"Nothing much has changed:" Black boys' experiences of exclusion and reintegration in mainstream secondary schools

Rebekah Boyd

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctorate in Child, Community & Educational Psychology

Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust/

University of Essex

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i) Abstract

The exclusion of black boys from mainstream secondary schools has been prevalent in England for many years. Despite government policies and statistical analysis into this phenomenon, black boys are still disproportionately excluded from school. Previous research has failed to represent the lived experiences of exclusion and reintegration from the perspective of black boys. This emancipatory and exploratory research focuses on the experiences of boys of African or African-Caribbean descent who have received an external fixed-period or permanent exclusion and have been reintegrated back into a mainstream secondary school. The aim of this research was to explore how black boys make sense of their experiences of exclusion and reintegration. In total, six boys from three schools were recruited. There were three boys of African descent and three of African-Caribbean descent. The boys ranged in age from 12 years old to 15 years old and were recruited from Years 8,9,10 and 11. The participants were interviewed about their experiences of exclusion and reintegration on a one-to-one basis, using semi-structured interviews which were audio recorded and transcribed. The interviews were analysed using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. The participants' individual interviews elicited six overarching themes Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers, Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them, Personal impact of different forms of exclusion, Forms of exclusion, Role of significant people and Inclusive environments. The findings have been discussed in relation to existing literature and the implications of the findings to families, Educational Psychologists, schools and communities has also been discussed.

i) Abstract

ii) Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the schools and staff who volunteered their time to facilitate this research. Thank you also to all the participants for their insightful contributions. Without you this research would not have been possible.

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1 INTRODUCTION:

1.1 What is Exclusion?

Exclusion is a denial of access to a particular school, not to education. According to the government a pupil can be excluded from school permanently or for a fixed-period. It is a sanction for a serious breach of a school's behaviour policy (Department for Education (DfE), 2017a). A fixed-period exclusion and a permanent exclusion is defined under the DfE's statutory Guidance: *"Fixed-period exclusion: when a pupil is barred from the school for a fixed amount of time (including exclusions during lunchtime). Permanent exclusion: when a pupil is permanently barred from the school premises"* (DfE, 2017a, p. 56). Under the DfE Statutory Guidance a child can have a total of 45 days in fixed-period exclusions in one academic year (2017a). Fixed-period exclusions have been seen as a precursor to permanent exclusions, where a child is at risk of permanent exclusion, (Munn & Lloyd, 2005; Strand & Fletcher, 2014). Schools must immediately inform parents of the exclusion and that they are subject to prosecution if their child is found in a public place during the 5 days following their exclusion. From the 6th day the Local Authority must provide full-time educational alternative provision, for example, at an Alternative Provision (AP) such as a Pupil Referral Unit (PRU) (DfE, 2017a).

1.2 The relationship between fixed-period and permanent exclusion

Pupils excluded for one fixed-period exclusion are seventeen times more likely to be permanently excluded than those who have never been excluded (Strand & Fletcher, 2014). The more fixed-period exclusions a pupil receives, the more likely they are to be permanently excluded, up until the point where they have experienced nine fixed-period exclusions. After nine fixed period exclusions, the likelihood of receiving a permanent exclusion decreases slightly (Strand & Fletcher, 2014). Crucially, schools may not wish to exceed the legal maximum number of days (i.e. 5 days) for fixed-period exclusion at any one time in order to avoid the legal requirement of providing alternative education after five days. In any event, if they exceed the statutory 45 days limit in the year (nine, five days exclusions), they may have to permanently exclude and this would reflect adversely on their exclusion figures. Over half of secondary school pupils excluded for a fixed-period and three quarters experiencing three fixed-period exclusions, are repeatedly excluded from school (Strand & Fletcher, 2014). This would suggest that exclusions are not a deterrence nor an effective disciplinary strategy (Strand & Fletcher, 2014).

1.3 What happens to permanently excluded pupils?

Permanently excluded pupils are temporarily referred to APs but studies indicate that many pupils remain in PRUs and APs until the end of their compulsory education (Gill, Quilter-Pinner, & Swift, 2017; House of Commons Education Committee, 2018; Tate & Greatbatch, 2017; Taylor, 2012). This is because only a few schools are willing to admit the pupils back into mainstream education (Mills & Thomson, 2018). The Taylor Education Report (2012) commenting on the quality of education in APs noted that they do, "*little more than keep their pupils off the streets; one PRU head*

described local AP that seemed to feel its main role was to produce good pool

players" (Taylor, 2012, p. 5).

Taylor (2012) triggered the government's Back on Track Pilot Provision (DfE, 2012) which recommended strategies to prevent exclusion and more recently the government has set out their vision for APs (DfE, 2018b). The Taylor (2012) report recognises the difficulties faced by APs, for example, they receive pupils at various times of the year, staff attempt to help pupils regulate their own emotions whilst educating them, and their rejection by mainstream education may be a barrier to them re-engaging with learning. The low quality of education offered is unsurprising as excluded pupils are twice as likely to be taught by an unqualified teacher post exclusion (Gill et al., 2017). APs and PRUs tend to offer a more limited selection of GCSEs, instead they offer short vocational qualifications alongside the core subjects (Mills & Thomson, 2018) which could limit the long-term prospects of pupils who attend for an extended period of time.

1.4 Impact of exclusion

Exclusion from school has been linked to negative short and long term outcomes for pupils, including higher levels of unemployment (Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2006), higher likelihood of being involved in crime (Williams, Papadopoulou, & Booth, 2012) and lower attainment (Gazeley, 2010). However, Wright, Maylor, & Becker (2016) argues that black males who have been alienated from education by their experiences of school will use their negative experiences as a "*platform for making a fresh start in a new learning environment*" (Wright et al., 2016, p. 4) and will thus go on to further education with a *"renewed self-belief"*

(Wright et al., 2016, p. 4). This reflects Daniel's et al. (2003) findings that black pupils excluded from school were more likely to be engaged in education, training or employment, 2 years after being excluded than white pupils. Causality, however, cannot be determined from research which shows a relationship between exclusion and negative life outcomes.

The link between suspension (an American term for exclusion from school) and criminalisation has been termed the school-to-prison-pipeline in the USA and a protest poster placed in the Northern Line tube trains titled 'school to prison line' highlighted the same issue in the UK (Parker, 2018). Marginalised groups could be seen as holding less power for reasons such as being in the minority or having less access to money and yet the school system seems to be complicit in replicating the rest of society in their marginalisation and further by excluding them from school.

Some research suggests a link between criminality and exclusion as 63% of prisoners reported having received a fixed-period exclusion and 42% permanent exclusion from school (Williams et al., 2012). Furthermore, 89% of young people surveyed in Young Offenders Institutions and Secure Training Centres inspected in England and Wales reported that they had received a permanent or fixed-period exclusion (Ministry of Justice, 2018b). This may be as a result of drug dealers often targeting pupils in PRUs as a vulnerable group to recruit for illegal activities according to a recent report (Humphries, 2018). According to recent figures excluded pupils are 200 times more likely to receive a sentence for a knife carrying offence than non-excluded pupils (Townsend, 2019).

1.4.1 Societal Exclusion

Black people are over nine times more likely to be stopped and searched by police than white people (Home office, 2019). This is despite the fact that the searches on black people are less likely to reveal criminal activity than when a white person is searched (Dodd, 2019). In comparison to young white males, young black males are nine times more likely to be put in prison (Ministry of Justice, 2017), are subject to longer custodial sentences (Ministry of Justice, 2018a) and are more likely to have force used against them by police (Angiolini, 2017). Furthermore "*Use of restraint was found to be more prevalent in cases of Black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) individuals who have died in police custody than in deaths of white people*" (Angiolini, 2017, p. 27) and "*It is not uncommon to hear comments from police officers about a young Black man having 'superhuman strength' or being 'impervious to pain' and, often wholly inaccurately, as the 'biggest man I have ever encountered'*" (Angiolini, 2017, p. 88).These inequalities have lead to the rise of 'Black Lives Matter UK' campaigns (McVeigh, 2016).

1.5 Reintegration

For the purpose of this research, the term reintegration refers to a pupil returning to mainstream school after a period of exclusion. Following an exclusion, the school should have a reintegration meeting with the pupil and parents where specific targets are set, within a reintegration plan and clear outcomes are defined (DfE, 2017a). It is more difficult to reintegrate pupils who have been away from school for a long time DfE (2004). In 2018 the DfE found that on average fixed-period exclusions lasted for 2.1 days and the majority (46.6%) of fixed period exclusions lasted for one day (DfE, 2018e). The DfE (2018a) found that pupils in secondary school were less likely to be

reintegrated into mainstream education from an Alternative Provision (AP) than those from primary school. The percentage of pupils returning to mainstream education was 65% in primary school, 64% in key stage 3, 58% in year 10, 46% in year 11 and 42% in key stage 5 (DfE, 2018a). Pupils who are not reintegrated into mainstream school are at greater risk of long term negative outcomes (Kilpatrick, McCartan, McAlister, & McKeown, 2007; Pirrie, Macleod, Cullen, & McCluskey, 2011). The temporary nature of fixed-period exclusions means that all pupils who receive such an exclusion should be reintegrated back into school with a clear reintegration procedure and it is illegal for fixed-period exclusions to be extended or converted into a permanent exclusion (DfE, 2017a).

1.6 Definition of black

The use of the term 'black' is not without criticism despite being widely used (Agyemang, Bhopal & Bruijnzeels, 2005). However, black for the purposes of this research will be used to describe anyone of African ancestry whether they are African-Caribbean or mixed-race with one biological parent of African descent. The current practice in the UK is to group people of African descent into categories such as Black, Black African and Black African-Caribbean (Agyemang et al., 2005). In the 2011 UK census (Office for national statistics, 2011), for example, people were categorised as: Black African, Black Caribbean, Black British and other Black.

1.7 National context: Exclusion trend

The DfE (2018e) states that permanent exclusions have increased from 6,685 between 2015-2016 to 7,720 between 2016-2017. However, the Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) (Gill et al., 2017) suggests that the official figures under-represents

the number of exclusions, as illegal exclusions and legally moving pupils to other education facilities (managed moves) equate to permanent exclusion but are not recorded.

The DfE (2018e) reveals that certain marginalised groups are disproportionately excluded from schools in England including Looked After Children, black and mixed-race pupils, pupils on the Special Educational Needs and Disability (SEND) register and children from low socio-economic status households (SES) (DfE, 2017b, 2018d). These findings reveal that 83% of permanent exclusions occur in secondary school. Protected characteristics such as gender and ethnicity also reveal significant inequalities in the exclusion profile of pupils. According to the DfE (2018e), boys are over three times more likely to be permanently excluded and are three times more likely to have a fixed-period exclusion from school than girls (DfE, 2018e). The rate of fixed-period and permanent exclusion across the broad ethnic groups is highest for Black and Mixed ethnicity pupils (DfE, 2018c). When the broader ethnic groups are broken down further, the figures show that Black Caribbean pupils are almost three times more likely to be permanently excluded and Mixed White/Black Caribbean pupils are two and half times more likely to be permanently excluded than White pupils (DfE, 2018c).

1.8 Is Exclusion by any other name still an exclusion?

Some schools exploit the use of managed moves by permanently moving pupils to APs or PRU's when they are legally only allowed to manage move pupils temporarily, so long as the pupil stays on roll at the mainstream school (DfE, 2017a; Gill et al., 2017). Five times as many pupils are being educated in PRUs and APs

than would be expected from the official government exclusion figures, suggesting "off rolling" (illegally removing pupils from the mainstream schools roll) of a number of pupils who are discreetly removed from mainstream schools (Gill et al., 2017). The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) (2017, 2018) reports that 'off rolling' tends to occur just before General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) exams as schools attempt to improve their ranking in the league tables. The same marginalised groups who are over-represented in the exclusion figures are also over-represented in 'off rolling' (Bradbury, 2018). Timpson (2019) recommends that schools should be prevented from off rolling pupils to improve their results. When exclusions are illegally carried out it is possible that parents may agree to sign a form saying that they are home schooling their child or moving them to another school of their own accord (Gill et al., 2017) and these children could end up being out of school for a longer period of time.

1.9 Black exclusion

As previously stated, the rate of exclusion across the broad ethnic groups is highest for Black and Mixed ethnicity pupils (DfE, 2018c). In spite of the difficulties in gaining an accurate figure for exclusions, the over-representation of black pupils in PRUs is still evident (DfE, 2017b). A more detailed look at the data shows that compared with the pupil population in mainstream secondary schools, pupils from black Caribbean; mixed white and Black Caribbean; Mixed White and Black African backgrounds are over-represented in APs.

Historically a large number of black pupils were sent to schools for children deemed educationally sub-normal to a moderate degree (ESN (M)) (Commission for Racial,

1985; Swann, 1985). The over-representation of black pupils in PRUs is also evident today (DfE, 2017b). A more detailed look at the data shows that compared with the pupil population in mainstream secondary schools, pupils from Black Caribbean; Mixed White and Black Caribbean; Mixed White and Black African backgrounds are over-represented in APs (DfE, 2017b).

Strand and Fletcher (2014) looked at the percentage of excluded pupils from each ethnic group in secondary schools. The top four highest exclusion proportion for each ethnic group in order from the highest percentage of pupils in an ethnic group to be excluded is Black Caribbean (33%), Mixed White and Black Caribbean (31%), Black African (25%) and Mixed White and Black African (23%) compared with just 15% of White British pupils, 8% of Indian and 4% of Chinese (Strand & Fletcher, 2014). This suggests 1 in 3 black pupils have been excluded compared to 1 in 6 or 7 White British pupils and 1 in 25 Asian pupils. The propensity to experience a first exclusion in secondary school for pupils who do not have Free School Meals (FSM) is also highest for black pupils (Strand & Fletcher, 2014). The order of highest to lowest propensity to exclusion for different black ethnic groups is: Black Caribbean, Mixed White and Caribbean, Mixed White and Black African (Strand & Fletcher, 2014). Furthermore, White British pupils have the shortest duration of fixed period exclusion and Black Caribbean pupils have the longest duration of exclusion than all other ethnic groups (Strand & Fletcher, 2014) suggesting schools are less harsh on White British pupils than those from other ethnic groups (BBC News, 2007). White Irish and then White British pupils have more fixed period exclusions in the lead up to a permanent exclusion than all other ethnic groups (Strand & Fletcher, 2014) suggesting they are given more chances before being permanently excluded than

other ethnic groups. One criticism of Strand and Fletcher's (2014) study is that all the data is drawn from the National Pupil Database, the source of the DfE figures. Therefore, the under-representation of exclusion still applies to this study.

1.10 Local Context

This research is being carried out in two London Local Authorities with exclusion rates at a similar level to the national average for both Local Authorities (DfE, 2018e). In both Local Authorities, the percentage of fixed-period exclusions locally is slightly higher than the national average. The permanent exclusion rate for black pupils in Local Authority A is significantly higher than the national average. Out of 152 Local Authorities it is within the top 10 Local Authorities for permanently excluding black pupils (DfE, 2018c). Local Authority B has a permanent exclusion rate for black pupils just below the national average (DfE, 2018c).

1.11 Eliminating confounding variables

Strand and Fletcher (2014) found that Black Caribbean, Mixed White and Black African, Mixed White and Black Caribbean are substantially over-represented in the permanent exclusion figures even after accounting for factors which are known to significantly increase the risk of exclusion, namely, being male, entitlement to FSM, living in a deprived neighbourhood, being in care and receiving low scores in Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) at the end of Year 6.

Pupils identified as having Social Emotional and Mental Health difficulties (SEMH) as their primary SEND are sixteen times more likely to be permanently excluded from school than those who have no SENDs (Strand & Fletcher, 2014) and Black Caribbean are more likely to be classified as having SEMH needs than White British

pupils even after SES, gender and age is accounted for (Strand & Lindorff, 2018; Strand & Lindsay, 2009). It could be argued that SEMH is subjectively identified and only suggests that Black Caribbean pupils are perceived as having SEMH (Strand & Lindorff, 2018). In terms of diagnosable Mental Health (MH) difficulties, the Millennium Cohort Study (Gutman, Joshi, Parsonage, & Schoon, 2015) indicates that severe MH difficulties amongst 11year old boys are most prevalent in white boys closely followed by black boys and mixed-race boys were the 3rd most likely group to be diagnosed with a MH difficulty. If MH was the factor which was responsible for the high rate of exclusions in the black boys then we would expect to see a significantly higher prevalence of MH difficulties in black male pupils and yet this does not appear to be the case (Strand & Lindsay, 2009).

1.12 So why are black male pupils more likely to be excluded?

The exclusion gap between black and white pupils has been examined, by a number of theories (Gillborn, Rollock, Vincent, & Ball, 2012; Office of the Children's Commissioner, 2012; Rampton, 1981; Sewell, 1997).

1.12.1 Racism

Institutionalised racism is "*The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people*" (McPherson, 1999, p. 49). The findings of Millard, Bowen-Viner, Baars, Trethewey and Menzies' (2018) research relates to this definition. It focused on Black Caribbean boys in

London and suggests that the unconscious bias of teachers needs addressing to help prevent disproportionate exclusions. The research involved a literature review and interviews with experts, practitioners and pupils. It highlighted the stereotypical media portrayals of African-Caribbean young people in London, teacher racial bias, self-fulfilling prophesy in pupils, low teacher expectations, lack of diversity in the teaching force particularly at leadership level and the closure of youth clubs as negatively impacting on black pupils. Gillborn, Rollock, Vincent and Ball (2012) and experts who contributed to Office of Children's Commissioner (2012) report also highlight institutional racism as contributing to the exclusion gap. Cultural differences in the behaviour of black pupils and in particular black Caribbean pupils such as hairstyle, walking, speaking and so on are interpreted as threatening (DfES, 2006; Neal, McCray, Webb-Johnson, & Bridgest, 2003). The DFES (2006) 'Black Exclusion Priority Review' concluded the exclusion gap could be explained by institutional racism. They found that "*Black pupils are disciplined more frequently, more harshly and for less serious misbehaviour than other pupils; that they are less likely to be praised than other pupils*" (DfES, 2006, p. 11). Rampton (1981) ascribed racism within schools to the attitudes of teachers which he concluded was a major contributory factor in the treatment of African-Caribbean pupils.

1.12.2 Media

The DfE (2006) suggests that the stereotypes and media portrayal of black men as threatening is partly to blame for the treatment of black boys in schools as teachers have these preconceptions of them. These portrayals are still present in British media (Cushion, Moore, & Jewell, 2012b) and are damaging to society and to young black men themselves (Cushion, Moore, & Jewell, 2012a). Okonofua and Eberhardt (2015)

study found that teachers' unconscious stereotypes about black people influenced how they perceived black children's behaviour. Pinkett and Roberts (2019) suggest that teachers' attitudes towards masculinity causes the higher exclusion rate of boys as they are negatively stereotyped in the media. Furthermore, black males are labelled as hypermasculine which can explain why teachers may have a perception that they are poorly behaved (Joseph-Salisbury, 2019).

1.12.3 Behaviour Policies

The DfE (2017a) Statutory Guidance on Exclusion, mindful of the Equality Act (2010), places a legal duty on schools not to discriminate against pupils on the basis of protected characteristics, such as race and yet the Office of the Children's Commissioner (2013) found that several schools, when excluding pupils overtly broke the law by creating behaviour policies which directly discriminated against male pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds and disregarding race when excluding pupils.

1.12.4 Black male pupils' misbehaviour

Sewell's (1997, 2010) notion that black pupils' behaviour is at odds with the western education system and that the black community should take some responsibility for the high exclusion rate as black boys are simply badly behaved has been contradicted. Other researchers contend that there is little evidence to support this claim and there is in fact more evidence to the contrary (DfES, 2006; Huang, 2016; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). A Runnymede publication contends that "*African Caribbean pupils are often singled out for criticism even where peers of other ethnic origins are engaged in the same behaviour but escape punishmen*t" (Amin, Drew,

Fosam, Gillborn, & Demack, 1997, p. 19). The DfE (2006) suggests that black pupils are more punitively disciplined. Some might argue that black pupils internalise negative stereotypes which in turn leads to a self-fulfilling prophesy over time (Gillborn, 1995; Howarth, 2004).

1.13 Is there anything unique about the experiences of black pupils who are excluded?

Daniels, Cole, Sellman, Visser and Bedward (2003) followed the progress of 193 young people, Year 9 to Year 11, who had been permanently excluded over a 2 year period. They looked at the impact of exclusion and focused on those most at risk of exclusion including young black people. Their findings revealed that black as opposed to white, permanently excluded pupils were more likely to view their exclusion as unfair. This study along with the research into this area to date suggests that the experiences of black pupils who have been excluded is unique and worth researching.

1.14 Why is this important to the profession?

The Educational Psychology profession needs to be aware of issues related to disproportionality in relation to exclusion as there is already evidence to suggest that certain ethnic groups are disproportionately identified as having Special Educational Needs (Strand & Lindorff, 2018). Educational Psychologists (EPs) can avoid contributing to discriminatory practice if they are equipped with knowledge about how pupils who are affected by these issues, perceive the world.

This research is highly relevant to the work of EPs, as EPs look for ways to support schools and families to create a suitable environment for the most vulnerable pupils to develop and learn. It is important for EPs to be aware of how black pupils may make sense of their experiences of being excluded and reintegrated. EPs are likely to be called upon to help schools think of ways to support reintegration (DfES, 2004). EPs may aim to prevent children from being permanently excluded from school and once an exclusion has occurred EPs could be asked to support pupils' reintegration. EPs may also be asked to support schools if a systemic issue is identified such as a high number of black boys being excluded from school.

1.15 Research rationale

The exclusion of black boys from the education system has been notable since the first large scale migration of black Caribbean people in the 1950s and 60s (Grant & Brooks, 2000). However, nearly 70 years later little has changed. Black boys are more likely to be excluded from school even after other factors such as low socioeconomic status and being looked after are accounted for. The research in this area has not moved much beyond statistical data and various theories as to why there is a difference in the exclusion rate of black and white boys. There needs to be an understanding of how exclusion and reintegration is perceived by pupils in order to make progress in this area.

The purpose of this research is to understand what factors are at play in the participants' experiences of exclusion and reintegration. This research aims to explore the experiences of exclusion and reintegration of black boys and seeks to give them a

voice so professionals can hear from their point of view what helps and hinders them and the factors they feel are connected to their experiences of exclusion and reintegration. Finally, the research findings aim to encourage the formulation of effective strategies that support a shared vision on pupils at risk of exclusion.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter aims to answer two literature review questions and identify what remains unknown from the literature. The search strategy will be detailed and a critical review of the available literature will follow. Then the theoretical underpinning will be outlined followed by the purpose of the research and the research questions.

The literature review aims to answer the following questions:

What does the literature tell us about the experiences of black boys' at risk of exclusion or who have experienced an exclusion from school?

What does the literature tell us about excluded pupils' views of reintegration?

2.1 Databases and search terms

In relation to the questions, literature searches were conducted on the following databases via EBSCOhost:

- PsycINFO

- Psychology and Behavioral Sciences Collection

- PsycArticles

- Education Source

- ERIC

The search terms related to the key words or phrases are detailed in Appendix A. The following symbols were used in the search to locate the most relevant studies:

- " " Quotation marks were used around phrases which needed to be found in the exact wording they were written in.

- * Asterisk was used to truncate words so any associated words would be included.

The search terms used in connection with a key word or phrase within a category were connected using the Boolean Operator 'OR' e.g. Black OR African OR Caribbean.

2.2 Literature search strategy for the first literature review question about black exclusion

Search 1

The literature search strategy used to answer the question ''What does the literature tell us about the experiences of black boys' at risk of exclusion or who have experienced an exclusion from school?' involved searching the databases using the search terms related to the key words or phrases, Black and mixed-race, exclusion, school and lived experience (see Appendix A for search terms). These categories were searched together using the Boolean Operator 'AND'. The search was conducted in November 2018. All the terms were initially searched within the Abstracts which resulted in 1,675 articles. The 1,675 articles were not hand searched.

Search 2

To make the search results more relevant to the literature review question, the databases were searched again using categories related to school and exclusion within the title. When this search was conducted, the remaining search terms were searched within the Abstract; 99 articles were identified, after duplicate studies were removed.

These studies were manually searched for relevance against the exclusion and inclusion criteria (see appendix B) which resulted in one study (Warren, 2005).

Search 3

The databases were searched a third time using words and phrases related to school and black in the title and exclusion and lived experience in the abstract which resulted in 131 articles. These studies were manually searched for relevance against the exclusion and inclusion criteria which resulted in one study (Wright, Maylor & Becker, 2014).

Table 1 The field in which the terms related to the keywords and phrases were searched for literature review 1

Search	Black (and) mixed race	Boolean Operator	Exclusion	Boolean Operator	School	Boolean Operator	Lived experience	Total number of articles
1	Abstract	AND	Abstract	AND	Abstract	AND	Abstract	1,675
2	Abstract	AND	Title	AND	Title	AND	Abstract	99
3	Title	AND	Abstract	AND	Title	AND	Abstract	131

The majority of articles were omitted from search 2 and 3 because they did not relate to the experiences of black males' who had been excluded from school (see appendix C for details). From both searches a total of 200 were removed for this reason and a further 28 were removed because they were not conducted in the UK (see appendix C for more information).

Google scholar was searched for relevant articles, then the 'cited by' and 'related articles' links under those articles were used. The references section of the relevant

articles (Warren, 2005; Wright et al., 2016) and government documents were also searched which resulted in one new article (Blair, 2001). In total 3 studies (Blair, 2001; Warren, 2005; Wright et al., 2016) met the inclusion and exclusion criteria.

2.3 What does the literature tell us about the experiences of black boys' at risk of exclusion or who have experienced an exclusion from school?

A total of three articles were identified to answer the first literature review question (Blair, 2001; Warren, 2005; Wright et al., 2016). The Critical Appraisals and Skills Programme (CASP) (2018) Qualitative Checklist was used as a bases to critic the literature.

Warren (2005) aimed to identify the aspects of successful school-based interventions African Caribbean boys at risk of exclusion, had benefited from. These were designed to lower their exclusion rate. The researcher did this through '*discussions*' (Warren, 2005, p. 245) with fifteen pupils from three secondary schools in London. The participant selection relied heavily on the schools' judgement as the researcher did not give a well specified recruitment criteria. Schools were simply asked to identify African Caribbean boys who were at risk of exclusion and had benefited from a school-based programme. Without a clear criteria of what is deemed 'at risk of exclusion' and 'benefited', schools are susceptible to defining these terms on a subjective basis which has implications for generalisability and comparisons with other research. Although a qualitative design is used, the researcher does not explain what is meant by the term 'discussion' and there is no reference to an interview schedule nor is there mention of transcripts or recordings of interviews. This brings

into question the reliability of the research. The researcher recognises some of the limitations of the study. They suggest that the commissioning Local Authority was concerned that a robust methodology would be a disincentive for schools to participate. It is possible that the schools could have felt negatively judged were it to be revealed that black pupils were unfairly treated. Due to the methodological limitations, the researcher, did not present findings at the end of the paper but a series of quotes from the discussions with participants to confirm and challenge various theories related to the exclusion of black boys. There is also no description of an analysis process which fits in with the fact that the researcher did not intend to state findings. The strength of this paper is the relatively large sample of participants for qualitative research and the well stated theoretical underpinning. Warren's research does not meet its aim but it does, however, provide some useful insights into the exclusion of black boys from mainstream school.

Warren's (2005) paper highlights a number of factors which could relate to the exclusion of black boys but the concepts which he focuses on are the ideas of 'resilience' and 'refusal'. The pupil's relationship with school is described as troubled but it is important to recognise that the perceived hostility towards the education system could be justified since schools hold the power to exclude and include pupils as they please in many different ways. Warren's (2005) sociological theoretical positioning in relation to the exclusion of black boys, is based on the work by Willis (1977) who suggested that white working class boys had developed an 'anti-school' subculture. Gaine and George (2005) also suggested that black pupils develop an 'anti-school' subculture which is the result of a number of factors inside and outside of school. The difficulty with suggesting black pupils take on an anti-school

subculture, is that it assumes black pupils disproportionately defy the school rules. Pupils in Warren's (2005) research felt that some teachers were disrespectful, punitive and their punishments were disproportionate in comparison to other teachers. One student in particular felt that a teacher had an unwavering, negative view of him which was picked up on by other members of staff who were starting to take the same view of him. Warren's (2005) research also referred to the concept of "over-monitoring" (Irvine, 1990) in which African-Caribbean pupils notice that teachers are watching them more closely in expectation that they will do something wrong which is a point which came through in the researcher's discussions with the pupils.

Another study which was carried out in the UK, Wright, Maylor and Becker (2016), looked at the experiences of 21 black (African or African-Caribbean descent) males aged between 14 and 19 who had been excluded from school in the past. The focus of the research was to look at how black males who had previously been excluded from school achieved personal and educational success post compulsory education. The authors suggest that this was part of a larger study and thus I was able to locate methodological details from the original study (Wright, Standen, John, German, & Patel, 2005). The research was carried out in London and Nottingham and participants were recruited through community organisations and recommendations through word of mouth. This raises questions about whether or not black men who are found in community organisations such as black churches or supplementary schools are likely to say something different to the black men who could be found elsewhere. Furthermore, using two cities, Nottingham and London, without specifying which participants came from which city, makes it difficult to work out if any aspects of the findings are only attributable to one of the cities used. Interviews

were recorded and transcribed but it is unclear how they were analysed although an

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) method is implied as they claim to

follow the procedures in Smith and Osbourn (2003). The recruiting of participants

through snowballing and using community groups means the researchers are reliant

on the participants verifying that they had been excluded from school in the past. The

selection criteria are vague, furthermore the research assumes the black men have

achieved success in some way and does not define what is deemed personal or

educational success. Nevertheless, Wright et al. (2016) found that these participants

were able to work towards or achieve personal and educational success with help

from their community, key people and family members. Interestingly their research is

underpinned by Critical Race Theory (CRT) and black feminist theory of

intersectionality. It would have seemed counterintuitive to use feminist theory to

explore a male perspective and CRT, which is historically embedded in American

history, to explore a British perspective but the authors have been careful to state

which parts of the theories they are using.

Blair's (2001) book suggests it draws on a number of research projects, four of which

are heavily drawn upon, however she does not specify how many projects and the

dates they were carried out. None of the four most prominent studies specifically

focused on the experiences of black boys who have been excluded from schools,

however when a quote has been elicited from a black student, she clearly states this. I

was able to identify two of the studies used in the references; one of which was dated

1994 and the other,1999. Blair does not always specify which studies the quotes were

obtained from and the details of the studies in the book is not enough to critique them.

The chapter 'through students 'eyes' was read in full and revealed interesting findings

in relation to the exclusion of black boys. She found that pupils of different ethnicities including black boys noticed that black pupils were "*more likely than white to be picked out for talking and other forms of disobedience*" (Blair, 2001, p. 77) with one black student saying "*it's just always me that gets the blame*" (Blair, 2001, p. 77). She also said that "*many teachers shout at, humiliate and verbally abuse students*" (Blair, 2001, p. 79) and black pupils are particularly concerned by the lack of respect they receive from teachers with one saying, "*it was the way he was talking to me…like he wasn't talking to another person*" (Blair, 2001, p. 79). Black pupils felt they were encouraged by teachers in sport but not intellectually and one black boy said, "*They're always pushing us into sport, when it comes to school work they don't think you can do it…when it comes to sport they love you*" (Blair, 2001, p. 84).

Wright et al. (2016) and Warren's (2005) research from the UK, on the other hand, mention resilience but ascribe different definitions. Wright et al.'s (2016) conception of resilience notes how the participants look towards the future and find success despite their experiences of school exclusion. They also refer to Harding's (2010, p. 221) concept of a '*turnaround narrative'* to explain participants' data as they aim for success. Warren (2005) noticed that the idea of respect was pertinent to a number of participants and where pupils felt disrespected, they would find ways to confront this. The term 'resilience' is used to encompass the pupils' response to disrespect from teachers. One type of resilience is termed "cool pose" (Majors & Billson, 1993) which describes a way some black men supposedly choose to present themselves with a certain way of walking, talking, dressing, styling their hair and avoiding outward displays of emotion as a way to gain respect. Blair (2001) highlights the lack of

respect black pupils feel from teachers which may go some way to explaining the need for respect in other forms.

2.4 Literature search strategy for the second literature review question about reintegration

In relation to the second question 'What does the literature tell us about excluded pupils' views of reintegration?' The search terms related to the key words or phrases, reintegration, exclusion and school (see Appendix A) were searched together using the Boolean Operator 'AND'. The search was conducted in November 2018. All the terms were initially searched within the Abstracts which resulted in 881 articles (see table 2).

To make the search results more relevant to the literature review question, words and phrases related to reintegration were searched in the Titles and the remaining search terms were searched within the Abstract which resulted in 64 articles (see table 2), after duplicate studies were removed of which none matched the inclusion and exclusion criteria (see Appendix D for inclusion and exclusion criteria and Appendix E for the reasons articles were not included) when manually searched.

The words and phrases related to exclusion were searched within the Titles and the remaining search terms were searched within the Abstract which resulted in 101 articles (see table 2), of which 2 articles (Gersch & Nolan, 1994; Lown, 2005) matched the exclusion and inclusion criteria (See Appendix E for reasons why other articles were excluded).

Table 2 The field in which the terms related to the keywords and phrases were searched for literature review 2

Search	Reintegration	Boolean Operator	Exclusion	Boolean Operator	School	Total number of articles
1	Abstract	AND	Abstract	AND	Abstract	881
2	Title	AND	Abstract	AND	Abstract	64
3	Abstract	AND	Title	AND	Abstract	101

Google scholar was subsequently searched using the same search terms and the reference section of government documents and articles related to exclusion and reintegration were searched for articles which matched the inclusion and exclusion criteria. The 'cited by' and 'related articles' links under relevant articles in the search results of Google scholar was also used. This resulted in 5 new articles (Brede, Remington, Kenny, Warren, & Pellicano, 2017; DfES, 2004; Hart, 2013; Jalali & Morgan, 2018; Pillay, Dunbar-Krige, & Mostert, 2013). In total seven studies which met the inclusion and exclusion criteria (Brede et al., 2017; DfES, 2004; Gersch & Nolan, 1994; Hart, 2013; Jalali & Morgan, 2018; Lown, 2005; Pillay et al., 2013).

2.5 What does the literature tell us about excluded pupils' views of reintegration?

In this section, an overview of the seven articles in terms of research aims and methodological strengths and weakness will be given. Furthermore, since all the

participants in Pillay (2013) and Lown's (2005) research have experienced

reintegration, an overview of their key finding will also be given. Then a culmination

of key findings from all the research will be given according to themes across the

research articles.

2.5.1 Overview of articles

All the seven studies which meet the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the question,

what does the literature tell us about excluded pupils' views of reintegration? were of

either a qualitative or mixed method research design. Two of the studies did not have

an aim specifically related to reintegration (Hart, 2013; Jalali & Morgan, 2018). Jalali

and Morgan (2018), Pillay (2013), Brede (2017) and Gersch and Nolan (1994) studies

all included more male pupils than female and either only white or majority white

participant groups with the exception of Lown (2005), who does not specify

participants' ethnicities. The studies looked at primary and secondary school aged

pupils. There were two studies which focused on pupils who had SEN; Brede (2017)

looked at the experiences of pupils with autism and Pillay (2013) looked at those with

Behavioural Emotional and Social Difficulties (BESD aka SEMH). Four (Brede et

al., 2017; Gersch & Nolan, 1994; Hart, 2013; Jalali & Morgan, 2018) of the six

studies included participants who had not experienced reintegration yet but gave their

views on the process. The participants in Pillay et al. (2013) study mainly talked

about the risk factors rather than the promotive factors having the most impact on

them and this is a theme within all the literature presented as most of the findings

relate to what is perceived to be unhelpful in reintegration. There are a number of

limitations to each of the studies which need to be taken into account before

conclusions are made about the overall findings.

The DFE (2004) conducted an extensive longitudinal study which looked at reintegration following a period out of mainstream education for a variety of reasons including illness, truanting and exclusion. The research does not contain sufficient information about participant recruitment strategy, the characteristics of the participants, where participants were from and the data analysis method to be able to verify the qualitative findings. The DFE (2004) research gives very little detail about the case studies conducted and how they came to the conclusions they did which brings into question the findings of the research.

Hart (2013) interviewed six pupils, the majority in their third term at the PRU and three members of staff. The study does not suggest how the pupils were selected but does say that the interviews were semi-structured. The aim of the study was not directly related to reintegration but the discussion section ends with the views of pupils and staff, about reintegration, although this is not framed as a finding and it is unclear as to whether these views were obtained, during the interview process or as separate discussions. This suggests they were not formally analysed with the rest of the data which puts into question the validity of the findings.

Jalali and Morgan (2018) interviewed 13 pupils aged 8 to 16 in three different PRUs in England which is a good sample size for qualitative research, although the recruitment process is not made clear. The aim was to see if the views of primary aged PRU pupils was different to secondary aged PRU pupils, however, reintegration was included within the findings of Jalali's (2018) research. The researcher knew the participants beforehand through her work with pupils in class which may mean pupils

attempted to give the answers she wanted to hear but it may have also allowed them to feel more comfortable to speak as a rapport had already been established. Furthermore, the pupils were still in the PRU and therefore spoke about reintegration in a hypothetical manner rather than from experience.

Pillay et al.'s (2013) study aimed to find out what the pupils' experiences of reintegration were, following their time in a PRU or learning support unit. The study required 13 pupils with BESD to write for 40 minutes about their experiences and then 4 pupils who provided the richest data were selected to be interviewed. This may have meant that pupils who are better at communicating verbally than in writing were not included. It is unclear as to why only four pupils were selected for interview when there was access to more. The main findings of the research came under the categories of Emotional Experiences, Relationships and the Reintegration Process. The Emotional Experiences related to participants' feeling: hopeful about the next stage of life; angry after embarrassing or unjust situations and isolated during their reintegration. Relationships with peers, teachers and family were both constructive and damaging. The Reintegration Process was experienced as a negatively noticeable difference between the supportive, small and relaxed environment of the PRU to the unsupportive, attainment driven and large environment of the school.

Brede (2017) aimed to look at the experiences of pupils with autism who had been excluded and reintegrated into a learning hub attached to a mainstream school. The expectation was that these pupils would go on to attended the adjoining special school. Research on pupils with autism may include information salient to that

specific cohort and context and the information from this study should be looked at in conjunction with other studies. The pupils were not attending the special school full-time and so they speak about reintegration in a hypothetical manner.

Gersch and Nolan (1994) aimed to explore pupils' experiences of exclusion and their views about reintegration. The study interviewed six participants who had all been excluded and had attended a unit. The study does not specify if the pupils had been reintegrated into mainstream school but it would appear that their reintegration was pending and thus the findings on reintegration are written from a hypothetical standpoint. The researchers do not explain their recruitment process so it is unclear if there were valid potential participants who were not invited to participate.

Lown (2005) aimed to look at pupils' perception of their successful reintegration into mainstream school after permanent exclusion. This was a case study design which selected five pupils (four boys and one girl who were in Year 9 or 10 or had finished school) These pupils had been reintegrated into a school for between one to four years. The pupils and key people around them were interviewed. Three of the participants were interviewed at home as they were no longer attending school because they were of school leaving age and two were interviewed at school. One of those interviewed at home was not audio recorded but the researcher's notes are still incorporated into the research. As such, some of the results may not have been accurately recorded thus affecting the analysis. Parents were present for two of the pupil interviews at home which may have influenced what the participants said. Four pupils had attended a PRU. The researcher had considerable difficulty in recruiting

participants for a variety of reasons and thus the recruitment method is difficult to define. A grounded theory approach was taken for the analysis process. The interviews centred around what and who had helped them to return to school and the interview schedule could be categorised as semi-structured. The pupils' themes were categorised under the following six headings: personal efficacy, goal motivation and pupil characteristics, social networks, adult and child relationships in school, family circumstances and support from parents, academic factors and support to pupil in school (Lown, 2005, p. 106).

2.5.2 Teachers' perceptions of pupils

Teachers' expectations appear to play a role in the reintegration process. Gersch and Nolan's (1994) research found that pupils felt that their teachers interpreted their behaviour negatively and disliked them when they were excluded but only two out of six pupils were worried about their teachers' reactions to them on their return to school. In Pillay et al.'s (2013) research pupils were said to be angry at teachers who they believed had treated them unfairly before they were excluded and they felt isolated after reintegration. The study also found that "*where the reintegrated learners experienced an unconstructive relationship with even a single teacher in the school, their general experience of adult relationships was seen as overwhelmingly negative*" (Pillay et al., 2013, p. 320).

2.5.3 Teachers as a source of support

Teachers are also a source of support when pupils return to school and the literature suggests that when this support is given, it is perceived to aid the reintegration of

pupils (Brede et al., 2017; Gersch & Nolan, 1994; Lown, 2005; Pillay et al., 2013). In Brede's (2017) research, pupils, parents and teachers all identified that a trusting relationship between pupils and teachers was needed for the reintegration to work. However, all the pupils in this research had a diagnosis of autism and the pupils were reintegrated into a smaller unit within a school so it could be argued that this finding is specific to this context and teachers working in a unit for pupils with autism are more likely to try and build a trusting relationship with their pupils. Gersch and Nolan (1994) found that 3 out of the 6 pupils they interviewed could identify an adult in school who helped them settle in school by being understanding, supportive and trusting. This was felt to be a significant factor in their reintegration which supports the findings in Brede's (2017) research. Pillay et al.'s (2013) research also indicated that all pupils could identify one supportive adult in school and pupils felt proud of themselves when the teachers praised them and felt key adults aided their resilience. In Lown's (2005) study non-academic support from teachers at school was only briefly mentioned by pupils with comments centring around the presence of a key adult in school who supported them but the details on how they were supported were not specific. The presence of a key adult within the school who the pupils can talk to is considered to be a positive factor for their reintegration.

2.5.4 The role of the family

Pupils in Lown's (2005) study identified their parents as supporting them in their relationships with the school. All the pupils in Pillay's (2013) research felt their family was caring but there were instances of difficult relationships between parents and pupils alongside little academic support at home. The DFE (2004) case studies suggest difficulties at home can be a barrier to successful reintegration, although it is

unclear how they came to this conclusion. Gersch and Nolan's (1994) research found

that many pupils had difficulties at home in the form of strained relationships with

parents or parents having strained relationships between themselves around the time

of their exclusion. The research suggests that family is important to pupils' experience

of reintegration.

2.5.5 Peer relationships

The importance of peer relationships in the reintegration process is particularly salient

in Pillay et al's (2013) and Lown's (2005) research. According, to Lown (2005) the

importance of social support through friendships was the dominant theme as all

participants mentioned it without prompting with one participant commenting that his

connection with his peers was his motivation for staying in school. Pupils in Pillay et

al's (2013)research felt that their relationships with peers helped them to catch up

with work they had missed during the exclusion, motivated them to do well and

provided support. However, relationship with peer mentors sometimes broke down

which was also a risk factor. Furthermore, peers in the community were sometimes

seen as a risk factor. Gersch and Nolan (1994) also highlighted the challenges peers

could pose to reintegration by acknowledging that some pupils were concerned about

how their peers would react to their return.

2.5.6 Is there a desire to return to mainstream education?

Reintegration into mainstream school is not an outcome that all pupils who have been

excluded would value. Only some of the pupils in Gersch and Nolan (1994) were

looking forward to returning to school, although it is not clear how many pupils felt

this way or why. They also suggest that the majority of pupils found school work difficult which may explain why only some pupils wanted to return to mainstream school. There is evidence to suggest that the majority of primary school age pupils wanted to return to mainstream school but the majority of secondary school age pupils do not (DfES, 2004; Jalali & Morgan, 2018). Hart's (2013) research suggests "*Staff were very aware of the mixed feelings children expressed around reintegration, of their negative experiences of mainstream school and their contrasting positive perceptions of the PRU*" (Hart, 2013, p. 206). This is cited as due to differences such as smaller class sizes and more time with an adult in the PRU. However, it is unclear if this is partly from the school staff's perspective of pupils' views rather than being directly the pupils' perspective. In Gersch and Nolan (1994) research, most of the participants described a positive experience of being in the specialist unit and would have liked to attend it sooner. There is evidence to suggest secondary age pupils feel that academic expectations in mainstream education is too pressurising which creates anxiety around returning to mainstream school (Jalali & Morgan, 2018; Pillay et al., 2013). This may explain why secondary age pupils are less likely to want to return to mainstream school. APs are seen as focusing more on the pupils' emotional wellbeing and not challenging the pupils academically compared to the mainstream school (Brede et al., 2017). Pupils in Pillay et al.'s (2013) research found the increased academic pressure and larger class sizes difficult to adjust to in mainstream school after the flexible and nurturing PRU setting. Secondary age pupils are less likely to value reintegration as they find the large class sizes and academic pressures difficult to contend with. In Lown's(2005) study all the pupils suggested that they wanted to make their new placement work and suggested they had some control over the placements success.

2.5.7 Systemic factors

A strategy which is perceived to be helpful for reintegration by pupils is being on a part-time timetable to start with and gradually building up to a full-time timetable (Brede et al., 2017; DfES, 2004; Gersch & Nolan, 1994; Pillay et al., 2013). The DfE (2010) found that Local Authorities use this approach to reintegrate permanently excluded pupils into mainstream school. In Lown's (2005) study the participants tended to feel as though they were not involved in the decision making about what happened to them within the school system and one student commented "*when I got moved form they all made the decision*" (Lown, 2005, p. 115).

2.6 Theoretical underpinning

Identity is important around adolescence, so Erikson's (1959) theory of identity confusion is relevant to this area of research because a major life event in adolescence such as being excluded from school and then reintegrated into school is likely to have an impact on the development of an adolescent's identity. Pupils who are treated as though they are unmanageable may take on this identity as such an identity is reinforced by the way they are treated. This also fits in with the idea of self-fulfilling prophesy whereby a person behaves in the manner that is expected of them by others (Howarth, 2004). Rosenthal and Jacobson, (1968) found that when pupils with the same IQ results at the start of the year were labelled 'spurters', they scored higher in the IQ test at the end of the year due to teachers treating them differently. Gilliam, Maupin, Reyes, Accavitti and Shic, (2016) found that teachers looked longer at black boys when asked to identify a nursery child who was about to misbehave. If teacher

bias starts this young the impact on a child's sense of self, identity and trust of teachers may be significantly impacted on by the time they reach secondary school.

A child's ability to recover from setbacks is an important factor when thinking about reintegration. Fraser, Richman, & Galinsky (1999) refers to this as 'resilience'. After having a fixed-period exclusion from school a child would need resilience in order to return to school and recover from the emotional impact of facing the same institution which removed them.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) could also be helpful to understanding pupil's experiences. CRT originated in the United States but has been used to explain British phenomena (Gillborn, 2015; Wright et al., 2016) as subtle forms of racism are ingrained in British society such as in the British education system (Gillborn, 2006). As Gillborn (2015) contends "*Critical race theorists argue that the majority of racism remains hidden beneath a veneer of normality and it is only the more crude and obvious forms of racism that are seen as problematic by most people*" (Gillborn, 2015, p. 278). CRT does not agree that 'colour blind' approaches are beneficial to black people as inequality prevails under these approaches but remain unacknowledged (Tate IV, 1997). CRT particularly values the experiences of ethnic minority individuals as a way to understand the role of race in society (Gillborn, 2015; Tate IV, 1997) which is in keeping with the methodological approach of this research. This theory may help illuminate the experiences of the black boys within this research.

2.7 Purpose of research

There has been a lot of research into exclusion of black pupils in terms of statistical data and government initiatives, but studies have not looked at the lived experiences of exclusion and reintegration from the perspective of black boys specifically. The relevance of race in the qualitative research has been largely overlooked in the UK in relation to exclusion and pupils are well placed to give an insight into what it is like to experience exclusion and reintegration as a black male. This research aims to explore the experiences of exclusion and reintegration of black and mixed-race boys and seeks to give them a voice so professionals can hear from their point of view what helps and hinders them. Previous research into black boys' experiences of exclusion have been scarce and the research which does exist has not been methodologically robust. The research into reintegration has mainly included accounts from participants about hypothetical reintegration rather than their experiences of reintegration. Furthermore, the research which does exist has not specifically focused on the experiences of black boys. This research aims to address the gap in the literature and focus on the exclusion and reintegration experiences of black boys in secondary schools.

2.8 Research Questions

How do black boys experience exclusion and reintegration in mainstream secondary school?

What is perceived by black boys to help them reintegrate into school and what is perceived to be difficult about the process?

3 METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

3.1 Overview of chapter

This chapter will provide a rationale for the methodological approach used to answer the research questions. This will include the ontological and epistemological approach that the researcher has adopted, together with its impact on the research design. The rationale will be given for taking an exploratory and emancipatory approach. There will be an in-depth look at this methodology followed by details of how participants were selected and the process of data collection. The original research design needed to be adapted in order to make the research feasible, therefore the original research design will be outlined and the rationale for changing the research design will be given. The last two sections will detail considerations around the research quality and ethics.

3.2 Ontology

The researcher's paradigm has an impact on the way in which an investigation is designed and carried out (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Therefore, this section will outline my ontological position.

Ontology is the "*study of being*" (Crotty, 1998, p. 10) which considers what the nature of reality is. There are a number of different ontological positions. Two positions that are often referred to in research are the realist and relativist ontology. A realist ontology would suggest that an entity exists independently of how we perceive it (Phillips, 1987, p. 205), therefore an existing person is a real entity, regardless of whether or not other people perceive that person to be real or not. In this research a realist ontology would suggest that there is an objective universal reality of the

process of exclusion from school and reintegration back into school and there is an objective reality of the social category of 'black male pupil'.

A relativist ontology contends that there are multiple views of reality which individuals hold and all are true (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, in this study a relativist position would be that there are multiple experiences of being excluded from school and reintegrated back into school and all are true for the individual. Furthermore, there are multiple experiences of being a black male pupil and all are real. A relativist ontology would also contend, pupils' perception of what exclusion and reintegration is will be different and therefore how they experience this will differ.

I will be taking a critical realist ontology in this research, which lies somewhere in between a realist and relativist approach. It would suggest that there is an objective truth to be found but people conceptualise this truth based on various factors such as past experiences, cultural context and interactions with others which therefore means people's experience of the world does not always relate to how the world is (Novikov & Novikov, 2013). I will conduct my research based on the premise that the experience of being excluded from school and reintegrated back into school as a black male is dependent on the individual participant's past experiences, cultural context and interactions with others.

3.3 Epistemology

Epistemology looks at "*how we know what we know*" (Crotty, 1998, p. 8) including how facts are verified. A positivist epistemology, suggests that an objective truth can be found through direct scientific investigation. This tends to be an approach taken in

quantitative research. When taking a positivist approach, the researcher would actively look for a causal relationship (Sarantakos, 2012) and would use methods such as eliminating confounding variables to ensure quality of research, in keeping with a positivist concern for finding an accurate representation of the truth.

A constructivist and social constructionist approach would move away from the positivist paradigm and suggest that knowledge is subjectively formed. A social constructionist's approach would suggest knowledge is co-constructed through social interactions with others (Raskin & Bridges, 2004). From a social constructionist perspective, what it means to be a black male pupil excluded from school and reintegrated back into school will be filtered through social interactions with other people (including the researcher). Constructivism holds a slightly different view. Constructivism contends that knowledge and truth is subjectively formed through the different meanings people attribute to various entities (Crotty, 1998), this is based on their past experiences, historical and cultural context (Coolican, 2007). This emphasises the importance of the individual's meaning making but negates the role social interactions play. This view would suggest that as a researcher, my own life experiences will influence how I make sense of participants' data and that participants' life experiences will influence how they make sense of their exclusion and reintegration. I will be taking a constructivist epistemology, contending that participants will filter their experiences through the lens of their life history, cultural context and historical context. Furthermore, as a researcher whilst I will endeavour to access each participant's perceptions of their reality of experiencing exclusion and reintegration inevitably my own life experiences will impact on the analysis process.

3.4 Inductive or deductive

A deductive approach to qualitative research would involve deductively looking for themes in the interviews based on previous research or prior knowledge. However, in this research I will be taking an inductive approach as I will be allowing the themes to come from the data.

I believe that more can be learnt from an inductive approach as the perspectives of the participants are sought at this stage and this is in keeping with the exploratory and emancipatory nature of this research.

3.5 Research design

A qualitative research design was chosen as 'experiences' as a research topic is not readily quantifiable. This research is exploratory and emancipatory as it gives a voice to a marginalised section of the population with the aim of exploring their experiences of exclusion and reintegration.

3.5.1 Consideration of other Methodologies

A narrative approach to research involves participants telling their story about an experience and the researcher analysing the way the story is told alongside contextual information (Clandinin, 2006). Although this research methodology looks at participants' experiences, I would argue it is not appropriate for this piece of research as it is heavily reliant on the way participants tell their story rather than focusing on the meaning participants make of their experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000)). IPA draws on participants' stories without focusing on how the stories are told in order to gain an insight into participants' experiences.

The purpose of grounded theory approach is to generate a theory from the participants' data (Corbin, Strauss, & Strauss, 2015). This moves away from fully understanding each individual participant's experience, to attempting to generate a theoretical understanding of a phenomena. This is not in keeping with the exploratory aim of this research.

A thematic approach to data analysis was also considered as it can be used to analyse qualitative data and find a number of themes from the participants' responses (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is a flexible approach which can be used to fit in with a more positivist research aim as there is scope for it to be used to test a hypothesis rather than generate new theories and hypotheses (Coolican, 2007). This method of analysis is more suited to finding themes between individuals in a group and is less concerned with the experiences of participants as individuals. A thematic approach is not in keeping with the exploratory aim of the current research.

3.5.2 Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) is a methodology which focuses on the meaning people make of significant events in their lives (Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009) therefore it is well suited to researching black boys' experiences of exclusion and reintegration. Furthermore, IPA is especially well suited to exploring periods of transition or change (Farouk, 2014) which relates to the experience of being removed from school and returning to school. IPA focuses on how individuals make sense of their experience and a double hermeneutic is involved as the researcher in turn makes sense of the participant making sense of their own experience (Smith et al., 2009).

IPA research generally uses a small sample size in order to explore each individual participant's accounts in depth (Smith & Osborn, 2015). Oxley (2016) suggests that IPA offers an opportunity for a greater understanding of pupils' experiences which in turn could lead to EPs being able to provide more holistic support to pupils.

3. 5.2.1 Why IPA was selected

IPA approach was selected so that participants' experiences could be explored in depth (Smith et al., 2009). This approach also fits in with my paradigm as a researcher. The meaning participants attribute to a phenomena based on their own life experiences is of importance in IPA research (Crotty, 1998) which is in keeping with a critical realist ontology and constructivist epistemology. People are not like objects which simply react to the way they are treated. The way people perceive their own treatment should be of importance to the way others treat them particularly if a certain outcome is sought in the receiver. IPA is in keeping with the exploratory and emancipatory aims of this research.

3.5.2.2 Theoretical underpinning of IPA

There are three theoretical approaches which underpin IPA; phenomenology, hermeneutics and ideography. These three principles and their impact on IPA research will be outlined in this section.

3.5.2.2.1 Phenomenology

Phenomenology was first developed by the philosopher Edmund Husserl as an approach to study the way the world is experienced by individuals (Tuffour, 2017). Husserl sought to examine 'experience' as a subject of study in itself (Smith et al.,

2009). A famous quote often used from Husserl is "*back to the things themselves*" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 12) which related to setting aside accumulated knowledge in order to understand people's lived experience of entity as it appears to them (Willis, 2001). This is achieved by 'bracketing off' our preconceptions (Smith et al., 2009). Bracketing' in IPA research is the process of attempting to set aside previous knowledge (Smith et al., 2009). The focus is then on the perception of an entity rather than on the entity itself and this is known as taking a "*phenomenological attitude*" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 12). Husserl suggested that our accumulated knowledge and judgements prevented people from accessing others' 'experience' or perceptions of the world (Tuffour, 2017). Husserl uses the word 'phenomena' rather than entity or objects to emphasise that entity is perceived subjectively through the consciousness of individuals (Smith et al., 2009). Husserl acknowledges that in everyday life people do not actively attend to their experiences so reflexivity is needed in order to focus on the experience of phenomena (Smith et al., 2009) and similarly IPA researchers encourage the participants to reflect on their experiences. Husserl not only focused on exploring the essence of 'experience' in itself but also highlighted the importance of exploring the essence of different phenomena (Smith et al., 2009). IPA research is less concerned with Husserl's pursuit of finding the essence of experience but rather focuses on how participants experience phenomena. Husserl's conception of Phenomenology underpins IPA but there are other philosophers who have added to the understanding of phenomenology.

Other phenomenological philosophers who are linked to IPA are Heidegger, Merleau-Ponty and Sartre. Heidegger suggested that people cannot fully bracket off previous knowledge and there will be a level of interpretation to individuals' perceptions of

phenomena which is acknowledged in IPA research (Smith et al., 2009). Heidegger suggested that individuals interpret the world within a cultural and relational context (Tuffour, 2017). IPA research reflects the importance of interpretation as the researcher plays a role in interpreting the participant's experience of phenomena which relates to the concept of a double hermeneutic in IPA research (Shinebourne, 2011). Heidegger also focused on the individual as a separate entity to other individuals but still connected and influenced by other individuals (Smith et al., 2009). Heidegger was interested in the question of how existence is experienced by individuals within a world of pre-existing entities, language and culture (Tuffour, 2017). In IPA a researcher seeks to see the world through the participant's contextual lens (Tuffour, 2017) so attention is given to exploring their pre-existing language and culture.

Merleau-Ponty, like Heidegger, believes the context an individual is in will impact on their meaning making (Smith et al., 2009). Merleau-Ponty further developed Heidegger's emphasis of a person being a separate entity to others by suggesting that a person's physical sensations is a large part of their subjective experience (Smith et al., 2009). In this research, there is an embodied experience of being excluded from school in the sense that the participants were not physically in the school and then there is the embodied experience of returning into the school after being away. These experiences cannot be experienced second hand by the researcher or another person so in that sense another person cannot access the embodied experience that the participants have had. For Satre, a person's subjective experience is further compounded by the fact that people are evolving and developing themselves which impacts on their experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Furthermore, he suggested that the

absence of an entity has just as much of an impact on our experience of ourselves and the world as the presence of an entity (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, the absence of the school environment is as important as the presence of the school environment.

3.5.2.2.2 Hermeneutics

The concept of hermeneutics is a another key theoretical underpinning to IPA research. IPA research uses the concept of double hermeneutics to explain the relationship between the researcher and the participant's interpretation of the phenomena (Oxley, 2016). Hermeneutics relates to the interpretation of verbal and written forms of communication (Smith et al., 2009). It highlights the importance we give to language as a means to convey experiences and the way in which one person's attempt to give an account of their experiences relates to the way another person interprets what they have heard. Within IPA research, the researcher is attempting to make sense of the participant's attempts to make sense of their experiences of a phenomena (Smith et al., 2009). Hermeneutics has further been expounded upon by Heidegger and other philosophers such as Scheieermacher and Gadamer (Smith et al., 2009).

Scheieermacher suggested that each individual had a unique way of expressing themselves which gives an insight to their world (Smith et al., 2009). Scheieermacher also suggested that the cultural context a person was situated in impacted on their use of language and the meaning that they attempt to convey through their words (Smith et al., 2009). Thus, it is important for researchers to take into account the participant's cultural context when interpreting their words. Ricoeur also suggests that experiences are conveyed though the way people express themselves linguistically (Tuffour,

2017). The use of figurative language and rhythms in spoken language are viewed as an important element to note when trying to gain an understanding of someone's experience (Tuffour, 2017). In the context of this research, vernacular language is used within the cultural context of London which can differ between different communities in London. This means that certain words that the participants use in this research may take on a different meaning to standard English and my interpretation of what is said has to take into account the fact that words may not mean the same as in standard English.

Heidegger also suggests that language is important in conveying experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Heidegger believed that an individual's interpretation is of importance (Smith et al., 2009). In IPA research the researcher goes beyond simply describing the experiences of participants in the way Husserl would advocate, researchers also seek to interpret the participant's words in the way Heidegger alludes to. Through this interpretation the researcher is drawing on their own prior knowledge to interpret the participant's words (Smith et al., 2009). Heidegger felt that the primary objective should be to give the priority to the new experience (e.g. the participant's words), rather than to previous knowledge without completely dismissing all prior knowledge (Smith et al., 2009). This suggests that the notion of 'bracketing' in IPA research is something to be aimed towards but it should be acknowledged that a researcher cannot completely dismiss any prior knowledge and experience that they may have in relation to the phenomena (Smith et al., 2009). The interpretation is grounded in the participant's words rather than seeking to use a particular theory to interpret the data (Smith et al., 2009).

Gadamer suggests that the relationship between previous knowledge and the new information which is being presented needs to be carefully balanced (Smith et al., 2009). The example of reading text and trying to grasp what is being communicated is given as a way to describe the need to use previous knowledge in order to understand the text but also have the openness of mind to take in what is being presented (Smith et al., 2009). Gadamer recognises that a person's preconceptions are likely to surface as they engage with a piece of text therefore a researcher may only become privy to their own preconceptions as they engage with the participant's data. This is a useful way to understand where the limitations of 'bracketing' lie and to what extent a researcher should leave their previous knowledge to one side before engaging with the data and to what extent this is an ongoing process.

The concept of the hermeneutic circle is important in understanding the analysis process of IPA research (Tuffour, 2017). This relates to the relationship between the whole and the parts which make up the whole (Smith et al., 2009). The parts which make up the whole can only be understood in relation to the whole and vice versa (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, as the researcher engages with the text, the process of making sense of the text happens at different levels which constantly shift, for example understanding a word in a sentence and then understanding a sentence and the significance a word plays within that sentence (Smith et al., 2009). The hermeneutic circle also occurs as the researcher puts to one side their preconceptions as they interview participants and then uses their previous knowledge and preconceptions to make sense of the participant's experience of a phenomena.

3.5.2.2.3 Ideography

The IPA research is ideographic as it focuses on what is particular to the individual rather than attempting to make generalisations about a group (Oxley, 2016). IPA is firstly concerned with the individual and obtaining an in depth understanding of each individual's experience thus an ideographic approach is central to the research method. The analysis process used in IPA adheres to the importance of the individual as each participant's interview is looked at in depth and the researcher seeks to understand each individual separately before moving to the final stage of the analysis which requires the researcher to look across all the participant's data (Smith et al., 2009). IPA research seeks to understand the experiences of a specific selection of people in a specific context. Ideographic research can be in the form of case studies and also in the form of focusing on individuals' experiences (Smith et al., 2009). In contrast, nomothetic research first seeks to find information which is salient to a group and can provide information about a population (Smith et al., 2009). The analysis approach in nomothetic research is such that the individual's data cannot be separated from the whole and as a result the picture created of a population that does not necessarily fit a particular individual (Smith et al., 2009). In IPA research, the researcher moves from looking in detail at an individual's experience to looking at comparable and contrasting information across different individual's experiences (Smith et al., 2009). Harré (1979) suggested that ideographic research does not seek to make generalisations but uses non-traditional methods to establish generalisations.

3.5.2.3 Limitations of IPA

IPA research has been criticised for the small sample size as this has implications for generalisability (Smith et al., 2009) however, as stated before IPA research is

ideographic and therefore more concerned with studying the experience of each participant in detail. Smith (2009, p. 36) said "*Successful IPA research…is empathetic and questioning*" suggesting that the researcher should seek to understand the world from the participant's perspective and to understand the participants from an outside perspective. This is my aim in this research. In this research I would like to give a face to some of the young people who are behind the exclusion figures in the hope that they will be better understood. I am not attempting to make the black young males in this research spokespeople for all black young males who have experienced exclusion and reintegration but I am hoping that their experiences will have an impact on the way professionals view and treat young black males.

A further criticism of IPA research is that there is a heavy reliance on language and it is questionable whether language can accurately be used to convey the complexities of human experience (Willig, 2013). This argument in some way mirrors Merleau-Ponty's idea of the embodied experience in the sense that, the first hand experience of being in a situation is unique and language is an imperfect tool to allow other people to empathise with someone's experience (Smith et al., 2009). However, language is central to the way people communicate with each other and make themselves understood. It would be difficult to understand how people view their experiences without the medium of language.

It could be argued that the interpretive aspect of IPA moves too far away from the participant's experience and the end result is the researcher's opinion of the participant's experience (Tuffour, 2017). There is a danger of the data from any qualitative research method being analysed in a way which does not represent the

participant's experiences, however in IPA the step by step analysis process outlined means there is a reduced risk of this occurring (Smith et al., 2009). Furthermore, the data is not made to fit into a particular psychological theory.

There is an underlying assumption, in IPA, that significant life events cause individuals to reflect on their experience of an event in a way that they would not in more generic aspects of everyday life (Smith et al., 2009). Furthermore, in IPA research, the researcher assumes that certain events will be remembered and are of significance to the participant as the researcher decides on the topic of investigation. It is possible that experience of exclusion and reintegration is not of major significance to participants or is not remembered. However, if this is the case, this in itself would be an interesting outcome and may lead to further questions such as why it is not significant.

3.5.3 Original research question and design

The research question was changed as it proved very challenging to recruit participants. The original research question was 'How do black and mixed race boys perceive their school experience when they have been successfully reintegrated into school following a fixed period exclusion?'. The reason why this question had been formulated was because little research had been conducted in England on successfully reintegrating these pupils back into mainstream education. I had hoped that this could form a platform for future research looking at what could support these pupils to return to school successfully.

The participant selection criteria was as follows:

- Male

- Black or mixed race (one biological parent of African or African-Caribbean descent)

- At least one fixed term exclusion in the past but not in the last three terms of school (three terms without further exclusion considered as successful reintegration)

- In key stage 4 or 5

- Pupils need to have the necessary communication skills in English to be able to engage in an interview

I was looking for six participants in total, hopefully from the same secondary school who in a scoping exercise felt they had sufficient students to fit the criteria. Three of the six identified pupils in the Autumn term of 2017 had been excluded by the Summer term of 2018. Three of the potential participants who were approached did not return the consent forms. The SENCo reported that some parents spoken to on the phone were suspicious of the research and did not understand the purpose of the research.

I contacted a further six schools in Local Authority A. One school did not reply and another school did not want to take part. A further two schools expressed an interest but did not have any participants who met the criteria. A fifth school identified five potential participants who fitted the criteria but did not receive any response. The

final school identified three potential participants and one pupil returned the consent forms.

The pupil was African-Caribbean and in Year 11 (Jamal). However, on the date I went to conduct the interview he had been sent to the PRU for a two week 'respite'. The SEN department had not been told about this as the pastoral team had made this decision. This highlights the lack of communication between pastoral teams and SEN teams in some secondary schools. The school suggested I could interview him at the PRU and it seemed ironic to interview him about successful reintegration whilst he was at a PRU so I opted to wait until he returned to school. I interviewed him using the original interview schedule (see appendix F for initial interview schedule) on his first day back at the school and during the interview it became clear that Jamal had received an exclusion from a previous school when he was in Year 7 after two weeks at the school. He had initially been told his exclusion was a two week temporary exclusion, but after four weeks at home, a visit from a PRU worker revealed he was permanently excluded. Jamal then spent the rest of Year 7 in the PRU until his transfer to the school he was currently attending at the beginning of Year 8. Jamal had been at the school for three years without any external exclusions or periods of time at the PRU. However, the scheduled interview with him was postponed as he was on 'respite' at the PRU for two weeks.

I had been looking for pupils who had received a fixed period exclusion, however Smith (2009) recommends expanding out the inclusion criteria if it proves difficult to recruit participants from a specific group so I decided to do this. Jamal's experience proved to be very insightful. Through the interview I realised that although I was

classifying the reintegration as successful, Jamal did not necessarily see his situation in the same way. The research design was adapted in light of what had been learnt from this first attempt to recruit participants.

3.5.4 Final research design

In supervision we considered what the potential barriers were to recruitment and wondered if other parents and pupils had felt that they did not fit the criteria of being successfully reintegrated, as the school experience had been turbulent. I decided to include all secondary year groups, other London Local Authorities, all secondary schools (not just those with sixth forms), any type of external exclusion (not just fixed period) and remove the focus on successful reintegration so any pupils who had been reintegrated could be included even if it was for a day (see appendix G for headteacher's initial consent form and appendix H for headteacher's revised form). This was sent to the Tavistock Ethics Committee to consider and it was approved.

3.5.4.1 recruitment and selection criteria

I sought to recruit between five and eight participants for this research as doctorate level IPA research typically involves four to ten interviews (Smith et al., 2009). A purposeful, criterion sampling strategy was used, which involves selecting participants who fit the participant inclusion criteria (Creswell & Poth, 2017). This approach was used as I wanted to identify participants who had a particular experience. The criteria I chose for this research was in keeping with the suggestion of seeking a homogenous sample. I wanted to recruit participants who were at high risk of exclusion which is the justification for the inclusion criteria.

The selection criteria for participants was as follows:

- Male

- Black or mixed race (one biological parent of African or African-Caribbean descent)

- Pupils who have experienced one or more external exclusions in secondary school prior to the research and have been reintegrated back into mainstream school

- Pupils need to have the necessarily communication skills in English to be able to engage in an interview

Smith (2009) suggests that in most cases participants are identified "*via: referral, from …gatekeepers; opportunities as a result of one's own contacts; or snowballing*" (Smith et al., 2009, pp. 48-49). The recruitment process involved emails and telephone calls to the headteachers of the secondary schools which detailed what the research was about. Written consent from the headteachers was sought first and headteachers were emailed an information sheet and consent form (see Appendix H). Two schools agreed to take part. As only five to eight participants were required for this research, I asked schools to identify the first eight pupils from oldest to youngest. The schools sent out the letters to parents followed by phone calls home. The parents and pupils were required to sign the consent forms and return them to school who in turn gave them to me (See appendix I for original and J for revised parent information sheet and consent form. See appendix K for original and L for revised pupil information sheet and consent form).

The first secondary school I had approached for the original research in Local Authority A was approached again for the new research and the SENCo obtained consent for only one pupil, having sought consent for a total of nine pupils. I approached two schools in Local Authority B, one school declined the offer to take part and the other school agreed, although the headteacher reported that the school had a low exclusion rate. Five pupils who fitted the criteria were identified and consent was obtained for four pupils. I was told that the parent who had declined, was concerned that black boys were being targeted in this research and the parent was seeking reassurance that the researcher was black.

3.5.4.2 Participant information

In total, six participants from three mainstream secondary schools in two local Authorities were recruited.

Table 3 Participant information

Name	Age	Ethnicity	Year group	School	Local Authority
Jamal 1	15	African-Caribbean	11	A	A
Tayshaun 2	14	African-Caribbean	10	B	B
Prince 3	13	African	9	B	B
Dwayne 4	13	African-Caribbean	8	B	B
Kwame 5	12	African	8	B	B
Yusuf 6	14	African	10	C	A

3.5.4.3 School information

IPA researchers generally seek a fairly homogenous sample which allows the differences and similarities between the participants' experiences to be identified (Smith et al., 2009). Therefore, I chose to select schools from local authorities in the same locality of London which both had areas of high and low deprivation. I selected schools whose largest ethnic group was not white. All the schools had exclusion policies and procedures which were in line with the DfE's statutory guidance on exclusion.

Contextual information about the schools which the participants attended was obtained from their latest Ofsted inspection reports and is detailed below:

Table 4 Contextual information about schools from Ofsted Reports

School	Local Authority (LA)	Size	Ethnic groups	Ofsted rating	Any mention of exclusion	Participants
A	A	Larger than the average secondary	Over 60%- Asian 10%- White	Outstanding in all areas	(No information on exclusions)	Jamal
B	B	Larger than the average	Over half Black Less than a	Outstanding in all areas	Those at risk of exclusion received	Taysha un Prince

3.5.4.3 School information

		secondary	10%- white		school support	Dwayne Kwame
C	A	Smaller than the average secondary	Largest ethnic group from an Asian background	Good in all areas	The exclusion levels had reduced significantly due to a greater level of support for those at risk	Yusuf

School B ran an intervention programme for students at risk of exclusion attended by Prince and Dwayne.

3.5.5 Data collection

For this research I interviewed each participant once for up to one hour in a quiet room on the school premises. I felt that participants would be able to talk though their experiences of exclusion and reintegration within the one interview.

I decided to conduct semi-structured, one-to-one interviews for my data collection method which is often used in IPA research (Smith et al., 2009). I chose to use semi structured interviews as this method allows rich data to be collected and the participant is able to talk in depth about their experiences and tell their stories in depth (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). Probing questions and prompts are used to elicit

more detailed accounts from the participants (Starks & Trinidad, 2007) which I factored into the interview schedule as it encouraged participants to give more detailed answers. Using a semi-structured interview schedule rather than an un-structured interview, allowed me to guide the topic of the interview towards the research question whilst still giving the participants the opportunity talk about what was important to them as I felt the participants may require a greater structure to talk than when IPA is used with adults. I used a "scene setting" (Smith et al., 2009, p. 61) question to begin the interviews which was in line with Smith et al.'s (2009) suggestion. This involves asking a question about a concrete situation and it helps participants to talk about a situation in detail before asking more abstract questions about how they experienced the situation. This approach allowed me to pick out particular words or phrases they used in order to find out more about how the participants experienced that event.

In IPA research there is not an expectation to stick rigidly to the interview schedule, but instead to follow the participant's lead (Smith et al., 2009). In this research, the interview schedule (see appendix M for revised interview schedule) consisted of five open ended questions and potential prompts designed to elicit the participant's experiences of exclusion and reintegration. I found that participants interpreted the questions differently depending on what they felt was important to their experiences and having only five questions meant I could let the participants dictate what was spoken about in the interviews. (Smith & Osborn, 2003) recognises that some participant groups, such as children, needed more prompting to answer questions more fully than others. This was the case in this research where I found I needed to ask more questions to encourage the pupils to talk about their experiences. In order to

build rapport with the participants, I spoke more which encouraged them to speak. However, it is normally suggested that the researcher speaks very little (Smith et al., 2009). I found that the participants sometimes talked through their experiences quite quickly and without depth so I spoke to acknowledge I had heard what they said and to prompt them to speak more about certain aspects of their experiences in greater depth. The shortest interview was 33 minutes and the longest was 57 minutes.

The interviews were recorded on a digital audio recorder and then sent to a professional transcription company called 'fingertips typing' to be transcribed verbatim. I then listened to each interview and ensured that the transcription was accurate. There were some aspects of the interviews which had been incorrectly transcribed so I corrected these mistakes. I decided to audio record rather than video record interviews because IPA is mainly concerned with the content of what someone is saying rather than their body language (Smith et al., 2009).

3.5.6 Data Analysis

The analysis process in IPA research, requires the researcher to move through different stages of analysis which begins with descriptive analysis and progresses to interpretive analysis (Smith et al., 2009). Each interview is analysed in depth to start with and the individual experiences of each participant is looked at in depth before the researcher looks across all the interviews for commonalities and differences (Smith et al., 2009). The transcripts are put within a table with three columns the middle column containing the transcript, the right hand column containing the exploratory comments and the left hand column containing the emergent themes.

The first stage of analysis involved reading the interview transcripts a number of times and familiarising with the data (Smith et al., 2009). Any initial thoughts about what could potentially come out of the analysis were attempted to be bracketed off by written thoughts in a diary (see appendix N for example) so that transcripts could be read without looking for connections and themes, (Smith et al., 2009). Smith (2009) recommends reading through the transcript and listening to the interview during the first reading which I did and it gave the words the participants used more depth as I could hear the emphasis they put into their words and made it easier to engage with the data in the subsequent readings of the transcript.

The second stage contained three levels of examining the language participants used in the interviews. I wrote the exploratory comments which were generated at this stage in the third column (see appendix O for example). The comments I made at this stage were 'descriptive', 'linguistic' and 'conceptual' (Smith et al., 2009, p. 84) in line with Smith's (2009) suggestions and they were colour coded. The descriptive comments were describing what was salient to the participant and the meaning behind what the participant has said. The linguistic comments referred to the way the participants used language and the meaning behind that. This included looking at pronouns used, pauses and repetition in the transcript. Smith (2009) also highlights the importance of noting metaphors at this level of the analysis. At the third level, conceptual comments were made which involved interpreting the participant's words. At this level, Smith (2009) highlights the usefulness of the researcher drawing on their own experiences and knowledge to inform their interpretation of the transcript and moving from purely describing what the participant is saying to forming a deeper understanding of the meaning behind their words and the world that they live in.

Engaging in the transcripts at this level involved conceptual questions whereby I formed questions about the implications of the participant's words to the way they make sense of their experiences. Smith (2009) also suggests reading the transcripts sentence by sentence backwards in order to de-contextualise the participant's words which is a technique I used for longer sections of the transcript. The idea of free associating from the participant's transcripts by writing what I thought about when I read their words (Smith et al., 2009) was one method I used to aid this level of analysis.

The third stage involved the creation of emergent themes. The themes were written in the first column of the table and were less closely based on the participant's words than in the second stage (Smith et al., 2009) (see appendix O for example). At this stage I wrote short phrases which encapsulated the important comments that were detailed in the exploratory comments (Smith et al., 2009). If the exploratory comments reflect the participant's words closely enough then the emergent themes should reflect the researcher's interpretations and the participant's words (Smith et al., 2009).

The fourth stage required links between the emergent themes to be looked for. Some of the emergent themes were not included into this stage. The most important and interesting themes were drawn out at this stage (Smith et al., 2009). Smith (2009) suggests different ways in which this stage can be achieved and I chose to use abstraction, subsumption and polarisation. The emergent themes were cut out and placed on the floor. Abstraction allowed super-ordinate themes to be created by grouping emergent themes, which are similar, together and forming a new title for the

super-ordinate theme (See appendix P for super-ordinate themes linked to emergent themes and transcript extracts). Subsumption, again involved grouping similar emergent themes together and using an existing name of one of the emergent themes to categorise the super-ordinate theme. Polarisation involved the looking for emergent themes which represent opposite relationships.

The fifth stage involved repeating stages one to four with the other transcripts (Smith et al., 2009). Smith et al. (2009) recognises that the researcher is likely to be influenced by what they have read in the previous transcripts, but the recommendation is to bracket off the knowledge learnt from previous transcripts as much as possible. This is in keeping with the ideographic stance of IPA and ensures that each participant's experiences are valued individually(Smith et al., 2009).

The sixth step was to find connections across all the cases and see which themes stood out to create a master table of themes (Smith et al., 2009) (see table 11 for master themes). The differences between the participants' experiences were also highlighted at this stage alongside the similarities between cases (Smith et al., 2009). Some themes were re-labelled at this point (Smith et al., 2009).

3.6 Quality of research

To ensure that this research is high quality I have used Yardley's (2008) criteria for assessing the quality of qualitative research. Four areas can be used to assess qualitative research: sensitivity to context, commitment and rigour, transparency and coherence and impact and importance.

Sensitivity to context can relate to a number of factors in the research (Yardley, 2008). In this research I have demonstrated sensitivity to context by taking account of the socio-cultural context that this research is conducted in (Yardley, 2008). In the literature review I have presented research which is relevant to this area of research. I have also written about the local context in the introduction in order to be sensitive to the context in which the participants in this research are situated and also demonstrated sensivitivty to context by changing the focus of the research (Shinebourne, 2011; Smith et al., 2009). Furthermore, in the interview process I was aware of the power dynamic created on many different levels, such as the fact that I was a researcher and they were pupils and the fact that I was older in age than them (Smith et al., 2009). To address this power imbalance I told participants that there were no right or wrong answers and that they were not obliged to take part. I told participants that I was also a student in order to help them to see me in less of an authoritative position. I also made sure I sat on the same type of chairs as my participants. In one school I sat on an office chair so the participants were also offered an office chair to sit on which lessened the power dynamic.

To ensure commitment and rigour in this research a number of steps were taken. Commitment is evident in this research as I persisted in trying to find participants who met the criteria for research even when this proved difficult (Shinebourne, 2011). Participants were carefully selected based on being at high risk of exclusion and therefore able to provide an insight into the lived experience of this phenomena that other groups of participants may not have been able to. Schools were phoned a number of times and emails were sent a number of times to gain contact with the correct people in the schools. The interview process demonstrated commitment and

rigour as I engaged with the participants', narratives and asked questions which would elicit more detailed responses from participants leading to richer data. The analysis process carried out was in depth and detailed as described above demonstrating rigour (see appendix O for example of analysis). Furthermore, the use of research supervision ensured commitment and rigour in the research process. Examples of the coding practice was brought to supervision to ensure they were verifiable.

Transparency and coherence is demonstrated in this research, in the methodology section. I have detailed how the participants were recruited and selected and why they were chosen, demonstrating transparency (Yardley, 2008). I have also given a step by step account of how I analysed the interviews and how I conducted the interviews with examples of the analysis and bracketed off themes from my research diary in appendix N. In the next section, coherence is demonstrated in the way the themes are presented and the way contradictions in the transcripts are presented. In the analysis process it is not necessary to obtain inter-rater reliability, to look for coherence as Yardley (2008) acknowledges that in analysis which uses an interpretive approach, inter-rater reliability is unlikely to be in keeping with the researcher's world view. In this research, this is the case as the critical realist position would argue that the world is known to people through their own subjective mindset based on their past experiences, therefore it is not possible to obtain the objective truth through human perception, making inter-rater reliability a futile endeavour. This being the case, it is important for me to demonstrate reflexivity by detailing some of the ways in which my interpretation of the participants' words may be biased.

3.7 Disclosure of investigator's biases

In the interest of researcher transparency I will outline the factors which may have influenced my approach to this topic. I have worked in secondary schools in London prior to obtaining a place on the Educational Psychology course and noticed that black pupils were disproportionately represented in the lowest academic sets and were excluded from school at a high rate. Being of both African and African-Caribbean heritage, I was concerned with the high rate of exclusions of black boys in England.

Yardley (2008) suggests that the research should be able to demonstrate its impact and importance. This research is needed as both policies and research thus far have failed to address the issue of black boys being excluded at a crucial time in their academic lives. Their secondary school years will have a significant impact on their success in their GCSE examination and implications for the trajectory of their lives including future careers. There is a need to move towards a greater understanding of the lived experience of reintegration for black boys as their voices have been missing from the literature on this topic. Policy makers and professionals need to see the human cost of decisions to exclude pupils in order to facilitate future decision making that is informed by the needs of this demographic. An important part of this is to understand how these individuals make sense of their situations.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The Tavistock Research Ethics Committee [TREC] granted approval for this research (see appendix Q) and the research was carried out according to this approval. I also obtained permission from participants' schools and parents.

I ensured that the headteachers and parents gave informed consent and that the participants gave informed assent to take part in the research. Firstly, the headteacher's, permission to conduct my research in their secondary school was sought via written consent. The headteachers were contacted by telephone and email to inform them about what the research entailed for the school and to seek their permission for their students to take part. An information sheet was sent to them explaining the study in detail and they were asked to agree in writing for the research to take place (see appendix H). The school telephoned parents and sent letters to the parents of the oldest eight pupils who met the selection criteria. The parent information letter and parent consent form was posted to parents from the school along with the participant information letter and consent form (see appendix J and L). The envelopes were addressed to the parents so they could decide whether they agreed for their child to take part and whether or not to give their child the participant information letter and the assent form. Gaining permission in this manner meant that potential participants were not made known to me before consent was obtained and all contact with parents and pupils was initially made by the school. This is in line with the General Data Protection Regulation (European Union, 2018) which does not allow people's information to be shared with other agencies without the individual's consent.

I talked through what is written on the information sheet with the pupil before the interviews and checked that they still wanted to take part before I began the interview. This meant that if a pupil had found reading difficult, they were still made fully aware of what the study involved and could give informed assent. In the

information letter, I explained that they were free to end the interview at any time and could choose not to answer any questions they did not want to answer and they could withdraw their data up until the interviews had been transcribed. I informed participants before the interview that in the event they disclosed something which was a safeguarding matter then I would follow the safeguarding procedures and tell a safeguarding officer at the school. I decided that if I saw any signs of the participant becoming emotionally distressed I would explore this with them at the time and make a judgement whether to stop the interview immediately.

This research required participants to talk about their experiences of exclusion as well as reintegration which could have been distressing. In everyday life participants may not talk about these experiences regularly so 10 minutes at the end of the interviews were allocated for debriefing to explore their emotional responses. I also kept at least half an hour free between meetings just in case additional time was required to talk though any concerns and talk to a safeguarding officer. I debriefed participants after the interview by asking how they found the interview and if they felt they needed more support to process any of the issues explored. In the letter to pupils I also signposted participants to relevant services they could contact for more help if they felt they needed it (see appendix L). These services were also included in the letter sent to parents (see appendix J). I advised pupils that a school counsellor or member of staff in a similar role (who is based on site) is likely to be the most readily accessible source of support. The school's link EP is from an outside agency which I signposted to for further support. Pupils were advised that support for more serious distress could be sought from other outside agencies such as the Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service (CAMHS), Childline and Mind helpline. Pupils were also

advised to seek further support from their parents or guardians or school staff if they felt distressed later on. This advice was given in the letter to pupils and in debriefing. One pupil asked for help managing his anger after the interview and was signposted to a relevant member of staff who I spoke to after the interview with the pupil's consent. He felt that some of the situations he had witnessed in his neighbourhood growing up had made him feel angry. It was interesting that he did not come across as angry although just before the interview he told me about a minor incident he had just been involved in that he did not want to talk about during the interview. He came across as calm and slow to anger in the interview but did describe situations where he had become angry in the past.

Parents and school staff were advised to seek professional help for a pupil in their care if they had any concerns about a pupil's mental wellbeing. For this reason relevant sources of support were included in the letter to parents so that they could access help. Both parents and school staff were signposted to CAMHS and the Educational Psychology Service in the information sheet (see appendix H for headteacher information sheet and appendix J For parent information sheet). Parents were also signposted to Young Minds parent helpline in the information sheet (see appendix J for parent information sheet).

To ensure confidentiality and anonymity, I did not discuss what individual pupils said to anyone else. I have removed any information which would make these pupils identifiable from the thesis such as the names of boroughs that the schools were located in. I have changed the names of the schools, PRUs, APs, pupils, teachers and participants in the transcripts and thesis to minimise the risk of participants being

identified. One participant asked for the details of two incidents which took place to be removed as he was worried this would make his peers identifiable, therefore the details for these incidents were removed.

The information sheets to parents and pupils explained that the pupils' information and audio recordings would be kept secure and in line with legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy in the storage and handling of the confidential information. The audio recordings were transcribed by Fingertips Typing which used a secure, encrypted file transfer service and complied with legal requirements in data handling.

4 FINDINGS

4.1 Chapter overview

This chapter will present the findings from the IPA of the six participants' interviews. These interviews were analysed to answer the following research questions:

1. How do black boys experience exclusion and reintegration in mainstream secondary school?

2. What is perceived by black boys to help them reintegrate into school and what is perceived to be difficult about the process?

This chapter will begin by summarising the findings for each individual participant and detailing some contextual information about each participant including how they responded to being interviewed. A summary of the six overarching themes will then be presented followed by a conclusion of the findings.

The six overarching themes are as follows:

- Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers

- Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them

- Personal impact of different forms of exclusion

- Forms of exclusion

- Role of significant people

- Inclusive environments

4.2 Summary of individual participants' findings

This section will detail the superordinate themes and emergent themes related to each participant. The participants, ages, year groups and ethnicity will be detailed as well as information they shared about their exclusions. Participants are presented in the order of interview.

4.2.1 Jamal

Table 5 Overarching corresponding superordinate themes for Jamal

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers	Normality and difference of return to school Teachers' mainly negative role Being a teacher's target
Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them	Mentality and approach for coping in school
Personal impact of different forms of exclusion	Initial fear then unbothered and relaxed during exclusion at home Suddenness of exclusions
Forms of exclusion	Exclusion and respite at PRU, a positive experience
Role of significant people	Parents' reactions to exclusion
Inclusive environments	Exclusion and respite at PRU, a positive experience

I interviewed Jamal on his first day back at school following the 2 week 'respite' at the PRU, he had just attended his morning lessons and his lunch break had finished. When Jamal came to meet me in the reception for the rescheduled interview, a teacher shouted his name from behind the reception desk and in an accusatory tone questioned what he was doing in reception. He explained he was with me and the teacher then nodded and smiled at me. This gave me an insight into what he meant when he talked about how he felt his actions were viewed with suspicion from teachers.

Jamal had appeared nervous when I met him for the first time at our pre-interview visit before his 'respite' at the PRU. He was tall but sat in the chair hunched over making himself small, clutching his coat and keeping his bag on his back. He nodded emphatically as I explained who I was and about the study, but he said very little. On the day of the interview he appeared less nervous and put his bag and coat down. As the interview progressed, he fiddled less with a piece of paper in his hand. He repeatedly expressed confusion about his removal from school for 'respite' and talked about one specific teacher that he was regularly in trouble with being the cause of his most recent referral to the PRU.

Jamal said that he was permanently excluded from school because a teacher found a knife which an older pupil had put in his bag. The reasoning behind the decision to refer him to the PRU the second time, appeared less clear. According to Jamal, he did not go to detentions if he thought they were unjust which would result in him being

set more detentions which he also did not attend, therefore the accumulation of these detentions contributed to the decision to send him on 'respite'. However, a recent minor incident at school was the main catalyst for the decision for 'respite' and this incident is detailed in the findings.

4.2.2 Tayshaun

Table 6 Overarching corresponding superordinate themes for Tayshaun

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers	Teachers' mainly negative role
Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them	Avoiding the negative perceptions of others
Personal impact of different forms of exclusion	Exclusions from school and Youth Club
Forms of exclusion	Exclusions from school and Youth Club
Role of significant people	Parents' distress as motivation to avoid exclusion
Inclusive environments	Belonging in friendship groups Betrayal and importance of loyalty

Tayshaun had been excluded nine months prior to the interview on two occasions in the same month. One exclusion was for one week due to an incident outside of school and the other exclusion was for three days for an incident inside school. Tayshaun

wore a Nike glove on one hand which he fiddled with during the interview. He spoke slowly in a very quiet voice with a low monotone quality. He looked down as he spoke and rarely gave eye contact. There were often long pauses in this interview as he appeared to stop short after answering a question or think carefully before responding. I initially thought Tayshaun was nervous or shy but his presentation did not change much during the 47 minute long interview. Tayshaun was articulate and rarely stumbled over his words, but was hesitant to talk about certain scenarios and would make statements like, "*It's not really my place to say what they do right now*" (2:69-70) in relation to his friends and often spoke about the importance of trust and not "snitching". During the debriefing, he asked me to take out two of the stories he'd given, as he was afraid it would have negative implications for his friends. He was aware that the interviews would be anonymised and pseudonyms used, but this did not reassure him in this regard. Given that both his exclusions were as a result of people he trusted "snitching" on him (on one occasion he suggested it was unfounded) it is not surprising he wanted to be careful of what he said. Tayshaun's main friendship group had all either been permanently excluded from the school or had left, giving him a greater sense of being targeted. He said he mainly kept to himself at school now. Two events occurred during the interview which may have made him less inclined to tell me everything. Eight minutes into the interview a male member of staff can be heard in the corridor, directly outside the door of our room, shouting at some students about their behaviour which continues for thirteen minutes. This was distracting for me and may have brought up negative emotions for him making the interview feel less safe. On another occasion near the end of the interview a boy knocked on the door and asked for the behaviour support teacher and I had to

tell him to return at break time. After the interview Tayshaun was keen to suggest a

school for me to approach as he felt I would find more participants there.

4.2.3 Prince

Table 7 Overarching corresponding superordinate themes for Prince

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers	Return to normality of school Relationship with teachers positive and negative
Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them	Avoiding the negative perceptions of others
Personal impact of different forms of exclusion	Impact of exclusion on self Injustice of exclusion
Forms of exclusion	Exclusion in the form of prison, postcode battles and removal from class
Role of significant people	Impact of exclusion on family
Inclusive environments	Positive role of peers Supportive intervention

Prince was excluded twice in the summer term of the previous academic year. His

first exclusion was an internal exclusion for four days for an incident inside school.

The second exclusion was a one day external exclusion which occurred straight

afterwards for an incident outside of school. Prince appeared to classify both as

exclusions. Prince came across as fairly quiet and I found that I needed to prompt him

more often in order to gain more detailed answers. I asked him a series of follow up questions in order to gain a clearer picture of events. Prince's older brother had recently come out of prison when I interviewed him and Prince did not find out about this until his friend told him he had seen him on television. Another one of Prince's friends had also been excluded and had then been seen in the back of a police van. These experiences for Prince seemed pertinent to his life decisions.

4.2.4 Dwayne

Table 8 Overarching corresponding superordinate themes for Dwayne

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers	Return to normality of school Relationship with teachers positive and negative
Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them	Avoiding the negative perceptions of others Celebrating self-identity
Personal impact of different forms of exclusion	Personal impact of exclusion
Forms of exclusion	Displacement and isolation from collective and from activity Products of their environment
Role of significant people	Influence of significant people
Inclusive environments	Inclusive situations in school, family and society

Dwayne had been externally excluded for a day or two in Year 7 and had received an internal exclusion for a week in the same year. Dwayne came across as confident and personable when I met him. He walked into the room with a quick stride and with his hand outstretched to greet me. He smiled and introduced himself and appeared keen to talk, which was evident as the interview lasted 57 minutes. He added humour into his narrative and seemed to feel comfortable talking about his identity as a black person. Dwayne was essentially homeless when I met him; he and his younger sister were temporarily living with an aunty. It is unclear if his mother was also living with them. His mother deemed the one room, with shared bathroom and kitchen facilities the council had assigned them, to be inadequate for the family of three to stay in. When I interviewed him he said he was not looking forward to spending Christmas homeless. Dwayne's experiences of homelessness appeared to tie in with his experiences of exclusion. Dwayne's father had died in 2012 and this was the only topic of conversation which I sensed he did not want to talk about in depth.

4.2.5 Kwame

Table 9 Overarching corresponding superordinate themes for Kwame

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers	Normality and ambivalent feelings about school
Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them	Improvements in self, school environment
Personal impact of different forms of	Exclusion rumination after sudden

exclusion	exclusion
Forms of exclusion	Environment taking innocence and inducing anger
Role of significant people	Mother's concern, punishment and intervention
Inclusive environments	Connection with peers and mentor

In the previous academic year, Kwame, was externally excluded for one day and then internally excluded for the same incident which had occurred inside school. Kwame came across as confident when he met me and talked with ease throughout the interview. He fidgeted in his seat as he answered, but this appeared to be his normal disposition. When I asked Kwame if there was anything I hadn't asked which he wanted to share, he was the only interviewee to say "yes" as he wanted to talk about his background. He explained how he had unintentionally assisted a drug dealer when he was younger.

4.2.6 Yusuf

Table 10 Overarching corresponding superordinate themes for Yusuf

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers	Return to normality of school Teachers' mainly negative role

Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them	Avoiding the negative perceptions of others Previously identifying as bad
Personal impact of different forms of exclusion	Schools rejecting and excluding Yusuf Unconcerned by exclusion
Forms of exclusion	AP chaos and support
Role of significant people	Mother's protest, support, concern, distrust, and disappointment
Inclusive environments	Problematic and welcoming peers

Yusuf appeared quite nervous during the interview. He spoke very quietly and quickly which made it difficult for me to understand him. Yusuf and his brother had experienced arrests in the past and it is wondered whether being interviewed perhaps brought back memories and so explains his presentation. Yusuf had been excluded from a different school in Year 7 and was asked to attend the AP. His mother refused; so she was given the choice of a permanent exclusion at the PRU or the AP. She refused both and chose to send him to his existing school. Yusuf had been internally excluded for half a day and then externally excluded for two days when he was in Year 8 for an incident inside of school. Yusuf returned to school for two weeks before being sent to the AP for two months. His present school attempted to extend the exclusion until the end of term in the hope that he would find a new school to attend.

4.3 Summary of overarching themes

The six overarching themes generated from the analysis are recorded in table 11 below. The superordinate themes which make up the overarching themes are listed

next to each overarching theme alongside the interview number which the
superordinate themes were drawn from.

Table 11 Overarching themes and corresponding superordinate themes for all
participants

Overarching themes	Superordinate themes
Pupils' positive and negative Relationship with schools and teachers	Being a teacher's target 1

Teachers' mainly negative role 1, 2, 5 & 6

Relationship with teachers positive and negative 3&4

Return to normality of school 3, 4& 6

Normality and ambivalent feelings about school 5

Normality and difference in return to school 1 |
| Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them | Avoiding the negative perceptions of others 2,3,4&6

Improvements in self, school & environment 5

Mentality and approach for coping in school 1

Previously identifying as bad 6

Celebrating self-identity 4 |
| Personal impact of different forms of exclusion | Initial fear then unconcerned and relaxed during exclusion at home 1

Unconcerned by exclusion 6

Exclusions from school and Youth Club 2

Personal impact of exclusion 4

Impact of exclusion on self 3

Suddenness of exclusions 1 |

	Exclusion rumination after sudden exclusion 5
	Schools rejecting and excluding 6
	Injustice of exclusion 3
Forms of exclusion	Exclusion and respite at PRU a positive experience 1
	Exclusion in the form of prison, postcode battles and removal from class 3
	Products of their environment 4
	Environment taking innocence and inducing anger 5
	AP chaos and support 6
	Displacement and isolation from collective and from activity 4
	Exclusions from school and Youth Club 2
Role of significant people	Parents' distress as motivation to avoid exclusion 2
	Parents' reactions to exclusion 1
	Mother's protest, support, concern, distrust and disappointment 6
	Mother's concern, punishment and intervention 5
	Influence of significant people 4
	Impact of exclusion on family 3
Inclusive environments	Inclusive situations in school, family and society 4
	Supportive intervention 3
	Positive role of Peers 3
	Belonging in friendship groups 2
	Betrayal and importance of loyalty 2

	Connection with peers and mentor 5
	Problematic and welcoming peers 6
	Exclusion and respite at PRU a positive experience 1

Key

1 Jamal

2 Tayshaun

3 Prince

4 Dwayne

5 Kwame

6 Yusuf

The overarching themes are common to all six interviews. There are nuances in the experiences of each individual participant in relation to each overarching theme and I will highlight the commonalities and differences in the participants' accounts throughout this section. Furthermore, there are strong links between overarching themes therefore there are two superordinate themes which were each applicable to two overarching themes. Jamal's superordinate theme of 'Exclusion and respite at PRU a positive experience' related to the overarching themes 'Forms of exclusion' and 'Role of inclusive environments'. Tayshaun's superordinate theme of 'Exclusions from school and Youth Club' related to the overarching themes 'Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them' and 'Personal impact of different forms of exclusion'.

The following typographic representations are used in quotes from participants' interviews

- Verbatim quotes from participants are in *Italics*

- The referencing style for quotes is (interview number: line number)

- The stand-alone ellipsis "…" denote a pause in speech

- Where quotations have been cut ellipsis in square brackets "[…]" are used

- Additional information and non-linguistic sounds are denoted by "[]" for example [kisses teeth]

4.4 Pupils' positive and negative relationships with schools and teachers

All participants talked about the relationship between themselves, the schools they were in and particularly the teachers.

The relationship between teachers and pupils were often spoken about by participants and none of the participants described the relationship between themselves and teachers as entirely positive.

4.4.1 Being a teacher's target 1

Jamal described his relationship with teachers in mainly negative terms and his relationship with one particular teacher featured in a large part of the interview. He said,

"*I'll turn around and she's asking me, "what are you doing?", it's like, she targets me…and she watches me for every movement…just to get me in trouble*" (1:525-528)

It might be argued that Jamal's portrayal of being a target suggests he is subjected to more negative attention than those around him. The image of his every movement being 'watched' might lend itself to the idea of surveillance being specifically

focused on him in that he had alluded to an accusatory tone to the questioning to which he had been subjected.

Jamal explains further how being watched and targeted results in punishment.

"*I finished my work here on time, I finished my work…and then, she came up to me, and then I was doodling in my book…'cause I finished and that…I didn't even speak to the teacher…so once I finished my work, I literally was like, do something or if I'm bored, I'll just doodle…so I finished all my work now and I'm doodling…she come up and she was like, 'oh, that's graffitiing, I'm telling your Head of Year*" (1:539-541)

He repeatedly says he had finished his work as if to emphasise the positive behaviour which was not reinforced by the teacher. It could appear that "doodling" becomes racialised as "graffitiing" in the teacher's mind. In another example Jamal recounts how he was publicly humiliated and rejected:

"*she said in front of the whole class, like, 'I don't like students like you*'" (1:545-546). The image of the "whole" class witnessing this appears to add to Jamal's feeling of humiliation.

4.4.2 Teachers' mainly negative role 1, 2, 5 & 6

Jamal's experience is mirrored in Tayshaun and Yusuf's experiences. According to Yusuf:

"*Miss Martin, I hated her so much. […] just looking at her used to p*** me off […] She done me so dirty it's like [kisses teeth].[…]Basically I sat next to a girl and then she said, and the girl's close to me and she said, oh, what you guys doing? and then I had a girlfriend at the same time so everyone just, the year, everyone in class told that girl and I got p***ed off*" (6:736-764)

Yusuf's anger at this experience is reiterated throughout his account, and the use of the word "dirty" may relate to a sense of his dignity being violated in the presence of his peers. In his account Yusuf initially uses the expression, "the year", as though he is about to refer to the whole year group and then says, "everyone in the class", which may reflect how public this event was perceived by him. The accusatory questioning

which both Yusuf and Jamal experienced, might communicate to them that they are

not trusted.

Below, Tayshaun gives an example of how he and his friends are perceived by

teachers:

"*they said it in a meeting, I was in a meeting and this, they was like, 'You and your friends are like some gang.' I said, 'No, we're not, we're just friends*" (2:690-692)

It is surprising to Tayshaun that a member of the teaching profession would attribute

the word "gang" to him and his friends in a formal setting as suggested his reiteration

of the word meeting.

"*teachers like they just, they look at people [...] one person or two who would do something bad then they see the whole group as a gang. And then we always say it's not a gang, it's just friends that can trust...*" (2:310-315)

In his view if one or two people do something wrong everyone in the friendship

group is perceived as being part of the problem again communicating distrust. There

appears to be a racialised undertone to the teachers comment as Tayshaun alludes to

when explaining why he felt that they were stereotyped in such terms;

"*It's probably just I don't know, they were all Black, one was mixed race and we just had like bad behaviour*" (2:687-688)

"*It was kind of like irritating. It was, I don't want to say racist but like, erm*" (2:716-717)

Tayshaun does not explicitly label the teacher's behaviour as "racist" which may be

because of the strength of the word. He then appears to internalise the perception of

himself and his friends as being associated with the bad behaviour rather than saying

that some of them behaved badly. This is similar to Yusuf's use of the word "dirty" as

though teachers' perceptions can become a self-fulfilling prophecy. I shall further

explore the role of other people's perceptions in the overarching theme of 'Self-

identity and managing adults' perceptions of them'.

Following his friendship group leaving or being excluded over the years, Tayshaun commented;

"*They always just kept trying their hardest just to kick us all out. Like, you do one thing, like say you get sent out of class and a teacher sees you, like one of those people, they'll be like oh there's space in [school with a SEMH unit] for you too...*" (2:316-320)

He went on to say he felt black pupils were excluded more often;

"*[school], mostly, Black people get excluded more than White. 100%...*" (2:722-723)

From his perspective, the aim of the school was to exclude them all for minor infractions of the school rules with a clear message that they belong elsewhere. He appears to have a sense that the school plans to 'kick' him out and place him amongst his permanently excluded friends.

Kwame describes how he feels as he has to meet various people's differing expectations of him:

"*Like the expectation that that people have set for me like what you're meant to do and stuff like that and you have like voices all in your head telling you what to do and some of them, you can have like different opinions and different insights. But you have to do whatever is best to make everyone happy*" (5:767-772)

It is arguable that Kwame's experience of multiple voices giving him instructions equates with the level of confusion attached to him having multiple perspectives on what he should do to meet different people's expectations of him.

Jamal's concern regarding his negative experiences with one teacher appears to apply to the role of most teachers.

"*Like, it's not…it's not a thing where I hate the school, you get some nice teachers…but, yeah, most of them are just annoying…so I don't even wanna like…sometimes, I don't wanna be here but gotta come anyways...*" (1:229-233)

4.4.3 Relationship with teachers positive and negative 3&4

Prince and Dwayne's relationships with their teachers all had positive and negative elements. According to Prince;

"*...some of them we barely speak. It's like two or three of them. It seems like we dislike each other...*" (3:332-333)

Princes' use of the phrase "it seems like" suggests he is unsure if there is a mutual dislike although he is sure that the there is a lack of communication with a few teachers.

In the following statement, Prince describes a situation in which the teacher appears to make an effort to have a positive relationship with the students.

"*the teacher like she will make a little joke and then you will just do the work and stuff...*" (3:398-401)

In this scenario, the teacher positively reinforces the efforts of the whole class. Prince uses the first person pronouns 'I' or 'we' when speaking about the negative aspects of the relationship, and the second person pronoun 'you' when talking about the positive aspects. This suggests a slight removal from the positive relational experience with teachers and a closer affiliation with the more negative aspects of the relationship with teachers.

Dwayne talks about both the positive and negative aspects of his relationship with his teacher's by saying,

"*I was good with everyone, but some teachers...[kisses teeth] obviously you're not gonna like, you're not gonna like everyone and not everyone is gonna like you. I didn't like all my teachers, yeah*" (4:129-132)

Dwayne valued a male teacher providing a positive narrative about the trajectory of his life*;*

"with Mr Davis, we used to talk about, like, 'cause I was, I was ge[tt]ing in trouble, he was telling me that I only have one path and it's a good one, talking about stuff like that" (4:142-145)

On the other hand, Dwayne, recounts how some teachers regularly punished him even when he was doing what he was supposed to do. This is similar to the way in which Jamal talks about having finished his work and still getting into trouble.

"*I do something, I do it right, I still get in trouble […], annoying, antagonising*" (4:150-154)

Dwayne refers to teachers' behaviour as antagonistic as there is a sense that some teachers' constant negative view of his behaviour is irritating.

4.4.4 Return to normality of school 3, 4& 6

The return to school was characterised by a sense that the participants described that nothing had really changed in terms of the institution and teachers' perceptions of them.

The concept of returning to normal was present in five of the six interviews: Prince, Dwayne, Yusuf, Jamal and Kwame. The theme 'Return to normality of school' formed a single theme for Prince, Dwayne and Yusuf. Kwame's return to normality needs to be viewed in relation to his ambivalent feelings about school and Jamal's return to normality needs to be viewed in relation to his unique circumstances. Tayshaun did not explicitly say that school was the same on his return, but when he was asked about school he talked about changes in his approach to situations rather than any differences in his environment.

Prince's response to being asked what it was like to return to school was:

"It just went back to normal..." (3:327)

This suggests that he returned to a sense of normality.

When Dwayne was asked, what happened when he returned to school he answered:

"Nothing really, I don't… I just went back into lessons and did my work..." (4:167-168)

Dwayne was in the top set in all but one subject and for him, normality in school was to be working.

When asked again what school was like for him on his return he reiterated that there was no difference.

"Same. it wasn't that deep..." (4:259)

The idea that the return was not 'deep' is a vernacular term which conveys the significance of something. Dwayne is therefore suggesting that the return to school was insignificant to him.

Yusuf also described his return to peers as normal.

"*everyone was just pretty normal*" (6:565)

Yusuf expands on the idea of returning to the same situation by suggesting that the expectation from teachers is for him to change and yet he feels that they do not change in the way they treat him.

"... [I]Said, I'm a new improved student..." (6:312)

"...And I came up from [AP], that's when they like, I said sorry to every teacher, they all treated me the same as I was in year eight..." (6:486-488)

Despite Yusuf's insistence that he had improved and apology there is a sense that the teachers' reactions towards him are the same as before the exclusion as though they do not expect a change.

The teachers' expectations of Yusuf's behaviour is an idea which is developed further in Jamal's interview as he suggests that the teachers form and hold on to a fixed negative view of him.

"Once you…once you get in, like, things with the teacher, they don't want you to change...Yeah, they'll always remember it..." (1:1020-1025)

In saying that the teachers don't want him to change, he appears to have made a mistake as it would make more sense for the teachers to want him to change if they constantly thought he needed reprimanding. However, his comment may highlight the idea of teachers seeking their view of him to be confirmed by his behaviour.

4.4.5 Normality and ambivalent feelings about school 5

Kwame expressed that the return to school was a return to normality and his experience of normality at school was both positive and negative. When Kwame was asked about what his relationships with teachers had been like since he had returned to school, he said;

"... Nothing much has changed. It's just that, it's just that they know that my behaviour is good it's just that sometimes they call me up for like talking" (5:439-441)

"... I do feel bad like getting called out in the class…" (5:406-407)

Kwame suggests that the teachers are aware of his good behaviour, but they focus on him when he is talking in class, leaving his good behaviour visible but unacknowledged. The image of being called up or called out suggests he is made to feel publicly shamed in front of the class in a similar way to Jamal and Yusuf. For Kwame the teachers' behaviour towards him was the same before and after the exclusion.

4.4.6 Normality and difference in return to school 1

Jamal's return to school is different to most of the participants in that he transferred to secondary school after spending Year 7 in the PRU. When asked about the relationship between himself and teachers at his current school before the 'respite' at the PRU, he said;

"Erm, no difference, it was just like normal every day..." (1:216)

When talking about his relationship with one teacher he said;

"even today, like, in the lesson, she gives little petty things" (1:524-525)

This suggests that his relationships with teachers have so far remained the same.

Jamal expressed difficulty in adjusting to the mainstream setting again.

"Erm, when I first came out here, it was...it felt weird, like, even...even coming back today, like, it feels...it feels weird...like, in there, in...in [PRU], there's like, three, four people in my class, this class, you have, like, thirty people in one class...so like, even I felt, like, it's just bare loud, as well. [PRU] is loud, yeah, but like, there's just more children. So, it's much different..." (1:356-364)

Jamal says he feels "weird" returning and suggests that the mainstream setting is very different particularly in terms of class sizes. Jamal almost has to remind himself that the PRU was also loud. It is as though loudness of the PRU is less disconcerting than the loudness of the School.

4.5 Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them

The self-identity of participants was often evolving and their view of themselves tended to coincide with the way they thought adults perceived them. This is evident in the overarching theme of 'relationships with school and teachers'. Participants reported a need to change society's and in particular their teachers' perceptions of them.

4.5.1 Avoiding the negative perceptions of others 2,3,4&6

Tayshaun, Prince, Dwayne and Yusuf's interviews all contained the superordinate theme "avoiding the negative perceptions of others". They spoke about changing their behaviour in order to be viewed differently by teachers and other members of society;

"...I just tried to like keep my mouth shut, do my own thing, just concentrate on my work and stuff..." (2:287-288)

"just stopping getting in trouble" (3:535)

"*I don't know. I just don't want to be excluded...*" (3:658)

"*Yeah just do the stuff...like the tasks that the teachers set us, no disruption, nothing...*" (3:464-466)

" Call out, sometimes make jokes, sometimes. I still do it now, yeah, but I don't do it as much, as to an extent where I get in trouble for it..." (4:122-124)

"...I'm getting a little bit of trouble but not as much as I was back then. Now I'm like... I'm probably doing more good than bad I would say..." (6:807-809)

Once participants had returned to school after the exclusions they avoided getting in trouble with teachers by ensuring their behaviour was in line with their teachers' expectations. It is curious that the word "trouble" is used in Prince, Dwayne and Yusuf's accounts. There appears to be an underlying fear in each participant that if they deviate from the teachers' standards, they could find themselves in "trouble" again. The decision to avoid the negative perceptions of others regardless of what their friends are doing comes through in Tayshaun and Dwayne's interviews;

"Do good in class. Pass my tests and stuff like that [...] Stay on my own, if that makes sense. Like I'll still hang around my friends but at the same time I'll mainly be alone and do my things first, like I'll put myself before everyone. And then once I've done my things then fine, I'll chill with my friends" (2:422-432)

"Like I don't follow other crowds. Yeah I, I, I will, don't get it twisted, I'm with my friends sometimes yeah, but if dese [these] man say, do something that is wrong and I know it's wrong I'm not going not do it, coz I don't follow..." (4:383-388)

In both cases there is a sense that they will maintain their friendships, but will prioritise avoiding the negative perceptions of others. In Tayshaun's case, he is referring to being in school and making sure he puts his work first and in Dwayne's example he is talking about being out with his friends in public.

Dwayne and Yusuf both talked about managing the negative perceptions of others in society. Dwayne talks about how he has avoided negative perceptions from the public in the past;

"we were on the bus and dese [these] man,…and this guy, Darnell, yeah, he's a joker, he started shouting on the bus and I was like and I just went downstairs..." (4:402-405)

He describes his friend as a 'joker' which is a vernacular term meaning someone being funny; so Dwayne already seems to be pre-empting that his friend's behaviour might be perceived negatively. This links with Tayshaun's statement about the teachers suggesting that he and his friends were like a "gang" because two of his black friends were doing something wrong. Dwayne goes on to explain what he and his friends do.

"*We just mess about and have a laugh. We don't do, like stupid stuff […] Stupid stuff as in stealing basically, yeah, we don't do that, we just…I don't even know how to explain it […] Like, we don't, we don't do, we don't do bad stuff like. We say we might just shout in the road, people might just get annoyed because because sometimes we walk together but these man might have an argument or a debate about something, and these might start shouting and getting angry about it*" (4:408-423)

Dwayne appears to be aware that walking together, having an argument or debate and shouting will be viewed negatively and they may be perceived to be the sort of people who steal. Dwayne felt they would be viewed as:

"*…vulgar, but Mr Jones was like, telling us that we can talk to each other quietly. And then sometimes we can talk to each other quietly and in a group, but we need to watch out for other people and other people the other people that are walking, pedestrians and stuff, simple. We don't want to do anything like to hurt anyone or anything...*" (4:431-437)

It was reported that a male teacher said that they should 'tone down' their expressiveness in public and it is significant that Dwayne felt the need to say that they had no intention of hurting anyone, in that he thought they are likely to be perceived in this way.

Yusuf comments on avoiding trouble following his exclusion and criminal conviction:

"I got a criminal record" (6:217)

"Yeah, erm... I stopped going out a lot, as well I'll stay home now just play games, play Play Station, do my homework...Stay out of trouble..." (6:645-649)

It is clear here that Yusuf sees staying at home as a way to avoid getting into trouble. This means he is perceived in a beneficial way by school, as his home work is done, by his mother as he is home on time and by society as he is not on the streets. Yusuf seems to equate going out with getting in trouble but it is unclear if this is because he feels society and potentially the police will view him negatively leading to him being in trouble or if he has taken on this negative identity and does not trust himself to stay out of trouble.

4.5.2 Improvements in self, school & environment 5

Kwame's superordinate theme of 'improvements in self, school and environment' is linked to his aim of self-improvement by 'avoiding the negative perceptions of others'. Kwame aims to move back up to silver on the school's behaviour system following his demotion from silver to bronze as a result of his exclusion. His teachers have said that the requirement to move to silver is to improve his homework. The theme of improving is also mentioned in relation to how he thinks the school should improve and how his environment has improved.

"Yeah, they told me to improve my homework, I tried like when I got excluded or like January time I was on 22 homework [unclear 00:20:16] and then at the end of the year I ended up only on 25 so like they told me not to like do too much stuff. They just told me to improve my homework overall and that's what I did..." (5:359-366)

In line with the teacher's direction, Kwame improved his homework. He reports that he is told what to do in order to obtain the teacher's approval and move up the behaviour chart.

According to Kwame, one of the improvements in his environment relates to his

cousins:

"some of my cousins they used to be like, they used to hang out with gangs but yeah since then they've improved. Like they've gone more into like producing stuff and try and make money..." (5:909-912)

Kwame may identify with the fact that his cousins have turned their lives around.

4.5.3 Mentality and approach for coping in school 1

Jamal adopts a different approach for managing people's negative perceptions. This

includes rejecting the label of "bad", speaking calmly or not at all when he is shouted

at and asking to be moved from one set to another. Although Jamal prefers the PRU

environment he does not want to obtain only three GCSEs which is what is on offer at

the PRU compared to 9 GCSEs in mainstream.

"I'm just here to do work...learn and leave, like..." (1:221-222)

"...now it's happening like...like me getting kicked out and that, you have to see the real world like, you have to know, like, I haven't, like you need GCSE's...can't be getting kicked out. Like, if I could get kicked out and still do my GCSE...I wouldn't mind that..." (1:1092-1097)

Jamal reflects on why it is better to remain in the mainstream school and avoid being

excluded. There is the notion that the PRU does not resemble the "real world" and he

needs to be in school to be prepared for the world at large. Jamal may well be

surmising that the comfortable environment of the PRU blinds him to the world's

challenges.

Jamal talks about what he does to avoid trouble whilst still silently protesting about

the way he is treated:

"Literally, like, the best thing to do...the thing that annoys the teacher, actually annoys her, is when...is when she'll just be standing there shouting at your face...and I'll just look at her. I won't say anything, I'll just look at her. 'cause I can't...when I argue, I get in trouble...so, I just stand there and I'll...I'll just look at her...and I

don't say anything and then she gets annoyed because, obviously, you can't get me in trouble for nothing…I haven't said anything…" (1:588-596)

Jamal does not like having the teacher shouting in his face and he attempts to manage the situation by not talking to the teacher at that time. This silent protest led to his two week 'respite' in the PRU when the Head of Year was called and he said:

"…you can never beat the teachers. Never…" (1:557-558).

Jamal's different approach may be due to his rejection of being labelled as "bad" inherent in the word "excluded":

"I'm not bad, it's just I get myself into little…arguments or like, little things like not going to detention and stuff. I don't think…I don't think I'm bad…" (1:634-637)

It is interesting that he initially actively rejects this label "*I'm not bad*" and justifies why he is not "bad" and then appears to question this statement and say "I don't think I'm bad" as though he is starting to doubt himself. Since Jamal had only just returned after being excluded, perhaps this self-questioning of identity is the beginning stage of a process the other participants may have already gone through. For example, they appear to have concluded that the problem lies with themselves and they must therefore avoid trouble by adhering to the rules and social norms more strictly.

4.5.4 Previously identifying as bad 6

Yusuf is of the opinion that he was "bad" and needed to change, especially in light of his criminal conviction:

"… I was some bad kid, [kisses teeth] [laughs] oh..." (6:179)

"…I used to think I was a little roadman going round the streets, but I thought I was bad…" (6:185-196)

A "roadman" is a vernacular term which depicts someone who fits the stereotype of a school drop-out committing crimes. Clearly, Yusuf refers to himself as being a "bad kid" in one quote and in another he says that he thought he was "bad". Thinking you

are bad is a vernacular term meaning a person who tries to act as though they are tough. When Yusuf kisses his teeth and laughs, he appears to be reminiscing like an older person would do about their past as if to emphasise how much his identify has changed and how he has grown up. It is as though he accepts the identity of being bad previously a tough image. He appears to assume that for him as a young black man, 'going round the streets' is suspicious or deviant behaviour.

4.5.5 Celebrating self-identity 4

Dwayne celebrates his black identity which he sees in sharp contrast to that of a white person in that he talks about his black identity in relation to his white and mixed-race family members who he claims are a lot richer than him and his black family members.

Dwayne appears to present his black family members in stark contrast to his white:

"But the white, like I think the white has brushed off on the black people in my mums family..." (4:852-854)

"the reason how like some of my family turned white, is because…" (4:864-865)

"But of course, they live a different lifestyle to us, coz they have um, everything they have is nice, but we, we have knowhow. My, my uncle calls it knowhow, coz we know how to clean, we're clean and we know how to clean and cook..." (4:882-887)

Dwayne's perception of the two families is presented in terms of the notion of assimilation and integration or indeed a clash of cultures. In essence, he appears to be suggesting that this could result in the ability to lose one's identity and the ability to be independent in light of racial mixing. Dwayne's strong opinions on the lifestyle he felt was afforded to "white people" compared to "black people", may have been heighted by his experiences of having rich "white family" members who were considerably richer than the "black family" members. Dwayne may also be

particularly keen to hold onto his black identity as it links him to his father who has

died and is buried in Jamaica.

Dwayne also has an idea of the stereotypes white people would hold about him:

"I speak different, I'm vulgar, maybe get angry a lot. And I'd probably be, one stereotype, they can be good stereotypes as well, I'm faster than all of them, I, I probably believe I'm smarter than all of them. I, I believe that, I don't really know if I am. But if you believe, you can do it. I'm better than them at everything, if I believe it, yeah..." (4:963-970)

"...Their schools, they just bad at sports. If I went into their school, I'd have to carry the whole school on my back... Like, yeah, I'd have to do everything and they'd look at me different as well… " (4: 939-944)

Whilst Dwayne is recounting the stereotypes he thinks there are about black people,

he gradually forms a more positive set of stereotypes which he begins to apply to

himself and it becomes unclear if these are stereotypes he thinks white people have

about him or if he believes he possesses these qualities. The image of him carrying

the whole school on his back is supposed to be a positive point. However, it could

also be seen as the stereotypical depiction of black men as being particularly strong.

Dwayne also believes his strengths lie in other areas such as his academic ability and

was keen to note he was:

"...set one for everything..." (4:102-104).

"*I'm good at a lot of stuff, sports, music, music producing...*" (4:652-653)

4.6 Personal impact of different forms of exclusion

The personal impact of different forms of exclusion is closely linked with the

overarching theme 'forms of exclusion'. The participants all talked about the impact

being excluded had on them.

4.6.1 Unconcerned by exclusion

Jamal, Tayshaun and Yusuf all talked about not caring about the exclusion, although

Jamal reports feeling scared to start with before feeling unconcerned. The quotes used

in this section are drawn from the superordinate themes:

- Initial fear then unconcerned and relaxed during exclusion at home 1 Jamal

- Unconcerned by exclusion 6 Yusuf

- Exclusions from school and Youth Club 2 Tayshaun

"If I'm honest, I didn't really care." (2:31)

"...I can't lie, I didn't, for me personally I did not care..." (6:122)

"...when I got excluded it was like big, so I was scared, Erm, when I got into it, like, I didn't even care after a while" (1:6-9)

"... I didn't really mind just, if was kicked out of lesson I just used to see it like a free lesson..." (6:495-496)

Jamal and Tayshaun both start by making their statement sound like a confession as

though they should have cared about the exclusion but did not. Yusuf also did not

mind being "kicked out" of lessons as he is no longer bound by the restrictions of the

lesson. The declaration of not caring may also be a way of rejecting the school

because they feel rejected.

Jamal, Yusuf and Tayshaun also explain why they did not care about the exclusion, as

they report a weekend or holiday-like feel to being at home

"..I was just like, did anything I wanted...Yeah, just chill out..." (1:141-144)

"... And the third day I just played play station..." (6:266)

"but at the same time I didn't mind, 'cause I was just staying at home doing nothing..." (2:47-48)

It seems some participants consider that being at home is an opportunity to relax and

not have to attend school.

4.6.2 Boredom

Tayshaun, Dwayne and Prince all report feeling bored at home. For Tayshaun, this is in juxtaposition to not minding spending time at home. The quotes in this section are drawn from the superordinate themes:

- Exclusions from school and Youth Club 2 Tayshaun

- Personal impact of exclusion 4 Dwayne

- Impact of exclusion on self 3 Prince

"... Kind of boring…" (2:47)

"I was bored..." (4:71)

"Just reading, sitting down and reading, that's it." (4:69)

"it's actually boring getting excluded..." (3:151-152)

It appears that inactivity and isolation creates a sense of boredom. Tayshaun and Prince are both referring to external exclusion and Dwayne is referring to internal exclusion.

4.6.3 Sudden exclusion

The suddenness of the exclusions was mentioned by Tayshaun, Jamal and Kwame, but the suddenness of Yusuf's experience of being sent out of class will also be included in this analysis. The quotes in this section are drawn from the superordinate themes:

- Exclusions from school and Youth Club 2 Tayshaun

- Suddenness of exclusions 1 Jamal

- Exclusion rumination after sudden exclusion 5 Kwame

- Schools rejecting and excluding 6 Yusuf

"You'll be in your lesson and if they already made that choice, they just take you out and you go to their office and then they'll be like, "You know what you've done, de de

de." Then they'll call your mum tell them, then they'll be like, "You'll be excluded for this number of time, go home." And then you just go..." (2:395-400)

"... get my Head of Year, Head of Year came, and then the next minute, took me out of class [...] Next thing I know, I got home, they we're like, "Oh, Mr Lucas signed out the [PRU] form for a temporary two weeks there". I was like, "for what for, like?", they were just like, "numerous occasions"" (1:188-195)

"...Mr Thomas came into the room and like Miss can I have Kwame please and everyone was like oh you might get in trouble..." (5:115-118)

"...there was one teacher, my, she used to... I used to walk into her class used to be like get, get out, straight away, she did not like me..." (6:490-492)

The participants reported being shocked when they were taken out of class, sent home immediately or finding out when they got home that they had been excluded. They were of the view that the decision had already been made with a suddenness without them being given a right to reply.

4.6.4 Anger

Kwame and Prince both expressed anger at being excluded. However, for Kwame this was directed at himself and for Prince this was directed at the teacher. The quotes in this section are drawn from the superordinate themes;

- Exclusion rumination after sudden exclusion 5 Kwame

- Injustice of exclusion 3 Prince

In contrast to Jamal, Tayshaun and Yusuf, Kwame is concerned about his exclusion and feels sad and angry at himself for his actions;

"...I was also thinking about why I did it and stuff like that just the same thing over and over again and I kinda went mad so p***ed that I think my PS4 controller was there and when I first stepped into the room I think I was like I smashed, I smashed it on the floor..." (5:82-96)

"I was kinda sad 'cause I got excluded for the first time" (5:38-39)

"I felt like angry...'cause we got excluded and the rest of the people didn't...." (3:287-289)

Kwame took out his frustration on his own expensive play equipment which is a form

of self-punishment. Prince expressed anger that the Year 10s were not punished as

harshly as his Year group.

4.6.5 Schools rejecting and excluding 6 Yusuf

"... I felt like they all set me up like, I felt like they all wanted me to, what's it called, to get excluded and not to be in the school..." (6: 481-484)

Yusuf felt that the school was trying to exclude him and his use of the term "set me

up" seems to suggest that it was as though there was a conspiracy to get him out of

the school. This mirrors Tayshaun's feelings that the school was trying to exclude

him and his friends.

4.7 Forms of exclusion

Participants described different scenarios where there were restrictions on their

movement and participation.

4.7.1 Exclusion and respite at PRU a positive experience 1

Jamal was sent to a PRU for "respite" and for him this was a positive experience as

the teachers did not put pressure on him:

"The teachers there, what I honestly think, like, they don't pressure you as much..." (1:303-304)

"I get into trouble with a teacher, it gets done there and then. They don't have detentions so, I won't get into more trouble it won't escalate, or anything" (1:324-326)

The teachers provided an ethos of acceptance as they did not put pressure on him in

relation to work.

4.7.2 Exclusion in the form of prison, postcode battles and removal from class 3

Prince had been affected by the exclusion of his brother from society in recent months and had heard that his friend, who had been excluded from school, had recently been seen in the back of a police van:

"you just know people that have gone to prison, like it could be family members and stuff like my brother. But he doesn't do it no more... Yeah. He told me what like prison is like; he would say like you don't want to go in there" (3:484-490)

It is could be argued that Prince now wants to separate himself from this reality by using the second person pronoun 'you'.

"I felt like scared 'cause like apparently…my friend he basically…he was walking like he got searched 'cause…I don't know what he had or something... […] he already got kicked out because he had a knife in his bag […] I'm not…I'm not sure if it's for that reason like he was in a police…he said…apparently he was seen at the back of a police van" (3:497-515)

For Prince it is conceivable that he could easily be the next person to be unexpectedly searched, taken off the streets and removed from society for an unknown time frame since both his brother and friend have been in that situation.

Prince also talks about being excluded from lessons:

"*They would send me out [of class]*" (3:140-141)

4.7.3 Products of their environment 4

Dwayne spoke about not wanting to be a product of his environment and expressed confusion at how gangs in neighbouring boroughs could ban people from his borough to the point where they would hurt those who crossed the postcode boundary:

"I don't, I don't even know how I feel... Like, it's just, it's stupid, what happens. Because how do you beef someone that's, like, [neighbouring borough]is like next door neighbours to us, it's, it's long." (4:632-635)

Dwayne uses the vernacular term 'beef' which means fights and the term 'long' to express the pointlessness of the fights. Dwayne believes that the consequences of

being a product of his environment could result in him being ostracised from society

as follows:

"*You could either die or be in jail or in hiding...*" (4:524)

Dwayne suggested that in some ways he was already inevitably shunned by upper

middle class society due to being black:

"*And obviously like, for a black person it's a bit harder to make it out of somewhere that'sss full of poverty, gang violence, knife crime, yeah...*" (4:39-44)

4.7.4 Environment taking innocence and inducing anger 5

For Kwame, being unwittingly caught up in drug trafficking when he was in primary

school mirrored Dwayne's fear of being stuck in crime. Kwame then becomes aware

that his "friend" is banned from the area and realises what was in the packages he was

carrying:

"*They used to do like there's a person who lives on my estate erm he used to have like a friend that would come in, he was like a drug trafficker so whenever we would just play, the people would just come and ask have we seen like this person's name and I'd say yeah and I'd take the stuff and then after I think he was put on house arrest and yeah he had to never come back to there for like four years or something like that*" (5:872-880)

The reality of potential arrest is uncomfortably close to him.

4.7.5 AP chaos and support 6

Yusuf's stay at an AP was for him in some ways a positive experience similar to

Jamal's stay at the PRU:

"*... some nice teacher at [AP] she told me to come out the room she spoke to me […] she said cool, I'll help you on this one*" (6:354-365)

Yusuf describes how a teacher from the AP supported him in encouraging the deputy

head from his mainstream school to allow him back into the school.

4.7.6 Displacement and isolation from collective and from activity 4

The wider meaning of exclusion could be used to suggest that Dwayne was excluded

in a variety of ways such as being homeless due to the council's rules, moving to a

new borough, banned from his cousin's house due to a fight and being internally

excluded in school:

"We were fighting, then my uncle, my mum's uncle took me home." (4:813-814)

"But when I got excluded, it wasn't like I had to come out of school. It was like, you know there's a room in our school yeah? But it's basically, other people call it isolation basically" (4:170-173)

"but we weren't allowed to come out when everyone else is out. So, we have to go when everyone is in lessons." (4:95-197)

"don't really like it, because it's not a good way to spend Christmas, not being in your own house, it's not a good look." (4:759-761)

4.7.7 Exclusions from school and Youth Club 2

The closing down of the youth club left Tayshaun and his friends having to stay

outside to relax together;

"I don't really go anymore 'cause it got shut down... 'cause they used to fight a lot, like play fighting, like oldest versus the youngest and people who worked there just got annoyed" (2:623-627)

"I was like "Let's go youth club today." And he was like, "Oh, no, they shut it down." I was like rah and I said, "Cool, let's just chill in the area" (2:650-654)

In Tayshaun's mind, the exclusion of everyone from the youth club was because the

workers became upset at the fighting that took place.

4.8 Role of significant people

The participants mainly mentioned the role their mothers played in their lives more

than any other person. Fathers and siblings were often only briefly mentioned.

4.8.1 Parents' distress as motivation to avoid exclusion 2

When Tayshaun saw how disappointed his mother was at the exclusion, this became

his motivation to avoid further exclusion:

"They were just telling my mum […] "If you do this again you may not be able to come to [school] again." Then I saw my mum and then she seemed like disappointed, so then that kind of that like changed my mindset, that's when I like started to fix up and so I don't get excluded for a while" (2:409-416)

4.8.2 Parent's reactions to exclusion 1

Jamal's mother warned him to stay away from the wrong types of people at the PRU:

"But then, my mum, she never hit me…and I got kicked out and then…just went home, shouted for, like, a couple of days" (1:832-835)

"she has a big thought of seeing, like, every [PRU] child is just bad […] she was just like, "oh, don't get in with the wrong people", I was like, "I won't", like, they're not…they don't go round hurting people, it's not like she used to think" (1:913-920)

His mother's anger does not diminish her concern as to what will happen if he attends

a PRU. Jamal's view of the PRU is different to his mother's. He perceives her

concerns to be unnecessary.

4.8.3 Mother's protest, support, concern, distrust and disappointment 6

Yusuf's mother's disappointment drives him to try and placate her after he is

externally excluded:

"was disappointed the […] the second day I just helped my mum around the house to make her happy" (6:240-243)

Yusuf's mother like Jamal's mother, also expresses concerns about her son attending

an AP or PRU when he is excluded from his first school. This drives her to seek a

new school on the first occasion and to relent on the second occasion whilst giving

him a warning:

" they said, okay, it's either your son goes [AP] or you perm him and my mum said, okay, we'll find another school" (6:140-142)

"She just hates, […] she knows what the school is she knows like a school for bad kids." (6:577-579)

Yusuf believes that his mother does not think he belongs in that environment so there

is a sense that they both work against the school to avoid him being placed where he

does not belong:

"my mum was just telling me every school that you get send you to, they're gonna send you [AP] so I'm gonna let you go this time but make sure like you come straight home" (6:398-402)

His exclusions from school almost seems inevitable to his mother.

4.8.4 Mother's concern, punishment and intervention 5

Kwame's mother gives him a traditional African meal as punishment rather than the

fast food that his cousins are allowed to have:

"Yeah my cousins came over and then the funny thing is that when they came over my mum made them food and I think it was like pizza and I had to eat something called like fufu" (5:68-70)

When Kwame is about to return to school he is further warned to keep out of trouble,

although his mother's warning appears more threatening than his father's:

"Yeah my mum was kinda she was like, "Oh you better be good, don't get in trouble again or otherwise I'm gonna slap you", something like that. Like threats and my dad was he was like erm, "Don't try and get into too much trouble, just try your best" (5:273-277)

Kwame's mother, like Jamal and Yusuf's mother, also wants him to be careful in his

choice of friends, although Kwame does not always agree with her:

"But then your mum is like, "You should be hanging out with these people every day and you have other friends that you want to hang out with as well." (5: 551-554)

4.8.5 Influence of significant people 4

Dwayne was initially worried about his mother's reaction. Instead she warned him about the impact and significance of his skin colour and environment on his life chances:

"[kisses teeth] I was thinking what my mum was gonna think, 'cause she gets, 'cause she's gonna get mad [...] We had some long talk [...] how I'm black and I can't be a product of my environment [...] changed me that, changed my mindset" (4:22-35)

His mother's anger was actually directed at the school rather than Dwayne and her talk with him was impactful:

"She wasn't even angry at me, she was angry with the school..", he said (4:241-242). Dwayne's father died six years prior to the interview and it is as though he is also burying his   black male mentor in another country. Dwayne sees black male role models in the media who are from England and have grown up in the same environment as him succeeding in the music industry:

"My dad died in um, 2012 [...] We had a funeral over here and theeen, we had him, then, yeah, we had the funeral over here, but he never got buried over here. We put him on the plane to Jamaica" (4:660-667)

"All of these new artists from England, what's his name, Tion Wayne was in prison, came out the other day as well, making music, rich" (4:646-648)

There is a sense that these black male artists can be excluded from society and find success and redemption in entertainment.

4.8.6 Impact of exclusion on family 3

Prince was concerned that his exclusion would be viewed by his African parents as him not valuing his education:

"I felt like angry 'cause like my parents they would be angry that I'd been excluded and had to come home from school, 'cause they…'cause, obviously I'm African and they didn't have school like us" (3:88-91)

4.9 Inclusive environments

4.9.1 Exclusion and respite at PRU a positive experience 1

Jamal's experience of 'respite' in a PRU was good partly because he was friends with the students there:

"I knew all of them before, like, before I even went there. So, like, they were already my friend but I still…I already had friends there, innit...So, when I went there, like, I fit right in, like, there was nothing else" (1:727-732)

Jamal suggests that exclusion from school actually meant he found a sense of belonging in the PRU as he felt as though he fitted in and was accepted in that environment.

4.9.2 Inclusive situations in school, family and society 4

Dwayne suggests that sport and the school intervention programme, designed to prevent exclusions, made it easier for him to return to school. He knew the other pupils in the intervention programme:

"I, I knew all of dem" (4:98-99)

"[intervention programme] makes it easier" (4:488-489)

"We just basically talk about life. Right now, we're doing a scheme on who we are. We do 'our deepest fear', who we are, gift tree and a fruit tree" (4:54-57)

Two critical elements contributed to Dwayne's self-development in that first, he knew the other pupils, and second, the programme addressed issues related to his life and identity.

Dwayne particularly valued sports at school partly because he had formed part of his identifty around sport and he used football as a metaphor to explain the benefits of working together with peers rather than against them:

"right now, this sport thing is ... because everyone, we're all one team, and so it's just fun […] But other than that, when we work as a team, we win games and right now we're unbeatable. We have never lost a game" (4:1021-1038)

This also speaks to the strength he feels is gained from being in a group, as though the collective is stronger than when individuals try to fight for a goal alone.

In addition, Dwayne valued the extended family connections and emphasised its size and proximity:

"my mum's side is a big family. Even my great grandmother is still alive right now, she lives over there, [gets up from chair and points out of the window behind him] like up there maybe" (4:763-767)

The Christmas family event gave Dwayne a sense of belonging:

"it's like a get together, we always go to this like […] there's this big hall […] Then, yeah we just stay in there, eat food, cook" (4:824-830)

When asked how he felt about moving to a different area, Dwayne emphasised that he still had family living there:

"I'm not worried, I've got cousins over dere as well, so it's not that, it's not really dat much of a significant move" (4:727-728)

It appeared he felt his family provided security in the new area in the same way that Jamal and Yusuf spoke about the PRU and AP.

4.9.3 Supportive intervention 3

Prince also attended the school-based intervention programme and valued the support it provided in helping him to mature:

"It's like something they can do to help you in life, like when you grow up it will teach you lessons and stuff" (3:608-609)

"Like to help you become a man and stuff" (3:611)

Here Prince emphasises identity as key in learning about life and maturation.

4.9.4 Positive role of peers 3

Prince's friends seem to be critical sources of information and support. For example,

he learned of his older brother's imprisonment from his friend rather than family;

"'*cause apparently he [Prince's older brother] was on the news and my friend told
me [...] that he was in prison and after I just told my mum and she was like don't tell
my little siblings and stuff.*" (3:544-546)

When Prince was asked about his relationship with his peers he replied:

"*It's good like we don't get in trouble, 'cause like this year like everyone wants to
graduate and like go to the graduation party and stuff*" (3:420-422)

Prince sought to challenge the potential negative perception that he and his friends

were still trouble makers. On the contrary, he said, there was a shared aim for them to

graduate together in Year 9.

4.9.5 Belonging in friendship groups 2

Tayshaun also challenges the potential negative perceptions of others and speaks

positively about himself and his friends first, before talking about their youth club:

"*we don't do bad things no more, we just chill sometimes. There's this like football
club centre, like a youth centre [...] We just, we just go there and just chill.*" (2:599-
602)

On returning to school after the exclusion, Tayshaun highlights a sense of belonging:

"*when someone gets excluded and come back, they just hype them up* […] *'Cause like
they'll be like, ah yeah yeah, you're family you know, I mean [kisses teeth] like at
school and stuff like that. It's like they miss you or something like that*" (2:113-121)

Tayshaun's use of the word 'family' in this context when referring to his peers

equates with the notion of returning home when one has been away from the family

for some time. Interestingly, he recounts the level of excitement his peers show at his

return.

4.9.6 Betrayal and importance of loyalty 2

Tayshaun's views on the importance of mutual trust and not "snitching" are notable in his interview. People who could not be trusted were not included in his friendship group:

"*some boy in my Year snitched on me and my other friend, even though we'd done nothing*" (2:169-170)

"*Yeah, that's, that's when I started like, taking people out my circle and only hung around with like, at least like three people, like a real friend. 'Cause I didn't feel like I could trust anyone*" (2:197-200)

4.9.7 Connection with peers and mentor 5

Kwame suggests that the actions which led to his exclusion were due to his desire to be valued by his newly-made friends:

"*When I first got excluded I think I got like a bit too excited with what I was doing because it was like early in the year, I just got to know all of my friends*" (5: 742-745)

Kwame's mother paid for a community mentor for Kwame which helped him to talk to teachers rather than seeking to resolve his own problems:

"*she put on like an anger management class not really anger management just like mentoring like people that take you out, try and make you happy and stuff.*" (5:804-806)

"*back when I finished like mentoring I started, I started telling the teacher*" (5:847-848)

Kwame believed mentoring encouraged him to approach teachers if he had a difficulty.

4.9.8 Problematic and welcoming peers 6

Yusuf described his peers' reaction to his return to school after the exclusion:

"*And everyone gets gassed, that's it...Hypes up, hypes*" (6:568-570)

Yusuf emphasises the excitement his peers showed on his return thus demonstrating a welcoming atmosphere similar to Tayshaun's account of returning to school.

Yusuf's stay at an AP was also an inclusive environment for him in the same way the PRU was for Jamal:

"I knew everyone there anyway because when I was in year eight I used to chill there […] I knew them. They mostly went to [first school]" (6:420-424)

4.10 Summary

The relationship participants had with their environment and the significant people in their lives, was a notable feature in the six overarching themes presented in this chapter. Consequently, the findings have revealed the importance of relationships to the participants' experiences of exclusion and reintegration.

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Overview of chapter

This chapter will discuss the findings in relation to the existing literature in this area and will draw on various theories to explore the findings further. The findings will be discussed in relation to the research questions which this research sought to answer:

- How do black boys experience exclusion and reintegration in mainstream secondary school?
- What is perceived by black boys to help them reintegrate into school and what is perceived to be difficult about the process?

The analysis revealed six overarching themes which will each be discussed individually:

- Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers
- Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them
- Personal impact of different forms of exclusion
- Forms of exclusion
- Role of significant people
- Inclusive environments

This chapter will then describe the limitations of this research, implications for future research, implications of research and will conclude with a reflexive account of what I have learnt through the research process.

5.2 Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers

The relationship between the participants and the teachers was primarily described in negative terms in keeping with literature on the views of pupils who have been excluded from school (Brede et al., 2017; Gersch & Nolan, 1994; Jalali & Morgan, 2018), although Prince and Dwayne were able to identify more positive interactions than the other participants. The focus on negative interactions mirrors Pillay et al.'s (2013) findings which suggested that participants spoke more about the risk factors than the protective factors which may be a result of the 'negativity bias' which describes people's propensity to focus on the negative aspects of life (Hamlin, Wynn, & Bloom, 2010; Rozin & Royzman, 2001). It is therefore important to understand the significance of these interactions for participants which will be explored in more detail.

5.2.1 Negative interactions

The participants' specific experiences of negative interactions with teachers contained instances of being humiliated, publicly rejected, feeling (and in Jamal's case told he was) disliked and being under surveillance. There was a preponderance of these sort of interactions in Jamal and Yusuf's interviews, particularly as they were the only two to mention instances of humiliation and public rejection by teachers. This is interesting as they both attended schools in Local Authority A, where the exclusion rate for black pupils is in the top 10 out of 152 Local Authorities nationally. It may well be that the high proportion of Asian pupils in Local Authority A's schools results in racial stereotyping of Black pupils who are treated more harshly in comparison to Local Authority B's schools where there is a higher number of black pupils (see table 4 in section 3.5.4). Millard et al. (2018) noted the difference in stereotypes associated

with Asian pupils compared to Black pupils and suggests the unconscious bias has an impact on how harshly black pupils are then treated by teachers. Having more black pupils and staff in Local Authority B's school may have countered the negative relationships which Millard et al. (2018) suggests impacts on the treatment of black pupils. Blair (2005) opined that black boys were subjected to humiliation and verbal abuse by teachers which mirrors Jamal and Yusuf's accounts.

Participants reported that their efforts to act according to the teacher's instructions were sometimes misconstrued resulting in them being wrongly punished. It is arguable that in Jamal and Tayshaun's accounts (under headings 4.4.1. and 4.4.2 respectively) there were racial undertones. The impact on participants was feelings of antagonism and being targeted. Other studies such as Warren (2005), and Blair (2001) mirror the findings in this study. For example, the African Caribbean boys in Warren's (2005) article suggested that a number of teachers were disrespectful and punitively punished them. Kwame also mentions in his interview that the teachers are aware of his good behaviour but choose to tell him off for talking in class. Blair (2001) and Warren (2005) agree that black boys feel as though they are being 'over monitored' which is a point highlighted by Jamal:

"she watches me for every movement…just to get me in trouble" (1:526-528)

Excluded pupils in other research report feeling disliked by teachers after exclusion. The pupils with autism, for example, in Brede et al.'s (2017) research also reported mutual feelings of dislike. Furthermore, pupils with SEMH needs in Jalali and Morgan's (2018) research felt unfairly treated, disliked and disrespected by teachers. Gersch and Nolan's (1994) research also indicated that pupils excluded by their

previous school felt that teachers in their new school disliked them and perceived all their actions negatively because they were already labelled as problematic. Gersch and Nolan (1994), found that four out of six participants were not concerned about how their teachers might perceive them if they were reintegrated into school. This was not the case in my current research as participants indicated they were concerned about teachers' perceptions of them which is explored in more detail under heading 5.3.

5.2.2 Positive Interactions

Prince and Dwayne provided some accounts of positive interactions with teachers although in Prince's case the positive interaction is attributed to the whole class rather than specifically to him. Prince and Dwayne appeared to appreciate teachers' efforts to connect with them. Dwayne's account of a teacher appearing to take an interest in the trajectory of his life and demonstrating that he believed in Dwayne is a significant model for the dissemination of good practice within schools. Brede et al. (2017), Gersch & Nolan (1994), Lown (2005) and Pillay et al. (2013) all highlighted the importance pupils attributed to having a supportive adult in school during their reintegration. Pillay et al.'s (2013) research suggests that teachers' use of positive reinforcement meant the participants felt hopeful about their future. The use of positive reinforcement from teachers does not always feature in this research as participants focused on avoiding trouble. Jamal is slightly different in this regard, although his efforts appears to mainly be directed at managing his relationships with teachers, he also looks beyond the relationships immediately in front of him and talks about his desire to obtain his GCSEs (under heading 4.5.3). This is likely to be more pertinent to him as he is in Year 11.

5.2.3 Returning to normality

The participants spoke about returning to school as returning to normality in five out of the six interviews. Tayshaun being the only participant not to explicitly state a return to normality. The reintegration process did not equate to a change in the way teachers treated them on their return. Yusuf said: *"I came up from [AP], that's when they like, I said sorry to every teacher, they all treated me the same as I was in year eight..."* (6:486-488). The subtle message pupils seemed to receive from the exclusion and reintegration process was that they were problematic and needed to change whilst the school system did not need to change. This is a theme which has not featured in the articles in the literature review and it is most notably absent from Lown (2005) and Pillay et al.'s (2013) research. This may be partly because the majority of the research in this area has included participants who have not experienced reintegration and the open nature of the questions used in this study may have allowed participants to honestly reflect that when they returned to school it was operating in the same way. The disproportionate exclusion of black boys would suggest that this is a systemic issue and therefore the system needs to change.

What was interesting was that there was no particular significance attached to their first day back at school. Jamal was experiencing his first day back at the time of the interview and he said: *"even today, like, in the lesson, she gives little petty things"* (1:524-525). Jamal did however recognise that it felt "weird" re-adjusting to the level of noise and number of pupils in the school having been in the PRU for two weeks. The pupils with autism in Brede's (2017) research felt the mainstream schools and PRUs were too busy. However, there were about ten to fifteen pupils in class compared to the three or four other pupils per class in the PRU Jamal attended. The

pupils in Hart's (2013) research also preferred the smaller environment of the PRU with fewer pupils.

5.3 Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them

Erkison (1959) contends that adolescence is a key time for identity formation making the perceptions of others particularly important. This may explain why all the participants attempted to manage adults' perceptions of them, particularly when they first returned to school after the exclusion and for Tayshaun, Prince, Dwayne and Yusuf, this was the case.

In school participants attempted to manage the teachers' perceptions through: keeping quiet, focusing on work, passing tests and not engaging with peers as much particularly if they were doing something wrong. This demonstrates participant's sense of agency which is also notable in Lown's (2005) research as participants wanted their reintegration to be successful after being permanently excluded from other schools. According, to Millard et al (2018), Professor Gillborn suggests that black pupils *"tend to have higher than average aspirations"* (Millard et al., 2018, p. 14) which may also explain their efforts to work hard in order to avoid negative perceptions in the current research. This theme also relates to the concept of the 'turnaround narrative' (Harding, 2010), that Wright et al. (2014) suggests is salient in the black community, whereby there is a narrative of black people overcoming difficulties related to crime and failure.

5.3.1 Turnaround narrative

Kwame's situation is a striking example where the concept of the 'turnaround narrative' (Harding, 2010) can be applied. In his case, for instance, he had been demoted on the school's behaviour system as a result of the exclusion and he desired to regain his position. His teacher had advised him to improve his homework in order to regain his position which he did demonstrating resilience in overcoming the setback of exclusion (Fraser et al., 1999). Kwame had also said that teachers "*know that my behaviour is good*" (5:439-440) which suggests he felt more confident than the other participants about how he was generally viewed by teachers. The school maybe taking into account the DfES' (2006) findings that black pupils were less likely to be praised. Other research seems to corroborate these findings by suggesting that the media seems to focus on the negative actions of some black males rather than the positive (Cushion, Moore, & Jewell, 2012a) which may explain why Prince's brother appeared on the news when he was sent to prison.

5.3.2 Social perceptions

School is not the only place in which the black young men need to manage adults' perceptions of them. Tayshaun, Prince and Kwame were all excluded for incidents which occurred outside of school. Dwayne said that he sometimes separates himself from his friends when they talk too loudly in public and he insisted "*we don't want to […] hurt anyone or anything*" (4:431-437) as though he is aware of how they could be perceived. Yusuf also avoids trouble outside of school by staying at home as he already has a criminal record for which he did not feel he was to blame and this can make finding a job more difficult (Millard et al., 2018). For Yusuf, simply being a young black male seen on the streets, particularly late at night could get him into

trouble which is sadly an unsurprising reality in society given the disproportionate 'stop and search' of black males (Dodd, 2019; Home office, 2019). The idea that society and police may see young black men in a negative way appears to be another factor for them to manage and there is a sense that they are under surveillance inside and outside the school. Yusuf and Dwayne who have been excluded for incidents which occurred inside of school appear to be mindful of the fact that they have to be aware of their conduct outside of school in order to avoid the negative perceptions of society.

5.3.3 Self-identity

The participants' self-identity appears to be connected to the way they think others view them. It could be argued that exclusion sends the implicit message 'you are bad'. Jamal initially resists this label and says "*I am not bad*" and then seems to realise this is only his perception of himself and society may not agree, so he starts to question his resolve by saying "*I don't think I'm bad..."* (1:634-637) which indicates the influential link between teachers' perceptions of him and his self-identity. Yusuf had previously taken on adults' perceptions of him and identified as bad in the past. In Jalali and Morgan's (2018) research the pupils with SEMH label their behaviour as "naughty" rather than taking on an identity of being a bad person, so it is interesting that the black males in this research take on this identity. Jussim and Harber's (2005) research indicates that pupils from ethnic minority backgrounds appear to be more susceptible to self-fulfilling prophesies from teacher expectations.

Dwayne's identity was firmly linked to being black and during the interview his perception of what it meant to be black started to evolve as he focused less on the

negative stereotypes associated with his race. He began to identify with the more positive stereotypes. When imagining what would happen if he went to a majority white school in a rich area he said: "*…they just bad at sports. If I went into their school, I'd have to carry the whole school on my back... Like, yeah, I'd have to do everything…*" (4:939-944). The way Dwayne linked his black identity to sports is in stark contrast to Blair's (2001) suggestion that black boys felt they were encouraged in sports by teachers but not encouraged academically with one black pupil saying "*They're always pushing us into sport, but when it comes to school work they don't think you can do it*" (Blair, 2001, p. 84). Dwayne's perception is more positive in that he also forms an identity around being academically able and he attempts to incorporate both sporting ability and intellectual strength into his identity as a black person, which also links with his idea of black people having 'knowhow' as this implies a particular type of survival knowledge. Dwayne's determination to adopt a positive black identity is apparent whereas Jamal tries to reject a negative identity. The concept of self-fulfilling prophecy (Gillborn, 1995; Howarth, 2004) is pertinent to Yusuf's past identity as he aimed to embrace the label of 'bad' and to Dwayne's identity as he tries to hold on to the positive black stereotypes in order to maintain his identity as a black person.

5.4 Personal Impact of different forms of exclusion

The impact of exclusion on participants was relevant to all the participants, with a mixture of emotions evoked from the experience. Jamal, Tayshaun and Yusuf all suggest that they were initially unbothered by the external exclusions. The reasoning behind this was that they could relax at home. Listening to this as the researcher, there appeared to be an element of 'saving face' whereby the participants did not

want to show that they were affected by the rejection they received from the school, particularly as it was the three oldest participants who said this. Jamal reveals his vulnerability as he initially says he was scared and is the only one to admit this. Gersch and Nolan (1994) found that participants did not want to be excluded the first time around. When they were excluded a second or third time they were unconcerned by their exclusions. It may be the case that the black pupils in the current research have previously received internal exclusions. Therefore, their external exclusion was just an extension of this.

The participants in the current research also spoke about feeling bored at home and angry although for Kwame the anger was directed at himself whereas for Prince this is directed at the teachers. The pupils in Pillay et al.'s (2013) research also reported feeling angry after the exclusion as they felt embarrassed or unjustly excluded. Gersch and Nolan (1994) found that two out of the six participants were angry about the exclusions with one participant being angry at the school and himself and two participants felt "*disappointed and upset*" (Gersch & Nolan, 1994, p. 40).

The suddenness of being removed from class and school is spoken about by Jamal, Tayshaun, Kwame and Yusuf. The participants found themselves unexpectedly taken out of lessons or in Yusuf's case he was not allowed to even enter the classroom. There was a sense that "*they already made that choice*" (2:395) according to Tayshaun which gave the participants little opportunity to change the decision. This relates to Lown's (2005) findings that participants who had been excluded from school had not felt that they were part of the decision making about what happened to them.

The feeling of rejection by the school on several occasions was particularly salient to Yusuf's experience up to the point where he felt as though the school was deliberately finding ways to exclude him permanently. This did not appear to be an irrational conclusion to come to given his experiences of exclusion and the school's attempts to keep him in the AP. Tayshaun had similar feelings as his friends had all been excluded or left the school over the years leaving him isolated. Yusuf said *"... I felt like they all set me up like, I felt like they all wanted me to, what's it called, to get excluded and not to be in the school..."* (6: 481-484) and Tayshaun said "*They always just kept trying their hardest just to kick us all out.*" (2:316-317). The idea of the schools conspiring to try and exclude certain pupils is a not a theme which had come through in previous research and this may be because over time pupils were not reported in research to have stated that they were overtly rejected by schools. Critical race theorist may argue that this feeling of rejection and a conspiracy speaks to the experience of covert racism within society which in this case would be in the form of exclusion from school.

5.5 Forms of Exclusion

All the participants felt that they were or had been ostracised in some way either in school or in society.

5.5.1 AP and PRU

Jamal and Yusuf were both excluded to offsite provisions in which they found acceptance. They found the teachers in the PRU and AP to be less academically pressurising, supportive and did not allow disagreements between pupils and teachers

to escalate. This mirrors the findings in Jalali and Morgan's (2018) research which found that the secondary school aged pupils preferred the PRU as it was academically less pressurising and they felt a sense of belonging due to the family-like atmosphere. The participants in Gersch and Nolan's (1994) research reported that they had a good relationship with the teachers at the PRU and felt respected. However, the less academically pressurising nature of APs and PRUs has been criticised due to the lack of good academic outcomes and lack of GCSEs (DfE, 2012).

5.5.2 Criminal Injustice

The possibility of going to prison was a fear expressed by Prince and Yusuf as their brothers had both been in prison and Prince had a friend who was excluded from school and had then been seen in a police van. Black males between the ages of 10 and 18 years are nine times more likely to be incarcerated and are subjected to longer custodial sentences (Ministry of Justice, 2017). For Yusuf and Prince these are not just statistics but real life possibilities given the fact that they had9 lost close family members to prison and Yusuf already has a criminal record. Prince opined a link between being excluded and the possibility of being taken off the streets by police due to the fact that his friend had possibly been searched and then had been seen in a police van.

In Dwayne's view, black people who were products of their environment would "*either die or be in jail or in hiding*" (4:524). Kwame inadvertently helped drug dealers deliver packages and he later found out that his neighbour was not having lots of parties, as he had first imagined but was distributing drugs. Pillay et al.'s (2013) research also highlighted that participants socialising with gang members in the

community were likely to have a negative reintegration experiences. Millard et al. (2018) suggested that the reason black boys were disproportionately likely to get involved in the youth offending system was due to living in areas where they were in close proximity to criminal activity. It could also be argued that the heavy surveillance of black males (Dodd, 2019), the higher exclusion rates and higher unemployment rates (Cabinet Office, 2017) of black males may also contribute to this situation. The criminal justice system is not free from bias, therefore the higher conviction rate of black people may say more about the potential bias in the legal system than actual criminal activity. However, it is important to note that had Kwame been older and found carrying these parcels, his gender and race would presumably have worked against him. Proclaiming he did not know what was in the parcels may not have been believed, leading to serious consequences for Kwame. Prince and Yusuf's experiences of exclusion are a microcosm of what happens to black males in society and they see this as a motivation to stay out of trouble.

5.5.3 Societal exclusions

Dwayne also spoke about restrictions in movement but in his examples these were not legal restrictions but a societal exclusion. The 'postcode wars' in his area meant that there were restrictions on where it was safe to go as entering a different borough could result in serious harm being inflicted by gang members (Antrobus, 2009; Cobain, 2018). Dwayne was currently experiencing homelessness when I met him and the authority's (government's) offer of placing his family in one room with shared kitchen and bathroom facilities with other people had been deemed unsuitable by his mother. The family were living with his aunty but his experience of being told to move into a small room temporarily seemed to mirror the experience of being in

internal isolation. He also felt it was difficult for black people to get out of poorer areas but that white people were able to live in richer areas. He was aware that his mother had found a new place for them to live but it was in a similarly poor area which was also well known for criminal activity whilst his white and mixed race family members lived in a richer area. Having to move out of the area where some of his family members lived mirrored the experience of being separated from peers during exclusion. His experiences appeared to confirm his understandings of the restrictions of black people but are also reflected in the Race Disparity Audit (Cabinet Office, 2017) as black people are more likely to live in poverty and experience homelessness. The research from the literature reviews has not reported participants' worries about other types of ostrisatation. However, this may be due to the fact that the researchers' metholodigical approach does not give participants an opportunity to talk about such topics whereas IPA allows this level of freedom (Smith & Osborn, 2003).

5.5.4 Isolation

Participants also spoke about being sent out of class to the internal isolation room which for them equated to exclusion as they were isolated from peers throughout the day. They were put into booths so they could not see anyone and had to sit in silence with restricted movement. This appeared to them to be much harsher than being sent home. Millard et al. (2018) also found that ethnic minority pupils felt that they were put in isolation rooms more often than white pupils. Ostensibly some schools may give the impression that they are a low excluding school whilst the rate of their internal exclusions tells a different story. Participants noted how restrictive internal isolation was, which may explain why this was described in more negative terms than

an external exclusion. This relates to self-determination theory which suggests that people need autonomy to feel motivated (Ryan & Deci, 2000). In fact, their autonomy is removed in internal isolation. Furthermore, opportunities to connect with both peers and adults is theorised to be particularly important in adolescence (Erikson, 1959; Tarrant, 2002) therefore isolation from both is likely to be particularly disconcerting for participants.

Tarrant (2002) suggests that adolescents particularly value peer relationships in adolescence over adult relationships. Therefore, Tayshaun's use of a Youth club with friends is an example of him seeking these opportunities to connect with peers. Tayshaun spoke about the closing down of a youth club he attended with friends in the past. As a result of its closure they would socialise on the streets instead. Millard et al. (2018) suggested that the closure of youth clubs is opined to be problematic for black Caribbean boys as the lack of recreational activities are thought to increase susceptibility to criminality.

5.6 Role of significant people

5.6.1 Parents' role

The participants spoke mainly about their mothers' role in their lives despite the presence of fathers and stepfathers. Yusuf was the only participant who did not mention the presence of a father or stepfather. Dwayne mentioned that his stepfather had entered his life roughly three years before the interview following the death of his father. Prince was the only participant who appeared more concerned about his father's reaction to his exclusion than his mother's. The importance attached to the participants' mothers reflects Wright et al.'s (2014) research as the black males in

their research also felt their mothers played a key role in supporting them through the education system. Black families are more likely to be headed by a single parent than any other ethnic group (Office for National Statistics, 2019) which has been theorised to be a reason for black males being excluded from school (Sewell, 1997). However, in the current research this did not appear to be the case.

Participants' parents were supportive and concerned particularly in Jamal and Yusuf's case. Jamal and Yusuf's mothers were worried about sending their sons to the AP or PRU as they were concerned about them being negatively influenced by peers and felt that the AP and PRU were for 'bad' pupils. Yusuf's mother acted as an advocate for him by finding a new school rather than accepting the school's ultimatum of a permanent exclusion to the PRU or managed move to the AP. Wright et al. (2016) also found that the black males experienced their families as supportive as they had high expectations of them, were emotionally supportive, inspirational and maintained their culture. One participant in Wright et al.'s (2016) research also said his father pursued legal advice after he was excluded from school which is similar to the way Yusuf's mother provided support by looking for a new school in that they both sought external help. The pupils in Lown's (2005) study also found their parents to be supportive, with one parent calling the school when problems arose.

Participants spoke about their parents' disappointment, anger and concern at the exclusions which resulted in participants being questioned, lectured, shouted at and deprived of privileges by their parents. Dwayne's mother was angry at the school for one of her son's exclusions as it was felt to be unjustified. Kwame was worried that his parents would think he was disrespecting his education through getting excluded

as they had grown up in Africa and had not had the same educational opportunities that he had. The result was that participants tried to placate them through doing chores. This has not been mentioned in the reviewed literature.

5.6.2 Changed Mindset

Tayshaun and Dwayne both talk about how their 'mindset' changed following their parents' reactions to their exclusions. This appears to be a moment of realisation that they had to change to avoid getting into trouble. For Yusuf, this occurred upon seeing his mother's disappointment when she was told he would be permanently excluded if he acted in the same way again. Dwayne adopted a changed mindset when instead of reprimanding him, his mother talked to him about the implications his race and growing up in that area could have on the trajectory of his life. He said his mother spoke to him about "*how I'm black and I can't be a product of my environment*" (4:31-32). This talk and the exclusion, opened his eyes to the reality of what it means to be black in a poor area and he decided he needed to make a change. In the black community, the moment of realisation about the implications of race in society is known as being "woke" (British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 2017). This talk was instigated by a member of staff at the school who called Dwayne's mother about where his life was heading as a black male in that area. McCaleb (2013) suggests that good home school partnership is important for pupils' engagement in school. Furthermore, Ryan and Deci (2000) suggests that a secure relationship with a trusted adult can support pupils' motivation with learning which appears to be the case with the pupils in this research.

When Dwayne was reintegrated they offered him a place on the school's interventions programme designed to prevent exclusions. Warren (2005) also talked about the black male participants "*taking responsibility*" (Warren, 2005, p. 253), which was framed as the participants using mentoring to find strategies to deal with conflict, school culture and societal racism. The mentoring mainly focused on the issues which related to the classroom context and developed strategies that the black males could use in response to their unfair treatment in school. It could be argued that these strategies were designed to help them avoid becoming victims of institutionalised racism within school and society. An example of one such strategy in Warren's (2005) research was to stay calm and not interrupt when a teacher was accusing him of something unjustly and then ask for permission to speak and if the teacher interrupts him whilst he is talking about an incident, to stay calm and quiet until he is allowed to speak again.

5.6.3 Role models

Dwayne talked about black males who he could relate to in that they grew up in the same sort of area as him. He talked about these people making it out of poverty through music and there appeared to be a theme of these role models having been excluded from society in some way. Some had been in gangs and had gone to prison, but still achieved wealth through music. This relates to the 'turnaround narrative' previously mentioned (Harding, 2010; Wright et al., 2016). He believed that he had abilities in music production and sports in line with the black males he is likely to have seen in the media. A participant in Warren's (2005) research had been told about other potential black role models and he said "*I feel proud, you can say at least we invented these things, not all we done is just being slaves for people, getting all these*

things, like playing sports and stuff like, and getting on for things like being an

executive or something like that or president or something like that" (Warren, 2005,

p. 254). It should be noted that this research was three years before Obama became

president. It is interesting that Dwayne did not mention Obama, perhaps for him the

black people from England are more representative of an achievable role model. The

rap called 'black' highlights the invisibility of the positive aspects of black history in

society by saying;

"*You don't know the truth about your race 'cause they're erasing it*" (David (Dave),

2019).

5.7 Role of inclusive environments

All the participants made reference to environments in which they felt included, and a

factor which was salient to the majority of these environments was the presence of a

select group of peers or to family members. The importance of peers was highlighted

in Lown (2005) and Pillay's (2013) research.

5.7.1 Belonging

Jamal and Yusuf felt a sense of belonging in the PRU and AP partly because they

already had peers there that they knew either from the community, their previous

secondary schools or their current secondary schools. The presence of their peers

makes the settings feel accommodating and familiar. Although this is a positive

experience it also reinforces the idea that they belong to a community outside of

school since their friends are already there. Indeed it may heighten the feeling of not

belonging in the school. Jalali and Morgan's (2018) research also found that

participants felt an increased sense of belonging at the PRU which supported them in

a similar way to a family. As indicated before, Tayshaun's friendship group had either left the school or had been excluded and as a result he would meet them after school, although he was fairly isolated in school. Dwayne also knew all the pupils in the intervention programme he was placed in after his reintegration which made it easy for him to settle in. For Yusuf, the youth group provided this sense of belonging outside of school. Kwame's mother paid for him to receive mentoring within the community which provided him with someone positive to connect with and this increased the level of trust he then had for teachers within the school. The importance of community mentors was also highlighted in Wright et al.'s (2014) research as some black males found this to be supportive. There is a strong desire to belong for participants, which fits in with the theory that people have a need to belong and a sense of belonging is linked with emotional and learning benefits (Baumeister & Leary, 1995). Bottiani, Bradshaw and Mendelson (2017) found that the larger the disparity in school exclusions between black and white pupils the lower the feeling of school belonging in black pupils highlighting the importance of equitable exclusions. Jamal, Yusuf and Tayshaun's experiences inside school may explain why they found a sense of belonging outside school.

Dwayne talks about the strength which comes from being supported by peers and likens the strength of a collective to being in a sports team. He describes the school sports team he is in as 'unbeatable' because they are working together. Dwayne suggests that a healthy amount of competition helps them to perform better but when they are overly competitive this hinders their performance. Prince also suggests that a competitive approach to graduating from Year 9 helped him and his friends to succeed. This supports the findings in Lown's (2005) research which found that peers

helped to motivate the participants to achieve when they returned to school although there is no mention of competition.

5.7.2 Intervention

The intervention programme that the school in Local Authority B ran for pupils at risk of exclusion was attended by Dwayne and Prince who both felt supported by this intervention. The intervention fostered an atmosphere of inclusivity within the school as it communicated to the pupils that they were valued enough to support them to stay in school. The black male member of staff who ran the intervention included a scheme of work around their self-identity which further communicated that they were accepted as black males and Prince felt it was helping him become a man. Dwayne spoke about the tree metaphor which was used to help them explore their strengths and weaknesses. The intervention gave them the space to define who they were rather than being told implicitly by society. Dwayne also references a poem they used in the scheme by Williamson called 'our deepest fear' (Williamson, 2005). This poem suggests that people fear how powerful they are:

"*Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate,*
Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure" (Williamson, 2005)

The opportunity to talk about their lives was also invaluable as the participants were viewed and valued as individuals. The black males in Wright's (2014) research also felt a strong connection to the organisations they used to help them such as supplementary schools.

5.7.3 Friends as family

There were parallels between the roles that family played and the role friends played in the participants' lives. Prince talked about his friend breaking the news that his

brother was in prison after seeing him on the news, rather than his parents telling him this news. This information is of personal significance to Prince's family and yet his community was sharing his experience as his friend's brother had been friends with Prince's brother. The participants' friends also expressed their excitement at having them back at school after an exclusion. Tayshaun and Yusuf both use the phrase "hype up" to describe how they were greeted on their return and Tayshaun goes as far as to say "*you're family, you know, I mean [kisses teeth] like at school*" (2:119-120). The participants' friends at school seemed to create the same sense of belonging and inclusivity that their families did. The importance of betrayal and loyalty was salient to Tayshaun's experiences of exclusion as he had felt betrayed by both a teacher and a pupil which led to him being excluded twice. Given his feeling that school connections were like family, the 'betrayals' as he saw them, may have been felt more acutely. Kwame also expresses how important it was for him to make friends when he started secondary school and was excluded in the first instance due to a breach of the school's code of conduct outside of school. Pillay et al. (2013) also found that peers increased the sense of attachment participants had to the school. Dwayne's extended family also played an important role in his life as knowledge of their presence provided security when he moved to a new area. This outcome goes against Gersch and Nolan's (1994) research who found that participants were concerned about how their peers would receive them on their return. In the current research there were no such concerns and the participants felt welcomed on their return to school. Presumably this is because the participants in Gersch and Nolan's (1994) research reported past difficulties with peer relationships. The importance of participant's peer group is explained by the idea that adolescents place a high importance on their relationships with peers (Tarrant, 2002). The sense of belonging

to high school is developed though friendships and is important to adolescences psychological wellbeing (Hamm & Faircloth, 2005)

5.8 Critical Race Theory

Some of the participants' experiences of exclusion and reintegration may be explained by Critical Race Theory (CRT) due to the fact that their experiences of racism remain hidden beneath the 'normal' and subtle practices within society and education. Consideration should be given to the extent to which institutional and societal racism is woven through this research, bearing in mind the participants' reports of their experiences. These reports include: feelings of being over monitored, treated more harshly, the closing down of their youth club, siblings in prison, family poverty, homelessness and the inaccessibility of black role models. However, it may be argued that one cannot reduce the experiences of these participants to one single denominator, namely race or racism, as other factors may need to be taken into account. For example, there is no real way of knowing whether Prince and Yusuf's brothers would have been incarcerated if they were female and white or if their incarcerations were as a result of biases in the legal system. One could ask the same question with reference to the other circumstances, for instance: if Prince's friend would have been stopped and searched if he was white or whether any of the black young men who took part in this research would have received the same treatment if they were female and white. However, what is clear is that the young men in this research report their experiences of inequality of treatment within school and society.

5.9 Limitations of findings

IPA focuses on individuals' experiences and uses a small sample size. As a result this research may not be representative of all black males in secondary school who have been excluded and reintegrated into mainstream school.

The data collection method relied on the data collected from interviews which relies on the participant's use of language. During the interviews I asked participants to explain any vernacular terms used. I was under the impression that they assumed I understood the vernacular terms they were using. This is because I am black with a London accent which was an advantage as they felt able to speak freely. It had its limitations though in that participants did not see the need to fully explain what they meant by certain phrases. I understood the majority of vernacular terms used having grown up in London. However, during the interviews I found there were some terms I had not heard of such as 'nitty', which one of the participants said meant someone who does not follow the crowd. The transcribers sometimes incorrectly transcribed the vernacular terms or marked that part of the interview as 'unclear', thus completely changing the meaning of the text. I carefully checked the transcripts against the interviews and where I identified inconsistencies I added the correct vernacular terms used. However, it may well be that I have missed other vernacular terms which were unknown to me. This should have very little impact on my interpretation of the text since I was able to ascribe the exact meaning of what participants were saying within the context of the interview.

Only the sample of participants whose parents gave their written consent to take part were recruited and interviewed as some parents did not want give consent. Furthermore, the concern a parent expressed over whether the researcher was black may indicate that she had a heightened awareness of the role of race in exclusion and possibly other parents who did not provide consent may have shared this view. It is therefore conceivable that some critical perspectives of those pupils whose parents did not allow them to take part were missed. The schools that agreed to take part may have been more inclusive than those that did not agree to take part. The role of the gatekeepers was key here in that pupils from these non-participating schools and parents were not given a voice.

It could be argued that the focus of this research further 'others' (makes a minority group seem alien) black males as Hegarty (2019) suggests that when researchers compare low status groups against high status groups, it is implying the high status groups' norms are the norms to which every other group should be compared. For example, researchers may say 'black people are nine times more likely to be stopped and searched by police than white people are', rather than saying 'white people are nine times less likely to be stopped and searched by police than black people are'. Thus suggesting that black people are "*the effect to be explained*" (Hegarty, 2019, p. 50) rather than white people. In this research I have I would however argue that as this research gives a voice to those who have been 'othered' and since the focus of this research is black males' experiences, it is appropriate to focus on the way the society is experienced from the low status groups' perspective.

5.10 Self-reflexivity

When I first started, I aimed to look at successful reintegration until I realised how difficult it was to recruit enough participants. However, this made me more determined to keep the focus of the research on black male pupils as I did not want to go for a colour-blind approach. My journey through this research has contained moments where it felt as though the research was progressing well such as when I arrived at a school to interview the first pupil. At other times I felt as though I was not making progress when on the first visit to the school I became disheartened on hearing he had been sent to the PRU for two weeks. I had to reschedule the interview for when the pupil was due to return to school and wondered if this is what successful reintegration looked like for black pupils.

My own experience in the English education system as a black person and as a black professional working in schools made me aware of the disproportionate number of black boys excluded from schools. I was aware of various theories as to why this occurred and the lack of research into pupils' perspectives. The opportunity to engage fully with the participants' experiences rather than my own gave me an insight into how they experienced exclusion and inclusion within the school community and wider society. As a black woman I could have assumed my experiences would be similar however by bracketing this off and fully seeking to understand the participants' experiences gained a more insightful view. I was also mindful that I am treated and viewed differently in society to men. In addition, my awareness of being a professional meant I made a conscious decision to emphasis my status as a student in an attempt to reduce the power imbalance between myself and the pupils.

Interviewing participants and analysing the interviews made me aware of the significance of other factors in black male pupils' lives. For example, I was surprised by the other forms of exclusion which participants talked about such as siblings in prison and postcode wars. I also realised that participants were not only seeing these events on T.V, but it was the reality of their daily lives and the lives of their community. Many of the participants' inclusive environments were inside an education setting, for example, an intervention or similar education institution where they were with friends or played sports.

5.11 Future research

There is more research needed in this area to fully understand the black boys' experiences. Given the importance of pupil-teacher relationships it would be useful for researchers to look at the relationship between black males and their teachers from both the teachers' and the pupils' experiences and compare it to the experiences of teachers and white boys.

The experience that exclusion plays on pupils' relationship with the school is not fully understood. Research into the experiences of black male pupils who have not been excluded and those who have; would be useful to explore. This would reveal the extent to which exclusion impacts on the way they experience the school environment.

The pupils' experiences of inclusive environments had an impact on their feeling of belonging. The intervention pupils received in school B appeared to be a protective factor which supported reintegration and fostered a sense of belonging. Research on

similar schools with intervention programmes that focus on identity and self-image could help prevent exclusions.

Dwayne's experience of parental involvement and a home-school agreement was positive and highlights the need for more research into how schools and parents collaborate. The experiences of parents who have black sons may provide further insight into the barriers and supportive practices.

5.12 Implications of findings for parents and professionals

The findings of this research have a number of implications for professionals such as EPs and teachers. The experiences of the black male pupils in secondary schools in this research highlight how varied pupils' experiences in life can be.

Parents

- There is a need for pupils' individual life experiences to be understood and the meaning individual pupils attribute to their life experiences. Black male pupils may have a heightened awareness and experience of exclusion within the wider society and therefore an understanding of the issues which are pertinent in their lives is important to fully understand them. This was evident in the superordinate theme 'forms of exclusion'.

- When conversations between home and school were honest and collaborative this led to positive change in Dwayne's mindset. Schools could speak to parents about what can be put in place on the pupils' return to support their reintegration to school and instigate positive change.

- Parents were influential in the pupils' reintegration into school. Pupils were motivated to work harder at school when they were aware that this would please their parents. Parents should engage their children in discussions about what they would like to achieve in the future. Black pupils may benefit from forming connections with older black people, particularly from their community, who have achieved success. Community mentoring schemes may provide a good source of support, as we saw for Kwame.

Schools

- This research highlights the importance that the black male pupils attributed to their relationships with the teachers. Instances where teachers took the time to talk to them about issues related to their lives outside of school were highly valued by pupils, therefore teachers should look for opportunities to demonstrate an interest in their lives. Positive, short conversations between pupils and teachers could make a significant difference in the pupils' experience of their relationship with professionals. Pupils sought to change teachers' perceptions of them, particularly after an exclusion, therefore pupils' positive efforts should be looked for and celebrated both publicly and privately.

- Black male pupils need to know that the adults around them believe they can succeed in life and teachers can present a different narrative about their lives than the one that they see in the media and in society. For example, as we have already seen, Prince's brother had been on the news regarding his prison sentence. Dwayne talked about the black male musicians he knew from his area who had gone to prison and then made a success out of music.

- The interventions which focused on pupils' identity and lives outside of school were considered to be particularly valuable. This could be used in schools to give pupils the opportunity to think about and define who they are and who they want to be.

- Participants valued their friendships and the graduation event that school B offered pupils at the end of Year 9 provided them with a common goal. Schools could give pupils positive goals that they can work towards as a collective to foster a sense of belonging and a desire to motivate each other to achieve.

- There is a need for black pupils to learn about black male role models who have found success outside of the music and sports industries in order for them to form a balanced view of what is possible for them through academic pursuits.

EPs

- EPs could help schools understand the relational needs of pupils and provide training to schools to support pupil-teacher interaction.

- EPs are well placed to help schools understand the factors which might be at play within the education system that may be contributing to the high exclusion rate of black pupils. EPs could highlight the importance of not taking a colour-blind, or gender-blind approach to implementing behaviour policies. Instead there is a need for schools and LAs to look at which groups in the schools are being reprimanded, excluded or removed from lessons more often and if certain groups are more likely to be excluded EPs could help schools' understanding and acceptance of difference.

- Training could be offered to schools by EPs around the benefits of being reflective about their practice. Teachers could be offered training on implicit bias and the importance of having high academic and behavioural expectations of black pupils.

- EPs could also offer support to community organisations which help the black community to identify which of their practices could be incorporated into secondary schools.

Wider Policy Development

- The DfE should carefully monitor schools' exclusions to ensure that pupils are not disproportionately excluded in relation to protected characteristics such as race. Schools should be held accountable if this occurs.

- The DfE should allow parents to appeal to an independent appeals panel with the power to overturn their child's exclusion rather than the current practice of parents appealing to schools' governing boards (who are part of the school) or an independent review panel (who can only make recommendations) (Staufenberg, 2018; DfE, 2017a). This option may have prevented Yusuf's mother from opting to send her son to another school rather than the ultimatum she was given of a place at the AP or permanent exclusion to a PRU.

- The DfE should monitor the use of PRUs and APs for 'respite'. There should be a limit to the length of time pupils can be placed in an AP and remain on the roll of mainstream schools.

- The closing down of youth clubs is evidence of the adverse impact of government austerity measures on young people. The government may need

to consider what else can be put in place if they reduce funding to community organisations such as youth clubs. As Tayshaun mentioned, it was the closure of his youth club which left him and his friends to socialise on the street.

5.13 Dissemination

The findings of this research will be presented to the Educational Psychology Service (EPS) in which I am situated so they can gain greater understanding of the exclusion of black males and the exclusion practices in their LA. The findings and implications for practice will be presented at a Team meeting in the EPS. The schools who took part in the research will also receive a summary of the overarching themes alongside implications for practice.

6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The research's aim was to give a voice to black boys in secondary school who experienced exclusion and reintegration. This addresses the gap in the literature as the experiences of black boys who have been excluded and reintegrated in secondary school has not been previously explored. The participants' individual interviews elicited six overarching themes, namely: Pupils' positive and negative relationship with schools and teachers, Self-identity and managing adults' perceptions of them, Personal impact of different forms of exclusion, Forms of exclusion, Role of significant people and Inclusive environments.

Teacher acceptance was of high importance to the participants as they valued teachers' efforts to connect with them, particularly when teachers demonstrated that they believed the pupils could succeed and took an interest in their lives outside of school. Various forms of exclusion signalled to participants that they were disliked. The relationship between teachers and pupils has implications for pupils' self-identity.

Each pupil revealed the personal impact of an external exclusion such as boredom, anger, feeling unconcerned and the suddenness of the exclusion. However, participants also revealed feelings of exclusion in a wider sense extending beyond the school to their siblings in prison, postcode wars, drug dealers and gang violence.

The suggestions I put forward in this research will require a significant paradigm shift in the way in which black boys are perceived, feel they are perceived and in some cases perceive themselves within the education system. One school in the research sought to address this by giving pupils a sense of belonging within an intervention programme. The intervention

programme at the time of reintegration was seen as supportive and enabled participants to explore their self-identity in a positive manner. The participants indicated the role of peers was of importance to a sense of belonging. One participant reported that he felt the school was like a family with the presence of his peers who welcomed him back. A Year 9 graduation scheme emboldened some pupils to support each other to achieve positive outcomes. I am convinced that the suggestions emerging from the research, if put into practice, will be an effective change agent in schools' community cohesion practices and policies to reduce the number of black boys excluded.

Significant people in the pupils' lives acted as motivation to succeed in school and some participants experienced a change in mindset after their parents' reactions to their exclusion were made evident. Participants' mothers were particularly influential in motivating and fostering resilience on their return to school. This was strengthened when school and home effectively collaborated to ensure further exclusions did not occur. Outside of school, family, mentoring and youth clubs provided an inclusive environment within the participants' community. I am convinced that change can be brought about on the disproportionate exclusion of black boys through the change of attitudes, standards and practice of professionals, individuals, institutions and society.

Word Count: 39,997

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Appendices

Appendix A: Key words or phrases and related search terms

Key word or phrase	Black (and) mixed race	Exclusion	School	Lived experience	reintegration
Related terms	black OR African OR Caribbean OR African-Caribbean OR Afro-Caribbean OR African Caribbean OR Afro Caribbean OR people of colour OR ethnic OR "ethnic minority" OR ethnicity OR race OR mixed OR mixed-race OR mixed race OR mixed heritage OR racially mixed OR biracial OR interracial OR racially-mixed OR multiracial	exclude* OR exclusion OR expel* OR suspend* OR suspension	school OR educat* OR college OR "sixth form" OR "6th form" OR year OR "key stage" OR student OR pupil	experience OR perception OR view OR voice OR "lived experience" OR account OR narrative OR story	re-intergrat* OR reintegrat* OR return* OR rejoin*

Appendix B: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for first literature review question

What does the literature tell us about the experiences of black boys' at risk of exclusion or who have experienced an exclusion from school?

Exclusion Criteria	Inclusion criteria
• Articles not related to the experiences of black males who have been excluded from school • Quantitative studies • Studies which do not look at students' experiences • Studies in which the data from black males cannot be extracted from the rest of the study. • Studies with only one participant • Articles not from the UK	• Studies from the UK including Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland • Black men who have experienced an exclusion • Studies with two or more participants • Studies with pupils with SEND • Participants at risk of exclusion

Appendix C: Reason for articles not being included in first literature review

What does the literature tell us about the experiences of black boys' at risk of exclusion or who have experienced an exclusion from school?

Reason for exclusion	Number of articles excluded Search 2	Number of articles excluded Search 3
Articles not related to the experiences of black males who have been excluded from school	73	128
Articles not from UK	26	2

Appendix D: Inclusion and exclusion criteria for second literature review question

What does the literature tell us about excluded pupils' views of reintegration?

Exclusion Criteria	Inclusion criteria
• Articles not related to the views of pupils who have been excluded from school • Articles not related to pupils' views of reintegration • Quantitative studies • Studies in which the data from pupils cannot be extracted from the rest of the study. • Studies with only one participant • Articles not from the UK	• Studies from the UK including Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland • Reintegration following a permanent exclusion • Studies with two or more participants • Studies with pupils with SEND

Appendix E: Reason for articles not being included in second literature review

What does the literature tell us about excluded pupils' views of reintegration?

Reason for exclusion	Number of articles excluded Search 2	Number of articles excluded Search 3
Not related to the experiences of pupils who have been excluded from school and reintegrated into school	59	99
Not reintegrated into mainstream school	2	0
Articles not from UK	3	0

Appendix F: Original Interview Schedule

Interview Questions

Q. 1 What was school like for you around the time of your fixed period exclusion?
Potential prompts to use
  ➢ How did you feel about school?
  ➢ What was going on at school around that time?
  ➢ What was a typical school day like around then?
  ➢ What were your relationships like? (e.g. with teachers, peers, family)
Q. 2 What was school like for you when you first returned after the exclusion?
Potential prompts to use
  ➢ What was going on at the time?
  ➢ How did you feel about returning?
  ➢ What were your relationships like?
Q. 3 What is school like for you now?
Potential prompts to use
  ➢ How do you feel now at school?
  ➢ What is a typical school day like for you?
  ➢ What are your relationships like with people at school and home?
Q. 4 Why do you think you haven't received any more fixed period exclusions in the last year?
 Potential prompts to use.

  ➢ What is different about being at school now than what it was like being at school around the time of the fixed period exclusion?
  ➢ Has anything else in your life changed since that time?
Q. 5 Is there anything else you wanted to share about your experience that I haven't asked you about?

Debrief questions
How did you feel about taking part in the interview?
How did you feel about the questions I asked you?
Was there anything in the interview you found difficult to talk about?
How do you feel now? Is there anything worrying you?
Is there anything else you would like to say?
Do you feel you need any support?

Appendix G: Original, Headteacher's email, information sheet and consent form

[Date]

Dear [Headteacher's name],

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist studying at the Tavistock and Portman Mental Health Trust and working for [Local Authority name] Educational Psychology Service. I am writing to ask permission to conduct my main research at [school's name]. One of the requirements for the Child, Community and Educational Psychology course I am studying, is to carry out research relevant to the Educational Psychology role. The title of my research is 'Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school.'

Before deciding whether or not you wish to take part, please read the information sheet and consent form provided.

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Contact details

If you have any questions please send me an email or call me and I will get back to you.
Researcher: Rebekah Boyd
Email addressXXXXX@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Telephone: XXXXX (Monday to Wednesday)

Headteacher Information Sheet

Title: Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school.

Participants

I am looking to interview black and mixed race boys in Key stage 4 and 5 who have experienced a fixed period exclusion in the past, but have not been excluded in the last 3 terms of school. Three terms without a further exclusion is considered successful reintegration into school in this study.

Why this research?

Studies show that there is a national trend of students who have one biological parent of African or Caribbean descent, who are more likely to be excluded from school than any other group and that boys are more likely than girls to be excluded. The overall aim of this research is to understand what school has been like for black and mixed race boys who were at risk of permanent exclusion (i.e. experienced a fixed period exclusion) and have been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream school. Giving a space for these young people's voices to be heard, could ultimately support an understanding of how to prevent permanent exclusion amongst black and mixed race boys in the future. This research is likely to be shared with other professionals and members of the public, but the school and students' identities would be protected.

What is involved?

I would meet with students twice. The first meeting would be no longer than 15 minutes just so I can introduce myself and answer any questions they may have about taking part. I would then interview each student a week later where they would be free to talk to me about their experiences for up to an hour. I will ask questions about what school was like for them around the time of the fixed period exclusion/s and what school has been like for him since returning. This is audio recorded so it can be transcribed and analysed later on. The interview would be on a one-to-one basis with myself in a quiet room in school. I understand that 'exclusion' could be a difficult topic to talk about so students would be free to end the interview whenever they wanted and withdraw from the research. **Confidentiality and anonymity**

When the research is written up the name of the school will be changed and the Local Authority the school is in will not be named. This is to prevent people being able to identify where or with whom the research has taken place. School staff and other people will not be told which individuals said what in the interviews unless I had safeguarding concerns. I will follow ethical and legal practice in the handling of student data. Students' names will be changed to protect their identity. There will be 6-8 students in the final research so there is a possibility students may recognise some of the things they said. The students' information and audio recordings will be kept safe and secure and will be stored in line with the Research Councils UK (RCUK) guidance. I will follow the legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy in the storage and handling of the confidential information I collect.

What will happen to the interviews after they have been transcribed?

I will analyse all of the students' interviews. This will then be brought together to form my thesis which I have to complete as part of my Educational Psychology qualification. The overall findings are likely to be shared with other professionals, but the Local Authority the school is in will not be named, your school's name will be changed and the students' names will be changed to protect their identities.

Am I obliged to agree to this research and can students withdraw?

Your schools participation is voluntary and a reason does not need to be given if you chose not to participate. The decision to allow students to take part or not in this research will not have an impact on your access to Educational Psychology Services. Students are also not obliged to take part in this research. Students and parents can withdraw their interview from the research up until the point when it has been transcribed which is likely to be within a month of the interview because at this point data is anonymised and I will no longer be able to trace the data that belongs to each student. Students may stop the interview whenever they like.

Ethical Approval and Ethical Concerns

This project has received ethical approval from Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the researcher or any other aspects of the research project you can contact Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance (academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk)

Permission

Please complete the attached consent form to indicate whether or not you agree to students from your school being part of this study and give it to [Name of SENCO] (Special Educational Needs co-ordinator).

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Headteacher's Consent Form

Title of research project: Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school.

Researcher: Rebekah Boyd (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Headteacher consent

- ✓ I understand that the Local Authority will not be named and the school's name will be changed in the final research.
- ✓ I understand that students' names will be changed, but as there are 6-8 participants, they may still recognise some of their own statements.
- ✓ I understand that the students' identities will be protected unless the researcher has to reveal it for safeguarding or legal reasons.
- ✓ I understand that my school's participation in this research is voluntary.
- ✓ I understand that students can choose to withdraw at any time and can withdraw their interview from the research up until the point when it has been transcribed.
- ✓ I give permission for students to be interviewed and audio recorded in a quiet room in school.
- ✓ I understand that the research may be shared with professionals on completion.
- ✓ I give permission for students at [school name] to be part of Rebekah Boyd's research.

I have read and understood the information about Rebekah Boyd's research and I agree with the statements above. Please sign below to indicate that you agree.

Headteacher's name (Printed):……………………………………………………………

Headteacher's Signature:………………………………………………………………

Date:………………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix H: Revised Headteacher's email, information sheet and consent form

[Date]

Dear [Headteacher's name],

I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist studying at the Tavistock and Portman Mental Health Trust and working for [Local Authority name] Educational Psychology Service. I am writing to ask permission to conduct my main research at [school's name]. One of the requirements for the Child, Community and Educational Psychology course I am studying, is to carry out research relevant to the Educational Psychology role. The title of my research is 'Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and re-integration into a mainstream secondary school.

Before deciding whether or not you wish to take part, please read the information sheet and consent form provided.

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Contact details

If you have any questions please send me an email or call me and I will get back to you.
Researcher: Rebekah Boyd
Email address: XXXXXXX@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Telephone: XXXXXXX (Monday to Wednesday)

Headteacher Information Sheet

Title: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and re-integration into a mainstream secondary school.

Participants

I am looking to interview black and mixed race boys in secondary school who have experienced an external exclusion in the past and been reintegrated back into school.

Why this research?

Studies show that there is a national trend of students who have one biological parent of African or Caribbean descent, who are more likely to be excluded from school than any other group and that boys are more likely than girls to be excluded. The overall aim of this research is to understand what it is like for black boys who have been excluded from school and reintegrated. This is in order to identify what factors they perceive support their reintegration and are involved in their exclusion. Giving a space for these young people's voices to be heard, could ultimately support an understanding of how to support the reintegration of excluded black and mixed race boys in the future. This research is likely to be shared with other professionals and members of the public, but the school and students' identities would be protected.

What is involved?

I would interview each student where they would be free to talk to me about their experiences for up to an hour I will ask questions about his experience of external exclusion and what it was like to return to school... This is audio recorded so it can be transcribed and analysed later on. The interview would be on a one-to-one basis with myself in a quiet room in school. I understand that 'exclusion' could be a difficult topic to talk about so students would be free to end the interview whenever they wanted and withdraw from the research.

Confidentiality and anonymity

When the research is written up the name of the school will be changed and the Local Authority the school is in will not be named. This is to prevent people being able to identify where or with whom the research has taken place. School staff and other people will not be told which individuals said what in the interviews unless I had safeguarding concerns. I will follow ethical and legal practice in the handling of student data. Students' names will be changed to protect their identity. There will be 5-8 students in the final research so there is a possibility students may recognise some of the things they said. The students' information and audio recordings will be kept safe and secure and will be stored in line with the Research Council's UK (RCUK) guidance. I will follow the legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy in the storage and handling of the confidential information I collect.

What will happen to the interviews after they have been transcribed?

I will analyse all of the students' interviews. This will then be brought together to form my thesis which I have to complete as part of my Educational Psychology qualification. The overall findings are likely to be shared with other professionals,

but the Local Authority the school is in will not be named, your school's name will be changed and the students' names will be changed to protect their identities.

Am I obliged to agree to this research and can students withdraw?

Your school's participation is voluntary and a reason does not need to be given if you chose not to participate. The decision to allow students to take part or not in this research will not have an impact on your access to Educational Psychology Services. Students are also not obliged to take part in this research. Students and parents can withdraw their interview from the research up until the point when it has been transcribed because at this point data is anonymised and I will no longer be able to trace the data that belongs to each student. Students may stop the interview whenever they like.

Ethical Approval and Ethical Concerns

This project has received ethical approval from Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the researcher or any other aspects of the research project you can contact Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance (academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk)

Permission

Please complete the attached consent form to indicate whether or not you agree to students from your school being part of this study and send it to one of the email addresses below.

XXXXXXX@tavi-port.nhs.uk

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Headteacher's Consent Form

Title of research project: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and reintegration into a mainstream secondary school.

Researcher: Rebekah Boyd (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Headteacher consent

- ✓ I understand that the Local Authority will not be named and the school's name will be changed in the final research.
- ✓ I understand that students' names will be changed, but as there are 5-8 participants, they may still recognise some of their own statements.
- ✓ I understand that the students' identities will be protected unless the researcher has to reveal it for safeguarding or legal reasons.
- ✓ I understand that my school's participation in this research is voluntary.
- ✓ I understand that students can choose to withdraw at any time and can withdraw their interview from the research up until the point when it has been transcribed.
- ✓ I give permission for students to be interviewed and audio recorded in a quiet room in school.
- ✓ I understand that the research may be shared with professionals on completion.
- ✓ I give permission for students at [school name] to be part of Rebekah Boyd's research.

I have read and understood the information about Rebekah Boyd's research and I agree with the statements above. Please sign below to indicate that you agree.

Headteacher's name (Printed):……………………………………………………………

Headteacher's Signature:………………………………………………………………

Date:………………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix I: Original, Parent's letter, information sheet and consent form

[Date]

Dear Parent/Carer of [Students name]

My name is Rebekah Boyd and I am currently studying Educational Psychology at the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust and working part time as a Trainee Educational Psychologist in [Local Authority name]. As part of my university course, I am researching the experiences of black and mixed race boys who have successfully returned to school after having had a fixed period exclusion. I am writing to ask your permission to invite your son to be part of this research as I would like to hear his experience of being excluded and his successful reintegration into school. Before deciding whether or not you would be happy to allow your son to take part, please read the information sheet and consent form provided.

Kind regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Contact details

If you have any questions please send me an email or call me and I will get back to you.
Researcher: Rebekah Boyd
Email address: xxxxxx@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Telephone: xxxxxxx (Monday to Wednesday)

Parent/Carer Information Sheet

Title: Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school

Why your son has been invited to take part in this research

Your son's school has agreed to identify black and mixed race boys who have experienced a fixed period exclusion in the past, but have not been excluded in the last 3 terms of school. Three terms without a further exclusion is considered successful reintegration into school in this study.

Why this research?

Students who have one biological parent of African or Caribbean descent, are more likely to be excluded from school than any other group and boys are more likely than girls to be excluded. The overall aim of this research is to understand what school has been like for black and mixed race boys who were at risk of permanent exclusion (i.e. experienced a fixed-term exclusion) and have been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream school. Giving a space for these young people's voices to be heard, could ultimately support an understanding of how to prevent permanent exclusions amongst black and mixed race boys in the future.

What is involved?

I would meet with your son twice. The first meeting would be no longer than 15 minutes just so I can introduce myself and answer any questions he may have about taking part. I would then interview him a week later where he would be free to talk to me about his experiences for up to an hour, this would include a 5 minute debrief at the end. I will ask questions about what school was like for your son around the time of the fixed period exclusion/s and what school has been like for him since his return. This is audio recorded so it can be typed up and analysed later on. The interview is on a one-to-one basis with myself in a room in school. I understand that 'exclusion' could be a difficult topic to talk about so your son would be free to end the interview whenever he wanted and withdraw from the research.

Who will know what my son says in the interview? (Confidentiality and anonymity)

School staff and other people will not be told which individuals said what in the interviews so your son's involvement in the research will not impact on his relationship with school staff. The only exception is if a student says something which suggests that they are or someone else is in danger as then safeguarding procedures would need to be followed. I would however speak to the student at the time if something they said raised concern. I will follow ethical and legal practice in the handling of student data. When the research is written up the name of the school will be changed and the Local Authority the school is in will not be named. This is to prevent people being able to identify where or with whom the research has taken place. Your son's name will be changed to protect his identity and reduce the likelihood of people being able to identify him. There will be 6-8 students in the final research so there is a possibility students may recognise some of the things they said.

I will ensure that I follow the legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy in the storage and handling of the confidential information I collect. In addition, the information and audio recordings will be kept safe and secure and will be stored in line with the Research Councils UK (RCUK) guidance.

What will happen to the interviews after they have been typed up?

Your son's interview will be analysed by myself and the analysis will be included with the other students who I will interview. This will then be brought together to form my thesis which I have to complete as part of my Educational Psychology qualification. The overall findings are likely to be shared with other professionals such as teachers and psychologists but the Local Authority the school is in will not be named, your son's name and the name of the school will be changed to protect his identity.

Does my son have to be part of this research and can I withdraw?

Your son's participation in this research is voluntary. Even if you both agree for him to take part initially, you can change your mind even after the interview has taken place. His interview can be removed from the research up until the point when it has been typed up because at this point your son's name will be changed and I will no longer be able to trace which data belongs to him. He may stop the interview whenever he likes. You can withdraw your son without giving a reason.

The decision to allow your son to take part or not in this research will not have an impact on your access to Educational Psychology Services so you can still ask for support from an Educational Psychologist in the future. Furthermore your decision will not impact on your relationship with school staff as the school does not benefit from students taking part or not taking part in the research.

Ethical Approval and Ethical Concerns

This project has received ethical approval from Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the researcher or any other aspects of the research project you can contact Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance (academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk)

Permission

Please complete the attached consent form to indicate whether or not you would like to be part of this study and give it to [Name of SENCO] (Special Educational Needs co-ordinator).

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Advice and support

If you become concerned about your child's emotional wellbeing there are a number of sources of support available.

You can arrange an appointment to see your child's class teacher or the school Special Educational Needs Coordinator
.

Young Minds Parents Helpline: 0808 802 5544 (Monday to Friday 9.30am – 4pm, free for mobiles and landlines)

Local Child and Adolescence Mental Health Service (CAMHS): [Local CAMHS NO.]

Parent/Carer Consent Form

Title of research project: Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school

Researcher: Rebekah Boyd (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Parental/ Carer consent

- ✓ I understand that my son's name will be changed to reduce the likelihood of people being able to identify him, but as there are 6-8 participants, he may recognise some of his own statements.
- ✓ I understand that my son's identity will be protected unless the researcher has to reveal it for safety or legal reasons.
- ✓ I understand that my son's participation in this research is voluntary.
- ✓ I understand that my son can choose to withdraw at any time and I can withdraw my son's interview from the research up until the point when it has been typed up.
- ✓ I give permission for the interview to be audio recorded as long as my son's quotes are anonymised in the final research project.
- ✓ I understand that the research may be shared with other professionals on completion.

I give permission for [student's name] to take part in Rebekah Boyd's research

I have read and understood the information about Rebekah Boyd's research and I agree with the statements above. Please sign below to indicate that you agree

Student's name (Printed):…………………………………………………………………..

Parent's name (Printed):..………………………………………………………………..

Parent's Signature:…………………………………………………………………………..

Date:………………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix J: Revised, Parent's letter, information sheet and consent form

[Date]

Dear Parent/Carer of [Students name]

My name is Rebekah Boyd and I am currently studying Educational Psychology at the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust and working part time as a Trainee Educational Psychologist in [Local Authority name]. As part of my university course, I am researching the experiences of black and mixed race boys who have returned to school after having had an external exclusion. I am writing to ask your permission to invite your son to be part of this research as I would like to hear his experience of being excluded and his reintegration into school. Before deciding whether or not you would be happy to allow your son to take part, please read the information sheet and consent form provided.

Kind regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Contact details

If you have any questions please send me an email or call me and I will get back to you.
Researcher: Rebekah Boyd
Email address: XXXXX@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Telephone: XXXXX (Monday to Wednesday)

Parent/Carer Information Sheet

Title: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and reintegration into a mainstream secondary school

Why your son has been invited to take part in this research

Your son's school has agreed to identify black and mixed race boys who have experienced an external exclusion in the past and have been reintegrated back into school.

Why this research?

Students who have one biological parent of African or Caribbean descent, are more likely to be excluded from school than any other group and boys are more likely than girls to be excluded. I hope to find out what it is like to be excluded and then to return to school. Giving a space for these young people's voices to be heard, could ultimately support an understanding of how to support the reintegration of excluded black and mixed race boys in the future.

What is involved?

Your son would be free to talk to me about his experiences for up to an hour which will include a 5 minute debrief at the end. I will ask questions about his experience of external exclusion and what it was like to return to school. This meeting is audio recorded so that it can be typed up and analysed later. I would meet with your son in school on a one-to-one basis. I understand that exclusion could be difficult to talk about so he is free to end the interview whenever he wants and can decide to no longer be part of the research.

Who will know what I say? (Confidentiality and anonymity)

Other people (including school staff) will not be told who said what in the interviews unless a pupil said something which suggested someone is in danger. I would speak to your son at the time if something he said worried me. The written research will not include the name of the local authority, school or people's real names. This is so people are less likely to identify the students. There will be 5-8 students in the final research so there is a possibility your son may recognise some of the things he said. The information and interview recordings will be kept safe and secure and will be looked after in the way the Research Council's UK (RCUK), legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy tells me to.

What will happen to the interviews after they have been typed up?

The interviews will be analysed by myself. This will then be brought together to form my thesis which I have to complete as part of my Educational Psychology training. The final research will be shared with other people although they won't be told who was interviewed.

Do I have to be in this research and can I withdraw?

Participating in this research is voluntary. Your son may stop the interview whenever he likes without giving a reason and can change his mind after the interview has taken place. His information would then be taken out of my research. Your son's interview can be removed from the research up until the point when it has been typed up. Your son's school and the Educational Psychology Service does not benefit from him taking part in the research so the decision either way will not have an impact on the relationship between yourselves and your son's school or the Educational Psychology Service.

Ethical Approval and Ethical Concerns

This project has received ethical approval from Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the researcher or any other aspects of the research project you can contact the SENCo at the school (SENCo name) in the first instance and secondly, Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk can also be contacted.

Permission

Please complete the attached consent form to indicate whether or not you would like to be part of this study and give it to [Name of SENCO] (Special Educational Needs co-ordinator).

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Advice and support

If you become concerned about your child's emotional wellbeing there are a number of sources of support available.

You can arrange an appointment to see your child's class teacher or the school Special Educational Needs Coordinator
.

Young Minds Parents Helpline: 0808 802 5544 (Monday to Friday 9.30am – 4pm, free for mobiles and landlines)

Local Child and Adolescent Mental Health Service (CAMHS): [Local CAMHS NO.]

Parent/Carer Consent Form

Title of research project: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and reintegration into a mainstream secondary school

Researcher: Rebekah Boyd (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Parental/ Carer consent

- ✓ I understand that my son's name will be changed to reduce the likelihood of people being able to identify him, but as there are 5-8 participants, he may recognise some of his own statements.
- ✓ I understand that my son's identity will be protected unless the researcher has to reveal it for safety or legal reasons.
- ✓ I understand that my son's participation in this research is voluntary.
- ✓ I understand that my son can choose to withdraw at any time and I can withdraw my son's interview from the research up until the point when it has been typed up.
- ✓ I give permission for the interview to be audio recorded as long as my son's quotes are anonymised in the final research project.
- ✓ I understand that the research may be shared with other professionals on completion.

I give permission for [student's name] to take part in Rebekah Boyd's research

I have read and understood the information about Rebekah Boyd's research and I agree with the statements above. Please sign below to indicate that you agree

**Student's name
(Printed):………………………………………………………………..**

**Parent's name
(Printed):..………………………………………………………………..**
**Parent's
Signature:………………………………………………………………………**

Date:………………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix K: Original, Pupil's letter, information sheet and consent form

[Date]

Dear [students name]

My name is Rebekah Boyd and I am currently studying Educational Psychology at the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust and working part time as a Trainee Educational Psychologist in [Local Authority name]. As part of my university course, I am researching the experiences of black and mixed race boys who have been successfully reintegrated into school after experiencing a fixed period exclusion. I am writing to invite you to be part of this research as I would like to hear about your experience of fixed period exclusion and successful reintegration into school. Before deciding whether or not you wish to take part, please read the information sheet and consent form provided.

Kind regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Contact details

If you have any questions please send me an email or call me and I will get back to you.
Researcher: Rebekah Boyd
Email address: xxxxxx@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Telephone: xxxxxxxx (Monday to Wednesday)

Student Information Sheet

Title: Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school

Why you have been invited to take part in this research

Your school has agreed to identify black and mixed race boys who have experienced a fixed period exclusion in the past, but have not been excluded in the last 3 terms of school. Three terms without a further exclusion is considered a successful return to school in this study.

Why this research?

Black and mixed race students are more likely to be excluded from school than any other group and boys are more likely than girls to be excluded. The overall aim of this research is to understand what school has been like for black and mixed race boys who were at risk of permanent exclusion (i.e. experienced a fixed-term exclusion) and have been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream school. I want to know from your point of view what school has been like with the hope that this understanding will help teachers, psychologists and parents to prevent other black and mixed race boys from being permanently excluded.

What is involved?

This involves meeting with you twice. The first meeting is no longer than 15 minutes so I can introduce myself and answer any questions you may have about taking part. The second meeting, a week later, is where you are free to talk about your experiences for up to an hour this will included a 5 minute debrief at the end. I will ask questions about what school was like for you around the time of the fixed period exclusion/s and what school has been like for you since your return. This meeting is audio recorded so that it can be typed up and analysed later. It will take place in a room in school and you will only be meeting me. I understand that exclusion could be a difficult topic to talk about so you can end the interview whenever you want and withdraw from the research. **Who will know what I say? (Confidentiality and anonymity)**

School staff and other professionals will not be told who said what in the interviews unless you say something which suggests that you are or someone else is in danger, but I would speak to you at the time if something you said worried me. Therefore your involvement in the research will not impact on your relationship with school staff. I will follow ethical and legal practice in the handling of your data. When the research is written up the name of the school will be changed and the Local Authority the school is in will not be named. This is to prevent people being able to identify where or with whom the research has taken place. When the interview is typed up your name will be changed to protect your identity and reduce the likelihood of people being able to recognise you. There will be 6-8 students in the final research so there is a possibility you may recognise some of the things you said. The information and interview recordings will be kept safe and secure and will be stored in line with the Research Councils UK (RCUK) suggestions. I look after the audio recording of

your interview in the way legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy tells me to.

What will happen to the interviews after they have been typed up?

The interviews will be analysed by myself and the information will be included with the other students that I will interview. This will then be brought together to form my thesis which I have to complete as part of my Educational Psychology qualification. The overall findings are likely to be shared with teachers and psychologists, but the borough your school is in will not be named. Your name and the name of the school will be changed to protect your identity.

Do I have to be in this research and can I withdraw?

It is your choice whether you want to take part in this research. And even if you agree to take part You may stop the interview whenever you like without giving a reason and you can change your mind after the interview has taken place and your information be withdrawn from the research. Your interview can be removed from the research up until the point when it has been typed up because at this point your name will be changed and I will no longer be able to trace which data belongs to you, likely to be within a month after the interview. Your decision to take part in this research will not have an impact on your access to Educational Psychology Services so you can still ask for support from an Educational Psychologist in the future. Furthermore your decision will not impact on your relationship with school staff as the school does not benefit from student's decision either way.

Ethical Approval and Ethical concerns

This project has received ethical approval from Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the researcher or any other aspects of the research project you can contact Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance (academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk)

Permission

Please complete the attached consent form to indicate whether or not you would like to be part of this study and give it to [Name of SENCO] (Special Educational Needs co-ordinator)

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Advice and support

If you need someone to talk to there are a number of sources of support available:

Speaking to an adult you trust such as a parent or member of school staff is likely to be a good starting point.

Your school counsellor is :……..(This office is based in room…..in school)

ChildLine: 0800 1111 (Call Childline for free to speak to someone about what's happening and how you're feeling).

Samaritans: 116 123 (24 hour confidential listening and support for anyone who needs it.)

Local Child and Adolescence Mental Health Service (CAMHS): [Local CAMHS NO.]

Student Consent Form

Title of research project: Black boys' perception of school after they have experienced a fixed period exclusion and been successfully reintegrated into their mainstream secondary school.

Researcher: Rebekah Boyd (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Student consent

👍 I understand that what I say will not be linked to me unless the researcher has to do so for safety or legal reasons.

👍 I understand that the name of the school and my name will be changed to reduce the likelihood of people being able to identify me, but as there are 6-8 participants, I may still recognise some of the things I said.

👍 I understand that it is my choice to take part in this research.

👍 I understand I can withdraw at any time and I can withdraw my interview from the research up until the point when it has been typed up.

👍 I give permission for the interview to be audio recorded as long as my name is changed in the final research project.

👍 I understand that the research findings may be shared with other professionals when it is completed.

👍 I would like to take part in Rebekah Boyd's research.

I have read and understood the information about Rebekah Boyd's research and I agree with the statements above.   Please sign below to indicate that you agree.

**Student's name
(Printed):……………………………………………………………..**

**Student's
Signature:………………………………………………………………..**

Date:……………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix L: Revised, Pupil's letter, information sheet and consent form

[Date]

Dear [students name]

My name is Rebekah Boyd and I am currently studying Educational Psychology at the Tavistock and Portman NHS Foundation Trust and working part time as a Trainee Educational Psychologist in [Local Authority name]. As part of my university course, I am researching the experiences of black and mixed race boys who have been reintegrated into school after experiencing an external exclusion. I am writing to invite you to be part of this research as I would like to hear about your experience of external exclusion and reintegration into school. Before deciding whether or not you wish to take part, please read the information sheet and consent form provided.

Kind regards

Rebekah Boyd
Trainee Educational Psychologist

Contact details

If you have any questions please send me an email or call me and I will get back to you.
Researcher: Rebekah Boyd
Email address: XXXXXXX@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Telephone: XXXXX (Monday to Wednesday)

Student Information Sheet

Title: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and reintegration into a mainstream secondary school.

Why you have been invited to take part in this research

Your school has agreed to identify black and mixed race boys who have experienced an external exclusion in the past and have returned to school.

Why this research?

Black and mixed race students are more likely to be excluded from school than any other group and boys are more likely than girls to be excluded. I hope to find out what it is like for students to be excluded and then to return to school. I want to tell people who work with schools what can help and what makes going back to school hard.

What is involved?

 You would be free to talk to me about your experiences for up to an hour this will include a 5 minute debrief at the end. I will ask questions about your experience of external exclusion and what it was like to return to school. This meeting is audio recorded so that it can be typed up and analysed later. I would meet with you on a one-to-one basis in school. I understand that exclusion could be difficult to talk about so you are free to end the interview whenever you want and not be part of the research.

Who will know what I say? (Confidentiality and anonymity)

Other people (including school staff) will not be told who said what in the interviews unless you say something which suggests someone is in danger. I would speak to you at the time if something you said worried me. The written research will not include the name of the local authority, school or people's real names. This is so people are less likely to recognise you. There will be 5-8 students in the final research so there is a possibility you may recognise some of the things you said. The information and interview recordings will be kept safe and secure and will be looked after in the way the Research Council's UK (RCUK), legal guidelines and the University's Data Protection Policy tells me to.

What will happen to the interviews after they have been typed up?

The interviews will be analysed by myself.. This will then be brought together to form my research which I have to complete as part of my Educational Psychology training. The final research will be shared with other people although they won't be told who was interviewed.

Do I have to be in this research and can I withdraw?

It is your choice whether you want to take part in this research. You may stop the interview whenever you like without giving a reason and you can change your mind after the interview has taken place and your information be taken

out of my research. Your interview can be removed from the research up until the point when it has been typed up Your school and the Educational Psychology Service does not benefit from you taking part in the research so your decision either way will not have an impact on your relationship with your school or the Educational Psychology Service.

Ethical Approval and Ethical concerns

This project has received ethical approval from Tavistock and Portman Trust Research Ethics Committee (TREC).

If you have any concerns about the conduct of the researcher or any other aspects of the research project you can contact Simon Carrington, Head of Academic Governance and Quality Assurance academicquality@tavi-port.nhs.uk. You may wish to contact the SENCo (SENCo name) in the first instance.

Permission

Please complete the attached consent form to indicate whether or not you would like to be part of this study and give it to [Name of SENCO] (Special Educational Needs co-ordinator)

Kind Regards

Rebekah Boyd

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Advice and support

If you need someone to talk to there are a number of sources of support available:

Speaking to an adult you trust such as a parent or member of school staff is likely to be a good starting point.

Your school counsellor is :……..(This office is based in room…..in school)

ChildLine: 0800 1111 (Call Childline for free to speak to someone about what's happening and how you're feeling).

Samaritans: 116 123 (24 hour confidential listening and support for anyone who needs it.)

Student Consent Form

Title of research project: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and reintegration into a mainstream secondary school.

Researcher: Rebekah Boyd (Trainee Educational Psychologist)

Student consent

- 👍 I understand that what I say will not be linked to me unless the researcher has to do so for safety or legal reasons.
- 👍 I understand that the name of the school and my name will be changed to reduce the likelihood of people being able to identify me, but as there are 5-8 participants, I may still recognise some of the things I said.
- 👍 I understand that it is my choice to take part in this research.
- 👍 I understand I can withdraw at any time and I can withdraw my interview from the research up until the point when it has been typed up.
- 👍 I give permission for the interview to be audio recorded as long as my name is changed in the final research project.
- 👍 I understand that the research may be shared with other professionals when it is completed.
- 👍 I would like to take part in Rebekah Boyd's research.

I have read and understood the information about Rebekah Boyd's research and I agree with the statements above.   Please sign below to indicate that you agree.

Student's name (Printed):…………………………………………………………………..

Student's Signature:…………………………………………………………………………..

Date:………………………

Thank you for your time

Appendix M: Revised, Interview Schedule

Interview Questions

Q. 1 Could you begin by telling me about your exclusion/s from school?
Potential prompts to use
- What do you think led to the exclusion/s?
- How did you feel about being excluded?
- What did it feel like to be excluded?
- What was going on for you around that time?
- How did your family/peers/teachers feel about the exclusion/s?
- What was a typical day like around then?
- What were your relationships like? (e.g. with teachers, peers, family)

Q. 2 What was it like to return to school after the exclusion/s?
Potential prompts to use
- What happened when you returned to school?
- What was going on at the time?
- How did you feel about returning?
- How did your family/ peers/teachers feel about you returning to school?
- What were your relationships like?

Q. 3 What is it like for you now you have returned to school?
Potential prompts to use
- How do you feel now you have returned to school?
- What is a typical day like for you now?
- What are your relationships like with family/teacher/peers?

Q. 4 Is there anything that has made it easier or more difficult to return to school?
Potential prompts to use.
- What has helped you return to school?
- What made it more difficult to return to school?
- Why was this helpful/unhelpful?
- How did this make the return to school easier or harder?
- Did family/teachers/peers do anything which made it easier or harder to return to school?

Q. 5 Is there anything else you wanted to share about your experience that I haven't asked you about?

Debrief questions
How did you feel about taking part in the interview?
How did you feel about the questions I asked you?
Was there anything in the interview you found difficult to talk about?
How do you feel now? Is there anything worrying you?
Is there anything else you would like to say?
Do you feel you need any support?

Appendix N: Research Diary Extracts

Analysis of Jamal's interview

Re-reading his interview gives me an opportunity to reflect on whether exclusion procedures and practice needs to be changed. It may be borderline illegal as he was out of school for weeks without an education and the temporary exclusion was converted into a permanent exclusion. I can't help but do some more research on the legislation around exclusion only to find the schools can temporarily exclude a pupil whilst they investigate an incident and then exclude permanently. Still does not sound right and does not explain the extended period out of education. How common is this I wonder. Why was he out of school for so long before starting at the PRU?

Realise I have got caught up in factors which are not directly relevant to the analysis and that I need to be careful to not. Realise that my role is to focus on the analysis rather than to investigate the practices of other schools.

Analysis of Tayshaun's interview

I feel drained after re-listening to this interview and from re reading it several times. Not sure why this is. There is something about his quiet, slow way of speaking and narrative of all his friends being excluded which is emotionally draining to re- visit. Also in his narrative, there is a sense of loneliness, even though he says he doesn't mind being alone at school. Despite this I feel able to engage with the interview and realise how articulate and well put together his answers are. I need to be careful not to impose my own feelings about his narrative into analysis. He rarely stumbles over his words and is clear about what he wants to convey so I need to engage with the content. I remember that during the interview I did not notice the clarity of his narrative and instead noticed that he looked mainly downwards and sat very still.

Simply engaging with his words rather than being concerned about body language has helped me to really understand his point of view in a way which I missed during the face to face meeting.

Analysis of Kwame's interview

Whilst reading through this interview I've become preoccupied by his statement about the environment making him angry and the potential link to what I know about that area. He must be aware of the reputation of that area as he felt the need to name it before continuing with the story as though its contextual. From my own knowledge I know that area, as a riot famously broke out after the death of a black person at the hands of the police. Perhaps anger can be absorbed from the environment and be passed through generations of people living in the same area. The riot broke out as the black people in the area were angry about the treatment of black people by police maybe that anger has continued to impact on later generations. I need to put this thought and knowledge to one side as it is coming more from my speculations than from his words. Is he really aware of the history of his area?....does he need to know the history to feel that anger is in the area? He hasn't said anger is in the area? What is central to his interview is that he believes what he's seen and experienced from growing up in that area has made him angry.

Writing up Findings

As I start writing up the findings section I'm realising the dangers of presenting the participants' words out of context as they can be seen to be saying something that they were not saying. I am concerned about doing justice to the participants' experiences and representing them in a meaningful and true way.

I am starting to see even more connections across the cases as I go back to the interview transcripts to extract parts of the interview which represent the superordinate themes I grouped together.

After interviews with pupils in second school

Walking back to my car after the interviews I felt more unsafe than I had walking to the school. The stories of what the boys experience outside of school in that area has made me feel vulnerable. If I was a black young male like my participants I would probably feel more vulnerable. I would feel safer if I was with a group of other people. Perhaps acting tough is to disguise fear. I reach my car, get inside and feel safe.

Driving home, police had set up a stop and search on the side of the road for vehicles. The sign said if you're asked to stop, pull over. Found myself wondering if this is more common in areas with a high black population. I feel vulnerable again and hope the policewoman at the side does not pull me over. The term "driving while black" comes to mind and I wonder if my participants feel the same vulnerability whilst walking on the street.

Appendix O: Extract of transcript with exploratory comments and emergent themes

Emergent Themes	line	Transcript	Exploratory Comments
Significant talk with mother	26	**And what did happen when your mum found out?**	*Is the long talk what he feared? Draining talk with mum. Perhaps emotionally long and draining.*
	27	We had some long talk.	Moves from talking about emotion to mum's talk with him.
	28	**Yeah? Can you remember what she was saying to**	<u>'Long' slang about length and means boring</u>
	29	**you?**	
School and mother discuss implications of race and area on him.	30	Coz my teacher yeah, had a conversation with my mum	Adults talking about him and mum talking to him
	31	as well. And they were talking about how I'm black and	<u>Difference between a 'talk' and 'conversation' talk implies serious talk and possibly one sided lecture, conversation sounds more collaborative</u>
	32	I I can't be a product of my environment and stuff.	*A conversation between mum and school about the implications of being black in this area? Concern's over where his life is heading*
	33	**Interesting. How did you feel about that**	*Does a shift in mind-set relate to a shift in identity? How does he see himself now? What was his mind-set before if it has changed? How did he view himself before in comparison to now?*
	34	**conversation?**	
Moment of revelation	35	Changed me that, changed my mindset.	Shift in mindset
	36	**So, they were saying, yeah that you're black and**	
	37	**you shouldn't be a product of your environment,**	*Perhaps stereotypes? What image was created to make a shift? What people is it society? Why do you need to get out?*
	38	**what did you think that meant?**	<u>'You're' as a collective dissociates from it</u>
Perceived Inevitability of crime & poverty for black people	39	Like, coz <u>obviously</u> people have the stereotypical	Others thoughts about him as a black person
	40	stuff about [borough's name], like how you're not	<u>'Obviously'-inevitably of people's stereotypes and difficulties for black people. Full of poverty, gang violence- media perception linked to black people.</u>
	41	going to make it out of [borough's name]. And	Harder for blacks to move up in society and out of negative life outcomes. Stereotypes of area.
	42	obviously like, for a black person it's a bit harder to	<u>'that'sss' -hard to articulate. 'full'- no escape as it occurs all over area</u> *Black people can't escape? White people make it out more easily? Is this where blacks belong? What is it about being black which makes it harder to progress in society?*
	43	make it out of somewhere <u>that'sss</u> full of poverty,	
	44	gang violence, knife crime, yeah.	
People synonymous with areas negative stereotypes	45	**Okay and what kind of stereotypes do you think**	
	46	**people have about [borough's name]?**	
	47	Like, we're dirty, not clean, rowdy, vulgar.	
Interventions' support	48	**Okay, so they were saying, yeah that you shouldn't**	Other thoughts about him as a black person.
	49	**be a product of that environment? Okay, so what**	*What makes someone unclean? Is it their skin or the area? People viewed like vermin, dirty? What is perceived as clean?*
Locus of control within him	50	**did you do in response to that?**	<u>Vulgar-old fashioned words, perhaps elderly person's view</u>
	51	First I got into [intervention] and started working hard.	Working way out of environment using intervention and hard work
			Does he have to work harder to make it out as a black person?

Linguistic comments-<u>underlined</u>   Conceptual comments-*italics*   Descriptive comments-normal text

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Collective identity formation/ Support	52 **Okay and what is [intervention]? What do you do in** 53 **[intervention]?** 54 We just basically talk about life. Right now, we're 55 doing a scheme on who we are. We do our deepest 56 fear, who we are, gift tree and a fruit tree and a 57 removing tree.	*Intervention helping them find their identity* 'who we are'- mentioned x2, identity is important *Who are they if they are not a product of their environment?* 'We'-used a lot. Being part of collective again. Not using 'I' Scheme to talk about life, identity, fears *Are they facing their deepest fears?* Deepest fear- poem by Marianne Williamson *what's the significance of poem? Identity? Fear? What is there to fear? Area?*
Discover innate strengths and weakness	58 **Okay, wow, what does look at? Or what type of** 59 **things do you talk about with the fruit tree?** 60 The gift tree is the abilities we're born with, that's 61 like in us. And then, fruit trees are our bad 62 characteristics and our good characteristics. 63 **Okay, so you think that programme has helped** 64 **you? Okay. So, just going back a little bit, when** 65 **you said you were excluded, you said it was for** 66 **about a week.** 67 Yeah.	Given a strong metaphor of a tree. Gifts and fruit are positive *The gift has been given to them and placed within them. Being born with abilities. Is there a need to find out what their abilities are?* Gifts innate abilities within them and fruits bad and good characteristics. 'Our'- collective part of school and group. *One tree with good and bad fruit? Do characteristics grow like fruit from trees? Who nurtures them? Where do they draw strength and nutrients from? Is it the environment/area?*
Inactivity Boredom	68 **What were you doing during that time?** 69 Just reading, sitting down and reading, that's it. 70 **And then how did you feel about kind of reading?** 71 I was bored.	Not doing much 'Reading- said twice'- *Stillness, no movement* 'Bored'- one word in short sentence. Perhaps denotes emptiness of it. *The stillness of sitting and reading is boring*
Distant connection	72 **And, then when you came back to school, is that** 73 **when the meeting happened with the teacher?** 74 It, it wasn't really a meeting, they were just speaking 75 on the phone. 76 **Okay, so they called…?** 77 My mum.	Back to school no meeting just a distant phone call *Excluded from conversation? Spoken about?*

Strong relationships	127	**what were your relationships like around then? So,**
	128	**with your teachers? Friends? Family?**
	129	I was good with everyone, but some teachers [kiss
	130	teeth] obviously you're not gonna like, you're not gonna
Frustration and acceptance of rejecting teachers	131	like everyone and not everyone is gonna like you. I
	132	didn't like all my teachers, yeah.
	133	**Okay so there were some you liked and some you**
	134	**didn't? Okay, tell me about the ones that you**
	135	**liked? Or what was it about them?**
Some teachers taught life lessons	136	They taught, like teachers, teachers taught us, oh
	137	when, say we were in English, teachers, our, my
	138	teacher in general talks, talks about life and stuff.
	139	But other teachers don't talk about dem stuff.
	140	**So, when you're saying they talk about life, you**
	141	**mean like, yeah, what do you mean by that?**
Guiding male teacher	142	Like, when I used to be set two with Mr Davis, we
	143	used to talk about, like, coz I was, I was ge[tt]ing in
	144	trouble, he was telling me that I only have one path
	145	and it's a good one, talking about stuff like that.
	146	**Okay and so, some of the teachers would tell you**
	147	**about what you could do, maybe to…you know,**
	148	**that's good. What about the ones that you didn't**
	149	**like?**
Frustration at teacher chastisement when working well	150	[Kisses his teeth] They were annoying, like, I don't
	151	even know how to explain it. I do something, I do it
	152	right, I still get in trouble.

'like'- mentioned 3 x -emphasises importance of being liked
Kiss teeth- shows annoyance
Relationships were good- *locus of control in self*
Some teachers he didn't like and alludes to not being liked

Teachers who just teach vs those who talk about life. Why is talking about life important? Does it demonstrate they care?
His teachers talk about life and others don't.
'Taught us'-collective, generic, not specific not personal,
'Us'- in personal 'my'-possessive, personal, feeling closer to those teachers, secure relationship

Certain teachers talk to him about a good path because he would get in trouble
Path beyond the school gates? Where does it lead? To a better life? Teacher taking time to help him find his way. His path. What is a good path?
'One'- why only a good path -no room for error
' kisses teeth'- annoyance

Still get in trouble when doing something right
His good behaviour is un-noticed, what do they expect to see?
Injustice as teachers chastised him when doing something right.
'I do'- present tense, perhaps it still happens

Present tense therefore situation and feeling still present.

Appendix P: Example of superordinate themes to transcript extracts

Superordinate Themes	Emergent Themes	Sample of quotes
Personal impact of exclusion	**Resignation to narrative of exclusion reason** Boredom **Inactivity**	**"I got excluded for fighting, annnd yeah, fighting and messing about. And it wasn't for..." (lines 4-5)** "I was bored..." (line 71) **"Just reading, sitting down and reading, that's it." (line 69)**
Displacement and isolation from collective and from activity	Excluded from Families house **Boring lesson inactive/isolating lesson** Internal isolation **Temporary room to live in** Disconnected from others **Restricted movement** Screened off **Authority forces move to restricted space** Separation from peers at collective times **Displaced at traditional time of belonging** Separating distance from dad's family **Stepdad excluded from home** Displaced from home **Ambiguity about relationship with mum's family** Long term exclusion of family after fight **Exclusion in terms of racism and stereotypes in white area** Time off school when Dad died **Counselling intervention on return** Exclusion from society to entertaining society **Excluded from house and area by authorities** Authority deciding how house should be used	"We were fighting, then my uncle, my mum's uncle took me home." (Lines 813-814) **"Maybe computer science. I don't know, computer science is one of the worst lessons, so boring..." (lines 498-499)** "But when I got excluded, it wasn't like I had to come out of school. It was like, you know there's a room in our school yeah? But it's basically, other people call it isolation basically" (lines 170-173) **"So, we went to the council and the council put us in the, some temporary room" (Lines 311-312)** "Okay. Yeah, so we just stay in that room, couldn't talk, just sit there..." (lines 174-176) **"Theres a, theres a, like a booth, it's around you and den they close the thing..." (176-177)** "No you, like they screen you off basically, there's one part and the other part and then there's two bits..." (lines 180-181) **"mum was not having it, because it was just a room and people had to share the same kitchen, the same bathroom. She, it was, we got it yesterday" (Lines 313-315)** "but we weren't allowed to come out when everyone else is out. So, we have to go when everyone is in lessons." (Lines 195-197) **"don't really like it, because it's not a good way to spend Christmas, not being in your own house, it's not a good look." (lines 759-761)** "But I don't really, coz my dad's side of the family is all the way in Jamaica, my brother, my brother, he's in Jamaica as well. My older sis, my older sister, she's with her mum, with her dad and then her little brother's with her dad, with his mum as well, yeah with his mum. " (lines 779-784)

		"But my step dad is not allowed to live in there, because the government says, it's only to accommodate me, my little sister and my mum." (Lines 742-744)
		"we were supposed to move houses, so we moved houses, but we have to, we're waiting, our house is getting thinged..." (lines 302-304)
		"my mum's side of the family, I don't really mess with them, don't really like them." (lines 772-773) "It doesn't seem good to say, like you don't like your family, but I, I do like them, just sometimes they do some stuff, you know how families are sometimes, they do some weird stuff." (lines 775-778)
		"I just didn't go back there, haven't been there in time." (lines 819-820)
		"but still, it's this racism thing still happens a lot and stereotypes. But I'm not saying it would be bad to go to their school, I just wouldn't want to go to their school..." (lines 956 -958)
		"I didn't really go back to school, for like, I didn't go back to school for like a week or two. Wait up, because I basically, yeah, I probably had two weeks off school. Because I was in Jamaica and I didn't go..." (lines 681-684)
		"I had this counselling thing. Then I came out of that." (lines 687-688)
		"Fredo, he went to prison the other day, now he's out making music, UK charts, American charts" (lines 643-644)
		"But the only thing dat I didn't like about dis whole moving thing, is dat this government…I swear if this was like two, three years ago, yeah, 'cause, yeah if this was like two or three years ago, we could have said we didn't want that apartment..." (lines 729-733)
		" then said we'll put more like, stuff, stuff, in that room. But obviously because if we don't use it, the government will take it away...." (lines 753-755)
Return to normality of school	Environment remains unchanged **Uneventful return** Usual school routine **Usual week routine**	" Nothing really, I don't… I just went back into lessons and did my work..." (lines 167-168) **"Same. it wasn't that deep..." (line 259)** "Again, that sense of work, go break. I might just get something to

		eat, chill out dere, play table tennis or basketball. The next two lessons, go to lunch, maybe...” (lines280-282) **“On Thursday I do rugby. Monday, I do dance. But I don't go dance anymore, because like I have to get my little sister…” (lines 291-293)** **“ Friday, I play basketball...” (line 294)**
Inclusive situations in school, family and society	**Familiarity of belonging** Collective entertainment **Actions for entertainment** Proximity of generations of family **Inclusive family gathering** Belonging in sport **Strength as a collective. less vulnerable** Desire to join intervention **Group intervention supported return** Focus on sport **Group sports supported return** Collective identity formation support **Discover innate strengths and weaknesses** Security in family	**“I, I knew all of dem, so there wasn't any like, there wasn't really a difference. It was like a normal lesson...” (lines 98-99)** “we just used to mess about, that's it.” (lines 117-118) **“Call out, sometimes make jokes, sometimes...” (line122)** “Even my great grandmother is still alive right now, she lives over there, [gets up from chair and points out of the window behind him] like up there...” (lines 764-766 **“like, my little sister goes to my great grandma all the time, but every, like it's like a get together, we always go to this like…” (lines 823-825) “... in the old people houses, there's like, there's this big hall. So, if you say you want it, you can take it for a little bit. It's not that big, it's like this room pushed back a couple of meters more, like 15 meters more. Then, yeah we just stay in there, eat food, cook...” (lines 826-830)** “... But right now, this sport thing is …. because everyone, we're all one team, and so it's just fun...” (lines 1021-1025) **“But other than that, when we work as a team, we win games and right now we're unbeatable. We have never lost a game.” (lines 1037-1038)** “Now, I heard that [intervention] is fun, so I was like, I wanna go to [intervention]...” (lines94-95) **“[intervetion] makes it easier, because” (lines 488-489)** “ play table tennis or play basketball, we might go sports hall, I don't know...” (lines 283-284) **“I like sports, so when I come to school, I just play basketball.” (lines 488-489)** “We just basically talk about life. Right now, we're doing a scheme on who we are. We do our deepest fear, who we are, gift tree and a fruit tree and a removing tree...” (lines 54-57)

		"The gift tree is the abilities we're born with, that's like in us. And then, fruit trees are our bad characteristics and our good characteristics..." (lines 60-62) "Nah I don't. I'm not worried, I've got cousins over dere as well, so it's not that, it's not really dat much of a significant move." (lines 727-729)
Relationship with teachers positive and negative	**Strong relationship** Frustration and acceptance of teacher's rejection **Guiding male teachers** Frustration at teacher chastisement when working well **Annoying** Antagonising to find what they expect **Some teachers taught life lessons** Significant recommendation of intervention **Inequality in distribution of punishment** Teacher sees only his action **Poetic justice**	**" I was good with everyone, but some teachers..." (line 129)** "[kisses teeth] obviously you're not gonna like, you're not gonna like everyone and not everyone is gonna like you. I didn't like all my teachers, yeah...(lines 130-132) **"Like, when I used to be set two with Mr Davis, we used to talk about, like, 'cause I was, I was ge[tt]ing in trouble, he was telling me that I only have one path and it's a good one, talking about stuff like that..." (lines 142-145)** " [Kisses his teeth] They were annoying, like, I don't even know how to explain it. I do something, I do it right, I still get in trouble..." (lines 150-152) **"annoying antagonising" (line 154)** "Maybe a part, they were trying to push me or something..." (lines 156-157) **"They taught, like teachers, teachers taught us, oh when, say we were in English, teachers, our, my teacher in general talks, talks about life and stuff..." (lines 136-138)** "Good and then he was like I'm recommending [intervetion]..." (88-89) **"Hmm, coz only I got in trouble, we could have both go in…if we both got in trouble it wouldn't be that deep, because we both did something wrong, but only I got in trouble" (lines248-251)** "Because the teacher saw me, but they never saw the other person hit me..." (lines 254-255) **"Just the same. No, that person got excluded after that. Permanently..." (lines 266-267**)
Avoiding the negative perceptions of others	**Avoid trouble** Separating self when necessary **Not following bad actions**	**" I still do it now, yeah, but I don't do it as much, as to an extent where I get in trouble for it..." (lines 122-124)** "I stick to myself, my Ps and Qs..." (line 383)

Intervention support **Locus of control within him** Avoiding grief and pain - thoughts of death stops productivity **Trying to be respectful to family** Disguise poverty by getting expensive items **Dressing to look rich** Buy expensive items using saved pounds **Not collective criminal actions** Negative perception of group **Teacher advises tone down group expressiveness** Not intending harm **Physically move away from others perceptions of trouble** Avoiding trouble by toning down sister's expressiveness **Mediating between sister and public**	**"Like I don't follow other crowds. Yeah I, I, I will, don't get it twisted, I'm with my friends sometimes yeah, but if dese [these] man say, do something that is wrong and I know it's wrong I'm not going not do it, coz I don't follow..." (lines 383-388)** "First I got into [intervention] ..." (line 51) **"... and started working hard..." (line 51)** "Um,..I don't' really, I don't really think about it and I don't really speak about it, speak about it that much. Some, cozzz I don't really want to think about that, because when I think about that I don't wanna do work, so I don't think about it..." (lines 708-712) **"... Other day my, my mum's aunty Gloria cooked curry chicken, it was proper green, it was like dark green. I wasn't having it, I was not eating that, but I didn't want to be rude, so I just went like this [puts his hand behind his back], quickly put it behind my back..." (lines 840-845)** "Because we spent, we spent like a good £4k on this house that we were in before. We got, we got three new TVs, everything..." (lines 895-897) **"They might, they might have more stuff than us, but when it comes to…but when it comes to coz my mum, yeah, she's smart with her money..." (lines 887-890)** **"she buys designer stuff, she buys these Louis Vuitton stuff..." (lines 890-891)** "And they're like, she buys like £700 shoes, £800 shoes. But she saves her money to buy it, but then yeah, yeah, she buys £800, £700 shoes for no reason..." (lines 900-903) **"We just mess about and have a laugh. We don't do, like stupid stuff..." (lines 408-409**) **"Stupid stuff as in stealing basically, yeah, we don't do that, we just… " (lines 413-414)** "Like, we don't, we don't do, we don't do bad stuff like. We say we might just shout in the road, people might just get annoyed..." (lines 421-423) **"Like vulgar, but Mr Jones was like, telling us that we can talk to each other quietly. And then sometimes we can talk to each other quietly and in a group, but we need to watch out for other people**

		and other people..." (lines 431-434)
		"... the other people that are walking, pedestrians and stuff, simple. We don't want to do anything like to hurt anyone or anything..." (lines 435-437)
		"Um, basically we were on the bus and dese [these] man,…and this guy, Darnell, yeah, he's a joker, he started shouting on the bus and I was like and I just went downstairs..." (lines 402-405)
		"I don't think people react to us at all, because we're just quite…but sometimes I have to control my little sister when she's getting a bit..." (lines 458-460)
		"Coz my little sister, she gets too excited sometimes. She don't know how to control herself. So, when she's on a bus, she'll be, [slouches in chair and puts his feet up and throws his arms out to the side to demonstrate] she'll be relaxing on the bus like it's her bus.. So yeah, and sometimes people, people are like, people get annoyed..." lines(345-353
Celebrating Self-identity	**Individual fulfilling learning requirements** Not easily led **Not fulfilling potential just after Dad died** Moment of revelation **Identity in achieving academic success** Success in self belief/success in entertainment and sport **Not wanting to be spoilt** Different culture in family impact relationship **Families identity** Food relates to culture **Whiteness compromising own identity** Whiteness synonymous with ineptitude Blackness synonymous with poverty and knowhow **Whiteness synonymous with wealth** Members of family have compromised black identity **Whiteness/richness can't bring up children** Superior work ethic **Minority excluded from wealth**	**"Before I was excluded, I came into school, I learnt I did, I did good in school..." (lines 115-116)** "And um we just used to mess about, that's it. Then after, I do my work now, yeah..." (lines 117-118) **"... I'm not a nitty, so I'm not going follow them..." (lines 390-391)** **"...I was doing work but not to, as to, like my potential that everyone sees in me. I was doing work but not as good as, I, as my work actually is... (lines 695-698)** "... Changed me that, changed my mindset..." (line 35) **"Good, because set one for everything, doing all good in all my lessons, except RM and Science, actually I'm doing good in science now..." (lines 102-104)** "I'm good at a lot of stuff, sports, music, music producing. I can do it, if I just put my mind to it..." (lines 652-653) **"Because I want to learn how to do things. Over there you don't learn, people do it for you and they're like, my cousins like that..." (lines 920-922)** "my mums side of the family, I don't really mess with them, don't really like them" (lines 772-773) "Like because, because obviously

	Stereotypes as description of self **Creates own positive beliefs in himself** Whites physically weaker and less able **Values his current are**	my mum's side of the family, like their culture is a bit different to ours Because they're white, some of my mum's side of the family are white..." (lines 791-794) **"... we're all mixed up together like..." (line 850)** "Like, they're trying to, their just, like their cooking is just not good. Just trying to season chicken and it's not seasoned..." (lines 856-858) **"But the white, like I think the white has brushed off on the black people in my mums family..." (lines 852-854)** "But of course, they live a different lifestyle to us, coz they have um, everything they have is nice, but we, we have knowhow, we know what we do like..." (lines 882-885) "My, my uncle calls it knowhow, coz we know how to clean, we're clean and we know how to clean and cook..." (lines 885-887) **"No, because my cousin, she's like mixed race, like light skinned, but then their husband is white. So, they live like, over there, they had a Ferrari then they sold it. Up there, they live like proper far, like [names an area] and them places, like Essex and them places, and they got some big house..." (lines 877-882)** "Yeah, the only, the reason how like some of my family turned white, is because my mum's, my great aunty had k, had a kid that was light skinned, then she had a husband that was white and then she had kids that were white, then they were my cousins. Yeah, that's how it happened..." (lines 864-869) **"But theirs, theirs now, they talk to their mum anyhow and they talk to, my cousin, which is their mum, anyhow and anyhow, so that one there can't run as well..." (lines 927-929)** "Yes, because in [name of school] you have to work harder, in their schools you don't have to work, you can mess about... (lines 935-937) **"Well, coz, coz, I speak different because I speak slang as well. And they speak a different way. And, the majority of the people in their area is white as well. And then if I went to one of their schools well you wouldn't see one black kid in their school..." (lines 946-950)** "Coz, yeah, I think it'd probably be that I'm a bit different. I speak different, I'm vulgar, maybe get angry a lot. And I'd probably be, one

		stereotype, they can be good stereotypes as well, I'm faster than all of them..." (lines 963-967) **"I, I probably believe I'm smarter than all of them. I, I believe that, I don't really know if I am. But if you believe, you can do it. I'm better than them at everything, if I believe it, yeah..." (Lines 967-970)** "...Their schools, they just bad at sports. If I went into their school, I'd have to carry the whole school on my back... Like, yeah, I'd have to do everything and they'd look at me different as well.. " (lines 939-944) **"I'm telling you, I'd rather live in [name of borough school is in] than there..." (lines 917-918)**
Products of their environment	School and mother discuss implications of race and area on him **Perceived inevitability of crime and poverty for black People** People synonymous with area negative stereotypes **Tolerant area** Disconnect from family in crime **Uncle's death from crime abroad** Negative family influence **Negative life outcomes** Families link to crime **Better house in same sort of area** War **Senselessness of gang fighting** Media contributions **Gang history apparent in name** Senselessness of fighting those who are close	"Coz my teacher yeah, had a conversation with my mum as well. And they were talking about how I'm black and I I can't be a product of my environment and stuff..." (lines 30-32) **"Like, coz obviously people have the stereotypical stuff about [borough's name], like how you're not going to make it out of [borough's name]. And obviously like, for a black person it's a bit harder to make it out of somewhere that'sss full of poverty, gang violence, knife crime, yeah..." (lines 39-44)** "Like, we're dirty, not clean, rowdy, vulgar..." (line 47) **"Um, I'm okay with it, but, I'm not okay with what's going on, but I'm okay with living here..." (lines 361-362)** "I don't really speak to them like that..." (line 370) **"...My, my uncle, my mum's brother, but this was, the same thing was going on in Jamaica and he died because of it..." (lines 370-372)** "Sometimes the people who you're around, maybe. Sometimes, it can even be family members. Or family members you don't have..." (lines 526-528) **"You could either die or be in jail or in hiding..." (line 524)** "Drugs, knife crime, gang violence, coz some of my cousins, like they do it as well, it's not good, but it's what they do..." (365-367) **"My, my mum don't really, the house is nice, the house is nice, but she loves, she likes the house..." (lines 719-720) "... but she**

		doesn't like the area that it's in as well. Because [borough] is not really a good area as well... (lines 720-722) "...knife crime, gang violence, drugs... Well, it depends, like war basically, to fight, yeah..." (lines 574-575) "[Kisses teeth] I don't know, we're next door neighbours, I don't even know why, I don't know why. But sometimes, I, they do it for the fun or it, or they want supremacy or something, I don't know..." (lines 569-572) "It was all over the media, like because obviously [name of drill artist] is an artist as well. And after, he made a song about it and then..." (lines 587-589) "Because there's a gang called [Initial's of gangs name], you know where [names an estate where rioting famously broke out in the 1980's after a black person died during a police raid of her home] is?..." (lines 601-604) "I don't, I don't even know how I feel... Like, it's just, it's stupid, what happens. Because how do you beef someone that's, like, [neighbouring borough's name] is like next door neighbours to us, it's, it's long..." (lines 632-635)
Influence of significant people	Preoccupation with parental emotional reaction **Significant talk with mother** Mother's anger at school **Short reprimand** Mum possess the emotions about house **Mum's anger at exclusion of son after fight** Mum's cooking better than other family **Family accommodate children** Displaced rely on extended family support **Confusion about necessity of responsibility** Sister taking control **Sister expressive in public** Dad's death time marker **Separation of close kin in death and distance** Family unit working harder **Leaving past behind**	"[kissed teeth] I was thinking what my mum was gonna think, coz she gets, coz shes gonna get mad..." (lines 22-23) **"We had some long talk..." (line 27)** "She wasn't even angry at me, she was angry with the school.." (lines 241-242) **"No, because I was in the right at the time. Someone did, because, like…my mum just said, "Next time don't do that..." (lines 230-232)** "My, my mum don't really, the house is nice, the house is nice, but she loves, she likes the house..." (lines 719-720) **"But my mum didn't like what we did, because it's a bit dumb to be taking me home just because we're fighting. And my mum got, I,I jus, I just didn't go back there, haven't been there in time..." (lines 816-820)** "Yeah, coz they're Jamaican as well, but like, their cooking is not my mum's cooking. My mum's cooking is the best out of our, my mums

	Obtaining new family member **Road to success out of poverty** Role models who did not conform to academic odds **parallel with Black America**	whole mums side of the family...” (lines 835-838) **“So, right now I’m staying with my aunty until my house gets ready...” (lines 319-320)** “ ...now I’m at my auntie’s, I’m at my auntie’s...” (line 745) **“No, no now I don’t have to no more, I don’t have to collect her, because…but the thing I’m confused about, my mum…my little, my little sister can go to, she goes school by herself...” (lines 333-336)** “ Coz my little sister, she gets too excited sometimes. She don’t know how to control herself. So, when she’s on a bus, she’ll be, [slouches in chair and puts his feet up and throws his arms out to the side to demonstrate] she’ll be relaxing on the bus like it’s her bus.” (lines 345-350) **“Yeah, my little sister is loud as well, she’s loud. But she’s smart, but she’s loud...” (lines 468-469)** “My dad died in um, 2012 and yeah, I think it was April 11th or 12th…” (lines 660-661) **“Yeah, he died by strokes. We had a funeral over here and theeen, we had him, then, yeah, we had the funeral over here, but he never got buried over here. We put him on the plane to Jamaica...” (lines 664-667) “So, he went to Jamaica, then we had a funeral in Jamaica and we buried him in Jamaica...” (lines 667-669)** “My mum,…um, obviously, she was a single yeah, she was a single mum, it was a bit harder for us. But it wasn’t that hard, it was just that we had to work harder, to coz my dad, we know my dad’s not around and we have to do more stuff around the house and stuff...” (lines 672-676) **“...life is too short to dwell on the past anyways. So, I don’t really think about it...” (lines 702-704)** “...I got my step dad in year five or year six...” (lines 690-691) **“All of these new artists from England, what’s his name, Tion Wayne was in prison, came out the other day as well, making music, rich...” (lines 646-648)** “They play, stereotypes play a part in everywhere. Like all the time,

		like, what's the guy that was so rich and he couldn't read? He made so much money, but he couldn't read and then after he was rich and had the daughter... "(lines 980-984) **"Businessman but I forgot his name and he was black as well. You know that area in America, Compton? Just like [name of borough school is in] basically, but worse..." (986-989)**

Appendix Q: Ethical Approval for final research

The Tavistock and Portman **NHS**

NHS Foundation Trust

Quality Assurance & Enhancement
Directorate of Education & Training
Tavistock Centre
120 Belsize Lane
London
NW3 5BA

Tel: 020 8938 2699

https://tavistockandportman.nhs.uk/

Rebekah Boyd

By Email

7 December 2018

Dear Ms Boyd

Re: Trust Research Ethics Application

Title: Black boys' experiences of external exclusion and successful re-integration into a mainstream secondary school

Thank you for submitting your updated Research Ethics documentation. I am pleased to inform you that subject to formal ratification by the Trust Research Ethics Committee your application has been approved. This means you can proceed with your research.

If you have any further questions or require any clarification do not hesitate to contact me.

I am copying this communication to your supervisor.

May I take this opportunity of wishing you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Paru Jeram
Secretary to the Trust Research Degrees Subcommittee
T: 020 938 2699
E: pjeram@tavi-Port.nhs.uk

cc.   Course/Research Lead, Supervisor, Course Administrator