 'non-possession' of an ability can be linked to Shakespeare's (1996a) 'personal tragedy' view of disability, where individuals have to mourn and 'get used' to their impairment. Although these refer to the affected individual, it appears in this study that these concepts may also apply to relatives as described by Alexandra (parent).

Parents in this study appeared to have anxieties surrounding their children's dyslexia. They worried that their children would be subject to negative stereotypes, which, in line with Tomlinson's (2012) work, might act to promote parents' and young people's feelings of powerlessness and oppression. Participating parents were concerned that young people could not access classroom activities fully. This draws parallels with Crow's (1996) findings that medicalised models of disability assume that people can only fully participate in society when they are not 'disabled', i.e. that they are 'cured'.

As part of parents' sense-making surrounding their children's dyslexia, they were able to locate children's difficulties as arising from their dyslexia. In line with Riddick's (2010) findings, the label of dyslexia acted to exonerate children and parents of blame for young people's difficulties. Once parents had begun to make sense of their children's dyslexia, they appeared to find positive ways of understanding dyslexia in general. As young people could not be 'cured' of their dyslexia, removal of 'blame' for difficulties linked to it was valued by parents; once they found ways to mediate the effects of dyslexia, and thus its perceptibility in the classroom, it was hoped that young people would be able to access the curriculum. That or the expectation of parents altered so that the potentially stigmatisable characteristics were incorporated into modified expectations of their children's academic experience, through highlighting potential pathways that young people might take, which would remove academic pressure on them. By viewing young people not as deficient, but as fully capable of participating in their social world (Prout, 2003) through those modified expectations, they as parents could contribute to young people's positive future identities (Oyserman and James, 2011).

6.4.2 Parents' interactions vis-à-vis their children's dyslexia

In this section, I discuss parents' understanding of dyslexia, their origins and how these then affected their interactions with others. Teachers' and parents' interactions are discussed and

found to be problematic due to differing expectations surrounding dyslexia and the different abilities of parents to engage in interactions with teachers and other professionals.

6.4.2.1 Formation of parents' views of dyslexia through their interactions

In this study, parents' views of dyslexia were informed in part through their interactions with other parents. Through their interactions with their peers and the varying views of the nature of dyslexia (see section 2.4.2.1), parents drew on notions of dyslexia that have been present in academic literature when discussing dyslexia with their peers. Adults who had professional experience of dyslexia through their background in teaching or education drew on their professional interactions when addressing their children's dyslexia and getting it recognised by their children's school. In drawing on a professional view of dyslexia, informed by government views, these parents appear to align with a bio-social model of dyslexia, where there is a biological aspect to dyslexia but that social factors can affect an individual's experiences of dyslexia (MacDonald, 2012). Other parents' views which were informed through internet research also drew on bio-social views, as they accepted the existence of underlying difficulties, which were then exacerbated through social conditions within the classroom.

In this study, it did not matter whether their views on dyslexia were grounded in professional experience or whether they had researched its nature themselves, for some parents they perceived getting 'official' recognition of their children as a battle. Christine and Olivia and Darren had both undertaken their own research prior to their children's diagnosis. They both experienced difficulties in their interactions with professionals relating to their children's difficulties; it was felt that support for visible, medical difficulties was much more forthcoming. In line with Solvang's (2007) work, they believed that it is easier to access provision for children with SEN when their difficulties are medicalised disabilities. Due to the contested nature of dyslexia, parents in this study have found it problematic to obtain a 'diagnosis' of dyslexia as there is no definitive process for doing so in literature (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010). Sophia, whose professional background contrasts with Olivia's and Darren's, also struggled to obtain recognition of Jake's dyslexia.

In their interactions with teachers/other professionals, it appears that parents in this study, regardless of professional background or how their understanding of dyslexia formed, experienced difficulties gaining an official 'label' for their children. It seems that interactions with other parents were facilitators for parents' research, which would support Bourdieu's view (1989) that when interacting with people whose position in a social field is comparable to one's own, interactions are easier and more forthcoming. The difficulties that parents appeared to experience interactionally seemed to relate to their interactions with

professionals. This would align with Bourdieu's understanding of social fields, particularly those which involve state functionaries (Bourdieu, 1999). Teachers are in a position of power over parents within the field of education, in relation to provision for children in the classroom.

6.4.2.2 My child's dyslexia

Through their interactions with teachers, parents' views of their children's academic journey were formed. Goffman's (1963) concept of a 'stigmatising characteristic' is relevant in this sense in that parents look at what their child achieves and then relate it to where they 'should' be. When considering their children's academic progress, parents in this study all made reference to the progress that they felt their children had made as different from that which was 'expected' of their children. Teachers had described young people's progress as good and highlighted the strengths of their achievements. However, there was also a discrepancy between expectations for 'normal' children, which were not differentiated for those with dyslexia. As such, teachers, although highlighting young people's strengths, did not challenge formal structures of education by rejecting the expected habitus of the teacher (Bourdieu, 1977). Jean and Kelly (parents) did perceive dyslexia as associated with a lack of academic capacity (Goffman, 1963), which suggests that parents do embody the habitus produced by teachers in which, despite assertions of holistic progress made by young people with dyslexia, their reported academic progress is below par for that of 'normal' pupils.

In framing dyslexia as a 'difference' through her interactions with her daughter, Alison seemed to attempt a view of dyslexia where it is not positioned as a 'stigmatising characteristic' (Goffman, 1963). Alison may have hoped that, through positive framing of dyslexia in their discussion, Emily's view of herself and her present identity (Oyserman and James, 2011) might favourably position her in her network. It seems that Alison wanted Emily to be aware of her dyslexia but not see it as a disadvantage. In not disclosing his dyslexia to him, Connor's parents appeared to be acting to avoid a potential change in present identity for Connor that would lead him towards adopting behaviours they perceived as negative (Oyserman and James, 2011). Such behaviour in his present identity might limit his future identities and they thus decided not to share Connor's formalised 'label' with him. However, this is at odds with Riddick's work (2010) that suggests that there is an impairment there, regardless of whether there is an official 'label'. To reflect the emancipatory nature of a diagnosis of dyslexia, his teacher wanted to tell Connor, so that he had a reason for his difficulties and could locate them in his dyslexia (Riddick, 2000, 2010). This suggests that parents' interactions with teachers regarding their children's dyslexia are

highly censored by parents; like young people, they present only certain aspects of their 'self' in particular social settings (Chen et al., 2011).

Parents' and teachers' expectations for supporting dyslexic young people seemed at odds at times. Both agreed that it was important for schools and parents to be engaged with supporting young people. However, parents' capacity for engaging with support was highly contingent on their ability to access the language and knowledge required within the field of SEN support at Hilltop View. Lottie's (parent and former SenCO) knowledge of the teacher's habitus within the field of education (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) helped her to engage with other teachers. She could present the professional aspect of herself due to the professional status bestowed on her by the position of teacher. Thus, when interacting with teachers, she can create social space for herself in the field, acting outside the usual habitus of parents and embodying the habitus of teachers, using their language and her insider knowledge to access that position and engage in meaningful dialogue with professionals. Parents who were not education professionals, particularly when interacting with their children's primary schools, felt that their views surrounding their children's needs were not considered. In the case of Olivia and Darren, their role as parents was to find professionals and use the statutory framework to fight for suitable support for their children. Their interactions were framed within the structures of education. Once they had access to the official terminology via their hired professionals, they were more able to access support. This aligns with Solvang's (2007) work which suggests that medicalised diagnoses and labels facilitate access to support and resources. Parents are not in the position to allocate resources to young people, whereas teachers are (Bourdieu, 1999).

6.4.3 Parenting and education

6.4.3.1 Parents' experiences of systemic expectations

In this study, parents viewed their children as dependent on them and unable to act within the field of education, as manifested at Hilltop View School, to successfully negotiate suitable academic provision for themselves. Such a view aligns with Wyness' (2012) and Smith's (2007) understanding of children as unable to meaningfully participate in decision-making processes and dependent on adults. Olivia viewed Benjamin as unable to negotiate his own provision and thus her role as 'parent' was to speak on his behalf. This also echoes how 'disabled' people have been framed in research studies; Humphrey (2000) suggests that they have at times been viewed as incomplete people and unable to act socially. Olivia's worry and actions surrounding provision for Benjamin speak to the ontology of children; they are viewed by their parents in this setting as incapable and in need of protection, i.e. 'becomings' according to Uprichard (2008). However, parents also attempt to position their

`children as capable social actors (see section above) who are able to overcome their differences and difficulties ('beings' according to Uprichard, 2008).

Systematic expectations of young people with dyslexia reinforce negative stereotypes and their position as poor learners, due to the effects of dyslexia on learning not being considered (Tomlinson, 2012). Parental resistance to the structural expectations of young people was enacted by Lottie and Clive, when discussing their children's school reports. Lottie (parent) resists the structural expectations associated with the 'place' of a young person within the education system, as proscribed by the State through its distribution of 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1999) in terms of the generic progress targets for them. She underscored the difficulties that those with dyslexia have, but due to her own perception of 'her place' in the system/field of education, she felt unable to act to change those expectations despite the 'State' seeking parental input relating to provision for those with dyslexia (DfE, 2010a; Children and Families Act, 2014).

Bourdieu (1989: 17) links parents' capacity to engage in dialogue with professions about provision for their child to the "sense of one's place" associated with the parents' position as working/middle class. Lottie's view reinforces the sense of place linked to a working-class, less-educated parent's position within the field of education. Sophia's view of education aligns with Tomlinson's (2012) findings that education is generally associated with middle-class values. However, whilst reinforcing middle-class values surrounding dialogue, she also concedes that she cannot engage effectively with professionals in the forums that are currently provided in the Hilltop View setting. It seems that, despite her position as an actively engaged, middle-class parent, she cannot fully embody the necessary habitus to fully access the field of education. This suggests that the roles of professionals within education have, in the case of Hilltop View, kept their 'sense of place' (Bourdieu, 1989) within the field through the (re)production of structures that promote their control of resources. However, these conclusions must be drawn tentatively, as the full demographic data of parents was not gathered in this study. It is, nonetheless an indication that class may be a factor in parents' ability to engage with the children's education.

6.4.3.2 Parents' engagement with education

Darren viewed Benjamin as dependent on him; a 'becoming' rather than a 'being' (Uprichard, 2008) such that his child is in a socially subordinate position within the field of education. This reinforces the assertion that young people need their parents to act as advocates for them within education. Governmental documentation also expects that parents' views are considered in the process of securing provision for young people with SEN

(Children and Families Act, 2014). However, in his concession that he did not "know what to say. What are the questions?" he demonstrates the difficulties for those who do not have a 'middle-class' background or experience to access the system. He is a building contractor, with no formal, university-level education. However, due to her status as 'teacher', Lottie (parent) had ready-made access to knowledge of the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999) associated with SEN provision. She could create social space for herself through her own professional development. All parents in this study took steps to increase their knowledge of the field within Hilltop View, whether through their own CPD, personal research or through hiring a professional advocate. This was done in order to obtain the symbolic capital of an 'official label' (Bourdieu, 1989) associated with accessing resources and engaging in meaningful dialogue with professionals (Riddick, 2000, 2010; Solvang, 2007). Thus, these parents employed different techniques to obtain the symbolic capital associated with SEN provision (Bourdieu, 1989) and attempt to renegotiate their social position in the field of education. Alexandra's acknowledgement of the problematic nature of dyslexia-related support suggests that medicalised diagnoses are necessary to secure provision in line with Solvang (2007). It is important to note that in the case of dyslexia, very few individuals have a Statement of SEN; most young people's needs will be met in the classroom (DfE, 2010a).

When engaging in discussions with 'County Hall', Christine was reliant on a State employee allowing an interaction from their position of power within the field for the provision of 'symbolic capital' (Bourdieu, 1999). This is in line with Bourdieu's view of education as a field for the reproduction of structures in wider society that maintain the dominant 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). For Christine, it seemed to physically embody the State as provider of symbolic capital and resources (Bourdieu, 1999). Both Christine and Alison were aware of the power of 'County Hall' to bestow an 'official status' on their child to facilitate access to resources in line with Solvang's (2007) work. As such, when it comes to their children's dyslexia, parents are particularly dependent on their own capacity to access official discourse and meaningful dialogue with professionals.

6.5 Conclusion

In this section, I summarise and draw conclusions from the findings pertaining to parents' experiences of their children's dyslexia. I draw out salient points from the three 'orders of interaction' (Jenkins, 2008) and make links to theory. I also highlight implications of the findings from this chapter, both on a practical level and theoretically.

6.5.1 Parents at the 'individual order'

When considering parents' construction of self and their internal processes of negotiating at the individual level, it became apparent that parents involved in this study drew on medicalised models of dyslexia, where it may be understood as a problem located within the individual (Calfee, 1983; Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010; Poole, 2010). Initially confronted with their children's dyslexia, parents located the difficulties as an intrinsic problem with their child, with blame for difficulties linked to their children (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010; Poole 2010). However, when young people's dyslexia was identified, parents in this study appeared to remodel their understanding of dyslexia; it was still located within their children, but there was an adjustment in focus relating to young people's difficulties. Following their children's diagnosis, parents in this study tended to renegotiate their understanding of their children and their dyslexia. There was a process by which they switched from focussing on the difficulties experienced by their children (see section 6.1.1), to highlighting their children's strengths. Parents were aware of the potentially stigmatisable nature of dyslexia, as a perceptible difference (Goffman, 1963) between their dyslexic children and non-dyslexic children, and thus attempted to renegotiate their understanding of dyslexia to frame it more positively. As such, parents accepted dyslexia as a difference in brain function, in line with Bury's (1996) work where, congruent with Riddick's and Solvangs (2007) findings, it became an outlet for parents. They located blame for children's difficulties in dyslexia, rather than in their child. This renewed understanding then appeared to help parents in this study, at an individual level, to redefine their child's dyslexia positively and begin to define dyslexia more positively.

6.5.2 Parents at the 'interactional order'

In this study, parents' views on dyslexia derived from diverse sources, through their interactions with other individuals in a private or professional capacity. Whether these understandings of dyslexia arose from private interactions at places such as support groups or resulting from knowledge gained through professional experience, parents in this study had taken on a bio-social model of dyslexia once their internal negotiation of their understandings of dyslexia had taken place. Congruent with MacDonald's (2012) work, parents accepted that there was an underlying impairment within their children (bio), but through their further research and interactions with professionals, they also acknowledged the impact that children's social surroundings can have on the effects of their dyslexia (social).

When interacting with professionals in order to gain 'official' recognition of their children's dyslexia, parents in this study found it problematic. This was partly due to the

contested nature of dyslexia; there is no definitive method/test for the diagnosis of dyslexia in line with Hoyles and Hoyles (2010). Parents found that support was not forthcoming and they attributed this to the hidden nature of dyslexia, similarly to Solvang (2007) who said that dyslexia's hidden nature made it difficult to access 'medicalised' diagnoses, which were often necessary for the procurement of resources.

The interactions of parents and teachers (mainly in the primary school settings of participants) were problematic and appeared to clash at times; teachers have a whole spectrum of young people with varying needs to consider, whereas parents tend to just have their own child's needs in mind. It is important to note here that parents generally found interaction with professionals at Hilltop View School much easier than with their primary schools. This appeared to be due to parents' perception that secondary schools had better resources than their children's primary schools. Those parents who had experienced difficulties when interacting with teachers/professionals linked to their children's primary schools also believed that the SEN team took their views more seriously than they had been in the past.

6.5.3 Parents' institutional order interactions

There is evidence in this study that parents seek an official 'diagnosis' for their child as a means of empowering both themselves and their child. This is congruent with Solvang's (2007) and Riddick's (2010) work. If parents have official recognition of dyslexia, they can gain access to 'resources' through the state monopoly controlled by professionals, as their child is officially placed in the position of 'disabled individual'. However, this is in tension with their own processes of renegotiation of dyslexia; when discussing dyslexia with their children, some parents framed dyslexia as a difference when interacting with children, yet they must frame their children as deficient and 'disabled' when interacting with the 'field' of education. Thus, parents are cast in a problematic role; they must adopt a habitus in which their children are framed as incomplete (Wyness, 2012), oppressing them, yet they also act so as to reinforce their children's status as capable social actors (Prout, 2003) through their engagement with them on an interactional level. Thus, parents draw (more than likely unconsciously) on Uprichard's (2008) model of children as 'beings' and 'becomings': acted upon and competent social actors but constrained by external structures such as statutes and professional roles within the field of education, which act upon their children and themselves.

Parents in this study felt that they were positioned disadvantageously in relation to teachers institutionally (in particular, in a primary school setting); children's school reports

were not differentiated to consider children's dyslexia and parents felt powerless to contest this; parents felt their views were not always considered surrounding provision and they could not always access the language in documentation relating to their children. In order to do so, they either had to enter the system as a professional themselves (Lottie), undertake research, or hire professionals in order to access the habitus of the field of education as embodied either by primary schools, or by County Hall (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977). Generally, parents reported positively on their ability to engage with meaningful discussions with professionals at Hilltop View School.

6.5.4 Theoretical and practical implications of these findings

This study used Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' as a framework from which to undertake a Bourdieusian analysis of parents' experiences of dyslexia and school-based dyslexia-support interventions. Parents' social positions and capacity to access the educational field through embodiment/rejection of the required habitus was also explored, along with their subsequent ability to access resources through the acquisition of relevant symbolic capital.

6.5.4.1 Social position and symbolic capital

Understanding interactions at both the 'institutional order' and the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008) is useful for the theoretical explanation of parents' social position and access to symbolic capital. In order to gain an advantageous position within this field, it was necessary to understand and embody the practices and thus the habitus of that field (Bourdieu, 1970). Both Bourdieu (1970) and Jenkins (2008) assert that interactions are crucial ways in which individuals make sense of themselves and their social position. As such, interactions as described in this chapter have informed the theoretical understanding of parent's position.

In this study, parents' social position surrounding their children's dyslexia was complex. In order to negotiate the field of education and gain an advantageous position for themselves, parents generally attempted to gain access to the field of education (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977) and its associated symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999). Professionals were in a privileged position as 'state functionaries', with state-appointed control over these labels via statute (The Stationery Office, 2014) and professional accreditations. In line with Bourdieu's (1970) theory on the maintenance of social positions within a given field, through their monopoly over symbolic capital, professionals could create a culture of dependency on them for access to the 'field', thus propagating their own hegemonic position over parents and young people.

6.5.4.2 Embodiment of habitus

Once parents had understood the importance of the necessary habitus and symbolic capital for their children's educational journey, parents acted to embody/reject the habitus of the educational field within Hilltop View and their children's primary schools. This suggests that the field of education is an exceedingly difficult field to penetrate and has become self-propagating; Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) suggest that the education system is a site of reproduction of social classifications within wider society. This study, in part, supports this; I did find that education was self-propagating as a field and that parents' positions within that field were maintained as being dependent on professionals for access to symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1999).

6.5.4.3 Practical applications of findings

Within the setting of Hilltop View School, parents generally found that the teaching staff were accessible and readily engaged in dialogue with the SEN Department Team. However, parents did express concerns relating to their children's academic progress, in particular to their reports. Parents felt that their children's reports did not reflect individualised progress; rather they felt that their children's reports were based on governmental expectations of children with a 'normal' learning profile that did not consider the effects of dyslexia. At a practical level, parents felt that reports should be more personalised and reflect learners' individual progress. However, this feeling speaks to governmental expectations at a higher level; there was a perception that governmental expectations of young people were unrealistic and did not consider children at an individual level. Parents felt powerless to challenge this and instead looked to HIlltop View to make changes to reporting and expectations at a local level. This is potentially a very powerful model, particularly given the 'academy' status of the school; it is not obliged to follow the national curriculum and thus could, potentially make curricular changes for those pupils whose progress would not follow a 'normal' profile.

Hilltop View was also found to be much more accessible to parents than primary schools, with regard to the acquisition of official 'labels' of dyslexia. In this study, some primary schools were viewed as unsupportive and dismissive of parents' concerns, and were perceived to obstruct parents' efforts to secure suitable provision for their children. Parents did not always disclose their children's primary schools; as such I cannot make recommendations to those primary schools. However, in its position as a secondary school which is perceived to model good practice in the most part, Hilltop View could develop its work with its feeder schools with the SEN Department developing professional links with

primary schools and disseminating their practice models to support those primary feeder schools.

At an institutional level, County Hall and its representatives, as well as Educational Psychologists, should be mindful of the language they use when relating young people's needs to their families. Families found the language surrounding dyslexia and SEN provision impenetrable at times and relied on professionals to decode it. I would suggest that more positive interactions would be forged between parents and professionals at institutional level if institutions reduced the social distance between themselves and parents, making the language and habitus of those institutions more accessible to non-professionals.

Chapter 7

Educators and Young People with Dyslexia

In this section, I discuss teachers' views of dyslexia, their views of themselves as teachers and how this informs their interactions with young people. In section 7.1, I use Jenkins' (2008) 'individual order' as a lens through which I explore teachers' views of themselves and how their identity as a teacher is internally shaped and renegotiated over time. I draw on Wyness' (2012) view of teachers and their role in propagating the middle-class values associated with education. I also discuss teachers' own views of their educational successes through this view of education. I explore teachers' understandings of dyslexia and expose their understandings which seem rooted in a 'discrepancy' model of dyslexia (Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010) and discuss how teachers negotiate their understandings of dyslexia within this framework and frame it internally as a means of presenting it positively when interacting with young people.

Section 7.2 explores teachers' interactions with young people, parents and other professionals through Jenkins' (2008) 'interaction order'. In this section, teachers' interactions with young people in the classroom are explored. Teachers' views of young people and their position are exposed, with teachers at Hilltop View School drawing on Uprichard's (2008) model of childhood when interacting with young people. Teachers' understandings of dyslexia and the potential social impact of its related interventions are found to affect how they interacted with young people; teachers, in striving to view dyslexia positively, used their internal understandings of dyslexia as tools when interacting with young people in much the same way as parents did.

I use Jenkins' (2008) 'institutional order' to explore the interactions experienced by teachers through their role as teachers, within the field of education and how this position affects others' positions within their network. Systematic assumptions regarding young people are discussed and how these assumptions reinforce young people's subordinate positions within their field is highlighted. Bourdieu's view of teachers as 'state functionaries' (Bourdieu, 2011) is challenged and the constraints surrounding the teaching profession within governmental structures is exposed.

7.1 The individual order

In this section, teachers' understandings of themselves through internal negotiation are investigated. This is done using Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction; here, I will frame analysis using the 'individual order'. Teachers are viewed by Bourdieu (1999) as holding the

key to resources due to their symbolic capital as teachers, which arises from their professional status as state functionaries. This status will likely impact on teachers' understandings of self; Jenkins (2008) and Bourdieu (1977) both argue that social position informs identity and the conceptualisation of self. Although role and social position will be discussed in more depth in sections 7.2 and 7.3, here I look at how teachers conceptualise themselves as people and how they understand themselves as teachers of young people with dyslexia.

7.1.1 Identity as a teacher?

In this study, rather than viewing themselves as accomplished and successful academically, most teachers appeared to doubt themselves and their capacities. Both Anna and Claire felt as if they did not have enough professional knowledge to be successful teachers.

> "I still feel like I've got lots to learn, but it is quite complicated and um, there are lots of different ways of making things more accessible to students that I still need to be kind of finding out about and trying to. I feel very much a student of this topic." (Anna, teacher)

> "I don't think I do enough for them. I feel, I think it's a confidence thing that. You know, I've had conversations with (Anna) about it when we were like, we don't feel we know enough about it and to improve that support and it's just down to provision in a lesson as well." (Claire, teacher)

Some teachers' understanding of the position of 'teacher' in this study was in continual renegotiation, adapting their view of themselves in relation to their understanding of 'teachers' in general. Martha suggested that teaching and schooling has changed so she is comfortable adapting to this: "It's not about being in 4 walls and a table and chairs and a chalk board any more. The world's changed so I'm happy to adapt with it as they need really." Interestingly, teachers whose areas of work or responsibility were located within literacy, or who had personal experiences with dyslexia, appeared to doubt their capabilities more than those who worked in other disciplines within the Hilltop View School. Thus, it would appear, that teachers in this study appeared to doubt themselves and their capabilities as they realised that the difficulties experienced by young people are complicated and need further understanding from professionals.

In this study, mainstream class teachers did not view themselves as having expert knowledge of dyslexia. They did however describe, like Mike (teacher), the different

measures they took in the classroom to mediate the effects of young people's dyslexia in the classroom: "I wouldn't say that I'm an expert in dealing with dyslexia but I try when it's on the 'my profile' or the IEPs to do things like a sans serif font all the time, um, where necessary, use overlays and reading rulers or print on a particular type of paper."

Anna, an English teacher, was very forthright when describing her own perceived lack of capability/knowledge as a teacher of young people with dyslexia. She, Claire and Kate were the most open when describing their own perceived lack of knowledge. This may have been due to the fact that Kate is a specialist dyslexia teacher, Claire has a responsibility for literacy, and a member of Anna's close family is dyslexic. Anna noted the seeming lack of knowledge available to teachers, particularly trainees regarding dyslexia, "Unless we'd chosen that as our special topic for our project, which I didn't, then it didn't get any further investigation. And then since training, there have been session and seminars on dyslexia occasionally." Thus, teachers must pursue training themselves, outside of their classroom experiences in order to gain knowledge of dyslexia to enable them to begin to bridge the gap between their 'virtual' and 'actual' (Goffman, 1963). selves as teachers of young people with dyslexia.

How teachers viewed themselves following and during their (re)negotiation of self undoubtedly informed their interactions with others both within and outside of the classroom. These different interactions will be discussed in the following section.

7.2 The interaction order

In this chapter, I focus on teachers' interactions with parents and young people regarding dyslexia and how their views of 'self' and dyslexia inform these interactions. This will be done through the application of Jenkins' (2008: 39) interaction order: "the human world as constituted in relationships between individuals, in what-goes-on-between-people." In this section, I explore how young people are framed by teachers: considering whether teachers draw on Uprichard's (2008) model of young people as 'beings' and 'becomings' or are they viewed within a more traditional framework, as incomplete and unable to meaningfully participate in decision-making processes (Smith, 2007). I discuss how teachers view adults and how their expectations of adults in the field of education are framed: whether teachers draw on middle-class views of schooling (Wyness, 2012); whether they are defensive 'professionals' when interacting with adults (Bourdieu, 1989); or whether they engage more eagerly with parents and young people and try to reduce the social distance between them.

7.2.1 Managing classroom interactions

In this study, rather than maintaining their distanced, professional position, all teachers appeared keen to reduce distance between themselves and their pupils. When teaching, Kate acted to minimise physical distance between herself and young people in her small group lesson (excerpt from my field notes); she and the young people were all seated and working around the same table. This small physical distance and the fact that she was sitting with the young people had the effect of reducing power differentials associated with her, as a teacher.

During a lesson, I observed that a teacher (Jenny, excerpt from field notes) addressed the class using the first person plural, when discussing work being undertaken. "Use of 'we' by teacher – 'we can look this up in our book … we can get some colour into the advert.'"

Kate also made similar linguistic choices in her lessons, as I observed here (excerpt from my field notes):

"sometimes pictures can really help us to remember which word is which"

Although, generally when I was observing Jenny's lessons, there was a collaborative atmosphere, where she identified herself as being 'with' the young people through her use of language and physical positioning with them, there were times where she exerted authority over them. Whilst observing one lesson, I noted that she challenged young people's behaviour and then modelled how she wanted them to behave.

During her interview, Martha (teacher) alluded to a desire to "create an environment where students help each other so that they read to each other or help each other". This may be a way in which she attempted to reduce perceptible, stigmatising characteristics (Goffman, 1963) between young people so that they experience equitable relationships within their social field. She may also be viewed as trying to coerce young people by imposing her view of correct behaviour (Woodhead, 2002) on them in the classroom. Jenny's interactions with young people while teaching aligned with other staff members; Anna, Claire and Kate acted to reduce social distance between themselves and the young people through their use of first person plural when speaking, as demonstrated above. Jane and Mike's approaches were also similar. In general, teachers were very open with their language and their approaches; behaviour viewed as inappropriate was also

generally gently challenged. For example, when observing Jenny's lesson, I noted in my field diary that young people's attitudes to each other were challenged:

> "T didn't accept that kids laughed at others' ideas … [she] set a tone where different ideas are ok."

Following this, I noted that "The fact that she's [teacher] standing up when she makes all her comments indicates that she's creating a calm setting but that she is very much in charge – physical distance relating to social distance." This does suggest that, through their interactions with young people, a teacher's position is one of authority.

7.2.2 Addressing dyslexia in the classroom

The views of teachers in this study surrounding dyslexia and how it is addressed in the classroom are summarised by Mike:

> "Within the classroom, teachers are more aware than they ever used to be about some simple things. Like presentation of materials, how to help children engage with instructions, um … allowing children you know, different scaffolding techniques as well as the use of skilled teaching assistants."

Technology was viewed very positively as a means to support young people in the classroom by Anna, Kate and Claire (teachers). Kate noted in particular that "there's a lot of students who are finding iPads quite useful" and "would benefit enormously from having computers, netbooks, um, access to a sort of voice". Jenny and Kate suggested that reading rulers, a simpler and cheaper type of learning aide, were also used by young people to support their learning. Jenny, in particular highlighted young people's appreciation of their availability when presented with them in class: "Oh miss, this really helps."

Hannah did not always find technology useful, as there were issues around accessing young people's work to monitor/mark it as she "liked to know what they're thinking". She made particular reference to her ability to mark their work and how this process is a means for her to access their thought processes.

> "I don't know what's, how much is being completed. I can't mark it. I can't … I can't monitor it, so … so I think, you know, it's, it's difficult because knowing that it helps the child, of course you're, you're always like, that's that's brilliant." (Hannah, teacher)

She found that technology did not facilitate this for her as a teacher: “so I’ve got no problems with them using it, but it’s kind of like, I’d like to see what they’ve done and what they’re thinking.” In this instance, she appeared to place her own needs as a teacher highly and overrode the potential emancipatory nature of technology for young people. This demonstrates a difficult tension in place; teachers themselves may have needs that affect how they do their job and are incompatible with their pupils’ needs. In this instance, Hannah did not support the use of technology in her lesson, but did use other means to support young people such as reading rulers, differentiated outcomes for pupils and the freedom to choose how they presented their own work.

It appears that, in this study, teachers supported technology as a means of meeting the needs of dyslexic students and of reducing perceptible differences between their pupils to facilitate their access to the curriculum. Thus, through their interactions, they were very much in an authoritative position but generally interactions were based on relationships and positive experiences rather than authoritative direction. Claire (teacher) encapsulates the ethos of interventions and lessons I observed clearly here: “It’s easy, see it’s easy being an English teacher sometimes in terms of things like that because you see them so much, you build that relationship.”

7.2.3 Dyslexia as a stigmatising characteristic?

Mike (teacher) viewed dyslexia not as something that affects a young person’s abilities but rather that may make learning more challenging. He does, however, draw on his experiences with young people who are less academically able *and* who are dyslexic,

> “I do not, I do not think that teachers should look at this and think, ‘ah, it equates to a lack of intelligence’. It means that, that I have to tailor the curriculum so that it, it’s not challenging in a conceptual way and actually … You know language will be around these students for all their lives and you, sometimes we all come across language that is difficult and impenetrable.”

Both Mike and other teachers made great efforts when discussing their understandings of dyslexia with me, and also when interacting with young people, to counter the notion that dyslexia may be associated with lower academic ability.

Mike alluded to dyslexia as a challenge and that one student “was determined not to let her dyslexia become a barrier to what she wanted to do”. When confronted with dyslexia in the classroom, Mike recalled his interactions with a young person and, like Hannah, drew

on a positive view of dyslexia and how its effects can be countered through hard work. Hannah's (teacher) view of dyslexia was that young people shouldn't "see it as an embarrassment" and that dyslexia is not something that should prevent young people from achieving. Teachers were aware of difficulties experienced by young people with dyslexia. Kate (teacher) described her observations of young people's "frustration at not being able to write what's in their head or you know, sort of match their ability and um, on what they produce on paper".

At times, teachers sought to explain the effects of dyslexia to other pupils. This was particularly apparent in a small group setting. During a small group lesson, Kate was questioned by a young person about another young person's need: "why doesn't he just copy it off the board?" (excerpt from field notes). In this instance, Kate did not present the other young person's dyslexia in a positive light. Rather, she explained that "sometimes it can be difficult".

7.3 Institutional order

In this section I explore teachers' generalised interactions with pupils and parents within their roles as 'teachers', 'parents' and 'pupils'. As both Bourdieu (1977) and Goffman (1963) argued that a person's interactions are informed by the role that they have within their social network, I will explore the generalised positions occupied by teachers relative to others in the field of education. This will be undertaken within Jenkins' (2008: 39) 'institutional order', which he viewed as "the human world of pattern and organisation, or 'established-ways-of-doing-things'". I therefore discuss teachers' interactions with young people through the lens of their institutionalised roles and how, as a result of these interactions, young people's and teacher's places within the field of education are affected. I also analyse teachers' interactions with adults and other professionals within their field, as well as addressing teachers' influence over access to dyslexia-related resources.

7.3.1 Teachers' and young people's positions within the field of education

According to Kate (teacher), there are systemic assumptions surrounding the capacities of young people with dyslexia and the curriculum. She noted that:

> "Especially in secondary school, so much of the curriculum is based around the reading and writing, and um, you know, the assumption that everybody can do it to a degree that even those kids who can't, the gap is just wider and um, therefore, a lot of things are inaccessible."

This marginal position, where young people depend on professionals in order to access the curriculum was evident when discussing Emily's (year 7) classroom support with Alison (parent), "She'll ask one question and the teacher will come over. As soon as the teacher's left her hand's up again and again and again! And the teachers are like, 'We'll help you Emily, but we have other people in the class'. Emily's dependence on teachers at Hilltop View School suggests that the power balance in this study is against young people. In the setting of this study, she was not in a position to assert her own needs and access resources without the support of professionals. This may have implications for other young people in the Hilltop View Setting and should be studied further.

Emily demonstrated her liminal, marginalised position when discussing her ability to voice her concerns or queries in class:

> "Some teachers do this really annoying thing where they hold all questions … until the very end. But then, until the end, I've either forgotten what I was going to ask them so then I have to not do anything and think about what I was going to ask them. Or at the very end, they've gone onto, the whole class has gone onto a completely different, like topic so it's kind of like, 'well there's really no point in asking what I was going to ask 'cos we're kind of like on a completely different subject.'"

She clearly had her position as 'acted upon' reinforced, rather than her position as 'competent social actor'.

Anna thought 'support plans' were potentially very empowering for young people as they would be able to convey their views about their educational provision, and the power to do so would come through structural changes in the school. However, she did also suggest that young people might be reluctant to contest the views of adults within the school setting.

7.3.2 Dyslexia between professions

Teachers in this study were not always sure of why young people were not given a full 'diagnosis' of dyslexia unless they had received training to become a Specialist Dyslexia Teacher. Claire was aware of the lack of a conclusive test for dyslexia, in line with Hoyles and Hoyles (2010), which she suggested may link to the "change in primary schools because it does feel like we're getting more requests [for assessments] in year 7". This implies that professionals in primary schools are reluctant to pursue testing for dyslexia, which aligns with Christine's views. Systematically, it would appear that secondary schools and the

teachers within them are more willing (or able) to undertake an indicative assessment/screener of young people for dyslexia (only Educational Psychologists are in a position to formally 'diagnose' dyslexia).

However, despite the willingness of teachers and staff within Hilltop View School to assess and support those with dyslexia, they had limited capacity to do so. They cannot use all tests because, "only certain tests, only EPs[18] can use … you have to have training in order to be able to use them" according to Kathryn (teacher). These restrictions on testing extend to the language teachers may to use relating to dyslexia. Kathryn and Kate, who are both Specialist Dyslexia teachers found that "it was made very clear that we weren't allowed to say, 'this child is dyslexic,'" (Kathryn, teacher) as part of their training. Thus, the capacity of teachers, even with their symbolic capital arising from their role as teacher (Bourdieu, 1989), is severely restricted.

They cannot formally 'label' a young person with dyslexia, rather teachers may only say that a young person has 'dyslexic tendencies' (Kathryn, teacher). Only educational psychologists are formally allowed to label a child as dyslexic according to Kathryn: "Unless we formally follow up with an EP report and you, you know, you're limited to the number of EP visits which you can have a year so." Thus, the structural restrictions on teachers relating to dyslexia, in comparison with other professionals, are very significant. The structural constraints on teachers affect them, in such a way that they are limited linguistically. They do not have the symbolic capital to authoritatively imbue a young person with a definitive label.

Within the mainstream school setting, as noted by Kathryn above, teachers do not have sufficient access to Educational Psychologists as a resource, to be able to refer young people with dyslexia. Thus, despite their positions as State Functionary with power over resources and symbolic capital, teachers are not always in a position, within their field, to be able to grant full, unlimited support to young people with dyslexia. Teachers' professional field is complex and dyslexia is only one condition amongst many that teachers must address as they negotiate their own identity, role and social space. Teachers have a responsibility for the educational progress of all their pupils, regardless of their needs. Thus, as the time available with educational psychologists is structurally limited, the time a teacher can dedicate to the needs of dyslexic pupils is significantly limited. They cannot be seen to neglect the needs of other pupils and would likely be criticised if they did by other

[18] Educational Psychologists.

stakeholders in the educational field (managers, parents, pupils, inspectors, politicians). However, parents were not always aware of this, which resulted in teachers (particularly in primary school settings) being perceived as evasive. Christine noted that she could not access her son's diagnostic report; Darren and Olivia noted that it was difficult for them to obtain a diagnosis of dyslexia.

7.3.3 Teachers and government

Apart from Mike, teachers in this study did not explicitly address the institution of government. There were allusions to educational policies and how changes/limitations to funding impacted on education. However, Mike discussed his views of changes in governmental structure and drew on the idea that perhaps "teaching isn't the vanguard that it perhaps once was" due to structural changes resulting in government policies. He suggested that within teaching and education "there's a sense that um, you know, that there's some sort of 19th century um, sense almost that you know: 'Make them read. It's good for their character."

Thus, Mike's view that changes to the structure of exams and curricular subjects "might alienate some students who would have a good chance like [female student], at doing well in English despite the difficulties they've faced" and that he doesn't "think the government really cares about those sorts of students" suggests that he feels powerless in the face of the governmental changes to policy and structure of exams. Thus, teachers appear to be in a subordinate position within the field of education relative to governmental institutions such as statute and policy, relative to the labelling capabilities of EPs, and in particular, they appear powerless in the face of the expectations that parents have on their capacity to enact change. Teachers', parents' and young people's capacities to enact change and alter their position within their social network are discussed in Chapter 8.

7.4 Discussion

In this section I discuss the evidence presented in this study and draw links to prior literature, as well as social theory to support the findings I present. I make links between Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' and describe how teachers, through the three levels, make sense of dyslexia individually and how they interact with young people and their dyslexia. The structural role of teachers is explored and its position in relation to other professionals, particularly that of Educational Psychologists, is also discussed.

7.4.1 Teachers of dyslexic young people

Bourdieu (1999) casts teachers as part of the State monopoly on distribution of resources due to the symbolic capital afforded to them by their status as teachers, working for the state. Having attained this position, teachers are then in a socially dominant position within the field of education (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970). They are products of the system and reproduce it through their job. However, in this study, teachers did not appear to embody this view of themselves. They positioned themselves as lacking in their professional knowledge and thus there was an internal tension between their identity as a 'teacher' and their doubts as to their own capacities. Internally, teachers did not view themselves as capable, despite their possession of the symbolic capital associated with academic success.

The views emerging from teachers in this study, resulting from internal negotiation and renegotiation of their understanding of 'self' demonstrated a large discrepancy between what they felt 'good teachers' are and how they perceived themselves: 'still learning' in order to be a 'good teacher'. In this study, teacher's sense of self included their 'virtual self' (what they projected in class) and their 'actual self' (what they feel they are, internally) (Goffman, 1963). This is an indication of internal conflict within teachers regarding whether they feel they can do their job or not; teachers consistently felt that they did not have enough knowledge of dyslexia and that they needed further training/experience, despite several professionals in this study being fully qualified, specialised 'dyslexia teachers'. This suggests that the notion of teachers feeling/being powerful in their position may not arise from within the teachers but may be attached to the role rather than the individual in that role. Bourdieu (1977) and Goffman (1963) suggest that social actors make sense of themselves with reference to their social position. Thus, teachers' feelings of guilt/inadequacy in this study are thus likely linked to their perceptions of how teachers 'should' be.

7.4.2 Classroom interactions with young people

Traditionally, from a theoretical perspective, young people have been placed in a subordinate position within education as a result of young people's position as 'different from adults' (Smith, 2007). One reason for this position arising is due to legal restrictions on children as a result of their age. According to Woodhead (2002), children have often been subjected to the views of 'experts' and 'professionals' who impose their view of correct behaviour onto the children. Teachers, due to their 'professional' status, may be viewed thus as they are charged with ensuring young people's educational 'success'. Thus, theoretically, teachers embody and reproduce the habitus of the field of education. By doing so, they potentially maintain the social positions of children and adults within the field, which serve

to propagate power relationships within the field and maintain the privileged status of teachers.

In this study, however, teachers' actions did not always serve to maintain a large social distance from young people. Through using inclusive language, such as the 'first person plural' when interacting with young people, teachers acted to align themselves with young people. In so doing, Kate and Jenny (teachers) reduced the social distance between themselves and their pupils; during their interactions, they generally did not employ a model of children in which children were viewed as 'different' from adults as described by Smith (2007). Rather, in identifying herself 'with' the young people in her class, she appeared to want to empower them by suggesting that they were capable social agents, in line with Prout's (2003) 'new paradigm' of childhood. This demonstrated the mixed ontology of young people in classrooms; young people are generally viewed by her and other teachers as capable social actors, 'beings' (Uprichard, 2008). However, they are also viewed as incomplete and 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008). The 'becoming' aspect of young people's ontology is where 'experts' impose their view of correct behaviour on them (Woodhead, 2002).

However, there were instances when young people's equitable position with teachers was challenged. This was particularly salient when young people were facilitating interactions with their peers through which their dyslexia might be perceptible. Technology was viewed by most teachers in this study as a means by which perceptible and thus stigmatising effects of dyslexia could be minimised. They were aware of the importance of young people not having attention drawn to any perceptible stigmatising characteristics (Goffman, 1963) and acted to reduce that possibility. However, this was problematic in the mainstream classroom as technology and reading rulers were prohibitively expensive, so it was not possible to have a 'class set' of these resources. Kate and Anna both alluded to stretched budgets restricting the support available for dyslexic young people. As such, teachers in this study tended to rely on positive interpersonal relationships with young people, which formed the basis for interventions and classroom-based support for those with dyslexia. Viewing young people as both 'beings' and 'becomings' (Uprichard, 2008) was evident and appeared to help foster those positive relationships. Further exploration of the conceptualisation of young people as 'becomings' and 'beings', where the experiences of adolescents without impairments would be useful to deepen understanding of how positive relationships with teachers affected their experiences of the classroom, identity and their ability to enact agency within the field of education.

Hannah's rejection of technology for supporting young people with dyslexia was also interesting. By stating that she needs to know "how much is being complete" and to "monitor" young people's work, and highlighting these as reasons why the use of technology is problematic in the classroom, she has the potential effect of overriding the needs of young people with dyslexia. For young people whose needs are met through the use of technology, the rejection of this tool by their teacher means that young people are in the position of being acted upon (Uprichard, 2008) and powerless, in line with Tomlinson's (2012) work, where people with SEN were dissatisfied with their provision but felt powerless to reject or resist it. Thus Hannah, in her position as a powerful adult State Functionary has, in line with Bourdieu's (1999) theory, acted to control access to resources and thus subjugate the potential recipient, in this case a young person. Whether conscious or not, Hannah's embodiment of a habitus, in which technology is not an accepted classroom medium propagates a system where young people with dyslexia are dependent on adults to access the curriculum, rather than having the opportunity to become independent learners through the use of technology.

7.4.3 The potential stigma of dyslexia

In this study, all teachers viewed dyslexia as a characteristic that should not limit an individual academically, although they did concede that 'success' might be more difficult to achieve. They also felt that young people should not be ashamed of having dyslexia. In line with MacDonald's (2012) bio-social view of dyslexia, teachers alluded to dyslexia being a 'challenge' that could be overcome, suggesting that they viewed is as socially affected as well as being an intrinsic learning difficulty. All teachers also noted young people's self-consciousness surrounding their dyslexia and their attempts to present a positive version of 'self' (Chen, 2011) in the classroom setting. Thus, through their interactions with young people, teachers attempted to support them in this. Hannah's response to dyslexia was much like that of many parents; she supported young people's capacity to present a positive self (Oyserman and James, 2011) through her own presentation of dyslexia, not as a stigmatising characteristic (Goffman, 1963), but as a learning difference which means that pupils "can still have, you know do everything in life. It's just that you'll have to do it in a different kind of way".

These views however are slightly problematic. They present a notion that success should be achieved academically. Such a view of education may reinforce young people's shame about their dyslexia if they are not able to 'overcome it'. Thus, in their attempts to positively support young people with dyslexia, well-intentioned teachers may be further undermining some young people.

Kate acknowledged the intrinsic difficulties experienced by those with dyslexia (Riddick, 2010) and through the explanation in a small group setting, seemed to use the interaction to support empathy between the two young people. Despite teachers' attempts to minimise negative associations with dyslexia, they did all concede, in line with Riddick's work (2000, 2010) that there are difficulties experienced by young people that will remain with them for life. So, although dyslexia itself may be a hidden disability (McKay and Neal, 2009; Riddick, 2010), its effects are perceptible and potentially stigmatising (Goffman, 1963) during classroom interactions.

7.4.4 Teachers' position in the field of education

Kate and other teachers' recognition of the importance placed on literacy within secondary school settings highlights the problematic nature of both children's and young people's position with that system. Kate asserted that all young people are assumed to be competent and literate. Assumptions that young people within a secondary school setting have a certain level of literacy arise from normative expectations around young people's abilities, which tend to consider learners generally, without addressing the particular needs of those with dyslexia; when assessing young people for dyslexia a 'discrepancy' model is one method used by professionals (Snowling et al., 2003). Institutional expectations on learners to be able to read actively do not necessarily consider those learners who cannot read 'normally'. Thus, institutionally, the position of young people with dyslexia is subordinate and they are unable to fully participate in the curriculum, unless professionals facilitate their access in line with Smith's (2007) and Wyness' (2012) work. Teachers appear, then, to be in the position of state functionary, with the power to grant young people access to the curriculum and resources (Bourdieu, 2011). However, it is important to note that there may be limits on resources, which means that the young people they want assessed for dyslexia may not be assessed. Relative to teachers, young people are thus doubly affected by their position as dyslexic and under 18: if they have dyslexia they are viewed as incomplete and unable to participate fully in society due to their impairment (Watermeyer, 2009) and they are framed as incompetent social actors in their position as children (Wyness, 2012).

The teachers' position relative to young people was one in which there was a power differential in favour of the teacher. However, teachers were at times also in a position which was subordinate to that of other professionals. In particular, teachers noted the importance of Educational Psychologists within the field of education, as part of the 'labelling' process for young people with dyslexia. Kathryn's assertion that only Educational Psychologists can officially 'diagnose' dyslexia positions teachers as subordinate to them. It

appears that teachers are not the only professionals in the position of 'state functionary' (Bourdieu, 1999), able to allocate symbolic capital to young people/parents and thus resources. Therefore, despite their traditionally powerful position within the field of education, teachers' position as controller of resources appears to be weaker than it is perceived as being by the parents and young people within Hilltop View.

Teachers also appeared to be subject to government ideals with which their views did not always align. Mike's assertion that there is a '19th century' culture surrounding education in which young people should be made to undertake reading and other activities supports conclusions drawn by Wyness (2012) who suggested that the norms for education in the UK are 'middle class' and 'white'. His view also links to Prout and James' (2002) work, which suggests that 'childhood' as a construction originates in Victorian times. Thus, teachers who do not support this view are subjugated through such a view of education.

It would seem, then, that teachers are not the 'powerful' 'state functionaries', in charge of allocation of symbolic capital and resources that Bourdieu (1999) imagined. Instead, within the setting of Hilltop View, their position appears to be one that is as constrained structurally as that of young people; teachers cannot assign labels of 'dyslexic' and they have limited resources with which to meet the needs of dyslexic young people.

7.5 Conclusion

Here, I draw conclusions from the findings I have presented above. I explicate the main themes arising from the analyses I have undertaken of teachers' experiences of young people and their dyslexia at the three 'levels of interaction' (Jenkins, 2008). I link these salient points to theory and then relate the implications of these findings, both theoretically and on a practical level.

7.5.1 Teachers' experiences at the 'individual order'

In this study, at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), teachers' views of themselves appeared to clash with their understanding of what makes a 'good teacher'. All teachers in this study described their perceived lack of knowledge and inadequacy surrounding their own practice and classroom provision for young people with dyslexia. They felt that they did not have the necessary skills, despite their academic success (Wyness, 2012; Smith, 2007), to fully meet the needs of young people with dyslexia. Thus, there was an internal conflict, with teachers' 'virtual self' not matching their 'actual self'. This led to teachers not fully embodying their role as a 'good teacher' and thus not taking on an identity which would propagate their dominant position within the field at Hilltop View School (Bourdieu, 1977).

As suggested by Goffman (1963) and Bourdieu (1977), social actors make sense of themselves internally through reference to their social position. Thus, teachers' feelings of inadequacy in this study, are likely to result from their comparisons of their own practice with how they perceive 'good practice' to be.

7.5.2 Teachers' experiences at the 'interactional order'

Teachers in this study frequently interacted with young people such that the social distance between them would be reduced. This suggests that, in contrast with work such as that of Smith (2007), where young people have been cast as 'different' from adults, they are viewed in a more equitable manner at Hilltop View School. Inclusive language used by teachers, such as using the 'first person plural' positioned young people as able social actors, capable of enacting their own agency (Prout, 2003). However, young people were also subject to teachers' authority when their behaviour contravened the teachers' expectations for classroom interactions. Thus, in this instance, despite doubts in their capacities as 'teachers of dyslexic pupils', teachers did embody the generalised position of authoritative adult within the classroom setting, with young people in a subordinate position. As such, through their interactions with young people, despite their internal tensions, teachers did propagate their own position within the educational field, in line with Bourdieu's view (1977).

Within the classroom, access to technology was viewed by all but one teacher as important in supporting young people's access to the curriculum. Where technology was used in the classroom setting by teachers, it was viewed as a means for dyslexic young people to gain independence and rely less on the teacher to access the curriculum. However, where technology was rejected by teachers as a means for supporting young people in the classroom at Hilltop View due to the teacher's own needs, it was unclear how young people with dyslexia, who usually rely on technology, would be able to access learning. As such, there is firm evidence that teachers are in the position of 'state functionary' (Bourdieu, 1989) with the capacity to distribute resources, or not, and that the effects of their decisions may result in young people not having full access to the curriculum.

Dyslexia was viewed as a difficulty that should not hold back young people; teachers appeared to draw on bio-social models of dyslexia (MacDonald, 2012) in which there was an intrinsic, biological difference within the child, but where social structures may exacerbate or reduce the effects of dyslexia. However, teachers' assumptions about how to support young people with dyslexia were problematic and may have acted to further stigmatise young people's dyslexia; teachers all suggested that young people should be able to 'achieve' in spite of their dyslexia and that they would be able to overcome its effects, in line

with Wyness (2012) where young people who cannot overcome their dyslexia may feel stigmatised.

7.5.3 Teachers' experiences at the 'institutional order'

The key point arising from the analysis of teachers' experiences at the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008) is that teachers' position within the educational field at Hilltop View School is both dominant and subordinated. When compared to the position of parents and young people, teachers enjoy a position of relative privilege; they are in the position of 'state functionary' whereby their actions can permit or preclude young people's access to the curriculum in the mainstream classroom (Bourdieu, 1989). This position of privilege arises out of young people's biological 'youngness' (Wyness, 2012) and their position as 'incomplete' because of their dyslexia (Watermeyer, 2009). However, relative to other professionals, teachers are also subordinate. Although some teachers (those with the specialist dyslexia teacher status) may imbue a semi-official 'dyslexic' status on young people through their capacity to undertake dyslexia screeners, only Educational Psychologists can grant an 'official' diagnosis of dyslexia. Thus, teachers are dependent on those other professionals for that status, before they are in a position to allocate their limited resources to young people. Thus, within the Hilltop View setting, teachers are not all-powerful, 'state functionaries' as envisioned by Bourdieu (1999). Rather they are constrained and must act within structures, as much as young people must.

7.5.4 Theoretical and practical implications of these findings

The analyses presented above were undertaken using Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' as a framework through which, Bourdieusian theory was used to explore teachers' experiences of dyslexia in the classroom. Teachers' social positions, their understandings of dyslexia and their view of themselves were all considered and their embodiment/rejection of the habitus of 'teacher' within their field of education was explored.

7.5.4.1 Position and symbolic capital

Teachers' internal difficulties at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), with their understanding of how a capable teacher should support a young person with dyslexia, are useful for framing their interactions with young people. Individually, teachers in this study appeared to reject the notion that they were fully able to meet the needs of those with dyslexia. Thus, there was a discrepancy between their 'actual' and 'virtual' identities, which resulted in teachers not adopting the habitus of a socially distant teacher in a privileged position, in line with Bourdieu and Passeron's expectations of teachers (1977) within the setting of Hilltop View School. This rejection of a 'socially distant' position in order to build

up positive relationships with pupils and their framing of self as 'lacking' in skills to meet the needs of dyslexic pupils at the 'individual order' provide an explanation at the 'interactional' order as to why teachers acted to reduce social distance between themselves and young people rather than acting to maintain their own advantageous position, where young people are subjugated.

Teachers' position in relation to other professionals in this study also highlighted some interesting tensions; congruent with Bourdieu's suggestions that teachers are in the powerful position of 'state functionary' (Bourdieu, 1989), teachers were viewed by parents as having the capacity to bestow the symbolic capital of 'dyslexic' on young people (see Chapter 6). However as discussed in this chapter, teachers did not feel that they were in such a position. It was noted by teachers that they did not have the capacity to 'label' young people officially; only an educational psychologist can officially diagnose someone as dyslexic, whereas specialist teachers may only suggest that an individual may have dyslexic tendencies. Thus, teachers are in a subordinate position to Educational Psychologists, who possess the symbolic capital themselves to confer the label of dyslexic on young people, suggesting that teachers have less control over resources than may otherwise be thought by parents/young people.

7.5.4.2 Practical applications of findings

At the individual level, teachers within the Hilltop View setting, for the most part, felt that they did not have enough knowledge surrounding the nature of dyslexia or how to meet the needs of young people in the classroom. Teachers fostered very positive relationships with young people and these relationships were the basis for much of the active differentiation of the curriculum for young people within the classroom setting. As such, the good practice of individual teachers, who feel able to develop positive relationships with young people, should be disseminated within the Hilltop View setting through training sessions for staff members. Both points could be addressed through the training and mentoring of staff members who work with dyslexic young people in the mainstream setting. Such support and training will likely facilitate teachers to improve their self-concept and reduce the discrepancy between their 'virtual' and 'actual' identities (Chen et al., 2012), which will likely then promote the development of positive relationships with young people.

Teachers felt frustrated that they could not allocate 'labels' to young people and that they were limited both by their lack of symbolic capital, relative to Educational Psychologists, and lack of resources. Parents also noted a lack of understanding of the language surrounding dyslexia (see section 6.5.3). This would suggest that there is a need for

dialogue between teachers, parents and other professionals with regard to the terminology associated with dyslexia and young people's access to provision. Thus, there would be a greater ability amongst parents and non-specialist teachers to access the field of Hilltop View and to enter meaningful dialogue with each other.

Chapter 8

Discussion and Conclusions

In this chapter, I bring together the different theoretical strands of this study through drawing on the different perspectives of participants. The perspectives of young people, their teachers and their parents (as expressed in interviews and observed in class) are all considered and their experiences are drawn upon as a means of addressing the following research question:

> How much room do actors have to negotiate and renegotiate their social position and role within the field of education?

The research question was broken down into the following aims:

- Analysis of young people's, teacher's and parents' individual understandings of, and responses to, dyslexia and related classroom experiences through analysis of interview data and classroom observation through the lens of Jenkins' (2008) individual order.
- Exploration of how views of dyslexia inform those interactions and influence educational provision for young people, based in Jenkins' (2008) "interactional order", analysis of classroom and school-based interactions through interview data and classroom observation.
- Analysis located in Jenkins' (2008) 'institutional order', exploration of positions occupied by different actors and institutions within the field of Hilltop View School and how these positions influence provision of resources for young people, facilitate/restrict access to the field of education for parents/carers and to what extent dominant positions are reinforced through the current structures in place in and around Hilltop View School.

These aims are addressed at each level and discussed in detail in each section of this chapter. They are discussed in relation to parents, teachers and young people. I refer to data gathered as described in Chapter 4 from Hilltop View School, a high-achieving school in the South West of England. In analysing this data, I have used Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' as a toolkit for the undertaking of a Bourdieusian ethnography, which focussed on actors' positions and roles within a social network: the field of Hilltop View as a microcosm of the larger field of education. Analysis was undertaken at the 'individual order', the 'interaction order' and the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008: 39) as a framework for

supporting the explication of social agency and identity within the social network of Hilltop View. Uprichard's (2008) model of children, in which young people were viewed as capable social agents (beings) who were also acted upon by external structure (becomings), was used to inform the methodology and analysis of young people's interactions and experiences, both individually and with others. Young people's position within education, such that they are often marginalised and unable to access decision-making processes, is discussed and comparisons made with the marginalised position of 'disabled' people. Parallels are drawn between the way young people and 'disabled' people are modelled; young people have been constructed as incomplete due to their legal dependence on adults (Smith, 2007; Wyness, 2012) and 'disabled' people have been viewed as incomplete due to their apparent dependence on 'able' people (Sabatello, 2009; Watermeyer, 2009). I also used Bourdieu's (1989) concept of symbolic capital and its associated power and relate that to actors' different roles and positions within the social network of Hilltop View School.

This chapter addresses the research questions and aims of the study, as detailed in Chapter 4. In section 8.1.2, I analyse the perspectives of young people, parents and teachers through the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008) to explore how internal negotiations relating to the nature of their dyslexia take place. I then discuss the findings taken from the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008) from each group of participants. The experiences of participants at the 'institutional order' are then discussed. In 8.3 of this chapter, I discuss the theoretical and practical implications of the findings from the three 'levels of interaction' (Jenkins, 2008) and also link the findings of my study to previous methods of modelling dyslexia, young people, parents and teachers within the field of education. Theoretical models that I used in this study were generally found to be helpful such that my findings reinforced their applicability in the context of this study. Questions were also raised relating to the position of teachers within the localised field of Hilltop View School, which suggest that further research would be useful in other locations to gain deeper insight into teachers' positions across the country. I also discuss the practical applications of the findings taken from this study and how they may be used to help improve practice at Hilltop View School, as well as in other settings. I then evaluate the strength of the research with reference to the theoretical frameworks I have used and suggest ways in which the work may be undertaken more effectively. Finally, in section 8.7.7, I discuss potential future work relating to this study.

8.1 Levels of interaction

Here, I draw together findings from each of the participant groups in relation to the three different interactional orders. I draw conclusions from the findings and relate them to the

specific research question, providing responses from the perspective of young people with dyslexia, their parents and their teachers.

8.1.1 The individual order

At the individual order, I drew on observational and interview data. At this level, analysis explored the internal negotiations that took place within young people and adults, and how those negotiations affected participants' self-concept and identity. I related findings to 'relational-self' theory, whereby social actors (particularly young people in this study) appeared to present only certain selves, depending on the particular social situation in which their interactions occurred (Chen et al., 2011).

At the individual level, young people tended to draw on medicalised understandings of dyslexia and reference its diverse range of 'symptoms'. In line with Kelly's (1998) work, I found that dyslexia is not a uniform condition, which is easily 'definable'. Dyslexia appeared to provide young people with an explanation for their difficulties and, as previously found by Solvang (2007), seemed to absolve them of blame for their difficulties in the classroom. Congruent with Riddick's (2000) findings, young people seemed to view dyslexia as a learning difficulty that was inherent in them, but which was not their fault. Dyslexia had a significant effect on some young people's identities. This was apparent in these young people's own perceptions of difference between themselves and their peers. When considering their perceived differences between themselves and their peers, these young people linked this to stigma (Goffman, 1963) and did not want to be seen as different in class but were willing to discuss their dyslexia with me. Foddy and Kashima (2002) suggest that young people's self-concept is based around important areas in their lives, which supports the findings in this study; dyslexia was a significant area in young people's lives. Through perceived differences between themselves and their peers (Bourdieu, 1977), some young people internally developed their own sense of identity through controlling their own presentation of self, who they discussed their dyslexia with and when. Bourdieu (1977) and Goffman (1963) view identity as a social process such that people make sense of themselves through their position and role relative to others. Jenkins (2008) supports this idea and suggests that there is an internal process via which individuals undertake this sense-making process. This is supported by the findings in this study. It appears in the case of this study that some young people attempted to renegotiate their understanding of dyslexia positively through drawing on positive role models and focussing on their strengths. Their need to renegotiate their dyslexia suggests that these young people find dyslexia a source of shame, in line with Humphrey and Mullins' (2010) findings relating to a mainstream setting. Thus, through positive reframing, they attempt to find positive aspects of their dyslexia. This was a

way in which they could mediate the stigmatising effects of dyslexia and present a 'positive identity' with a view to fostering positive interactions within their social network; potentially if young people view and present their dyslexia positively, then so will others.

All parents initially drew on medicalised models of dyslexia when making sense of it at the 'individual level' (Jenkins, 2008). Like young people, they located dyslexia within the individual. This understanding of dyslexia aligns with other work, in which the source of dyslexic difficulties is within the individual (Calfee, 1983; Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010; Poole, 2010). Like their children, parents tended to focus on their children's strengths in order to present a positive understanding of their children's impairment. They also tended to adjust their expectations of their children. This may have been so that their children did not experience a perceptible difference in their relationship, which would negatively affect their social position (Bourdieu, 1977). Some parents noted differences between their children with dyslexia and other children who did not have dyslexia, including their own. Alongside the 'difference', these parents also perceived a potential stigma attached to the perceptible characteristics of dyslexia. In line with Solvang (2007), Bury (1996) and Riddick (2000), generally, parents found a 'diagnosis' of dyslexia helpful; the diagnosis provided an explanation for their children's difficulties. They and their children were also absolved of 'blame' for the difficulties experienced in the classroom by their children. These renewed understandings of dyslexia, and an explanation for the difficulties experienced by young people appeared to help parents in this study to view their children's dyslexia more positively.

At the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), teachers in this study seemed to have difficulty in reconciling their understanding of what a 'good teacher' is, versus their perceptions of their own capabilities. Some teachers appeared to view themselves as lacking sufficient skills to meet the needs of those with dyslexia. Despite their own 'traditional' academic success, i.e. completion of multiple qualifications at school and university (Smith, 2012; Wyness, 2007), these teachers did not feel that their professional knowledge adequately prepared them for working effectively with dyslexic young people. Other teachers did not specifically target their differentiated curriculum resources for young people with dyslexia. Rather they differentiated work for ability and provided similar styles of resources to all pupils. In line with Goffman's (1963) concept of difference between 'virtual' and 'actual' selves, teachers perceived a gap between their understanding of being a 'good teacher' and their own current status. That their 'virtual' selves did not match their 'actual' selves led to them not fully adopting the practice of 'good' teacher, and thus undermining their own dominant position within the social field of Hilltop View School. Their

internal conflict surrounding their own strengths and capacities within the social field of the school likely informed their interactions with young people and parents. These interactions will be discussed in the following section.

8.1.2 The interactional order

As noted above, Bourdieu (1977) and Jenkins (2008) view interactions as means by which social actors make sense of themselves and their position within social networks. Jenkins (2008) argued that, within his 'levels of interaction' framework, it is not possible to discuss one level, without alluding to the others. As such, in this section, although the interactional order is explored, I do draw on the other levels to provide clearer explanation of the concepts exposed here. The interactions displayed and described by young people in this study align with the basis of 'relational self' theory. I found that young people in this study appeared to present only certain aspects of their 'self' when interacting with people other than their immediate family and close friends. They generally acted to minimise the perceptibility of their dyslexia, to present a 'self' near to their desired 'virtual self', where their dyslexia would not be viewed as a stigmatising characteristic (Goffman, 1963). Young people's projected identities differed, depending on their social setting and they placed a great deal of importance on their friends for support. However, Emily was described by herself and her mother as very open with staff at school when she found accessing work difficult. This was in contrast with others who did not want attention drawn to their difficulties. Teachers tended to engage with young people such that they supported young people's management of their projected identity, through their use of carefully differentiated resources. Some young people actively engaged with teachers and discussed their dyslexia. They enjoyed positive relationships with teachers. Other young people rejected teachers' efforts to discuss and support their dyslexia, which also demonstrated young people's capacity to enact agency within the classroom setting. This suggests that young people within this study are capable social agents, in line with Uprichard (2008) and the 'new paradigm' of childhood (Prout, 2000). Although young people did enjoy some capacity to enact agency over which aspects of their 'self' they projected, interactions between young people and adults in their educational setting seemed to be informed by (and to inform) young people's 'sense of place' within their network (Bourdieu, 1989).

Much of parents' sense making was undertaken through interactions in support groups, through internet research and via their own professional knowledge and networks. In line with MacDonald (2012), parents in this study tended to accept the presence of a biological impairment affecting their children, which could be exacerbated by external, social factors. Some participating parents found that interactions with teachers could be

problematic as they found it difficult to gain official recognition of their children's difficulties. Some parents felt that interactions were limited due to the 'hidden' nature of dyslexia. The different roles which teachers and parents occupied impacted on their interactions in this study. Generally, parents have only their child's needs to consider whereas teachers must consider the needs of a larger number of young people within the classroom setting. As such, there was tension in interactions, although it was noted by parents in this study that teachers in secondary schools were more accessible than primary schools when interacting with parents and that secondary schools were better equipped to support young people with dyslexia (Hilltop View is a secondary school).

When interacting with young people, most teachers in this study tended to act to reduce the social distance between themselves and young people, which contrasts with work by Smith (2007) who has suggested that young people have been traditionally viewed as different from adults and thus kept at a distance from them. Some teachers did this through the language they use; young people are spoken to equitably which suggests that teachers view young people as capable social actors, in line with Prout's (2000) view of young people. Technology was viewed positively as a way by which young people could access the curriculum and enact their own agency. However, where technology was not viewed positively, it was evident that the teacher, in their position as 'state functionary' (Bourdieu, 1989) would potentially be able to propagate their own dominant position through the denial of resources to young people, reducing young people's agentic capabilities within the classroom setting. In line with MacDonald's (2012) modelling of dyslexia, teachers viewed dyslexia as a bio-social phenomenon and in this study, some teachers' views of how to support young people were problematic. They propagated narrow views of 'academic success' (Wyness, 2012) and suggested that young people would all achieve academic success despite their dyslexia. However, through this assumption, young people who might not 'overcome' their dyslexia may become marginalised through their interactions with teachers who hold such views.

8.1.3 The institutional order

At the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008), the interactions between social actors within certain roles ascribed to them in the social network of Hilltop View School were explored. I analysed how individuals were able to interact with larger institutions such as 'county hall' or 'school' and also how these individuals' own positions impacted on these interactions.

Young people in this study tended to value their position as 'dyslexic' from an institutional point of view. They valued 'official recognition' for the reason behind their difficulties and, congruent with Riddick's (2000) work, found the label emancipatory. The

label also acted to define the role embodied by young people: at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), young people found it empowering in this study; however, interactionally and institutionally, it caused tension. The emancipatory aspect of the label was in conflict with the stigmatising aspect (Goffman, 1963) so that in acting to minimise the perceptibility of their dyslexia, most young people concealed the effects of their dyslexia in public, rather than embracing it as explanation for their difficulties in the classroom.

I found that young people's position relative to teachers and parents was 'dependent', a position which is reinforced within government (DfE, 2010a) and academic literature (Riddick, 2001). Thus, young people were marginalised through their construction as being 'dependent' within the educational system. This view is congruent with Wyness' (2012) and Smith's (2007) understandings of the position of young people within education at the institutional level, i.e. that they are subordinated. This view is propagated by perceptions of young people's age and the control that they are subjected to within policy (Children and Families Act, 2014); they must be viewed as dependent on teachers/professionals in order to access types of support above and beyond classroom provision. At the institutional level, young people were framed as incapable and thus they appeared to fit Uprichard's (2008) view of children as actors and acted upon ('beings' and 'becomings)'. The present research also indicates that their voices were often excluded from dialogue at the institutional level because, generally, they felt unable to question their teachers regarding provision, despite the use of support plans. Some teachers also did not expect young people to engage in dialogue with them about provision due to their "sense of place" (Bourdieu, 1989) in their social network and the power differential, which was in favour of the teachers.

Parents sought to empower themselves and their children through obtaining official recognition of their children's dyslexia, in line with Solvang (2007) and Riddick (2010). An official diagnosis was understood by parents in this study to facilitate access to resources and support for children. In order to gain official recognition of dyslexia, parents have to contradict themselves: institutionally, they must present their children as dependent and deficient in order to secure support, whereas at individual and interactional levels, they must present their children differently. Individually and interactionally, parents spend time empowering their children through positive reinforcement of their capacities rather than focussing on their impairment. Official recognition of dyslexia bestows a particular role on young people, which all parents hoped to use to gain support from teachers, who were viewed as gatekeepers to resources. At the institutional level, parents drew on Uprichard's (2008) model of young people as actors and acted upon. They felt disadvantaged relative to

teachers' positions and that their views surrounding provision were not considered. This was particularly pronounced when parents described the primary setting compared with the Hilltop View setting. Parents had to learn how to adopt the practices and embody the habitus required to access the field of education. This was done either via their own professional knowledge, through personal research or through hiring professional support. Parents felt they could thus better engage in meaningful dialogue with professionals to secure provision for their children.

Institutionally, teachers in this study were in both a dominant and a subordinated position. Relative to parents and young people, they were perceived by those participants as privileged 'state functionaries' (Bourdieu, 1989) with the capacity to bestow support and resources on young people. However, relative to 'Educational Psychologists' they did not perceive themselves as privileged. This was due to their lack of capacity to bestow an official diagnosis of dyslexia on young people; teachers can suggest 'dyslexic tendencies' however only an 'Educational Psychologist' can offer a full diagnosis of dyslexia. Thus teachers are dependent on other professionals for symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989). They are also subject to economic constraints, which limit their resources and capacity to support young people.

8.2 Conclusions: dyslexia and the field of education at Hilltop View

In this section, I draw overall conclusions from this study and provide responses to the research question:

> How much room do actors have to negotiate and renegotiate their social position and role within the field of education?

The responses I provide are given to address the different social position of the participants within this study. Thus, I describe the capacity for change in the social positions of young people with dyslexia, their parents and their teachers.

8.2.1 Young people's capacity to negotiate their social space

Young people, more than other groups, seemed to draw on medicalised notions of dyslexia when confronted with a 'diagnosis'. However, they also noted that how material was presented to them by teachers affected their ability to access the curriculum, suggesting that they tacitly understood dyslexia as a bio-social phenomenon. Through understanding dyslexia as an entity that caused their literacy difficulties, all young people appeared to be empowered and their own sense of 'blame' for their difficulties was assuaged. Through this

process, they then negotiated more positive ways of understanding their dyslexia. This then appeared, at an individual level, to provide young people with the means to actively engage in negotiations at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), allowing them to create social space and renegotiate their sense of self more positively, through their renegotiation of their understanding of dyslexia.

Interactionally young people in this study were viewed by teachers and, to some extent parents, as active social agents who could engage meaningfully in interactions with their teachers and parents, controlling the 'self' that they wished to project. They were able to manipulate and create social space at this level. This was demonstrated in the techniques that young people described when in the classroom; some young people hid their dyslexia and others discussed it openly. The common feature was that young people controlled how they presented their dyslexia during interactions with teachers. They made use of their peer-based social networks, with some young people finding support in their friends and drawing on those positive relationships to maintain their social positions. In general, young people did not disclose their dyslexia to everyone and generally decided who they discussed it with and in what context. At the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008), young people in this study could engage actively with teachers/parents and negotiate their social space successfully, seemingly with the support of their teachers and parents.

At the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008) however, young people were less able to enact their own agency and control their own social space. They were constrained by their own 'sense of place' (Bourdieu, 1989) and did not generally wish to challenge teachers when discussing their own provision – although one pupil did suggest that he would use his 'support plan' as a means of letting teachers know about his dyslexia. He thus appeared to be more powerful at the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008) than other young people. The fact that he had spent time at a specialist dyslexia school may have affected this; potentially, further research could be undertaken to explore the social effects of attending specialised schools and returning to mainstream settings. Young people appeared to be constructed institutionally as dependent, due to their biological age (Wyness, 2012), and incomplete due to their dyslexia (Watermeyer, 2009). These constructions of young people lead them to a marginalised position despite calls in policy for their voices to be heard (Children and Families Act, 2014). Thus we can see that there are institutional failings affecting the young people in this study, which may also be experienced similarly by young people elsewhere: young people are socially able agents ('beings', Uprichard, 2008) individually and interactionally but are dependent subjects ('becomings', Uprichard, 2008) institutionally within the setting of Hilltop View, despite the efforts of teachers and parents to change this.

Thus, individually and interactionally, young people can create, negotiate and manage their own social space and position within their social network. However, institutionally, this becomes less feasible due to external constraints on them, such as age-related restrictions in law (detailed in Chapter 5), leading to their marginalisation and oppression outside of their own locale.

8.2.2 Parents' capacity to negotiate their social space

In this study, drawing on medicalised notions of dyslexia appeared to help parents understand dyslexia as something that was not their fault. Like young people, parents tended to renegotiate their understanding of dyslexia at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008) and appeared to move towards a bio-social model of it once they had acquired an official 'diagnosis' for their children. Through focussing on their children's strengths rather than their difficulties, most parents were able to negotiate a social space for themselves at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), in which they attempted to frame dyslexia positively. This positive view of dyslexia from the 'individual order' (ibid.) appeared to then underpin parents' interactions with their children and teachers: parents attempted to project positive views of dyslexia when interacting with their children.

Despite positive framing of dyslexia at the 'individual order' (Jenkins, 2008), parents in this study found interacting with their children could be problematic; young people did not always adopt a positive view of dyslexia with their parents. Parents also found that interacting with education professionals could be problematic. This may have been due to a lack of a consistent definition of dyslexia in the field of education and also due to parents' differing abilities to adopt the practices and subsequent habitus necessary when interacting with education professionals. Secondary schools were thought to be easier to interact with for most parents in this study when compared with primary schools. Thus, at the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008), parents seemed to have some difficulty creating their own social space, particularly in relation to primary schools, where teachers were thought to be less supportive and willing to engage with discussions surrounding provision and diagnosis than those in a secondary school setting.

At the 'institutional order' parents did not feel able to engage with educational professionals unless they had 'official' recognition of dyslexia, something which could only be given by a limited pool of professionals. In order to obtain support for their children, parents had to frame children as incomplete and dependent. At this level, they could choose how to frame their children and thus create their own social space, at times more effectively than at the 'interactional order'. However, in order to do so, parents had to contravene their

own individual understandings of dyslexia and their children, which would be potential sources of tension in their relationships and social settings. This is an area that would merit more attention as further study would elaborate on conflicts surrounding parents' experiences of procuring support for their dyslexic children.

Within the confines of this study, parents seemed best placed to create social space at the individual and institutional orders of interaction (Jenkins, 2008) as, individually, they could renegotiate their understandings of dyslexia, based on their own research and interactions. Within the interactional framework, as interactions with teachers and young people were all mediated by the structural pressures of the school setting, parents found it problematic. However, it was easier for them to create their own social space in the broader, institutional field as they were able to learn and embody the appropriate habitus, either through their own research, professional knowledge or through hiring professional support, allowing them to control how they presented themselves and their child in the role of 'parent'.

8.2.3 Teachers' capacity to negotiate their social space

Individually, teachers' identities were linked to their perceptions of what 'good' teaching looks like and how they 'should' perform as teachers of dyslexia. Their internal negotiations led some of them to view themselves as deficient in their teaching and teachers' 'self-concept' was generally quite negative. They had negotiated their own 'sense of self'. However, this was not overly positive. They had moved away from a position where they were traditionally, academically successful (Wyness, 2012) to a place where they felt unsuccessful. Their academic 'success' suggested that they could make social space and gain a dominant position within the field of education in the Hilltop View setting. However, through their interactions with others, their internal negotiations lead them to frame themselves negatively and subject to pressures of external constraints. This subsequently restricts their capacity to dominate others within their social network through their interactions.

At the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008), some teachers acted to reduce the social distance between themselves and young people. They were able to negotiate these interactions freely within the classroom setting. These teachers could create positive space, where the institutional constraints they were subject to were mediated by the interpersonal interactions. Some teachers' negative views of themselves may have positively contributed to their capacity to reduce social distance between themselves and their pupils as they did not view themselves as 'expert' and dominant over the pupils. Thus, teachers' capacity to

create social space was most evident at this level; they could interact equitably with pupils in a social setting and also with parents.

Institutionally, most teachers in this study were subject to structural constraints which, in some way, limited their capacity to provide support for young people, in particular, they were restricted in their ability to provide technological support for young people. Thus, despite parents' perceptions of teachers' privileged position, teachers were subject to constraints within policy and relating to other professionals in terms of allocating both symbolic and economic capital. They could not bestow the 'official' label of dyslexia and, due to limited resources, could not provide support to all young people at their desired level. Despite policy suggesting that the needs of young people with dyslexia could be met in the classroom (DfE, 2010a), some teachers felt that that this was not always possible and were thus subject to political pressures. This suggests that teachers cannot easily negotiate their own social space within the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008): they are pressured by parents who perceive that they have more power to act than they actually do and they are constrained by other professionals.

Thus, teachers were most able to negotiate and create social space within the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008); they were freer to engage with young people and parents without perceiving the structural constraints of policy and government. They were most constrained at the point where parents and young people believe that they were most able to act: at the 'institutional order'. At this point, their institutional oppression appeared to lead them to internally develop a negative 'self-concept', creating and reinforcing tensions at other levels of interaction for teachers.

8.3 Theoretical implications arising from this study

In this section, I discuss the theoretical implications of the findings from this study. Firstly, I discuss the application of Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' to the study of the social space of educational provision for those with dyslexia within a mainstream, state school setting. I discuss the strength of linking Bourdieu's and Jenkins' work, and drawing on Goffman's work, for the purposes of this study and their applicability to the study of the position of young people with dyslexia. I then highlight the importance of Uprichard's (2008) conceptualisation of childhood as a tool for understanding the interactions and experiences of young people within the field of education. I discuss how dyslexia was understood by participants in this study and relate it to wider theoretical literature and conclude the section by summarising the ability of participants in this study to negotiate and navigate social spaces surrounding them.

8.3.1 Application of Jenkins' 'levels of interaction'

The three theorists whose work I draw upon in this study all view identity and sense-making as interactive processes. Bourdieu (1977) and Jenkins (2008) both highlight the importance of social structures when addressing the formation of the identity and sense-making of an individual. Goffman places great importance on the interactions of actors when negotiating social situations. The work that I have undertaken in this study reinforces the notion that identity is a social process and that the three orders of interaction overlap, in line with Jenkins' (2008: 40) assertion that, "the three orders are simultaneous and occupy the same space, inter-subjectively and physically … it is almost impossible to talk about one without at least implying the others". In this study, it was clear through the individual order, that the understandings of dyslexia held by people formed the basis of their interactional experiences within the 'interaction order'. That is to say, when young people and adults attempted to renegotiate their own understanding of dyslexia and themselves internally, this appeared to be done so that they would then be able to present a more positive and credible public identity. They did this through attempting to minimise the discrepancy between their actual and virtual identities congruent with Goffman's work (1963). This supports Jenkins' (2008) own admission that it is not possible to consider one order of interaction without allusion to the others.

Through the 'interaction order' (Jenkins, 2008), individuals appeared to be attempting to project positive aspects of their 'self'. It was not possible to consider the interactional level of interaction without first having understood the conflicts that participants had navigated in their understandings of dyslexia and it was clear that, depending on the social situation, young people presented different aspects of their dyslexia. In particular, with their parents, young people had a tendency to project a negative self-view and a negative view of dyslexia. With other adults, they tended to try to minimise the perceptibility and the stigmatising characteristics of their dyslexia (Goffman, 1963). With their friends, they were more likely to address their dyslexia and speak more openly about it, particularly with their dyslexic friends. This links to the next 'order of interaction' as, although interactions existed on a 'personal' level, they were mediated by the roles that individuals had within the institutional structure surrounding that interaction. The 'institutional order' is the level where 'roles' linked to SEN provision are defined within policy and are then adopted within the interactional orders. This suggests there may be a hierarchy to the 'orders' as to which ones allow for greater levels of negotiation of social space. This is further evidence to support the use of Jenkins' (2008) model of social interactions for understanding how structure and agency interact and inform self-concept

and capacity to navigate social spaces; the ability to negotiate social space at each 'order' will be addressed.

In the case of this study, at the 'individual level' there is evidence of participants experiencing tension when confronted with the practices relating to dyslexia within their social network at Hilltop View. Young people wrestled with the label of dyslexia and how it would affect them. They sought positive role models in order to access practices and embody a habitus relating to dyslexia that would not present dyslexia as a stigmatising characteristic in Goffman's (1963) sense. The habitus embodied and reproduced by young people depended on the social context: a 'dyslexia as positive' habitus tended to be embodied in interactions with teachers and their friends; a habitus where the perceptibility of dyslexia was minimised by young people was embodied in group situations. When interacting with their parents, young people often adopted the habitus of 'dependent child', where some young people fully disclosed their difficulties to their parents in a home setting. This showed the young people as in a position of 'becoming' and acted upon rather than active and socially capable (Uprichard, 2008). At the 'institutional order' (Jenkins, 2008), the habitus of the dependent child was embodied by young people: they did not challenge their teachers readily and did not perceive that their voices were heard in relation to their educational provision. The dependent nature of children's position in relation to their parents at the institutional order within this study is congruent with earlier work by Wyness (2012), where young people's views were not heard in decision-making processes relating to policy. This is in line with Bourdieu's (1977) view that education traditionally oppresses young people and propagates their subordinate position within the field. Thus, within this study, exploration of the 'institutional order' has highlighted the need for further work in facilitating children's voices being heard, despite policy changes which underscore the importance of consulting with young people in relation to their own educational provision.

Theoretically, within this study, it can be shown that parents were able to access the practices and embody the habitus required to access the field of education within Hilltop View to different extents and using different means. They did so through their own internal processes at the 'individual level' (Jenkins, 2008), which allowed them to 'make sense' of dyslexia and then at the 'interactional level'; they used these processes to inform their interactions with teachers. However, parents found that interactions with teachers, particularly in the primary school setting, were problematic. They described difficulties in securing adequate provision for their children, unlike in the Hilltop View setting. Generally, in a primary school setting, young people have a main class teacher and develop a close working relationship with that teacher, whereas in a secondary school setting, parents and

teachers are less likely to communicate as much due to the larger number of subject teachers that young people have. The greater number of teachers encountered by young people in a secondary setting leads to less consistency in terms of 'point of contact' within the school setting for parents in primary schools. This suggests that there may be different social roles for primary schools/teachers compared with those in a secondary setting, which affect the nature of interactions between parents and teachers. However, investigation of these different roles is outside of the scope of this study. Institutionally however, parents in this study were able to acquire the necessary habitus and symbolic capital to secure provision for their children.

The habitus adopted by teachers within their 'individual order' in this study undermined Bourdieu's (1989) perception that teachers are in a privileged, dominant position as 'state functionaries', able to bestow symbolic capital and resources on young people. By positioning themselves as 'lacking' at the 'individual order', teachers undermine their ability to act to propagate their 'dominant' position within their interactional and institutional levels. Their habitus at the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008) is in direct conflict with Bourdieu's (1970) view of teachers as socially distant and dominant within the field of education. Instead, they acted to reduce social distance and build equitable relationships with pupils. This style of interaction may perhaps originate with the 'new paradigm' of childhood (Prout and James, 2002), whereby children and young people are viewed as capable social actors who should be able to engage in meaningful dialogue with educators regarding their provision. It aligns with messages in government policy (Children and Families Act, 2014) whereby the views of young people with an EHCP should be sought regarding their educational provision. Institutionally, teachers' position is at odds with Bourdieu's (1989) view of them as powerful 'State Functionaries' with the power to allocate/refuse symbolic capital and resources to young people and parents. Teachers' reports of a lack of ability to distribute symbolic capital and resources due to structural constraints suggest that, as a group, teachers are restricted and oppressed at the 'institutional order' and that these constraints act to oppress them internally, at the 'individual order'.

8.3.2 Conceptualisation of childhood and teacherhood

The modelling of childhood using Uprichard (2008) notion of 'beings' and 'becomings' who are subject to, and actors within, social structures has been very helpful in this study. Most young people in this study could actively renegotiate their understandings of dyslexia and engage in dialogue at the individual and institutional levels (Jenkins, 2008). However, they were then subject to structural constraints at the 'institutional level'. This aligns with

Wyness' (2009) work, which suggests that at the local level, young people can engage in decision-making processes, but that at higher levels, this does not occur. Further work into the experiences of young people without impairments would be useful in deepening understanding of the ontology of young people who have impairments.

Interestingly and unexpectedly, teachers in this study were highly constrained within the system and were oppressed at the individual level and at the institutional level (Jenkins, 2008). This would suggest that a model for understanding 'teacherhood' in relation to dyslexia needs to be explored. Teachers are clearly subject to constraints but also, at the interactional level, able to enact their own agency and create social space. Thus, viewing teachers in a similar fashion to young people as 'beings' and 'becomings' within the education field might be helpful to understand their position and capacity to enact their own agency in their position as teachers.

8.3.3 Understanding dyslexia

In this study, it was clear that participants drew on bio-social models of dyslexia such that, in line with work by MacDonald (2012), they accepted the existence of a biological impairment whose symptoms could be exacerbated or reduced through classroom practices. The understandings of dyslexia held by participants began as medicalised notions when internalised individually, but which then were related to classroom-based means of minimising effects of dyslexia interactionally and institutionally. Participants described diverse manifestations of dyslexia, which demonstrated examples of its contested nature (Calfee, 1983; Kelly, 1998; Hoyles and Hoyles, 2010).

Most participants in this study drew on and described writing and reading difficulties in line with Calfee (1983). However, they also had broader understandings of it in line with the British Psychological Association (1999), whose model of dyslexia is broader than that of Calfee (1983), to link not only reading but also spelling and literacy. Teachers and some parents also highlighted memory and sequencing difficulties as symptomatic of dyslexia. This is in line with work by Hoyles and Hoyles (2010), Regan and Woods (2010) and Snowling et al. (2003). My findings relating to participants' understandings of dyslexia reinforce findings from previous studies, in which dyslexia is linked to more than just reading and writing difficulties; rather, it is linked to general information-processing difficulties.

8.3.4 Negotiation of social space

Young people could create their own space and enact agency at the individual and interactional levels. However, they were much more constrained at the institutional level due to legal frameworks surrounding the position of young people within wider society.

Interestingly, parents in this study at all levels of interaction (Jenkins, 2008) could acquire symbolic capital and access practices to secure provision for their children. Although this was not always a straightforward process, it was attempted by all parents and all parents managed to secure individualised provision for their children in one form or another in the Hilltop View setting. They achieved this to varying degrees in the different primary school settings where their children had been placed. Thus, parents in this study appeared to be the least constrained individuals within this study, particularly in relation to provision at Hilltop View School versus that in primary schools. It is important to note, however, that this is a small-scale study and that these parents had already successfully gained 'official' recognition of their children's dyslexia. Other parents might not be in such a position and would potentially be highly constrained by structural elements. Further study would potentially give a broader and more transferrable understanding of parents' positions outside of this setting. In this study, parents could create their own social space within the individual level and institutionally, either through their own production of habitus, or through their acquisition of symbolic capital through paying an actor to adopt appropriate field-related practices on their behalf. Interactionally, parents' interactions were problematic and they appeared unable to create social space in which to engage in meaningful dialogue with their children's teachers in a primary school setting. This differed at the Hilltop View setting, where parents generally reported positive interactions, but did note that dialogue with teachers was not always forthcoming.

Teachers were institutionally constrained by other professions, a lack of capacity to bestow symbolic capital and thus unable to create social space for themselves at this setting. Their individual internal negotiations appeared to undermine their dominant position, but actually seemed to facilitate equitable interactions and their capacity to create social space for meaningful interactions with young people at the 'interactional' order. However, it is important to reiterate that this study is a small-scale study and that analysis only took place in one school. To gain further insight into the status of teachers and their access to power within the education system, in relation to SEN provision, further work outside of this study would be required.

8.4 Implications for educational practice arising from this study

On a practical level, it would seem that teachers' adoption of the 'friendly adult' (Christensen, 2004) persona in their interactions with teachers has a generally positive effect on their relationships with young people. Some young people could engage positively with their teachers, where they seek out such a relationship. Other young people, however, did not always wish to engage with their teachers in relation to their dyslexia publicly. This suggests that some discussion with young people and potentially their parents, as to how their dyslexia should be handled within the school setting would help inform teachers/educators how young people wish to engage with their dyslexia. Within the Hilltop View setting, this is partly addressed through the 'support plans' that are in place within the school. However, as noted by some teachers, there are power relationships which might inhibit young people's capacity to meaningfully engage with negotiations relating to their own provision. In such instances, parental engagement with the school would potentially alleviate these difficulties. Results reinforced earlier work that young people's voices have been engaged in some local level initiatives (Prout, 2000) but that nationally it has been more problematic for their views to be heard. This suggests that further work in developing channels for young people's voices to be heard in policy procedures is necessary.

Parents had higher expectations relating to teachers' ability to enact agency than teachers felt possible. Some parents found that the language surrounding dyslexia was opaque and they did not always understand why teachers did not use clear language relating to diagnoses. This suggests that schools and teachers should be clear about their capacities surrounding dyslexia diagnoses; some parents in this study were confused about who could say that a young person was 'dyslexic'. I found similar linguistic queries elsewhere, where the notion of 'dyslexic tendencies' and its meaning was raised by participants (Ross, 2013b). Teachers also felt frustrated by this, which suggests that there should be further clarification for both teachers and parents. This would also help parents when engaging with larger institutions such as 'County Hall'. Teachers in this study felt they lacked specific knowledge of dyslexia and generally valued the time that was spent on CPD relating to dyslexia. This suggests that training for teachers in how to address the needs of dyslexic students would be useful.

Although parents in this study were aware that there were systemic constraints acting on teachers in relation to young people's reports and expected progress, they experienced frustration about the apparent lack of differentiation in levels of expectation surrounding their children's expected progress at school. Teachers also alluded to a lack of flexibility. Some parents felt that teachers did not have the capacity to vary the expected

progress grades and target grades for young people with dyslexia compared with those same grades for young people without SEN. Teachers also noted similar concerns. This suggests that there should be some flexibility at the school level in terms of young people's target grades and how they are generated and reported. Some parents also felt that they didn't have a large amount of detail through the reporting process. Potentially at school level, reporting structures could be reviewed and a consultation with parents held as to the type of reporting that they would value. Hilltop View was generally well thought of by parents; they found that the school supported their children well and it was accessible. Although the study was small, this suggests that there is some good practice relating to dyslexia in this setting, which could be shared with other schools and within the Hilltop View setting.

8.5 Matters arising for policymakers from this study

The groundwork for current education policy lies in the argument that parents were dissatisfied with the previous system and found it unnavigable (Gillie, 2012). The government argued that the system was cumbersome and did not allocate resources appropriately to pupils, with too many pupils 'labelled' as having SEN (DfE, 2010a). Although this study is not a policy evaluation, it does take place at a time when education policy has recently changed, and was undertaken in an area that had participated in the pilot studies for the implementation of new policies and procedures surrounding provision for pupils with SEN. Following on from the Education Act (2011: 362C), key foci for the Children and Families Act 2014 was to ensure that parents have a choice in provision for their children via the 'local offer' (Children and Families Act, 2014: 30 (1–9)), and to ensure that the system is less bureaucratic and more accessible for parents/young people. The needs of those without an EHC plan were also expected to be met in the classroom. However, the findings of this study, suggest that these key foci have not been adequately addressed for the young people with no EHC Plan, and in line with Craston et al.'s (2013c) findings relating to those with an EHC Plan, that the newer system was not more accessible during its piloting process. The following points are not grounded in substantial evidence arising from a full policy evaluation, however, they are issues which, following the completion of this study, I believe should be further investigated in order for robust, evidence-based recommendations to be made to policymakers:

- The findings that young people were marginalised in this study and that they did not want to be publicly labelled does not align with the notion that young people should play a central role in the development of their own educational provision.

Consideration should be given as to how the voices of young people are expected to be taken into account when devising intervention and support measures for them.

- In this study, the fact that young people's voices feature in their 'support plans' aligned with policy; young people were directly quoted. However, as teachers did not necessarily have full access to diagnoses/assessment results on these plans, young people's needs might not have been fully understood and thus teachers unable to meet them. This suggests that there is a tension between allowing young people's voices to be heard and for them to control what is shared about them, and the need for teachers/professionals to have full access to information in order to effectively meet their needs. The type of information teachers have access to should incorporate young people's voices, but also full assessment information. Schools must be mindful of how this is done when developing support plans or learning profiles.
- Accessing the system was identified as an area of difficulty for parents in this study. They did not understand language involved in assessments, they did not always know who to contact and when and at times they found interactions with schools/institutions contentious. This suggests that the basic underlying principles of the newer system are not being addressed; it appears not to be less adversarial or bureaucratic for parents in this study. Language used when communicating with parents should be clear and accessible and 'lines of communication' should be clear. Institutionally, schools and LAs should be mindful of this when dealing with parents whose children have SEN.

8.6 This study's contribution to knowledge

When undertaking the initial research for this study, Bourdieu's frameworks seemed a relevant starting point to explore when developing my methodological approach. He was an author whose research was initially undertaken in the field of education. His own work was based around his experiences as an outsider within the Higher Education sector in France (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977), in which education was viewed as a means by which dominant groups maintained their position. Thus, it was a logical choice for me to draw on his work when constructing my theoretical framework for this study. Bourdieu's work allows for a deep understanding of the need for social networks to be developed. Through the objectivation of participants, that is, the exploration of the 'social conditions of possibility' (Bourdieu, 2003: 282) we can explore the possibilities within a social setting. In this study, I have explored power relationships affecting young people, and their capacity to resist those power differentials within the field of education at Hilltop View School, through the use of Jenkins' (2008) framework based on 'levels of interaction'. This has allowed me to piece

together different aspects of how participants in this study have been able to construct their own identity through internal processes (individual order), enact their own agency based on these internal understandings (Interactional order) and then engage with wider institutions and social actors (institutional order). As noted by Jenkins (2008), these levels of interaction have overlapped and it was not possible to talk about one of them, without referring to another.

Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction' have been a useful way of breaking down the social processes involved in identity formation, sense-making and the enacting of actors' own agency within this setting. They have provided a useful lens through which I have been able to explore power relationships and how individuals have rejected or embraced those power relationships. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and its embodiment, linked to the reproduction of social positions, have been explained and broken down into processes through the use of Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction. I have been able to tie internal identity- and sense-making processes together with interactions, where the internal processes form the tools for individuals to then act within the interactional level and the institutional level.

The exploration of identity- and sense- making processes in this study has been informed by Goffman's concepts of 'stigmatising characteristic,' 'virtual identity' and 'actual identity' (Goffman, 1963). Goffman's (1963: 41) view that "when there is a discrepancy between an individual's actual social identity and his virtual one" underpins that individual's interactions with others. The notion of stigmatising/stigmatisable characteristic has proven salient when addressing young people's dyslexia. They have chosen in certain circumstances to conceal their dyslexia , thus demonstrating the practical application in this study for Goffman's concepts of virtual/actual identity in relation to 'stigmatising characteristics' at the 'individual order' and the 'interactional order' (Jenkins, 2008). These concepts have bene woven together with theories on identity construction to delineate the processes by which social actors make sense of, and construct, their identity at Jenkins' (2008) 'levels of interaction'. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, field and practice (see section 3.1.1) are then used to locate actors within their social network and to delineate power relationships to explore actors' capacity to enact agency from their social location.

To my knowledge, these frameworks have not been woven together before. They have provided a powerful toolkit in the context of this study and would potentially be transferable to other settings, where there are multiple stakeholders, where some have been traditionally in a marginalised position and there are power differentials present. The

use of Jenkins' (2008) levels of interaction, in combination with analysis informed by Bourdieu's notions of habitus, practice and field would provide a useful insight into these power relationships and actors' capacities to redefine them as they have done in the context of this study. Goffman's (1963) concepts of 'stigmatising characteristic' and 'virtual/actual identity' have proven useful tools for understanding the internal and interactional construction and projection of young people's identity and their subsequent capacity to enact social agency within the field of education. By bringing together these theoretical perspectives, a more nuanced insight becomes possible into the connections between socio-structural conditions and the possibilities for action open to actors in a given social setting.

8.7 Evaluation of the research process

In this section, I evaluate the processes that were involved within the fieldwork of the study. I discuss the limitations of the study with reference to school selection processes, accessing participants and the time restrictions on interviews due to school timetables. I also reflect on my position as researcher–practitioner; as I am currently a practising teacher, there were many instances where my role within the classroom was problematic and I had to navigate conflicting expectations from stakeholders and myself. Finally, I reflect on the research process and my experiences of it.

8.7.1 School selection process

The school was self-selecting in this process which means that they were likely confident of practice taking place in their setting and/or more open to good practice discussions on working with dyslexic young people. In line with David et al. (2001) and my previous work in a similar field (Ross, 2013b), I found that not all schools were willing or able to participate in the study. As this is only one, self-selecting setting, and the school is a high achieving school, further work should be undertaken in other settings to develop deeper understandings of the experiences of those whose educational journeys have been subject to structural barriers such as poverty, unemployment and schools which are judged as performing poorly by Ofsted. This would provide insight as to the 'transferability' of the findings of this study (Bryman, 2012), which currently is limited due to the small scale of the work undertaken here.

8.7.2 School as gatekeepers

The school was a self-selecting school and also was in the position of gatekeeper in terms of the parents and young people participating in the project. I found this situation reflected the position as experienced by Dockett et al. (2012b), and Eder and Corsaro (1999) amongst

others. BERA guidelines were respected throughout the study and, in line with these guidelines, I ensured that permission was obtained from the Head Teacher for me to carry out research in the school setting. In the case of Hilltop View, this was not problematic as both the SenCo and the Head Teacher were willing for me to undertake my research in their school setting. However, it could be problematic if there were teachers who wanted to participate but then whose capacity to do so was denied by the Head Teacher. Whether or not this was the case at Hilltop View, I cannot comment, as the teachers I did engage with were all willing to participate and had been approached to do so. There was also ample opportunity for other staff members to engage in conversation with me at lunchtimes and break times, as I spent time in the staffroom with members of staff, some of whom did not participate in this study.

Initially, the SenCo and their administrator acted as intermediaries between potential participant teachers and myself. The teachers who participated in the lesson observation stage of the study had all been approached by the SenCo team and had agreed to participate (I had provided Participant Information Sheets and had reinforced participants' rights to withdraw from the study at any point, without consequence). As such, I cannot be sure that practice within the school setting is representative of general teaching practice in the school. That the teachers participating were willing to allow me to observe and participate in their lessons suggests that, despite their anxieties surrounding provision, they felt suitably confident in their abilities to have another adult, and fully qualified teacher, in their classroom.

Although the classroom observation stage of the research focussed on working with teachers whose consent for participation was given through mediation with the SenCo and her team, I could secure participation of three other teachers through discussion with them in the classroom. This was through discussion with other teachers and through having interacted with them in the staffroom during breaks and lunchtimes. As such, I was able to find my own participant teachers to some extent. Ideally however, the study sample would have been stronger if I had been able to visit the school and spend time with teachers before undertaking formal fieldwork, in order to build up a rapport with potential participants (Bryman, 2012) and facilitate their participation thus.

8.7.3 Selection of parents and young people

Selection of parents and young people to participate in this study was challenging. This was because I had no prior input as to which particular young people would participate. At the initial meeting, I discussed the general profile of potential participants in the study; i.e. a

broad range of experiences of dyslexia, differing levels of need and a broad range of academic ability from across Key Stage 3. However, as I was not DBS checked by the school, due to their internal policies they could not grant me full access to their pupil data. As such, I could not choose which young people I worked with in this study. The young people who did participate in this study all had different experiences of their dyslexia and its severity. Their experiences of support at Hilltop View School demonstrated positive and negative experiences within the school. There was a broad range of needs profiles and academic abilities within the sample of young people; this, despite the fact that they were selected by the school, suggests that they were not chosen such that all their experiences would be positive. However, the sample and the diversity of understanding which can be gained in pupils' experiences are limited by the fact that only one of the participants was female. Ideally, to gain a deeper understanding of experiences and pupils' positions within their school, observation of and interviews with similar numbers of male and female pupils would be undertaken.

The views expressed by parents participating in the study at Hilltop View School were not wholly positive. This suggests that the sample of parents identified by the school to participate in this study was broad; their vocational and educational backgrounds were diverse. However, as I did not have any information on any other parents participating in the process, I cannot determine whether they were typical parents from the school setting or whether they were in fact a 'hand-picked' group, given to positively represent the school and its practices. In order to gain access to the data, again, I would have had to work in the school or have a DBS check undertaken by the school, which was not possible within the confines of this study (the school couldn't not offer to process a DBS form on my behalf). This was due to school policy, which did not view my DBS check from The University of Bath or from my professional position as 'transferrable' to the research site.

8.7.4 School day and scheduling of interviews

All but one pupil willingly participated; the fact that one pupil chose not to participate in this study suggests that I positioned myself well: I was not a teacher and attempted to position myself as a 'friendly adult' in line with Christensen's (2004) work so that young people felt comfortable enough to speak freely when talking with me.

Interviewing young people within the school setting was problematic as they all had full timetables and I felt that it was not ethical to remove them from their main lessons. The reasons for this were twofold: I did not want to draw attention to the fact that they were participating in research with me and I did not want them to miss valuable lesson time. As

such, interviews were undertaken during assembly time or house meeting time to minimise the disruption of lessons. The interviews and focus groups were of a relatively short duration due to the above-mentioned timetable constraints within the school day. Ideally, I would have preferred to have a longer time slot available. However, as lunch was only 40 minutes long, this was not a possible time to undertake interviews either. Thus, this was a very limiting factor in the study. The fact that I was able to spend time working with some of the young people in class did mean that they were fairly open with me when talking, but the time limit on the interview did mean that data was not as rich as it might have been under less constrained circumstances.

At times, I did feel that some young people did not open up as much as they might, due to the fact that they did not know me very well and did not know how to 'locate' me within their field. My role as adult was unclear to them within this setting so their 'sense of place' (Bourdieu, 1989) was unsettled. One way for young people within a school setting to fully understand my position within that setting would be for me to spend more time in the school in line with McGregor's (2009) study, in which he was present in the field for two years. However, even in extending my fieldwork, the liminality of my role would still exist and potentially, young people may still be guarded when discussing their needs with me. On the other hand, some young people were more forthcoming with me in interviews; one participant swore in his interview. Thus, the liminality of my role may have been problematic for some young people, but for others, it may have enhanced their ability to speak freely with me. Were the work undertaken again, it is hard to say whether this liminality would enhance or limit the study. However, it is important to be aware of the effects of an unclear role within the social setting whilst undertaking fieldwork.

Interviewing teachers was less problematic as they tended to have free periods and interviews took place in these hour-long slots. Interviews with them did not tend to take this long. However, the extra time being available meant that there was time to explore issues that the teachers wanted to or that arose during conversation. They were also clearer regarding my role within Hilltop View and appeared to speak freely regarding their experiences there.

8.7.5 Interviewing parents

The interviews I undertook with parents were generally unproblematic. Apart from one family, all families whose contact details I was given, chose to take part. I contacted the family which did not wish to participate both by telephone and by post. However, they did not choose to take part, a decision which was respected by me in line with BERA (2011) and

SPA (2009) ethical guidelines, which state that participants must not be coerced into participation. All but one parent elected to meet me in their own home; I did not suggest a location to parents, but rather suggested that we meet wherever was most convenient for them. By allowing me into their own home, I entered into the parents' own social field – that of their home. As such, in line with Bourdieu's (1989) work, the parents would have been comfortable with their 'sense of place' within this field. My status as guest meant that I was subject to their social norms within their home setting. I feel that for the purposes of this project, this likely made their responses more liberal as they would likely have felt more comfortable answering questions in their home than at school. Although I did not plan to undertake interviews in participants' homes, I feel that this was actually beneficial to the research for that reason. The flexible nature of ethnographic research (Eder and Corsaro, 1999) meant that I was able to engage with parents in their setting of choice, instead of imposing my view as to where and when (within the confines of my own professional schedule) interviews should take place. In future, I would undertake these interviews in a similar fashion.

8.7.6 Suggestions for future work

This study has shed light on the experiences of young people with dyslexia, their teachers and their parents. The findings also suggest that more work needs to be undertaken in related areas and also in relation to the methodology of this study. In particular, further research should be undertaken relating to the understandings of young people with dyslexia in a different setting from the Hilltop View environment. Hilltop View school is a high-achieving school in a privileged area, thus studies involving different types of schools and diverse demographics would shed more light on experiences of young people, their teachers and parents. It would also provide more insight into the transferability of the findings of this study.

Parents in this study described difficulties when engaging in dialogue with teachers and other professionals in primary school settings. They suggested that there was resistance to their requests for the assessment of young people for dyslexia, by teachers and the schools at institutional level. This suggests that there is further need to investigate the processes involved in dyslexia assessment and for procuring support for young people with dyslexia at primary school level. Parents also discussed linguistic barriers in the description of their children's needs, perceiving a lack of clarity in the language used by professionals. Teachers also alluded to the language barrier and their difficulties when attempting to articulate pupils' needs. This highlights a need for further research into the language that is used when discussing dyslexia with parents and teachers; parents' understandings of the

language surrounding dyslexia suggest that they are unsure of how it is determined and thus are unclear about some of the reporting methods surrounding it. Further work into teachers' perceptions of their own capacity is also necessary; this study only took in a small number of teachers' opinions in a small-scale study. Thus, it would be useful to explore teachers' experiences in different settings. A key issue relating to the Children and Families Act 2014 is that of young people's ability to access the processes relating to their support plans and their ability to actively contribute. As each Local Authority has different procedures relating to SEND provision, research into different areas' methods for support would be prudent and would potentially highlight good practice across different settings/regions.

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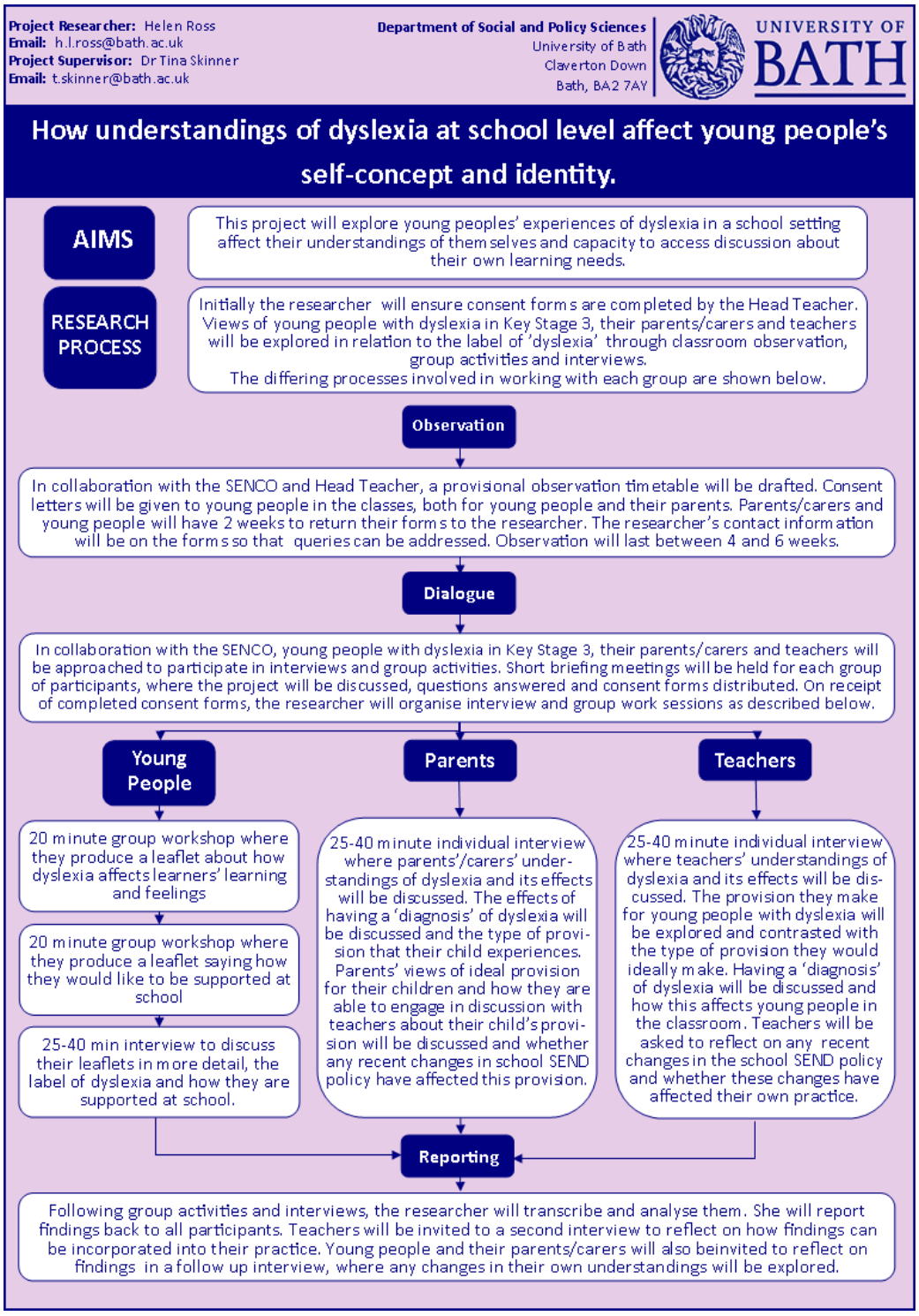
Appendix 1

School based Consent forms

PhD Summary Information Sheet supplied to schools at initial contact.



Participation form for school as supplied to the Head Teacher.

SCHOOL PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

PROJECT TITLE

How understandings of dyslexia and related-interventions at school level affect young people's self concept and identity.

INVITATION

You, your staff and your students, and their parents/carers are being asked to take part in a research study which explores how young people's self-concept and identity are affected by their dyslexia within the mainstream classroom setting. It is a PhD project, being undertaken by Helen Ross in the Department of Social Policy and Policy Sciences at the University of Bath. The project is being supervised by Dr Tina Skinner.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF YOU AGREE TO TAKE PART

There are three phases to the project. The initial phase will last for 4-6 weeks during the spring term 2015. It will involve me attending lessons getting to know teachers, students and support staff in the school and learning how young people with dyslexia experience the mainstream classroom. After spending time in the classroom, I will then invite dyslexic young people, their families and teachers who are interested to participate in the next stage of the project. I will do this at a short meeting with each group of participants, where we will discuss the project and the nature of the time and emotional commitment in participation. Consent forms will also be distributed at this short meeting.

The second phase of the project will involve interviews and focus groups during the spring and summer terms of 2015. Young people will be invited to participate in two short (20 mins each) group activities. In the first, they will be asked to produce a leaflet about their understandings of dyslexia and its effects. In the second, they will be asked to produce a leaflet describing the type of support they would like for their dyslexia. They will then be invited to undertaken an individual interview. Their posters/leaflets will form the basis of this interview where we will focus on their understandings and experiences of dyslexia, its effects on them as individuals and how young people with dyslexia are supported in mainstream settings. Interviews will be transcribed and initial findings discussed with young people via email/post, as appropriate.

Parents/carers and teachers who have agreed to participate will undertake an individual interview at a time and location convenient to them. This will last between 25 and 40 minutes.

All interviews will be transcribed and then analysed. I will then report findings to all participants via email or post as requested by the participants..

During the third phase of the research, all participants will be invited to a follow up interview to reflect on their experiences following their initial involvement with the project. These are likely to be during autumn 2015 and will be undertaken at the convenience of participants and should not last more than 30 mins.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

Any participant will have the right to withdraw consent for to participate in the study without consequence. They can request that data gathered from them be removed from the study and/or destroyed at any point during the study or before 31st December 2015 without consequence or the need to justify the withdrawal.

Participants will be given a copy of their own transcript and will have the opportunity to comment on it. You, and other participants, will be given a final copy of the thesis and any academic papers that arise from the study before publication of the study. The name of the school or any participants will not be given in the final thesis or linked publications/presentations.

You may ask questions regarding the procedures in the study and if you have any questions following reading this study, you should ask the researcher before the study begins.

All participants may omit or decline to respond to any question that is asked of them as appropriate and without any consequence to them.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

Issues around dyslexia can be controversial. As such, this research may raise personal as well as professional issues that an interviewee may find difficult to talk about. To minimise harm, the research will be conducted in a non-confrontational manner. If an individual has concerns about this, they can tell the researchers at any time and we can discuss how best to address their needs. They will also be provided with the telephone number for the Teacher Support Network, the Samaritans, Parentline or Childline (as appropriate) in case they wish to discuss any issues arising in confidence.

This project will not involve observation judgement of classroom practice. I aim to explore experiences of individuals; both teachers and students in the classroom and how their experiences have changed during recent policy changes. It offers individuals the opportunity to reflect on their own experiences of dyslexia and related interventions in mainstream setting during a changing policy climate. The project also aims to help stakeholders foster positive working relationships and to lay foundations for positive collaboration in future decision-making processes.

The study has received ethical approval from the University of Bath Department of Social and Policy Sciences and is being undertaken in adherence to ethical guidelines from the British Educational Research Association which can be viewed here:
http://content.yudu.com/Library/A2xnp5/Bera/resources/index.htm?referrerUrl=http://free.yudu.com/item/details/2023387/Bera

CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

Data collected will be stored with regard to the 1998 Data Protection Act and will adhere to the British Educational Research Association's ethical guidelines.

Data will be published in the form of a thesis which will then be archived at the University of Bath Library and will also be an examinable script. If the work is of sufficient quality it may lead to publication in an academic journal.

I will take reasonable steps to ensure confidentiality and anonymity: data will be kept separately from documents which could allow participants to be identified; computer systems will be password protected. School sites will be given pseudonyms and participants' names will be coded. As participants from the same school will be familiar with each other, potentially compromising or sensitive data will be treated sensitively and will not form part of the final study without consultation with project supervisors and the participant.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

This research study is being undertaken at the University of Bath as part of a PhD Programme by Helen Ross. If you have any questions regarding the research, you can contact her at:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
h.l.ross@bath.ac.uk

The main supervisor for the project is Dr Tina Skinner. Should you wish to discuss this project further, you may contact her at:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
T.Skinner@bath.ac.uk

If you wish to know the final conclusions from this study, you should contact Helen Ross, who will be glad to share them with you.

CONSENT FORM

PROJECT TITLE

How understandings of dyslexia and related-interventions at school level affect young people's self concept and identity.

PROJECT DEPARTMENT:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath.

By signing below, I can confirm that (please initial each statement to indicate that you have read the information):

- I am a Head Teacher/Other please indicate:_____ (please delete as appropriate)
- I have read and understood the information sheet for the project detailed above and that any questions I have were answered to my satisfaction. _____
- I understand that participation of children/staff members from this school/institution in this study is voluntary and that they are free to withdraw without need to justify this and without consequences._____
- I understand that data gathered from children/staff members at this school/institution can be withdrawn by the individuals any time before 31st December 2015 . _____
- I understand that information recorded during the study will remain confidential and that reasonable measures will be taken to ensure that identifying, personal data will not become public in line with the Data Protection Act 1998. _____
- I consent to Helen Ross contacting participants via email or post (according to the wishes of the participant) to report back findings from the study. _____
- I consent to children/staff members from this school/institution participating in this project (and understand that they will also be asked for their direct consent and consent from parents). _____
- I consent to information provided as part of this study being published in academic publications (data and location will be anonymized). _____
- I understand that parents/guardians of each child participating in this study will be fully informed about the nature of the research by letter sent home to parents/guardians ____
- I understand that parents/guardians will be given a 2 weeks following letter from Helen Ross to withdraw their child from participating in the observation phase of this study. _____

_____	_____
Head Teacher's Name (Printed)	School Name (Printed)
_____	_____
Head Teachers's signature	Date
_____	_____
Name of Researcher (Printed)	Researcher's signature

TEACHER PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

PROJECT TITLE

How understandings of dyslexia and related-interventions at school level affect young people's self concept and identity.

STUDENT FRIENDLY TITLE

How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting

INVITATION

You are being asked to take part in a research study which explores how young people's self-concept and identity are affected by their dyslexia within the mainstream classroom setting. It is a PhD project, being undertaken by Helen Ross in the Department of Social Policy and Policy Sciences at the University of Bath. The project is being supervised by Dr Tina Skinner.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF YOU AGREE TO TAKE PART

There are three phases to the project. The initial phase will last for 4-6 weeks during the Spring term 2015. It will involve me attending lessons getting to know teachers, students and support staff in the school and learning how young people with dyslexia experience the mainstream classroom. After spending time in the classroom, I will then invite dyslexic young people, their families and teachers who are interested to participate in the next stage of the project to a short meeting to discuss the project and the nature of the time and emotional commitment in participation. Consent forms will also be distributed at this short meeting.

The second phase of the project will involve interviews being undertaken during the spring and summer terms of 2015. Each person who has agreed to participate will undertake an individual interview at a time and location convenient to them. This will last between 25 and 40 minutes. I will then transcribe and analyse the interviews, and share anonymised findings with participants via post/email as applicable.

During the third phase of the research, you will be invited to a follow up interview to reflect on the findings from interviews and group activities, and how you might relate them to your practice as a teacher. These interviews are likely to be during Autumn 2015, will be undertaken at your convenience and should not last more than 30 mins.

PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

Any participant will have the right to withdraw their consent to participate in the study at any time without consequence before 31st December 2015 . They can request that data gathered from them be removed from the study and/or destroyed at any point during the study without need to justify the withdrawal.

Participants will be given a copy of their own transcript and will have the opportunity to comment on it. You, and other participants, will be given a final copy of the thesis and any academic papers that arise from the study. Your name or the name of the school will not be given in the final thesis or linked publications/presentations.

You may ask questions regarding the procedures in the study and if you have any questions following reading this study, you should ask the researcher before the study begins.

All participants may omit or decline to respond to any question that is asked of them as appropriate and without any consequence to them.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

Issues around dyslexia can be controversial. As such, this research may raise personal as well as professional issues that you may find difficult to talk about. To minimise harm, the research will be conducted in a non-confrontational manner. If you have concerns about this, you can tell me at any time and we can discuss how best to address your needs. If you feel that you wish to discuss matters arising from this interview you may wish to contact the Teacher Support Network (24 hour contact number) on 08000 562561 or the Samaritans 08457 90 90 90 to discuss any issues arising in confidence.

This project will not involve judgement of classroom practice. During the group discussions, you and your colleagues will also have the opportunity to hear each other's experiences and knowledge of the condition which could also potentially serve to inform your practice and facilitate dissemination of good practice amongst you and your colleagues. It offers you the opportunity to reflect on your own experiences of dyslexia and related interventions in mainstream setting during a changing policy climate. The project also aims to help stakeholders foster positive working relationships and to lay foundations for positive collaboration in future decision-making processes.

The study has received ethical approval from the University of Bath Department of Social and Policy Sciences and is being undertaken in adherence to ethical guidelines from the British Educational Research Association which can be viewed here: http://content.yudu.com/Library/A2xnp5/Bera/resources/index.htm?referrerUrl=http://free.yudu.com/item/details/2023387/Bera

CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

Data collected will be stored with regard to the 1998 Data Protection Act and will adhere to the British Educational Research Association's ethical guidelines.

Data will be published in the form of a report (thesis) which will then be archived at the University of Bath Library and will also be an examinable script. If the work is of sufficient quality it may lead to publication in an academic journal.

I will take reasonable steps to ensure confidentiality and anonymity: data will be kept separately from documents which could allow identification of participants; computer systems will be password protected. School sites will be given pseudonyms and participants' names will be coded. As participants from the same school will be familiar with each other, potentially compromising or sensitive data will be treated sensitively and will not form part of the final study without consultation with project supervisors and the participant.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

This research study is being undertaken at the University of Bath as part of a PhD Programme by Helen Ross. If you have any questions regarding the research, you can contact her at:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
h.l.ross@bath.ac.uk

The main supervisor for the project is Dr Tina Skinner. Should you wish to discuss this project further, you may contact her at:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
T.Skinner@bath.ac.uk

If you wish to know the final conclusions from this study, you should contact Helen Ross, who will be glad to share them with you.

CONSENT FORM

PROJECT TITLE

How understandings of dyslexia and related-interventions at school level affect young people's self concept and identity.

STUDENT FRIENDLY TITLE

How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting

PROJECT DEPARTMENT:
Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath.

By signing below, I can confirm that (please initial each statement to indicate that you have read the information):

- I am an educator based in a school _____.
- I consent to Helen Ross observing lessons_____
- I consent to Helen Ross contacting me via email/post (please delete as appropriate) _____.
- I have read and understood the information sheet for the project detailed above and that any questions I have were answered to my satisfaction. _____
- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that at any time during the project, I am free to withdraw without need to justify this and without consequences._____
- I understand that my data can be withdrawn from this study at any time before 31st December 2015. _____
- I understand that any materials I produce will belong to me. However, I consent for Helen Ross to use anonymised copies of these materials for the purposes of this study.
- I understand that information recorded during the study will remain confidential and that reasonable measures will be taken to ensure that identifying, personal data will not become public in line with the Data Protection Act 1998. _____
- I consent to participating in this project. _____
- I consent to being audio-recorded as part of the project. _____
- I consent to information provided as part of this study being published in academic publications (data and location will be anonymised). _____

_____	_____
Participant's Name (Printed)	School Name (Printed)
_____	_____
Participant's signature	Date
_____	_____
Name of Researcher (Printed)	Researcher's signature

Appendix 2
Parental Consent forms and Information Sheets

Letter for parental opt-out of general observation as sent to potential participants

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Cleverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
Email: h.l.ross@bath.ac.uk

2nd December 2015

Re: PhD Project- How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting.

Dear Parent/Guardian

My name is Helen Ross and I am fully trained, DBS checked teacher undertaking PhD research at the University of Bath. I am interested in understanding how young people with dyslexia experience school and how their experiences affect their views of themselves. I also want to work with parents/carers and teachers to explore their experiences of working with and spending time with young people with dyslexia. I hope to then help lay foundations for the school, parents/carers and young people to be able better to work together, and share their experiences and expertise in order to improve the educational journey of young people with dyslexia. I would really appreciate your help with this project by allowing spend time in classes observing your son or daughter so that I ca better understand the experiences of young people with dyslexia in the classroom.

The Head Teacher of the school is interested in, and willing to cooperate with, my research and has allowed me to work with the Special Educational Needs Coordinator and their team to identify young people who they feel would be able and interested in taking part. The study has been approved by the ethics committee at The Department of Social and Policy Sciences at the University of Bath.

I have planned to spend 4-6 weeks in school observing classes in order to understand how young people experienc mainstream school. I have asked the young people themselves for consent to being observed and I have attached the information sheet for your information. I, and the staff who know your son/daughter, have spent time explaining the study to them and I have ensured that they understand the voluntary nature of the participation. Your son/daughter has completed a copy of a consent form (a copy will be supplied on request). If you are not willing to agree to your son or daughter taking part, I would be very grateful if you would sign the attached form and return it to me, either at the school or to the University of Bath by 7th January 2015.

If you would like to know more about the project, please feel free to contact me at the address above.

Many thanks for taking the time to read this letter and for your help.

Yours faithfully

Helen Ross Meng (hons) PGCE MA MRes MCollT

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Cleverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY

Re: PhD Project- How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting.

Dear Helen

I am aware that my child * (print name) _____ has agreed to take part in your project about how young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting .

I **do not** wish my child to take part in the project.

Signed_____ Parent/Guardian Date_____

Please print your name_____

Please return this form to school or post to Helen Ross at the address above

as soon as possible

Parental Consent for own and child's participation

PLEASE RETURN COMPLETED CONSENT FORMS TO HELEN ROSS USING THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE.

PROJECT TITLE

How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting.

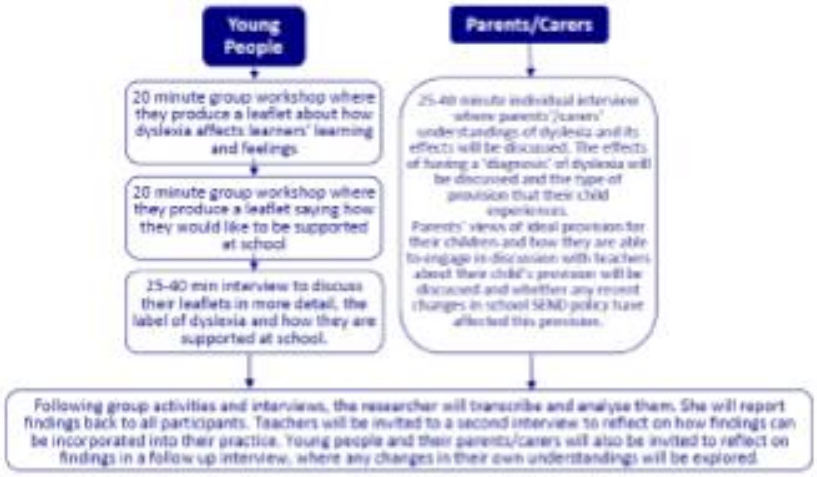
INVITATION

You and/or your child are being invited to take part in a research study which explores how young people's self-concept and identity are affected by their dyslexia within the mainstream classroom setting. It is a PhD project, being undertaken by Helen Ross in the Department of Social Policy and Policy Sciences at the University of Bath. The project is being supervised by Dr Tina Skinner.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

There are three phases to the project. During the first phase of the project, I spent time observing classes with young people with dyslexia.

The second and third phases of the project are detailed in the flow chart below for both young people and parents/carers:



PARTICIPANTS' RIGHTS

Any participant will have the right to withdraw from this research at any point during the study without consequence. You do not have to provide any explanation or justify your withdrawal. You can request that data you have supplied for the study be withdrawn from the study and/or destroyed without consequence of the need to justify the withdrawal before 31st December 2015.

You or your child may omit or decline to respond to any question that is asked of them as appropriate and without any consequence to them. Your child has the right to view transcripts of data before publication of the study.

You or your child may ask questions regarding the procedures in the study and if you have any questions following reading this study, you should ask the researcher before the study begins.

All participants will be given a copy of their own transcript and will have the opportunity to comment on it. You and your child will be given a final copy of the thesis and any academic papers that arise from the study before publication of the study. The name of the school and participants will not be given in the final thesis of linked publications/presentations.

BENEFITS AND RISKS

Issues around dyslexia can be controversial. As such, there is potential for you or your child to become distressed as part of the interview and group activity process. If you feel that you wish to discuss any matters arising from this study in confidence, you may wish to contact Parentline on 0808 800 2222 or on www.familylives.org.uk. Your child will be supplied with the contact details for Childline (0800 1111). You or your child may ask for the interview to be paused at any point during the study and are free to withdraw at any point without adverse consequence and without the need to justify your withdrawal to the researcher.

The study has the potential to inform teaching practice as the school and teachers develop their knowledge of dyslexia and related policy interventions. During the group discussions, you other parents/carers will also have the opportunity to hear each other's experiences and knowledge of the condition which could also potentially serve to deepen your understanding of dyslexia and help you to engage in dialogue with professionals relating to provision for young people.

The study has received ethical approval from the University of Bath Department of Social and Policy Sciences and is being undertaken in adherence to ethical guidelines from the Social Research Association which can be viewed here: http://the-sra.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/ethics03.pdf .

CONFIDENTIALITY/ANONYMITY

Data collected will be stored with regard to the 1998 Data Protection Act and will adhere to the Social Research Association's ethical guidelines.

Data will be published in the form of a report which will then be archived at the University of Bath Library and will also be an examinable script.

Reasonable steps will be taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity: data will be kept separately from documents which could allow participants to be identified; computer systems will be password protected; data will not be stored on removable storage devices. School sites will be given pseudonyms and parents'/children's names will be coded. Potentially compromising or sensitive data will be treated sensitively and will not form part of the final study without consultation with project supervisors and the participant.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

This research study is being undertaken at the University of Bath as part of a PhD Programme by Helen Ross. If you have any questions regarding the research, you can contact her at:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
h.l.ross@bath.ac.uk
07933 705151

The main supervisor for the project is Dr Tina Skinner. Should you wish to discuss this project further, you may contact her at:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down
Bath
BA2 7AY
T.Skinner@bath.ac.uk

If you wish to know the final conclusions from this study, you should contact Helen Ross, who will be glad to share them with you.

CONSENT FORM FOR PARENTS' AND CARERS' PARTICIPATION

FILL THIS FORM IN IF YOU WISH TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS PROJECT
PROJECT TITLE

How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting.

PROJECT DEPARTMENT:
Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath.

Please provide at least one type contact information:

Telephone: _____

Email: _____

Address: _____

By signing below, I can confirm that (please tick each statement to indicate that you have read the information):

- I consent to participating in this project. ☐
- I am a **parent/carer*** of a young person with dyslexia (*Please delete as appropriate).
- I have read and understood the information sheet for the project detailed above and that any questions I have were answered to my satisfaction. ☐
- I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that at any time during the project, I am free to withdraw without need to justify this and without consequences. ☐
- I understand that I can ask for any data relating to my participation in this project to be destroyed before 31st December 2015, should I no longer wish to be included in the study. ☐
- I consent to Helen Ross contacting me via **email/post/telephone*** (*please delete as appropriate) ☐
- I understand that information recorded during the study will remain confidential and that reasonable measures will be taken to ensure that identifying, personal data will not become public in line with the Data Protection Act 1998. ☐
- I consent to being audio-recorded as part of the project. ☐
- I consent to information provided as part of this study being published in academic publications (data and location will be anonymised). ☐

_____

Participant's Name (Printed)

_____ _____

Participant's signature Date

_____ _____

Name of Researcher (Printed) Researcher's signature

CONSENT FORM FOR YOUNG PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION.

FILL IN THIS FORM IF YOU WISH YOUR CHILD TO PARTICIPATE

PROJECT TITLE

How young people feel about dyslexia and their support programmes in their school setting.

PROJECT DEPARTMENT:

Department of Social and Policy Sciences, University of Bath.

Please provide at least one type contact information or tick this box if given overleaf ☐

Telephone: _____

Email: _____

Address: _____

By signing below, I can confirm that (please tick each statement to indicate that you have read the information):

- I consent to my child _____ (Name of child) participating in this project. ☐
- I am a **parent/carer*** of a young person with dyslexia (*Please delete as appropriate).
- I have read and understood the information sheet for the project detailed above and that any questions I have were answered to my satisfaction. ☐
- I understand that my child's participation in this study is voluntary and that at any time during the project, I, or they, are free to withdraw without need to justify this and without consequences. ☐
- I understand that my child's data can be withdrawn from this study at any time before 31st December 2015. ☐
- I consent to Helen Ross contacting me via **email/post/telephone*** (*please delete as appropriate) ☐
- I understand that information recorded during the study will remain confidential and that reasonable measures will be taken to ensure that identifying, personal data will not become public in line with the Data Protection Act 1998. ☐
- I consent to my child being audio-recorded as part of the project. ☐
- I understand that any materials produced will belong to my child. However, I consent for Helen Ross to use anonymised copies of these materials for the purposes of this study. ☐
- I consent to information provided as part of this study being published in academic publications (data and location will be anonymised). ☐

_____	_____
Parent's Name (Printed)	Child's Name (Printed)
_____	_____
Parent's signature	Date
_____	_____
Name of Researcher (Printed)	Researcher's signature

Appendix 3

Young people’s consent forms

General observation consent form as given to young people

Project – How does dyslexia affect young people?

My name is Mrs Ross. I am a teacher and I have dyslexia. I am training to be a researcher and I am doing a project for my course.

I would really like to understand what you and other people in your class think about dyslexia and how your everyday lessons might feel for someone who has dyslexia.

I would like to spend up 4-6 weeks in your classes with you so that I can get to know you all and spend time learning how you and your classmates work with the teachers to help support each other. I will make notes and talk to you during lessons

You can say yes or no. It is up to you whether you take part.

I won't use your real name or the name of the school when I talk or write about my project with other people.

If you want to stop being part of the study, you can tell me at any time and I will respect your decision. You don't have to take part and you don't need to worry about upsetting anyone if you don't want to be involved any more. If you decide that you don't want to be in the project after you've spoken to me, tell me before 31st December 2015 so that I can take out anything you have said or made from the project.

If you do want to take part, please read the form. If there is anything that you don't understand, please ask me and I will explain it to you.

If you would like to help me with my project, I would be very grateful if you would sign the attached form and return it to Mrs Ross at school.

If you would like to know more about the project, please contact either me at the school or at this address.

Helen Ross
Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down,
Bath
BA2 7AY
Email: h.l.ross@bath.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this leaflet and for your help.

If I help Mrs Ross with her project about how dyslexia affects young people

- I understand that she will be in my class, making notes and sometimes talking to me.

- I understand that Mrs Ross will write and talk about what she sees at school but that she won't use the real name of the school or my real name. I can choose what name Mrs Ross uses instead of my real name. She won't tell anyone what I've said but if she is worried about me she will talk to the child protection team in school.

- I understand that I can stop taking part at any time. If I decide that I don't want to be in the project after I've spoken to Mrs Ross, I can tell her before 31st December 2015 so that she can take out anything I have said or made from the project.

If you understand the statements above, you now need to decide whether you would like to take part in the project.
I have decided that I would like to help Mrs Ross with her project about 'How dyslexia affects young people'.

Please tick No or Yes to say if you want to take part or not.

NO ☐ YES ☐

Signed _____ Date_____

Please print your name_____

Please return this form to Mrs Ross as soon as possible

Focus group and interview consent form as given to young people

Project – How does dyslexia affect young people?

My name is Mrs Ross. I am a teacher and I have dyslexia. I am training to be a researcher and I am doing a project for my course.

I would really like to understand what you and other people in your class think about dyslexia and how your everyday lessons might feel for someone who has dyslexia.

I would like to spend some time talking to you about how your dyslexia affects you and the kind of support that you have in school. A group of us will meet for 20 minutes and I will ask you to make a leaflet for adults saying how you think dyslexia affects young people at school. We will then meet again and I will ask you to make a leaflet for adults about how you think young people with dyslexia should be helped at school. Then I would like to talk to just you for between 25 and 40 minutes about your leaflets.

You can say yes or no. It is up to you whether you take part.

Our talk would be private. I will not tell your teachers or your family what you say. If I'm worried that something you tell me means you are in danger, I may have to talk to Mr Turner.

I won't use your real name or the name of the school when I talk or write about my project with other people.

If you want to stop the interview, you can tell me at any time and I will respect your decision. You don't have to take part and you don't need to worry about upsetting anyone if you don't want to be involved any more. If you decide that you don't want to be in the project after you've spoken to me, tell me before 31st December 2015 so that I can take out anything you have said or made from the project.

If you do want to take part, please read the form. If there is anything that you don't understand, please ask me and I will explain it to you.

If you would like to help me with my project, I would be very grateful if you would sign the attached form and return it to school.

If anything upsets you during this project, you can tell Helen or if you want to talk to someone in confidence, you can call Childline on 0800 1111.

If you would like to know more about the project, please contact either me at the school or at this address:

Helen Ross
Department of Social and Policy Sciences
University of Bath
Claverton Down,
Bath
BA2 7AY
Email: h.l.ross@bath.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to read this leaflet and for your help.

If I help Helen with her project about how dyslexia affects young people

- I understand that anything I make or write while I talk with Helen is mine but she may use pictures of it in her own work.
- I understand that the interview and the group meeting will be recorded.

- I understand that Helen will write and talk about what she hears at school but that she won't use the real name of the school or my real name. I can choose what name Helen uses instead of my real name. She won't tell anyone what I've said but if she is worried about me she will talk to Mr Turner.

- I understand that I can stop the interview or leave the focus group at any time. If I decide that I don't want to be in the project after I've spoken to Helen, I can tell her before 31st December 2015 so that she can take out anything I have said or made from the project.

If you understand the statements above, you now need to decide whether you would like to take part in the project.
I have decided that I would like to help Helen with her project about 'How dyslexia affects young people'.

Please tick No or Yes to say if you want to take part or not.

NO ☐ YES ☐

Signed _____ Date_____

Please print your name_____

Please return this form to Helen as soon as possible

Appendix 4
Interview Schedules

Teacher Interview Schedule:

PERSONAL	• Subject area • Years/type of experience in teaching • Time at school • Professional Strengths and Weaknesses
DYSLEXIA	• What the condition is • How it impacts children in the classroom • Accessibility issues for children with dyslexia
INTERVENTIONS	• What type of interventions at classroom level they use • Effects of classroom level interventions on students • What type of interventions happen at school level at KS3 and 4 • Effects of school level interventions on students • What works classroom/school level
RESOURCES	• What resources are specialised within school. • ICT equipment/I-pads and impact on learning • Staffing levels- increased and decreases and effects on children
FUNDING	• Current funding levels enough? • What works • Effects of changes in funding • Access to money/resources.

Parent/Carers Interview Schedule:

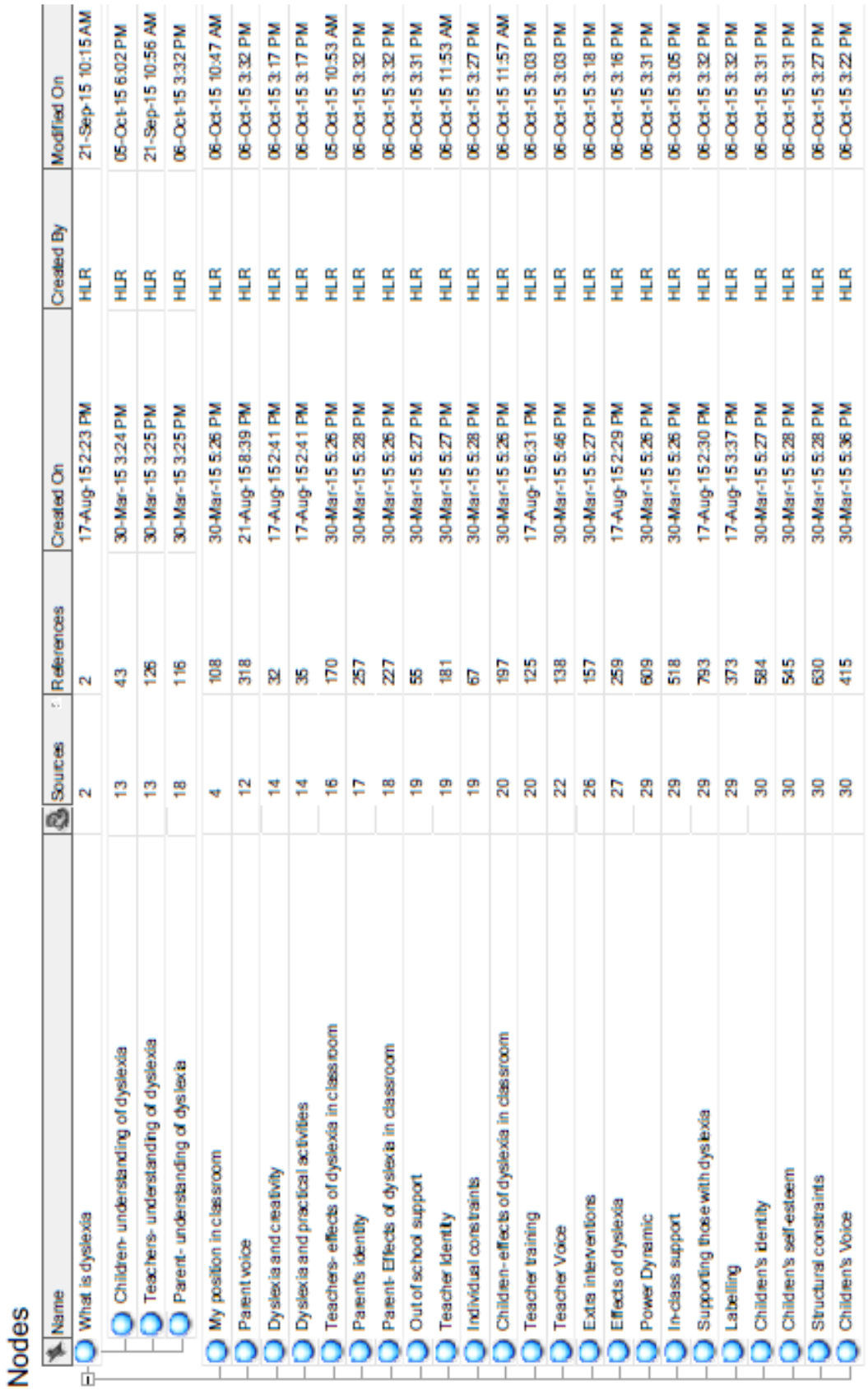
PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS	• How many children they have • What their children's needs are and what ages they are. • How they recognised their children's needs • How they been able to access the systems to support their children(or not)? • What their relationships are like with their children's previous schools.
DYSLEXIA	• What the condition is • How it impacts children in the classroom • Accessibility issues for children with dyslexia • How does dyslexia affect their children socially.
INTERVENTIONS	• What type of interventions at classroom level they use • Effects of classroom level interventions on students • What type of interventions happen at school level at KS3 and 4 • Effects of school level interventions on students • What works classroom/school level • How has support differed between children's different schools.
RESOURCES	• What resources are specialised within school. • ICT equipment/I-pads and impact on learning • Staffing levels- increased and decreases and effects on children • What research they have had to undertake personally to gain access to better support and/or information • How they have secured resources and provision for their children
FUNDING	• Current funding levels enough? • What works • Effects of changes in funding • Access to money/resources.

Young People Interview Schedule:

DYSLEXIA	• What the condition is • How it impacts them in the classroom • What they find easy • What they find difficult • Why they experience subjects in the way they do
INTERVENTIONS	• What type of interventions at classroom level they use • Effects of classroom level interventions on students • Effects of school level interventions on students • What works classroom/school level • How has support differed between children's different schools.
RESOURCES	• What resources are specialised within school. • ICT equipment/I-pads and impact on learning • Working with TAs and other pupils- has this helped them at school and how. • How they have secured resources and provision for their children
FRIENDSHIP	• How dyslexia affects their relationships with other young people • How dyslexia affects their out of school activities • How they are able to engage with different groups of friends in relation to their dyslexia.

Appendix 5
Coding Framework

Final Coding Framework



Name	Sources	References	Created On	Created By	Modified On
What is dyslexia	2	2	17-Aug-15 2:23 PM	HLR	21-Sep-15 10:15 AM
Children- understanding of dyslexia	13	43	30-Mar-15 3:24 PM	HLR	05-Oct-15 6:02 PM
Teachers- understanding of dyslexia	13	126	30-Mar-15 3:25 PM	HLR	21-Sep-15 10:56 AM
Parent- understanding of dyslexia	18	116	30-Mar-15 3:25 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:32 PM
My position in classroom	4	108	30-Mar-15 5:26 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 10:47 AM
Parent voice	12	318	21-Aug-15 8:39 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:32 PM
Dyslexia and creativity	14	32	17-Aug-15 2:41 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:17 PM
Dyslexia and practical activities	14	35	17-Aug-15 2:41 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:17 PM
Teachers- effects of dyslexia in classroom	16	170	30-Mar-15 5:26 PM	HLR	05-Oct-15 10:53 AM
Parents identity	17	257	30-Mar-15 5:28 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:32 PM
Parent- Effects of dyslexia in classroom	18	227	30-Mar-15 5:26 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:32 PM
Out of school support	19	55	30-Mar-15 5:27 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:31 PM
Teacher Identity	19	181	30-Mar-15 5:27 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 11:53 AM
Individual constraints	19	67	30-Mar-15 5:28 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:27 PM
Children- effects of dyslexia in classroom	20	197	30-Mar-15 5:26 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 11:57 AM
Teacher training	20	125	17-Aug-15 6:31 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:03 PM
Teacher Voice	22	138	30-Mar-15 5:46 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:03 PM
Extra interventions	26	157	30-Mar-15 5:27 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:18 PM
Effects of dyslexia	27	259	17-Aug-15 2:29 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:16 PM
Power Dynamic	29	609	30-Mar-15 5:26 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:31 PM
In-class support	29	518	30-Mar-15 5:26 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:05 PM
Supporting those with dyslexia	29	793	17-Aug-15 2:30 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:32 PM
Labelling	29	373	17-Aug-15 3:37 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:32 PM
Children's identity	30	584	30-Mar-15 5:27 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:31 PM
Children's self-esteem	30	545	30-Mar-15 5:28 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:31 PM
Structural constraints	30	630	30-Mar-15 5:28 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:27 PM
Children's Voice	30	415	30-Mar-15 5:36 PM	HLR	06-Oct-15 3:22 PM

Appendix 6
Project Feedback

Feedback from Alison (parent) and Emily (pupil)

Dear Helen ,

Well done on what you have managed to achieve, it makes interesting reading . Good lay out of information as well, easy for parents and the children who have these issues to follow .
I will show *Emily* later .

Well done again on all you hard work - keep going .

Kind Regards ,
Alison
Emily

Feedback from Aurora, Assistant to the SenCo.

Dear Helen

Thank you so much for the flowers, chocs and card, it was so kind of you and really not expected. I'm sorry I didn't have chance to chat for long this morning, I've had a full day of parent meetings today.

It has been a real pleasure getting to know you and helping where possible. Everyone today has been saying how much your cheerfulness will be missed. Please do get in touch if we can be of any further help.

Good luck with the new house and with completing your PhD – you will be an amazing SENCo!!

Take care (especially on that bike!) and keep in touch

Aurora

Appendix 7

Full participant details

Table 1: Teachers

NA	NA	NA	9	9	9	8	8	8	7	7		7	7	Year
Kathryn	Martha	Heidi	Kate	Jonty	Angie	Mike	Jane	Kate	Anna	Claire	Jenny	Hannah	Jenny	Teacher
MFL and AMDBA Dyslexia teacher	Maths and Head of Dept	Art specialist	English & AMBDA dyslexia teacher	Science and Senior Leader	Geography and Senior Leader	English and Head of Dept	English & AMBDA dyslexia teacher	English & AMBDA dyslexia teacher	Englsih	English (literacy co-ordinator)	English	PE	English	Subject specialism/ responsibility
MFL	Maths	Art Therapy	Small Group Literacy	Science	Geo-graphy	Main-stream English	Main-stream English	Small Group Literacy	Main-stream English	Main-stream English	Main-stream English	Main-stream Study Skills	Literacy Extra	Subject observed
Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Manager?
NA	NA	NA	Benjamin and David	Benjamin	Benjamin and David	Callum and Josh	Jake and Connor	Callum and Josh	Alexander	John	Samuel	Emily	Samuel	Pupil(s) Observed
NA	NA	NA	3	4	4	6	6	7	7	3	4	2	4	Lessons Observed
Yes (27:32)	Yes (16:04)	Yes (27:19)	As above	Yes (23:21)	No	Yes (25:25)	No	Yes (31:07)	Yes (21:25)	Yes (26:08)	As above	Yes (29:01)	Yes (11:38 + notes)	Interview? (duration)
NA	NA	NA	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	TA in class?
NA	NA	NA	Partici-pant observer	Observer	Partici-pant observer	Partici-pant observer	Partici-pant observer	Partici-pant observer	Partici-pant observer	Partici-pant observer	Partici-pant observer	Observer	Partici-pant observer	My role in class

Table 2: Young people

Year Group	9	8	8	8	8	7	7	7	7
Name	Benjamin	Josh	Callum	Jake	Connor	Alfie	Samuel	Emily	Alexander	John
Status	Statement	Statement	Statement	SEN Register	SEN Register	SEN Register	SEN Register	SEN Register	SEN Register	SEN Register
Needs[19]	Dyslexia & other needs	Dyslexia and other	Dyslexia & other needs	Dyslexia	Dyslexia	Dyslexia & other needs	Dyslexia	Dyslexia & other needs	Dyslexia	Dyslexia
Observation Details	Small Group Literacy and Main-stream Geography	Small Group Literacy, Main-stream Science and Geography	Main-stream English and Small Group Literacy	Main-stream English and Small Group Literacy	Main-stream English	Not observed	Main-stream English and Literacy Plus	Learning Skills	Mainstream English	Main-stream English
Activity	4	3	3	5	5	2	1	1	2	2
Inter-viewed?	Yes	Yes	No parents did not consent	Yes	Yes	Did not wish to take part	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Duration	22:49	20:07	16:17	NA	19:28	16:40	NA	19:13	19:14	19:08	19:09

[19] I have not given full details of the participants' needs as this constitutes information that could identify the young people.

Table 3: Parents

Name	Lottie	Christine	Alexandra	Alison	Grace	Jean	Sophia	Yvette	Kelly	Olivia and Darren	Clive and Erin
Mothers' occupation status	Professional	Unknown	Professional	Skilled worker	Unknown	Unknown	Professional	Unknown	Stay at home parent	Skilled worker	Unskilled worker
Fathers' occupation status	Unknown	Unknown	Husband is a professional	Unknown	Husband was described as 'prof-essional'	Husband is a 'prof-essional'	Professional	Unknown	Skilled trade	Skilled trade	Prof-essional
Child	Samuel	Josh	Alfie	Emily	Alexander	John	Jake	Callum	Connor	Benja-min	David
Interview Duration	43:14:	31:45	29:56	1:03:00	44:04	30:04	34:47	NA	35:40	57:23	40:10
Interview Location	Home	School meeting room	Home	Home	Home	Home	Office at her home	NA	Home	Home	Home
Child Interviewed?	Yes	Yes	NO	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Appendix 8
Mindmaps used for Analysis

Parents

1. what is dyslexia: effects and manifestations

Difficulties with Phonics

Something 'wrong'

Alyson: I've been vaguely lucky with my children. I had a terrible time at school. I would say, reluctant dyslexic. I was put in the bottom classes in and they used we think. I never knew I was dyslexic. I just thought I was stupid. I was clueless of text (dyslexia). They just said I had these, and I thought I was stupid. I thought there was something not quite right with the way he sees things.

Jason: I knew when he was quite a bit younger, so you could work it out between you. I was trying to put words together, spell words and I knew that he had difficulties but reading, for example, was fine.

KC: [redacted] kept thinking it was me, I was the problem, I was the one not reading and he was reading, he was fine, but I noticed that he was struggling with spelling and two conversations. I said I do think I'm dyslexic. I'm picking you to assess me, and you did.

Alyson: I've been homeschooling and been helped so much from my friends. I've got a dyslexic one of my sons I like, you have quite a few of children, that they don't even that they're dyslexic, they don't even know it. It'll help him like years if or something.

Alyson: I've been homeschooling. Partner, Nicholas, had a lot of the difficulties that I had. I was the youngest of seven, I was the only one that wouldn't take encouragement out of them there. But I had instant success with him. I've been homeschooling... Because of him being the second child, as well, and I didn't know what I was doing, I was very well, actually, going on trend!

Difficulties and effect with learning

Lottie: And they [family] you would concentrate more verbally, so that you wouldn't have to write it down for anyone else, just to get through my mind.

Olivia: I mean they took him there and then, I'm not sure, but I think when he's, talked at something then, he'll, he's, tantamount to get it, but I think he's remembered it when he was at primary school. I'm not sure, I'm not sure about his attainment like, he left [...] I'm not sure, I'm not sure, I'm not there, and that was the end of that.

Olivia: and Steve there's sometimes people think that he's, you know, he's, he's, he's, he's being a bit, you know?

Alyson: If he really, not always, but if he really, really, really, out of the issues and [privacy], I just couldn't understand, any of what he was saying. I'm like, I'm like, I'm sound[?], yeah. Yeah, that's, I think because she's had it right from the start, I've been aware of that [redacted] some. I can't be watching her, but overseeing her, I'm aware of that.

Alyson: And just the creativity and writing here, just been like that, and I've been aware of that. I've known about it and there go back about [redacted] how to fit in, and I've been aware of it. So overall learning is difficult really.

Alyson: Maybe that does that, you are understanding in his brain that's not quite working. I think abusive stress he was quite little. I think that's probably why he's behavioural, and he didn't maybe concentrate enough, or understand what was being taught to him. He just kind of switched off and didn't take on undescribed [redacted] and that's why he's not where he is at socially together. But when's you know, it's something that isn't, it's not, it's not a problem, it's just a misunderstood that's just the way his brain is wired really.

Emotional conflicts

Alyson: I mean [Kaylie] is, actually, I've been quite lucky with her, she gets really cross when she's, I still do a 3, because obviously life is, I'm not, I'm not perfect, and I'm not the smartest. Or, mature, or whatever, at primary it was a lot on her shoulders.

Dyanne: I'll Benjamin stuffed with [redacted] and he's got a lot of problems at all. They could, [redacted] and he's got a lot of physical. You know, you can see that.

Olivia: When it comes to exams, I'm not sure if he, he, he, he, anything like that because obviously when we were going through the [redacted] and everything, there were so many test that [redacted] him out.

Christine: and I mean the big thing is that you know and with [redacted] and Benjamin, is that he's not bright, it's there, and they've got they understand. But there's, you know, you've got to work hard at it, but I, you know, you could have to read about the 3 things or the 5 things [redacted] to remember.

Christine: Someone was like, I actually don't know how Jack in particular, I actually don't know.

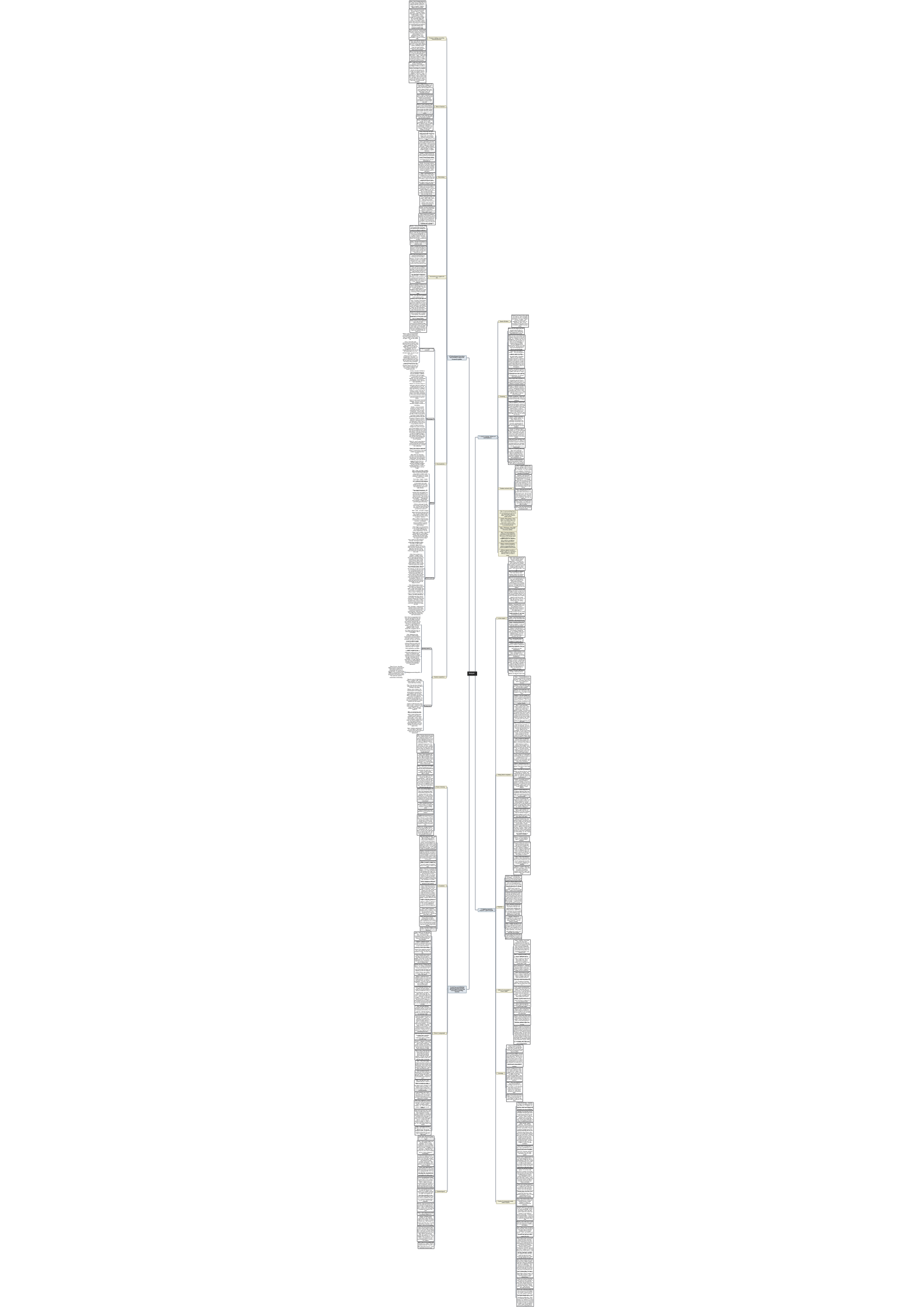
Alyson: Shall I ask one question then I'll shut up and you can talk. As soon as, for teachers' [redacted] hand's up again and again and again, I'm like, I'm not saying that, I'm, I'll tell you [Kaylie], but we don't [redacted] that's not the case.

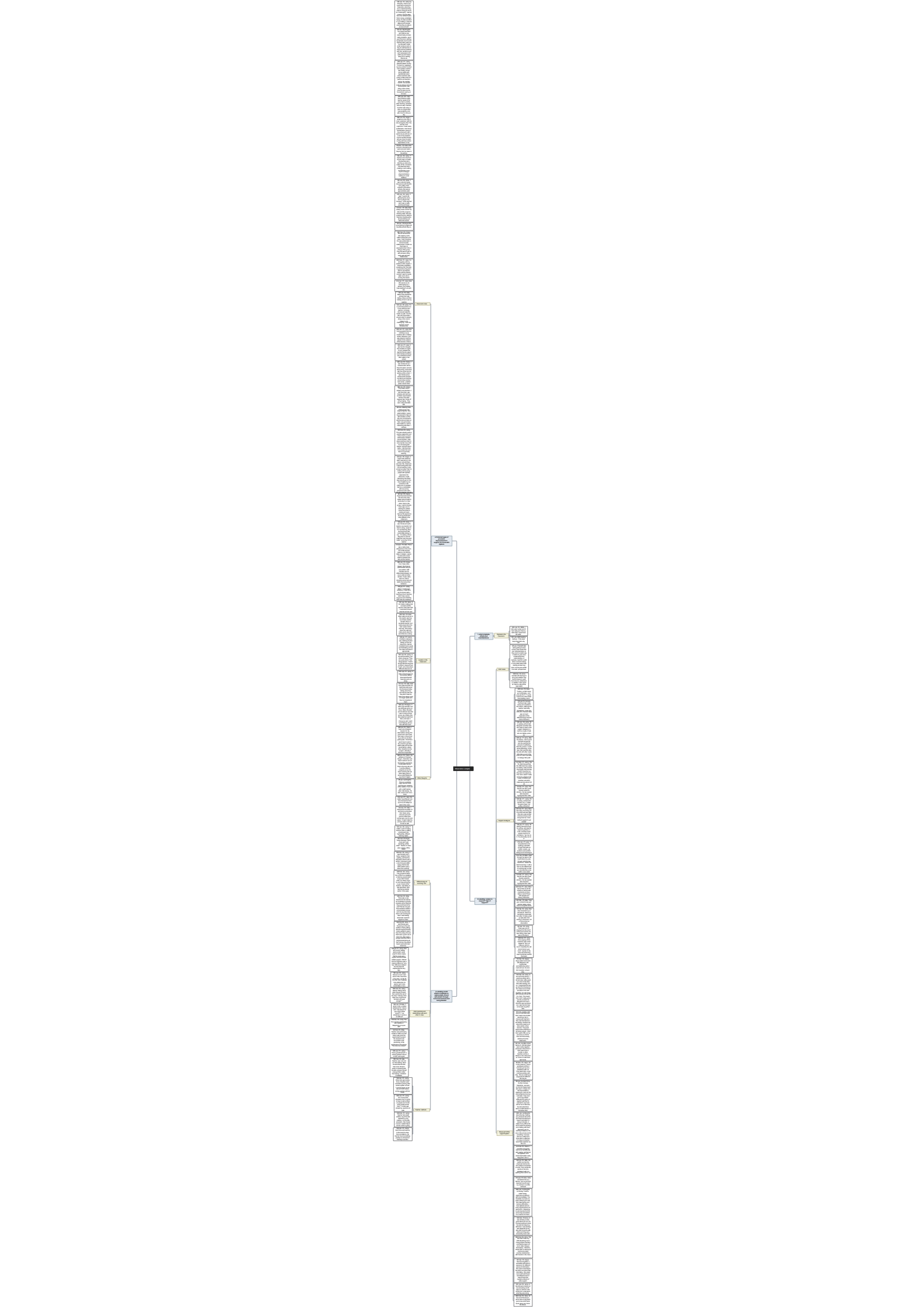
Jason: Whole you can [redacted] of the, you know, you've also been, but it is a little bit difficult, but she explains with it [redacted].

Alyson: So you should be saying that, I'm not saying that, I'm not, I'm not that, no? Isn't being, no we've got others that are worse than [redacted]. I'm not, I'm not underselling it when you're [redacted] and you've got to, you receive, if allergic comes down to [redacted] think, even, you know, [redacted] and you've got to, you know, thing of the government and have to [redacted] and I'm not, I'm not, I'm not [redacted] when you have without. [redacted] and I'm not, I'm not underselling it, I'm not, I'm not, I'm not actually doing exactly.

Alyson: Whereas her dad, I mean I say now, probably like some on, I'm only, very dyslexic when he was at school.

Dyanne: I think he was confused by [redacted] and I think he did combine the French and German. And then he turned [redacted] and he was doing well in English, he always is, I guess on French? ... But he will, he will, he will,




Argumentative concepts
Research Issue
A researched paper of argumentative character, based on the analysis of...
Counter-claim
Other Side of the...
Differentiation of...
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