

Children's embodied social capital and (dis)ability: connecting micro- and macro-scales of exclusion/inclusion

End of Project Conference

Monday 8th July 2013

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ESRC no: RES-062-23-1073-A



Overview of the day

- 10.00 – 10.30 – Registration and coffee
- 10.30 – 12.00 – Background to the project
- 12.00 – 13.00 – Lunch
- 13.00 – 14.00 – Workshop
- 14.00 – 14.30 – Workshop feedback
- 14.30 – 15.00 – Coffee
- 15.00 – 15.45 – Keynote – Professor Gill Valentine
- 15.45 – 16.45 – Panel
- 16.45 – 17.00 – Summary

Structure of the presentation

1. Aims and objectives – summary
2. Conceptual underpinnings
3. Methodological issues
4. Key findings
5. Dissemination and publications

Aims and objectives – summary

- **Young people's** socio-cultural networks, social capital & experiences of inclusion/exclusion
- Interconnections (and divergence) between different **types** of inclusion/exclusion – socio-economic and socio-cultural practices
- At interconnected **scales**: bodies, schools (local), Local Authority (LA) (meso), national
- Across different **spaces**:
 - **school**, home, leisure; different schools and LAs
- Young people with **SEN**, not always a **defined impairment**

1. Embodied social capital

- **Habitus** ‘internalized capital’ or embodied dispositions (Bourdieu and Thompson, 1991)
- **Subjection** and **recognition** (Butler, 1997, 2004)
- Social relationships as mechanisms for reproduction of power inequalities
- How everyday practices reproduce embodied inequalities
- Deconstruct body/society dualism
 - How social contexts + broader scale inequalities become embodied into individuals – transformation and endurance
- Focus on (dis)ability and other axes of power

2. Different spaces

- LA spatial contexts:
 - Different policies and practices of inclusion/exclusion
 - Rural, urban, socio-economic make-up
- School contexts:
 - Primary, secondary, segregated special, practices of 'inclusion,
- Types of spaces
 - School, home and leisure spaces
 - Relationships in different spaces embodied and taken into other spaces - **habitus**

3. Connecting different **scales** and **types** of inclusion/exclusion

- Socio-economic exclusion – interconnected with diagnoses of SEN – especially SEBD (Achilles et al., 2007; Bowlby et al., 2012)
- How broader patterns of exclusion/inclusion cross-cut different, interconnected scales of macro, meso, local and the body
- Everyday bodily practices reproduce or transform these exclusions/inclusions
- Around different mind-body-emotional types and other intersecting concerns

Methodological issues

- The challenge – include voices of young people, but without handing epistemological privilege (Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008)
- The response – multiple qualitative methods + different participants:
- Quantitative analysis of School Census data

What we did

- Semi-structured interviews with:
 - LA personnel (40)
 - National actors (10)
- School-based research:
 - 9 schools – 1 x primary, 1 x secondary, 1 x special in each of 3 LAs :
 - Participant observation
 - Research with young people (12 in each school)
 - A mix of focus groups, child-friendly methods, and semi-structured interviews
 - Semi-structured interviews with: staff (3-4 per school); parents/carers (3-4 per school)
- Analysis of school census data to contextualise the findings

Case study LAs

	Rural	Urban	Coastal
Unemployment (Local labour market indicators 2008-2009)	4%	6%	7%
Ethnicity (2011 census)	95% White (UK 81.9%); 2% Asian; 1% Black; 1% Mixed race; 1% Chinese or other.	75% White; 9% Asian; 7% Black; 4% Mixed race; 4% Chinese or other	89% White; 5% Asian; 2% Mixed race; 2% Black; 2% Chinese or other.
Schooling	In the upper quartile of LAs in England for physical inclusion.	Selective system.	Comprehensive. 'Physically inclusive'

Comparison between the LAs: special schools

FSM averages:
primary 15.9%
Secondary 13.4%

SEN averages: 20.5% with SEN

	Characteristics	SEN	Participation
Rural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural school, takes pupils from East of LA. 2-19 years old. Above average FSM (30%) 130 pupils. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 100% statement of SEN Variety of complex learning differences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 13 children took part 13 on the SEN register (100%) Recruited from 2 classes
Urban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Urban school, takes pupils from across LA. 5-11 years old. Above average FSM (47%) 25 pupils. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 100% statement of SEN Behavioural, Emotional and Social Differences. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 children took part 4 on the SEN register (100%) Head teacher selected students to approach (safeguarding risks etc)
Coastal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School on urban fringes, takes pupils from across LA. 11-16 years old Above average FSM (24%) 47 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 100% statement of SEN Complex needs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 10 children took part 10 on the SEN register (100%) Recruited via 2 classes

Comparison between the LAs: primary schools

FSM averages:
primary 15.9%
Secondary 13.4%

SEN averages: 20.5% with SEN

	Characteristics	SEN	Participation
Rural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rural village school, local catchment. 7-11 years old. Below average FSM (4%) 235 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Above average SEN (21%) Behavioural, Emotional and Social Differences Learning differences in literacy and numeracy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20 children took part 2 on the SEN register (10%) Recruited from 2 x year 5 classes
Urban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In suburb of town, local catchment. 7-11 years old. Above average FSM (24%) 262 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Above average SEN (33%) Specific learning differences BESD Speech, language and communication difficulties 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 children took part 0 on the SEN register (0%) Recruited from 2 x year 5 classes
Coastal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Town centre, local catchment. 4-11 years old. Above average FSM (24%) 210 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Above average SEN (34%) Behavioural, Emotional and Social Differences Speech and language differences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9 children took part 6 on the SEN register (66%) Recruited from 1 x year 5 class

Comparison between the LAs: secondary schools

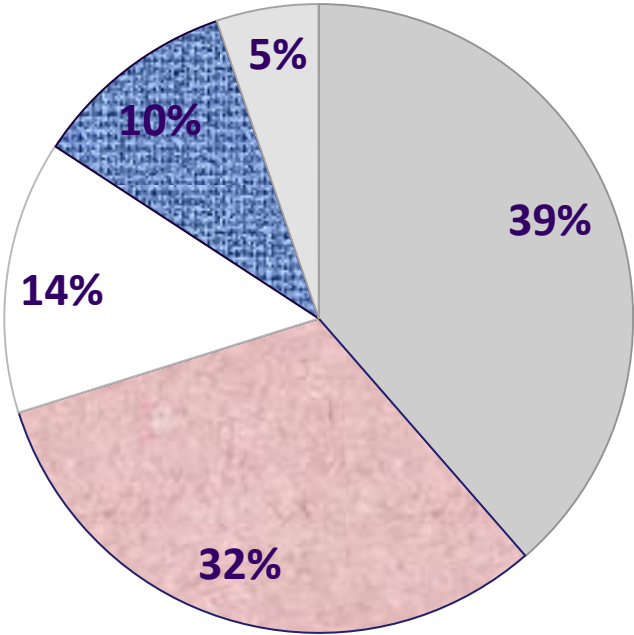
FSM averages:
primary 15.9%
Secondary 13.4%

SEN averages: 20.5% with SEN

	Characteristics	SEN	Participation
Rural	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In small town, takes pupils from across rural LA and urban fringes of closest town. 11-18 years old. Below average FSM (4%) 1256 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Below average SEN (13.3%) Young people on Autistic Spectrum (12 students) Emotional, Behavioural and social differences Specific learning differences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11 children took part 11 on the SEN register (100%) Recruited via ASD unit and inclusion unit
Urban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Selective girls school. 11-18 years old. Below average FSM (0.7%) 699 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Below average SEN (0.1%) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20 children took part 0 on the SEN register (0%) Recruited from Year 9 (open call)
Coastal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> School on urban fringes. 11-16 years old. Above average FSM (19%) 959 pupils 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Above average SEN (27%) Specific learning differences Behavioural, Emotional and Social Differences Speech and Language Differences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12 children took part 10 on the SEN register (83%) Recruited via primary style classrooms (years 7 and 8).

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- In total, 104 children and young people took part
 - 56 of these (53%) had SEN.
 - Over-represented (Mean in England = 21%)
 - Of these 56 that took part, 18 (32%) had socio-emotional differences and 22 (39%) were on the Autistic Spectrum

Pie chart to show primary SEN diagnoses of those children and young people that took part in the research.



- On the AS
- SEBD
- Specific learning differences
- Moderate Learning disability
- Other

Key local actors

Rural	Urban	Coastal
Principal educational psychologist	Inclusion manager	Behaviour service
Gardening charity (alternative educational provision)	Children's action team manager	Local parental advisory/support service
Provider of course for parents of children with SEN	Behaviour support teacher	Local parental advisory/support service
Local charity providing leisure activities	Educational psychologist	Head of SEN
Head of SEN	Senior ed psychologist	Inclusive play scheme
Alternative educational provision for young adults with BESD	Learning difficulties team manager	Inclusive play scheme
After school club for children with ASD	Inclusive after school club	Learning mentor service
Founder of parenting support group	Founder of parenting support group	School counselling service
Parent support group	Member of youth offender team, trainer for SEN courses	Mental health in schools
Volunteer for buddying charity		University researcher

National actors

1. Researcher for National children's charity
2. Representative of National charity for people on the Autistic Spectrum
3. Researcher for National disability charity
4. National actor in education for children with BESD
5. Researcher in the area of Speech and language difficulties
6. Researcher for Visual impairment charity
7. Researcher for Visual impairment charity
8. Representative of charity that represents and involves children with disabilities
9. Researcher into issues around friendships and visual impairment, manager of Sensory services for LA.
10. Representative of NGO that supports families of children with disabilities.

'Child-centred methods'

Advantages	Drawbacks
Access children and their experiences directly, not via proxies	Adults e.g. parents and carers potentially influence
Freedom for children and young people to collect data on their own terms, using their preferred methods	Choice restricted, question of expectations, 'middle class' methods?
Able to gain access to children's experiences across a variety of settings	Tension of doing research in the institutional context of the school (reflexivity)
Access children via schools – attained target number of participants	Adults act as 'gatekeepers' and to some extent designate who can take part, difficult to recruit in some schools
More inclusive and participatory research agenda – children as subjects rather than objects of research	Sometimes hard to enact 'least adult' position. Also, question of pregnant body and how this changed relation to children

See also Barker and Weller (2003)

Analysis

- Thematic line-by-line analysis – by hand and Nvivo
- Photos – primarily analysed during interview 2 with participants, but also critical visual analysis (Rose, 2001)
- Individual as unit of analysis – collating all data
- Then by school
- Themes – invivo and analytic
- We still have to complete the analysis and compare – by types of school and across LAs
- Also, the performative and visual data

- Questions
- Comments
- Reflections
- About - aims, objectives, conceptual underpinnings or methodologies?



1. Embodied social capital / reproducing inequalities

- Friendships and social relationships are central to young people's experiences of school & acquirement of cultural capital – those that like school have friends
- Emotional capital (Holt et al., in press)
- Young people's social relationships are complex– exclusions, subtle messages:
 - value, variously conflictual and nurturing
 - different 'cultures' of social relationships – age, 'class', gender, etc.



Bobby: I'm best friends with myself

JL: Why is that? Is it because you're the only person you can rely on?

Bobby: I'm very, very forgetful – once I forgot what my brother's name was, I'm not joking!

Bobby: I don't really have a best friend – I don't really like um, saying "oh you're a good" I don't really like saying "oh you're a good friend" but I like him more sort of thing

Aidi: But um, I have loads of other friends like, this whole class is my friend

JL: Yeah

Aidi: Some people are higher than others but most are ok

Bobby: I like, I don't like Sarah (girl with SEBD)

JL: OK

Leon: We started world war three with her

Carl: Yeah, in the park

Aidi: Did we

Carl: With stones and stuff

Leon: We even – we weren't throwing stones at her

Carl: We were throwing stones around her so she'd go away

JL: OK

Leon: She was being annoying. She broke Johnnies' brothers bike

Carl: Yeah so we have to like kill her (Primary school boys)

1. Embodied social capital / reproducing inequalities

- Those with SEN, especially SEBD and to a lesser extent on the AS are often relatively excluded and devalued
- Non-normative ideas of friendships and co-operation etc – especially young people on the AS
- Not only about SEN

Jessie: Fernando ... Yeah, everyone's mean to him.

Chris: Because of his hair.

Jessie: No not his hair.

Chris: No, your hair.

Jessie: Oy ...

Chris: Mean to you.

1. Embodied social capital / reproducing inequalities

- Different value of various social groups in converting to cultural capital
- Analysis and evaluation by the research team

Oh sometimes I just get up to trouble... I just walk around with my friends, see what's going on.

Yeah, what's usually going on?

Fights.

Fights.

Yeah.

Yeah.

?? (03.11) Smoking as well. I don't smoke.

Right.

My friends do. (Mark, secondary school student)



They have a fag break half way through and Teacher goes out to supervise. After the break (I had heard one of them commenting that out of the group of 12 of them only 3 didn't smoke). The teacher nudged me and pointed at Matt, John, Simon and George and said they were desperate for a fag and now look how ill they look – they did look lethargic and were all slumped against the wall and looked slightly grey around the gills. (Research diary – inclusion unit mainstream school).



Oah these at my house, yeah, we were all just messing about, we had free house ...

So your parents like let them come round?

No, ?? free house ?? come round. Didn't know what we were going to be doing though (03.42)

Oh right, what does that mean, free house?

No one in.

Oh I see.

Just us.

Yeah just you.

And there's quite a lot of us as you can see.

Going through your parents' wine collection!

We actually did and we drunk all of it! But all these are posh boys, like, well ...



(Simon, Secondary school boy)

1. Embodied social capital / reproducing inequalities

- Social relationships outside school important to a valued sense of self to those relatively (de)valued
 - (In)formal leisure spaces
 - Family relationships
 - Non-human relationships – pets!
- The importance of appropriate leisure activities and opportunities
- External factors – the specific spaces of schools and local contexts – including adult actors – parents facilitating leisure activities

Families

“Sometimes I just go home, like watch TV or go to my nan’s” (Ava, secondary school girl)

We go [swimming in town]

OK, and is that with family or is that with friends?

My friends and my brother and sister normally.

Right, and how old are your brother and sister?

Well my brother’s, we’re twins, and my sister’s eighteen.

OK, right. So are you like in your group of friends, does that include your brother or is it, does it not?

Yeah. (Mark, secondary school boy)



Animals

That's my dog, Monty.

Hey, he's cool.

OCD dog!

Is he?! How come?!

After I took this picture, you can tell I used the flash ...

Right.

After I took this picture he started running round like crazy, chasing shadows and that.

(Geoff, secondary school boy)



2. Different spaces

- Geographical differences – at a variety of scales – LA (meso) and school (local) and school micro-spaces
- These are all specific spaces:
 - education policy is interpreted differently by various actors
 - a coming together of human and non-human actors in specific constellations
- They are hierarchical scales, but not directly so
- Greatly influence young people's social experiences
- Embodied as habitus and move between spaces – connecting different spaces via the body

2. Different spaces

- Differences according to LA policy:
 - inclusion / inclusiveness
 - special schools
 - special units
 - level of support at LA level
 - voluntary sector involvement
- Type of school – e.g. special, mainstream, with units
- Attending special units and schools – a response to exclusion elsewhere

I don't mind because I used to go in school, a local school ...

Did you, a local school, yeah.

But I was so, I didn't like it.

You didn't like it, why didn't you like it Anna, can you remember?

Yeah, because one of the teachers were mean to me.

They were mean where they? What the pupils or the teachers?

No, one of the teachers.

One of the teachers was mean? Oh that's horrible.

?? (06.27) I hated her.

You hated her?

Yeah.

Yeah, so the teachers here are better are they?

Yeah (Anna, special school girl)

2. Different spaces

- School policy and ethos
- How individuals act in specific classrooms
- Heterogeneous availability of leisure activities – inclusive or ‘separate’ or any at all!
- Transport policy – e.g. picking young people up at flexible times
- Type of location:
 - Rural, urban etc.- e.g. transport issues compounded in rural LA
 - Socio-economic characteristics & types of SEN

3. Connecting different **scales** and **types** of inclusion/exclusion

- Socio-economic exclusion – interconnected with specific diagnoses of SEN – yes, but further work required for entire sample
- Normalisation of certain SEN in particular contexts = fewer children diagnosed in some socio-economically excluded areas
- Social exclusion exacerbated by limited access to economic capital – e.g. for transport and formal leisure activities, also: socio-cultural dispositions
- This influences school social experiences – given the role of above in social, emotional and (therefore)
- Cultural capital

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- **Do you? Would you like to go to clubs or are you not bothered?**
 - I'm not very bothered really.
 - **You're not really bothered, OK. And what do you do at weekends?**
 - Anyway, my mum won't let me.
 - **She won't let you?**
 - Go to after school clubs

- **Won't she? Why's that, do you know?**
- No.
- **Is it hard for her to pick you up or something maybe, if she's got to drive to get you has she?**
- Yeah.
- **OK, but you don't know why she's, she won't let you. OK. But you don't know why she won't let you? OK. So if you really, really wanted to go do you think she'd let you or not? Like if it was really important to you.**
- I really want to go but she still won't let me.
- **Oh OK.**
- I keep asking her and asking her and asking her every day.
- **Oh do you, oh, was that to go to youth club or ...?**
- Youth club after school. (Lindsay, special school girl).

- Questions
- Comments
- Reflections
- About - findings



Academic Dissemination

- We have already begun to disseminate our work to other academics
- 3 publications completed, 1 article under review, one in final stages of preparation (list in delegate pack)
- 12 presentations (list in delegate pack)

Academic Dissemination

- Papers to date have focussed on the following themes:
 - Impacts of special units/rooms in schools on inclusion and norms of behaviour
 - Notions of normalisation
 - Effects of social relationships outside school on young people's embodied social capital
 - Importance of emotional interdependencies to habitus and subjection
 - Restorative justice approaches in school; 'teaching' YP with BESD ways of forging 'better' social relationships
 - How far do approaches focussed on helping children/young people with social relationships reinforce or transform otherness and exclusion

Academic publications in preparation

- Various LA practices – especially y/p on the AS or those with SEBD – identifying good practice
- The importance of specific spatial contexts to young people's experiences - how LA policy, school (micro)cultures and local spatialities converge in young people's experiences
- Methodology paper – dealing with critical conceptions of agency and including young people who are often excluded
- Comparing different experiences across schools – of young people with similar diagnoses – learning what works

Broader dissemination

- This event
- Advisory group – members from a variety of sectors
- Workshops – one in each LA - invited all participants and key policy makers
- Website
- Final report and user-friendly report
- Press releases

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- Overall:
 - Questions
 - Comments
 - Reflections



Workshop discussions

- Next lunch
- Then convene for workshops
- 1 pm
- Location of workshops

