University of Strathclyde

School of Education

Stick With Me!

How effective and lasting helping relationships support the educational experience of children looked after at home in Scotland
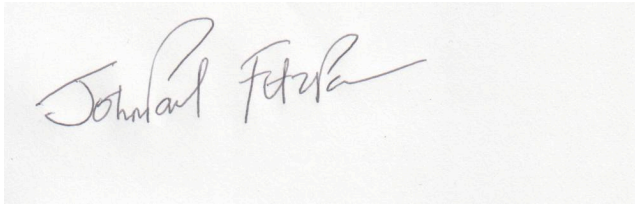
By

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Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

Table of Figures

Abstract

Home Supervision is a method regularly used in Scotland to support vulnerable children and families in their homes. Such children and their families are 'looked after' by local authorities and supported by allocated social workers. However, this cohort of young people has poorer educational outcomes compared with other looked after children. There is little in the way of research to explore why this is the case. This study seeks to address a gap in the literature by exploring issues of education and support from the perspectives of young people themselves.

The research was undertaken with 15 young people, in three different geographical areas of Scotland using semi-structured interviews. Each initial interview was analysed and informed the production of a digital interactive presentation. Each presentation was shared with the young people to review and discuss the understanding of the content gleaned from the first interview and to act as a prompt for the second interview. Interviews were transcribed and the data coded, based on key themes for each person. Thereafter, summaries were written up and cross-cutting themes identified. These included: relationships with teachers and social workers; issues caused by transition; the benefits of coaching and mentoring; and issues caused by a lack of continuity of relationships.

The study revealed that young people were more likely to struggle with their education during the transition from primary to secondary school. The study reinforced the degree to which young people under Home Supervision experience considerable disruption and change in their education and stability. They are more likely to trust their teachers than social workers when dealing with challenges and issues in their lives and are likely to experience isolation from voluntary community-based services.

Mentors and coaches have a major role to play in supporting young people and encouraging resilience using informal youth work approaches. By acting as trusted supporters, they can help foster both confidence and social capital for the young people they support by assisting them to access relevant services and navigate bureaucratic systems and procedures such as children's hearings and employment.

The current lack of continuity of professional relationship experienced by many children and young people who have a Home Supervision requirement, combined with the disparity in resources and services provided for them, are barriers that require to be addressed if Home Supervision is to be an effective support intervention for vulnerable children and young people.

Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

This chapter outlines the concept of Home Supervision and briefly introduces the policy context that Home Supervision operates within.   I also explain why this research study was required and share the professional experience that has underpinned my desire to pursue this research study for my professional Doctorate in Education (EdD).

What is Home Supervision?

In Scotland, 'Home Supervision' is the term used to refer to the compulsory statutory support provided for vulnerable children and their families who require additional help.   Vulnerable children and young people are 'placed' under a Home Supervision Requirement (HSR).   A Home Supervision Requirement is made by a Children's Hearing when it decides that a child needs compulsory measures to protect him/her and/or to address their behaviour (SCRA, 2013).

Children subject to this requirement have usually been known to social work services for many years and their families often experience multiple and chronic problems, including domestic violence, financial issues, and drug and alcohol abuse (Henderson, Black, & Lamb, 2014).   Children who are subject to a Home Supervision Requirement are among the most vulnerable in society (Henderson, Lamb, & Black, 2011).   There were 3,927 young people who had a HSR in 2014-15 amounting to a quarter of all looked after children (Scottish Government, 2016).

In Scotland, local authorities have a statutory responsibility to implement Supervision Requirements and any conditions attached to them as local authorities are responsible for social work and educational services. They are required to plan and meet the needs of this vulnerable group, however, Scotland's thirty-two local authorities work to different policies, have differing amount of resources and different ways of delivering services.   This means that there is considerable variance across the country in relation to the range of supports families are provided with because of the way in which resources are allocated locally (Connelly & Furnivall, 2013).

In Scots law, the status of being looked after 'at home' has the same status as being looked after 'away from home' by the local authority; for example, in residential care or foster care, as defined in the Looked After Children (Scotland) Regulations and Guidance (2009):

> 'The definition of a 'looked after' child is in Section 17(6) of the 1995 Act, as amended by Schedule 2, para 9(4) of the 2007 Act. A child is looked after when he or she is:
>
> '(a) provided with accommodation by a local authority under Section 25 of the 1995 Act; or

'(b) subject to a supervision requirement made by a children's hearing, in terms of Section 70 of the 1995 Act; or

'(c) subject to an order, authorisation or warrant made under Chapter 2, 3 or 4 of Part II of the 1995 Act, and according to which the local authority has responsibilities in respect of the child. These include a child protection order, a child assessment order, an authorisation from a justice of the peace to remove a child to a place of safety or maintain a child in a place of safety, removal to a place of safety by a police constable, or a warrant to keep a child in a place of safety made by a children's hearing or a sheriff; or

'(d) living in Scotland and subject to an order in respect of whom a Scottish local authority has responsibilities, as a result of a transfer of an order to it under the Children (Reciprocal Enforcement of Prescribed Orders) etc. (England and Wales and Northern Ireland) (Scotland) Regulations 1996. These 1996 Regulations were made under Section 33 of the 1995 Act; or

'(e) subject to a permanence order made after an application by the local authority under section 80 of the 2007 Act' (Scottish Government, 2009b, p. 13).

At the point of a supervision order being granted, the child becomes entitled to additional support and is given the same status in the law as other looked after children. Therefore, the Home Supervision Requirement is a legally binding process. This means that the child or young person becomes 'looked after' by the local authority, but still resides within the family home with a parent or carer. However, the child(ren) and their family should receive additional, individually tailored support both in school and from social work (Scottish Government, 2009a). Social work interventions can extend beyond the provision of support to the child to other family members if required, for example, providing support to parents on issues they require help with to be effective carers or giving advice and support (Buchanan, 2009). The complex range of issues include alcohol and drug misuse, and the need for additional care and support for children living within the home such as neglect (Henderson et al., 2011). This can make these young people more vulnerable compared to those who move into residential or foster care because they remain living within the home environment and are therefore still exposed to underlying issues and ensuing stresses and strains that result (Henderson et al., 2014).

Current policy context: Getting It Right For Every Child (GIRFEC)

Scotland has a unique policy and legislative context that shapes and influences the approaches used in practice to support the educational achievement of looked after children. The primary responsibility for providing support to families of children looked after at home lies with local authorities (usually in the form of social work support), however, other professionals, and increasingly school staff, also have a role to play. This is enshrined in the key operational framework in Scotland, the *Getting It Right For Every*

Child (GIRFEC) planning framework. This framework was given increased prominence and established in legislation through the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014 (Stoddart, 2015).

This legislation outlines the requirements and responsibilities of all agencies (including health services) to share responsibility and have greater accountability to initiate action and monitor the impact on improving outcomes for looked after children (Jackson, Cameron, & Connelly, 2015).This legislation is important for a number of different reasons. Firstly, it made the role of school staff more explicit by requiring them to play the prominent role of 'named person' a key individual who would provide support for a range of issues not just whilst they are deemed at being at risk.   Secondly, the legislation also expects agencies to work together to create a childs plan detailing support needs and types of support and length of time the supports will be required and by who.   Thirdly, this legislation also gives looked after children the right to stay within the same placement until they are aged 21 when that is in their best interests.

Although this law was passed in 201,   the implementation of the named person scheme was delayed due to a legal challenge (Care Inspectorate, 2017).   A ministerial announcement[1]indicated a further bill will be introduced in 2018 to introduce new provisions on when and how information should be shared by and with the named person service in relation to part 4 and part 5 of the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act 2014.

The main intent behind GIRFEC is the overarching requirement that there should be a single multi-agency plan for the child shared between services such as social work and education.

Why the need for this research?

Although issues relating to looked-after children have generally been well researched, very little empirical research has been undertaken that explores the educational experience of those looked after at home specifically.   At the point of completing this research, there had been four previously published pieces of research that explored the concept of Home Supervision and issues related to it. The first was undertaken by Murray et al., in 2002 to explore issues of Home Supervision in operation.   The second by McClung in 2008 examined issues around attainment of looked after children and included a small sample of those looked after at home and was quantitative in nature.   The third, in 2012, undertaken by Gadda, looked at Home Supervision from a rights-based perspective with a minor focus on education. The need for further research was affirmed by Connelly & Furnivall (2013) who suggested the need for greater effort to be made in understanding the educational support needs of children subject to a Home

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[1] https://news.gov.scot/speeches-and-briefings/deputy-first-minister-ministerial-statement

Supervision Requirement.   This was to allow for a more secure research base from which to develop practice.   The study reported here contributes to the limited evidence base by looking at HSR from a qualitative perspective viewed through the prism of young people and their educational experience.   It addresses some of the limitations of previous studies with this cohort and further develops practice knowledge by analysing young people's accounts of their educational experience whilst living at home in often difficult circumstances.

In 2014, staff from the Centre for Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland (CELCIS) published three reports based on research that had been commissioned by the charity Barnardos.   The reports published under the umbrella title of "Overseen but often overlooked" consisted of a literature review, a second report on identifying needs and outcomes (which preliminary findings of this thesis contributed to in part) and a third report exploring issues relating to service provision (Welch, Lerpiniere, Young, Sadler, & Fitzpatrick, 2014).

In 2015 Whincup published a qualitative study that explored issues of direct work and home supervision from the view points of both social workers and children.

In 2009 I was in a primary school in Glasgow, undertaking some research on looked after children and meeting with a head teacher close to retirement. I asked her how many of her pupils were looked after 'at home'. She replied with a steely determination, 'Why, dear, all of my children are looked after at home'!   This in part shows the ambiguity that can occur with professional language and for me started my professional curiosity about the needs of this group of children and young people.

Professional experience

At the time of commencing this research, I worked within the Centre for Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland (CELCIS). I was involved in a range of projects connected to supporting the education of looked-after children.   However, my interest in young people and their educational experience had already developed in previous roles.   Prior to working in CELCIS, I was a lecturer in further education and had twelve years' post qualification experience working with young people from a wide range of backgrounds.   This allowed me to see first-hand the transformational potential of effective helping relationships in supporting vulnerable young people using both formal and informal education approaches.   Much of my own professional practice experience has been directly coaching and supporting young people, working with disenfranchised young people and finding ways to make learning engaging and interesting, matched to their needs and aspirations.

My experience as a practitioner has also enabled me to witness at first-hand many cases where young people were not receiving the best support, and my perception was that this was connected to breakdowns in interagency working.   Rather, this lacuna in service provision seemed to be a

consequence of insufficient resources for young people, a consequence of young people not receiving the right support at the point when they required it, with help often coming too late to be effective, or not coming at all.

Personal drivers for undertaking this study

I have outlined above some of the rationale for this study.   There are four principal reasons for wishing to undertake this study.   The first is my professional practice teaching experience with young people who were looked after.

I became aware of the needs of looked-after children when I was teaching in further education.   I observed colleagues talking, often disparagingly, about children in care as if they were a homogenous group.   I witnessed the exclusion of young people who were looked after and I could see them struggling to maintain their attendance with many failing to attain basic qualifications.   This initiated a strong drive in me to explore this issue from a research perspective.

My own practical experience left me feeling that looked after children, and those being looked after at home, were not best served by their education provision.   I wanted to learn more about how young people subject to Home Supervision could achieve their full potential and I had a deep curiosity about the roles that professionals might play in providing effective support and encouragement for education when home lives are difficult and young people are in transition.

The second reason for undertaking this study was driven by the relative absence of research that has explored the issues around Home Supervision from the perspective of young people themselves, and their views on what makes effective supportive relationships that encourage educational attainment.   I felt that this study could, in a small way, create a vehicle for young people's views to be communicated and to ensure that efforts were made to understand the problems from their perspective.

The third reason is that the requirements of the Professional Doctorate in Education (EdD) make explicit the need to make practical recommendations, which through subsequent publication and dissemination could be used to inform practice within both the social work and education professions.

Finally, the public policy context has never been more in favour of supporting vulnerable children and young people to achieve their full educational potential.(Connelly & Furnivall, 2013).   The research aimed to make a timely contribution to not only supporting the needs of vulnerable learners, but to informing policy and, as part of that, practice in this area.

Thesis summary

In Chapter 2, I review the relevant literature that relates to looked after at home children in Scotland. The synthesis of the literature includes the policy context of Home Supervision and how this works in practice. I also draw on relevant education, health and informal education theory and discuss the relationship between being looked after and living in circumstances of poverty. Then, based on an understanding of the literature, and subsequent gaps, I present the research aim and questions for the study.

In Chapter 3, I present and discuss the three theories that form the underpinning theoretical framework for the study: social capital theory; resilience theory; and informal education theory. I also demonstrate the inter-connected nature of these concepts by presenting a model that shows their linked nature. I then map the shared characteristics explaining their usefulness in assisting with the analysis of young people's circumstances of education while subject to Home Supervision.

In Chapter 4, I present the research methods used for the study. I explain the constructivist-interpretivist epistemology that underpinned the research, discuss the relationship with the theoretical framework used for the study and discuss the ethical considerations. I then outline the fieldwork preparations made and describe the lessons learned from piloting the research methods. Then, I describe how I undertook a thematic analysis of the data that I used to code the data to find common patterns and themes.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the method I used for presenting findings to the young people using digital tools and explore the potential practice implications for using such an approach to engage vulnerable children and young people in research and other settings.

In Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9, I present and discuss the research findings of the study. There is a degree of overlap between chapters. In Chapter 6, I start by exploring young people's home life while subject to HSR, including poverty, levels of community participation, mental health and meaningful friendships. In Chapter 7 I move on to explore young people's views of Home Supervision itself.

In Chapter 8 I present the findings of young people's experiences of school and education while subject to Home Supervision. In Chapter 9, I explore young people's views of their teacher, social worker and other helping relationships and discuss the implications for practice. I further develop the theme of significant relationships in Chapter 9 by examining the value of coaching and mentoring relationships as a way of supporting young people subject to Home Supervision. I discuss more fully the benefits of coaching and mentoring relationships and their potential contribution to the development of young people's mental health and social capital.

In Chapter 10, I conclude by explaining how I have met the research aim and addressed the questions for the study, and summarise the policy and practice recommendations that emerge from the findings, discuss the limitations of the investigation and make suggestions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In this chapter, I review the literature on Home Supervision and other relevant subjects relating to the issues that impact on children subject to Home Supervision requirements.

Introduction

In undertaking the literature review, I initially used a combination of different online databases including ERIC, the University of Strathclyde's Library SUPRIMO search facility and connected databases which search most of the key journals in the humanities and social sciences, as well as a wider search using Google Scholar. I used a variety of individual and combined keyword search terms including 'Home Supervision', 'Children', 'Young People' and Looked After'. The search yielded limited results specific to Home Supervision. I then extended the parameters to review the broader range of literature concerning young people who have experience in (and of leaving) residential care and foster care. This included a keyword search to include terms such as 'Social Work', and 'Care and Protection'. Through my work at CELCIS (Centre for Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland) I had awareness of two other studies that had been undertaken in Scotland that were of relevance. I had initiated contact with the authors of these studies and met them to understand the focus for their research. I particularly wanted to learn from any practical challenges they faced undertaking research with looked after children.

The next area for investigation was to examine the statistics for educational attainment relating to children who are subject to Home Supervision Requirement. This involved interrogating the Scottish Government website (www.scotland.gov.uk) to access the latest Children Looked After published statistics. I also reviewed all relevant connected literature on the wider issues such as health, mental health, and resilience that have effects on young people who are looked after.

The structure of this literature review commences with an exploration of the context of Home Supervision in Scotland and how it operates in practice, and in legislative and policy contexts. I move on to explore care planning processes concerning the education of looked after children and then discuss the educational attainment of young people looked after at home and issues such as attendance and exclusion for this group. I draw on the ethical issues of school and care and look to the research literature to identify how you can support vulnerable children to achieve in education. I then consider the effect of poverty on young people's educational attainment. Finally, based on work of the literature review and informed by gaps in the literature and the need for further research, I present my research aim and questions for this study.

Context of Home Supervision in Scotland

The concept of Home Supervision requirements has been in operation since it was enshrined in Scottish legislation with the introduction of the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. Home Supervision sits within a framework of multiple agencies that form the Children's Hearing System (CHS) in Scotland. This is unique to Scotland in the way that it operates. The legal basis of Home Supervision in Scotland is defined by the Children (Scotland) Act 1995 and is the term used by professionals for the process of a compulsory supervision requirement being granted when the child remains at home (Murray, Hallett, McMillan, & Watson, 2002). This requires the family or individual to be given additional support and monitoring for reasons of their vulnerability or non-attendance at school.

The decisions about children's welfare are administered by the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA) and involves a panel of lay members of the public who have been trained, giving advice and guidance and ultimately making decisions about how to proceed in relation to the care and support that young people receive. Children's Hearing Scotland (CHS) is responsible for the recruitment, training and support of the volunteer panel members (Henderson et al., 2014).

Out of all the methods that the Children's Hearing System has at its disposal in terms of interventions, Home Supervision has been the most commonly used instrument since its inception in 1971 (Gadda, 2012).

According to Scottish Government figures, at 31 July 2015, there were 15,404 looked after children across all care settings (Scottish Government, 2016). This represents a decrease of 844 from 2012. This is the fourth consecutive year that numbers have decreased following a peak of 16,248 in 2012.

Of the 15,404, 27% or 3,927 young people (Scottish Government, 2015) are classed as being looked after at home or subject to a Home Supervision Requirement (HSR). It is part of a recent and decreasing trend in children being looked after at home with their parents. In Scotland, over 13,000 children and young people have a supervision requirement. Young people are spending long periods of their lives subject to a supervision requirement and the number of young people on longer term supervision arrangements is increasing despite the overall number of young people annually requiring supervision decreasing (Scottish Government, 2016). This in part may be due to changes in social work operation that are seeing a prioritisation of earlier intervention in child protection issues, considering high profile tragedies involving babies, and young children and a greater use of kinship care placements.

The Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA), undertaking research of their records, found that there were 2,198 children who remained on supervision requirements for at least five years, representing 15% of all children still subject to HSR (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013). It is worth noting that young people often transition from being looked after at home into being looked after in residential or foster

care for reasons of their care or protection.   In the cohort of young people examined by Henderson and Whitehead, 81% experienced 2.9 moves into/between residential, foster or kinship care placements. Repeat and multiple moves of placement are commonplace, and 41% of them had three or more moves (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013).   Placement moves can be out of the family home or a return to the family home from residential, foster care or kinship care placements (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013).

Grounds for referral to the Children's Reporter

The legal basis for making a child subject to a HSR is a decision made by a Children's Hearing System administered by SCRA.   The grounds for referral in 2015-2016 to the Scottish Children's Reporter were as follows:

TABLE 1: REFERRAL GROUNDS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE SUBJECT TO HSR 2015-2016 (SCRA, 2016, P. 5)

REFERRAL GROUND	NUMBER OF CHILDREN	
Lack of Parental Care	5,606	27.3%
Offence	2,761	13.4%
Close connection with a person who has carried out domestic abuse	2,498	12.1%
Exposure to persons whose conduct likely to be harmful to child	1,950	9.5%
Victim of a Schedule 1 offence	1,874	9.1%
Child's conduct harmful to self or others	1,862	9.1%
Beyond control of a relevant person	1,183	5.8%
Failure to attend school without reasonable excuse	1,069	5.2%
Close connection with a Schedule 1 offender	627	3.0%
Same household as a child victim of Schedule 1 offender	476	2.3%
Misuse of alcohol	229	1.1%
Close connection with Sexual Offences Act offender - Parts 1, 4 & 5	189	0.9%
Misuse of a drug	126	0.6%
Accommodated and special measures needed	100	0.5%
Permanence order and special measures needed	13	0.1%
Total children and young people referred*	**20,565**	**100%**

*A child or young person may be referred to the Reporter more than once in the year on the same and/or different grounds and may be on Compulsory Supervision Order at the point of referral at one time and not on Compulsory Supervision Order at another. These totals count every child or young person referred to the Reporter during the year once.

The most common primary ground was a lack of parental care followed by committing an offence (Henderson et al., 2014) giving an indication that welfare and education priorities represent the most frequently used reasons for applying a HSR to try and provide support and protection for the child. These issues may be manifestations of a range of problems that affect families including, for example,

domestic violence, drug or alcohol misuse, neglect, mental illness or learning difficulties. Cleaver (2011) notes that many children and young people living in such circumstances find it difficult to access external support and related services because often affected families are reluctant to allow discussion of family situations with teachers and other professionals.

The particular features which apply to children looked after at home include instability (possible moves of home and school, uncertainty about future care), lack of sufficient support and encouragement both from home and school, various on-going adversities in the home and community, and failure of care systems to work in partnership to address poor emotional and physical health or low educational achievement (McClung & Gayle, 2010, p. 410).   During Home Supervision, families can face significant difficulties including financial and housing problems, physical and mental health concerns, domestic violence, and drug and alcohol misuse.   Tackling this range of issues creates a challenge due to the instability of young people's home situations and sometimes means they are unable to remain living in the family home and subsequently have to move to residential or foster care (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013).

The Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA) found that 40% of young people initially placed under a supervision requirement lived at home, then experienced three or more moves of placement (Henderson et al., 2011).   The literature on looked after children highlights that multiple moves of placement tends to be associated as a risk factor contributing to poor outcomes for looked after children (Jones et al., 2011).

Young people who are subject to a HSR often have a care experience that is not necessarily linear, meaning that they often experience a series of transitions moving from the parental home to residential care, kinship care or foster care (Henderson & Hanson, 2012).   There is direct relevance in drawing on the wider literature about young people in care.   Children who are looked after at home face the same gambit of adverse issues that all looked after children experience. These difficulties faced by young people looked after at home are then compounded by the challenges young people experience such as making transitions between school settings and into employment and further education and training (Furlong, Woodman, & Wyn, 2011).

Home Supervision in operation

The key focus of Home Supervision, per the Scottish Government Regulations and Guidance that govern the overarching policy framework, is that interagency work should be a central aspect of social work supervision of children who remain in their own home (Scottish Office, 1997).   This guidance emphasises the need for regular contact between social workers and schools and, where child protection

is a key issue, with health professionals too. Care plans drawn up by social workers may also include school liaison in respect of cases in which offending is the central concern.

The main reasons for children and young people being placed under a HSR are neglect or concern about standards of care and protection as well as their non-attendance at school (Henderson et al., 2011). The Home Supervision Requirement is reviewed annually with the need for review of the progress and effectiveness of the order enshrined in Scottish legislation. The definition of a looked after child is in section 17(6) of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, as amended by Schedule 2, para 9(4) of the Adoption and Children (Scotland) Act 2007. This stipulates that 'no child shall continue to be subject to a supervision requirement for any period longer than is necessary in the interests of promoting or safeguarding his welfare' (Scottish Government, 2011, p.13).

The largest study of the five previously conducted and published on the topic of Home Supervision was undertaken by Stirling University in 2002 on behalf of the Scottish Government. Murray et al. (2002) reviewed 189 case files and sought opinions of Children's Panel members, family members, social workers and teachers on the efficacy of Home Supervision. They found that there had been prior social work involvement in 86% of the families before the HSR was put in place. During the period of Home Supervision the families faced major difficulties including financial and housing problems, physical and mental health problems, domestic violence, and drug and alcohol misuse (Murray et al., 2002). In evaluating the efficacy of Home Supervision in relation to the underlying issues faced by children and young people, 59% of social workers reported no deterioration in problems in children's lives, with 41% reporting deterioration in family relationships, home situation, school attendance, child's behaviour and offending. Very few families said they had been involved in drawing up plans for Home Supervision (Murray et al., 2002).

This same study identified the need for more social work time to support children as raised by panel members, teachers, social workers and reporters. The research found that in some areas of Scotland the capacity of social work departments to provide the necessary help and support required was deeply compromised. The need for early review of cases, better monitoring of social work provision and additional resources was also noted (Murray et al., 2002). These findings were affirmed by Whincup(2015) with social workers indicating that the way that work is allocated is a barrier to getting time to build effective relationships with young people subject to home supervision. Most families were confident that they could express their views to social workers but a few found it harder to do so. Some parents were rather sceptical about the influence of families on decision-making. Social workers identified the following elements as necessary ingredients to the overall process of Home Supervision: availability of services/resources; an interagency approach; the importance of appropriate measures; the existence of advocacy for the child/support outwith the family home; and the capacity to protect the child/monitor safety. Support services deemed to be useful but not available were: family support

workers/home carers; community resource workers; befrienders; group work for young people; parenting skills' classes and respite care (Murray et al., 2002). This gives an indication of the range of different agencies that should be involved in effective Home Supervision.

Murray et al. found that that the effectiveness of Home Supervision in supporting the needs of the family or individual rested on whether or not there was adequate resource in the particular local authority area where the family resides (Murray et al., 2002). The study also found that levels of service varied considerably, was episodic in nature, often with cases remaining unallocated due to staff shortages, raising concerns also about the wellbeing of vulnerable children and families who have been adjudged to require compulsory measures of care (Murray et al., 2002). Social work time was identified as the single most important factor that could improve Home Supervision according to teachers, children's reporters, social workers and children's panel members. This shows the tensions inherent in the system over the availability of social work resources (Murray et al., 2002).

Murray et al. also found that adequacy of resources was identified as an on-going problem: 'There is a tension inherent in the system over the availability of social work resources. While no doubt panel members reach decisions about Home Supervision with awareness of the local resource context, their primary task, in accordance with legal requirements, is to reach decisions in the best interests of each individual child coming before a hearing. This in turn can pose demands on a service required to operate within a cash-limited budget' (Murray et al., 2002, p. 109). Resource limitations were also identified as a concern in the more recent study undertaken by Gadda (2012) and in various submissions made to the inquiry on educational attainment of looked after at home children and young people undertaken by the Scottish Parliament (Scottish Government, 2012).

The context within which social care policy and spend is developed in Scotland is directly linked to economic considerations. We are currently living in times of austerity due to a severe economic downturn. The result of this has been severe cuts to public expenditure (Stalker, Macdonald, King, Young & Hawthorn, 2015). Since 2010 local authorities in Scotland have received £800 million less in real terms with 40,000 posts removed through voluntary redundancies and natural wastage. Projects predict similar scale and potentially deeper reductions in budgets by 2018/19[2]. The Accounts Commission in Scotland estlimated that social work spending will need to increase by up to £667 million by 2020, a rise of 21%, unless alternate ways of delivering services are introduced and highlights that the current levels of spend are unsustainable (Accounts Commission, 2016). This serves to highlight the pressure on resources available for services, including the ones directly relate to young people who have a Home Supervision requirement such as social work and education and third sector organisations that are sub-contracted to provide additional support services. This is set against a context of substantial increases in demand for social work services because of the recession, and not only affects available

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2 http://www.ifs.org.uk/publications/7878

resources but puts additional pressure on social work staff and reduces funding available to third sector support agencies making it difficult to recruit and retain staff (Cardwell, 2016).

Reduced funding for services has resulted in social work organisations prioritising services to individuals and families who are at the point of crisis, rather than earlier intervention (Action for Children, 2013). It has led to the introduction of policies that have impacted on non-mainstream and specialist services for vulnerable young people, with some facing closure and thresholds for entitlement to services being raised in order to make prioritisation decisions (Pemberton, 2013). Budgetary led decision-making was found to be evident in the initial review of Home Supervision conducted in 2002 in terms of allocation of resources to support families and children (Murray et al., 2002).

Senior staff in social work departments consider that Home Supervision is more effective in respect of care and protection, less effective in respect of offending and least effective in changing outcomes for children who were not attending school regularly without reasonable excuse (Murray et al., 2002). Most young people subject to Home Supervision have the requirement triggered initially for reasons of non-attendance at school (Henderson & Hanson, 2012). The resulting poor outcomes for young people in terms of health and education are at odds with the aspirations of the policy context of all children being able to reach their full educational potential and be safe, healthy and supported in doing so (Scottish Government, 2009).

This is an important issue when considering the average length of time children and young people spend living under Home Supervision Requirement. Recent research by Henderson et al. (2012) looking at young people subject to HSR for five or more years found amongst those aged eleven and twelve years that the average length of time spent on Home Supervision was 8.51 years, representing 65% of their lives. In the fifteen and sixteen years age group this was 9.77 years and 59% of their lives (Henderson & Hanson, 2012).

In the past, social workers have considered HSR as having helped in securing interagency provision, from both the statutory and voluntary sectors in terms of making other agencies more accountable (Murray et al., 2002). Social workers interviewed by Murray et al. felt that it facilitated quicker referral to resources and meant that children and young people got some form of service they would not have received had the order not been in place. This raised the important issue of whether Home Supervision was used, at times, in order to gain access to services, rather than because compulsory measures were deemed to be required (Murray et al., 2002). This highlights the lack of support available for families and young people living in poverty who have vulnerabilities but have not come to the attention of authorities and therefore do not get any additional support. It also highlights other pressures such as different thresholds in differing authorities for triggering support and pressure on local authorities in financing such support (Henderson et al., 2014, 2011; Henderson & Whitehead, 2013).

In the last twenty years, social work has undergone considerable reform and faced pressure to modernise.   This has led to increased bureaucracy and centralised control of social work, including focus on procedures such as standardisation of assessment procedures (Rogowoski, 2012), combined with reductions in services because of cuts to public expenditure.   However, such changes have provoked criticism that social work is no longer located in the broader context of effective and comprehensive support for children and families at the neighbourhood and community level (Rogowski, 2012) and had a negative impact on practice resulting in the requirement to meet service outcomes dominating practice outcomes at the expense of service users (Kennedy, 2014).

Policy and legislative context

Home Supervision is a uniquely Scottish practice in the way that it operates.   Although there are other similarly titled variations of the approach in other countries, they do not have the same fundamental intent of having a legal mechanism to provide additional support for the welfare of families, children and young people while they remain within the family home (Gadda, 2012; Murray, 2006).

Currently, the policy context that Home Supervision operates within is driven by Scottish Parliamentary legislation that is enacted in law through the Children (Scotland) Act 1995.   The guidance for the Act states that

> Children who are looked after should have the same opportunities as all other children for education, including further and higher education, and access to other opportunities for development.   They should also, where necessary, receive additional help, encouragement or support to address special needs or compensate for previous deprivation or disadvantage (Scottish Government, 2009a, p. 55).

In recent years, there have been several Scottish policy measures introduced to try to address the multiple and complex needs of looked after children, including the publication of national guidance designed to reduce exclusions of looked after children and young people from school (Scottish Government, 2011).   The publication of 'We Can and Must Do Better' in 2007 emphasised the importance of education for looked after children.   The report identified two areas for urgent attention, namely: the importance of stability and continuity within education and care settings; and the importance of the educational needs of looked after children being highlighted through improved training for all foster carers, residential workers, lead professionals and support workers (Furnivall, Connelly, Hudson, & McCann, 2007).   This acted as a catalyst for raising awareness amongst the teaching profession of the needs of looked after children and led to changes to inspection frameworks for teachers to specifically address the needs of looked after children.   A resulting public and policy interest in the educational attainment of looked after children in Scotland led to the establishment of a Scottish

Parliament inquiry into the attainment of looked after children, undertaken by the Education and Culture Committee in 2012. The subsequent report from the investigation highlighted the need for earlier interventions in children's lives, acknowledging that young people subject to HSR had poorer levels of attainment, and re-iterated the view that part-time timetables without other provision being in place was unsatisfactory. The report also recognised barriers concerning joined up working. Specifically, there was a need for additional help in supporting transitions between primary and secondary school and a need for training on attachment and trauma for teachers so they could better support looked after children and young people. Furthermore, the report called on the Scottish government to state whether it considered that the supports for children and young people looked after at home produced satisfactory outcomes.

Additional support needs

The presumption of inclusion was enshrined in legislation in the Standards in Scotland's Schools etc. Act 2000, making the default position that mainstream provision would be the norm for all Scottish school children. This Act was followed by the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 (amended in 2009), which replaced the term 'special educational needs' with 'additional support needs' (ASN). The term ASN goes beyond a narrow definition of special educational needs to include learners who require support including those who experience social, emotional and behavioural difficulties, students for whom English is an additional language and those looked after by the authority (Scottish Parliment, 2010). Getting it Right for Every Child (Scottish Government, 2008) and the Children and Young People (Scotland) Act, 2014 provide additional emphasis on inclusion focusing on improving outcomes for all children by placing them at the centre of support provision.

Current Scottish legislation automatically deems all looked after children and young people to have additional support needs unless the education authority determines that they do not require additional support to benefit from school education. This legislation requires that educational authorities consider whether each looked after child or young person for whose school education they are responsible, requires a co-ordinated support plan (Scottish Government, 2012). In 2011 during the Scottish Parliament inquiry into educational attainment of looked after children, the Care Inspectorate, (the agency responsible for ensuring that standards of social work in Scotland) submitted written evidence. Their submission stated that they had not seen evidence that the ASL Act and the amendments had added significantly to the coordination and support for most looked after children, and particularly for children looked after at home (Care Inspectorate, 2011).

Interagency and professional working

Interagency and professional working is key to effective Home Supervision and needs to prioritise and balance both education and welfare needs of children (Scottish Government, 2009). The Scottish Children's Reporter Administration (SCRA) has highlighted issues with interagency working as an on-going problem and has found an absence of education and learning being explicitly noted in any care plans produced for children on Home Supervision.

Numerous studies have highlighted the importance of interagency work in addressing the needs of looked after children (Connelly, Forrest, et al., 2008; McClung, 2008; Rutter et al. 2010). Scottish Government regulations and guidance (2007) stipulate that interagency work should be a central aspect of social work supervision of children who are looked after at home. Social workers who complete care plans may also include school liaison information as well as issues around aspiration and other aspects pertinent to educational progress. Teachers and schools are critical to this as they have an important role to play in child welfare (Gilligan, 1998). The interrelationship between social workers and teachers is not always an effective one. Jackson observes that there are deep divisions which permeate education and care services and institutions (Jackson, 1994).

This divide between education and social work practice has been well documented in the literature. Such divisions transcend country barriers as Gilligan observes that 'Schools seem remarkably invisible in the field of child and family social work, despite social workers playing some direct role in their operation in many countries' (Gilligan, 1998, p. 13). Staff within education should contribute to social work plans for children to ensure that they reflect educational needs and aspirations of the child and that stability of education is a factor when considering options around the placement of the child (Scottish Government, 2008). I examine this point more fully later in this chapter.

Evidence suggests that education staff do not systematically contribute to care plans and that there is a propensity for plans for the child to be dominated and driven by care concerns rather than educational needs. In an audit undertaken by the Scottish Children's Reporter Administration, only 68% of the child's plans had reference to education contained within them (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013). Within schools, some of this additional support is part of the role of a 'designated manager' for looked after children. This position was advocated strongly with the publication of the Learning with Care report in 2001 (Maclean & Gunion, 2003). The core tasks for designated managers include the support, oversight and strengthening co-ordination of looked after children's needs so that within the school they receive appropriate levels and forms of support (Scottish Government, 2008). A more recent (and unpublished) study in one local authority conducted in 2016 found significant gaps in child's plans, finding that twenty-three (59%) of 39 plans referred to the child's learning and achievement with education

information often being limited to the name of the school attended and little in the way of explicit statements on their attainment (Personal Communication, 2016).

The responsibility of ensuring that children receive proper support often lies with social work professionals, even when it may be more appropriate for someone within education to fulfil this role; for example, when the reasons for the Home Supervision requirement are primarily linked to issues within the school, such as non-attendance or truancy (Jackson et al., 2015).

The focus of Home Supervision outlined in the key document guiding social work practice in Scotland at the time, the Regulations and Guidance for Social Work in Scotland, was that interagency work should be a central aspect of social work supervision of children who remain in their own home (Scottish Office, 1997).   This guidance places emphasis on 'regular contact between social workers and schools and, where child protection is a critical issue, also with health professionals' (Scottish Office, 1997, p. 44).

There exists a challenge in the form of silos that blight inter-professional working and professionals not addressing the needs of children and young people in a holistic way.   Examples of this include social workers planning and prioritising issues of care at the expense of education. Schools on the other hand often do not consider the circumstances and needs of looked after children and factor these into educational planning (Henderson, 2013).   Rutter (1991) believes that education should act as a potentially critical preventive and protective resource for children experiencing social adversity.   The benefits of school experience seem most evident among students who are vulnerable and have few other supports (Rutter, 1991).   Schools have a role to play in supporting the emotional as well as educational needs of children.   A focus on the emotional support is significant given many children and young people in this cohort experience disruptions to relationships and potential attachments.   As Gilligan puts it 'a warm relationship with a responsive teacher may do more for a child's craving for a secure base than elaborate efforts of engaging a child in weekly one-hour sessions of therapy' (Gilligan, 2000, p. 40).

Care planning and education

The key document used at an operational level to aid communication is the Child's Plan which is designed to ensure a holistic view of the needs of the child is acted on, communicated and shared among the relevant agencies.   Specifically, the plan should contain information about why the child is being looked after, their health, education history, and current arrangements for the provision of education. Education notes should extend to personal and social development as well as interests and recreational activities; and any services to be provided to meet the care, education and health needs of the child (Scottish Government, 2011b).   The processes are designed to ensure the active involvement of the child and ensure they are fully involved in the consultation about the content of the plan.   Education should be a core component of this plan:

Educational and wider developmental needs should normally be addressed in the care plan. In planning for the child, local authorities should have regard to continuity of education, take a long-term view of the child's education, provide educational and developmental opportunities and support, and promote potential and achievement. Plans should recognise the value of peer group relationships made in educational and community settings (Scottish Government, 2010, p. 14).

The study by Murray et al. (2002) also found that social workers identified the need for better monitoring of care plans and undertaking regular case reviews. In relation to interagency working, education services were most often identified as being the most active in collaborating with others at a policy level. Health collaboration was regarded as the least useful. Home Supervision is perceived to be an effective intervention concerning child protection when there was effective joint working of services, and good levels of communication, backed up by transparent procedures and the existence of care plans (Murray et al., 2002).

Francis, writing in 2000, found that despite developing policy and other endeavours to address educational needs of young people who have care experience, education was a marginal issue in social work practice (Francis, 2000). This is at odds with the intent behind the current GIRFEC policy that strives for earlier identification of issues and suitable personalised intervention with children and young people to prevent any negative impacts on their well-being, including education. The child's plan should have defined targets to improve educational outcomes. A lack of prominence of education in care planning has been previously identified as a practice issue as far back as 2003, following the publication in 2001 of the report 'Learning with Care' which highlighted that care plans were often of variable quality and had little in the way of relevant and useful information about schooling and education. These plans were often not shared with schools (Connelly & Furnivall, 2013, p. 4). There are still ongoing issues with the planning processes and systems used by different agencies that are supporting looked after children including issues around sharing of information and problems with implementing GIRFEC (Scottish Government, 2012a; Sosu & Ellis, 2014). There are challenges for front line staff with paperwork taking more of a prominence than ensuring the needs of vulnerable children are met (Care Inspectorate, 2011).

Educational attainment of young people Looked After At Home

As well as non-attendance at school, there are other significant issues concerning wider educational achievement where there is a marked difference between those young people looked after at home and in other care settings. Young people who are looked after at home do less well in education than those that are fostered or looked after in residential care (Scottish Government, 2015) as evidenced by educational attainment data that compares their performance to the general school population. The data shows poorer outcomes across all levels of the Scottish Qualification Framework (SCQF), the unit of

assessment used in Scottish Education.   The SCQF is, therefore, the primary measurement for making comparisons across levels of attainment and is the way in which Scottish Government establishes how well children perform from different groupings.   This data shows that across all levels, children who are looked after at home perform less well than all other looked after children at all SCQF levels (Scottish Government, 2016).   In the year 2013-2014, there was a range of changes to the qualification structure and how this is reported because of changes to assessment procedures, changes to the way in which local authorities gather and collate statistics and the way that Scottish Government presents this data Scottish Government, 2014).   Comparison with previous statistics is difficult but the intent behind the changes is to make reporting and comparison easier in the future.   The introduction of a National Improvement Framework within Scotland introduces mechanisms for testing that enable statistics for younger ages to assist with tracking improvement. This includes the national collection of data on the achievement of Curriculum for Excellence levels for literacy and numeracy at the end of P1, P4, P7 and S3 informed by standardised assessment and includes elements of teacher judgement (Scottish Government, 2015).

The general overall trend for looked after children's educational attainment in Scotland shows improvement.   However, as

Table 2 indicates, school leavers looked after at home had one of the lowest overall levels of attainment, with six per cent achieving at least one qualification at level 5 or better, compared to 40 percent for all looked after children (Scottish Government, 2016).

The reasons for this trend are varied.   Some of the improvement are likely to be due to a decline in the overall number of children looked after at home in Scotland that is also accompanied by a higher proportion of children being in foster case with resulting better outcomes (Cameron, Jackson, Hauari, & Hollingworth, 2012; Jackson et al., 2015).   There is also a general trend of overall improvement. However, there is still concern nationally about achievement highlighted with the publication of the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development) Programme for International Student Assessment (Pisa) data in 2016. This is an internationally bench-marked series of tests administered in 72 different countries globally. The Scottish data showed a decline in performance in literacy, maths and science with pupils achieving the lowest reported levels in the series of tests since 2000 (OECD, 2017). The decline is a significant decrease from when I initiated this study.

However, there are still numerous children and young people subject to HSR not achieving positive educational outcomes, suggesting that despite policy endeavours directed at raising attainment, there is still need to prioritise support and resource and understand better the needs of looked after at home young people. The causes of the low attainment problem for looked after children appear to be deep-

rooted.   There is a broad range of important reasons which explain why young people who are looked after are more likely to underachieve (Maxwell, Sodha, & Stanley, 2006).

Table 2: SCQF scores for Looked after children at home (SCOTTISH GOVERNMENT, 2016)

	1 or more qualifications at SCQF level 3 or better	1 or more qualifications at SCQF level 4 or better	1 or more qualifications at SCQF level 5 or better
In the community			
At home with parents	63	36	6
With friends/relatives	86	81	41
With foster carers provided by local authority	*	96	66
With foster carers purchased by local authority	*	90	61
In other community[3]	-	-	-
Residential accommodation			
In local authority home	*	64	15
In voluntary home	*	86	*
In other residential[4]	*	62	*
All looked after	**86**	**75**	**40**

Note: Cells containing *represent small numbers that have been suppressed to maintain confidentiality.

The causes of the low attainment problem for looked after children appear to be deep-rooted.   There is a broad range of important reasons which explain why young people who are looked after are more likely to underachieve (Maxwell, Sodha, & Stanley, 2006).   One factor is placement instability leading to changes in school, disrupting the young person's continuity of relationships and learning.   For young people subject to a Home Supervision Requirement, this is commonplace (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013).   McClung suggests special efforts need to be made to compensate for earlier disadvantage for looked after children to be able to access their right to education.   Support and encouragement from home and school are key issues reflected in the research questions for this study.

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3   Includes with prospective adopters

4   Includes in residential school, secure care accommodation or crisis care

School attendance for young people Looked After At Home

Poor school attendance means that looked after children often miss school because they do not have a place or have been excluded, or simply do not attend (Maxwell et al., 2006).   Looked after children frequently experience a lack of sufficient educational support at school.   Part of the explanation for this, is that some teachers have low expectations of children in care or a lack of understanding of the issues that the young person is facing.   One study conducted in England by Ofsted in 2009 found that 30% of looked after children experienced teachers treated children in care differently than their peers at school.   A further 23% felt teachers expected less of them because they were in care.   Forty-five per cent of young people worried about bullying and thus did not want others to know they were in care.   Maxwell (2006) concludes children in care frequently do not receive adequate help with their emotional and physical health and wellbeing.

The study by Murray et al. (2002) on Home Supervision raised issues about the impact of Home Supervision regarding young people's attendance at school, with little difference found in improving attendance or behaviour.   These are still significant problems today especially as non-attendance at school is one of the primary grounds for the granting of a Home Supervision Requirement.

The need for stability in the lives of looked after children and young people is critical. Gilligan (1998) describes the importance of school in supporting young people whose family circumstances are in turmoil.   The rhythm of the school day, the familiarity of place and supportive teachers can all contribute to being safe and secure.   Additionally, schools and the engagement with teaching staff can help children and young people develop 'a protective shield to help children withstand the multiple vicissitudes that they can expect of a stressful world' (Garmezy, 1991, p. 427).

The effectiveness of HSR in supporting attendance

The research evidence is uncertain about the effectiveness of a Home Supervision requirement when used as a measure to improve school attendance.   In the study by Murray et al. (2002), the teachers reported that school attendance had remained about the same for over half the children (51%), improved for under a third (28%) and deteriorated for a minority (18%).   The study found that for 46 percent of children there had been no change in their behaviour and that school attainment had remained the same for many children (55%), improving for 26% of the sample with 15% experiencing a deterioration in attendance (Murray et al., 2002).   Social workers felt that cases of non-attending pupils reaching social work departments presented too late to stage an effective intervention.   This delay was deemed to be a factor in perceived ineffectiveness of Home Supervision.   Panel members noted beneficial changes in the child's life in the majority (77%) of families.   Similarly, in 64 (75%) cases, social workers considered that there had been improvements, as did fifty-four percent of teachers.   Areas for

practice improvement identified were parenting, family relationships and stability, and the child's schooling (Murray et al., 2002). These statistics suggest that being subject to Home Supervision is useful in helping people maintain their attendance but does not lead to any significant behavioural improvement.

Research undertaken by McClung and Gayle found that where additional supports are put in to assist looked after children, such as help with homework, this can have a direct impact on attainment. However, their research found that young people looked after at home often had no-one to help them with their homework. The study also found that young people often had no space at home to study for their exams and undertake homework (McClung & Gayle, 2010).

School exclusions for young people looked after at home

Gilligan suggests that young people who have been excluded face alienation from vital supports and exposure to services that can foster resilience (Gilligan, 2008). Research undertaken by McAra and McVie (2010) found those excluded from school risk having a chronic conviction trajectory and an increased risk of adversarial contact with police. They also found that exclusion and truancy serve as major predictors of poor outcomes and criminal justice involvement stating that 'the critical moments for youngsters concerning conviction trajectory appear to be linked to truancy and school exclusion in the early years following the transition from primary to secondary school' (McAra & McVie, 2010, p. 197).

The Scottish Government produced guidance in 2011 to advise on the management of exclusions from schools by guiding on when and how to apply school exclusion (Scottish Government, 2011). The intent behind this ultimately is to reduce exclusions for young people. The guidance makes specific reference to the needs of looked after children and aims to raise teachers' awareness of the issues behind truancy and anti-social behaviour with looked after children. The guidance stressed the need for a Child's Plan to be in place for looked after children and made it explicit that there should be a designated manager for looked after children within every school. Their role should support looked after young people with the issues that they face (Government, 2011b). As a result of exclusions, many looked after children end up not receiving a full-time education, having part-time timetables (HMIe, 2008). Usage of part-time schooling runs contrary to the view of the Care Inspectorate that all young people should receive a full-time education (Scottish Government, 2012a).

Maxwell et al. (2006) suggest many complex and significant causes explain why looked after children do not achieve positive educational outcomes. Placement instability, and subsequent changes of school, disrupt continuity of relationships and learning. Children looked after at home often start off by being placed under a supervision requirement. However, a decline in the family circumstances can mean they become placed in residential care or being fostered, usually for reasons of their care or protection

(Henderson, 2012). Poor school attendance means children in care may miss school because they are excluded from school or do not attend.

Stigma within schools is another contributing factor. Children in care frequently do not receive adequate help with their emotional and physical health and wellbeing with forty-five per cent of young people worried about bullying and thus did not want others to know they were in care (Maxwell et al. (2006). Maxwell et al. (2006) conclude children in care often do not receive adequate help with their emotional and physical health and wellbeing. Such stigma and discrimination limits potential in school and educational attainment (McClung and Gayle, 2010).

Part of the challenge for looked after children and young people is that they want to be treated as being 'normal' within the school environment and do not want to be singled out or treated differently (Honey, 2011). This stigma is one that is carried through their lives (Walker, 2006) and is akin to similar issues faced by children with disabilities (MacIntyre, 2014; Riddell, 2009). The levels of education and aspirations of those who care for children are contributing factors to a lack of educational success (SIRCC, 2009) and this is the same for parents and professional care staff. Young people subject to Home Supervision can find themselves living in alternative care settings such as residential care for periods and be subject to influences and values of their care staff (Jackson & Cameron, 2012). This arguably impacts the value that those who care for young people place on education as well as the ability of parents and carers to support their young people with their educational attainment. Literacy, including parental literacy, has been found to be a strong protective factor in conditions of adversity (Forsman & Vinnerljung, 2012; Freire, 1998; Gilligan, 2007b; Scottish Government, 2011a; Rees, 2013).

Schools and care: The ethical dimension

The fundamental relationship between schools and the overall welfare of a child was noted earlier. Such connection places a moral obligation on everyone within the educational sphere to be alert in addressing the care and well-being needs of children. Dewey (1916) made the ethical connection between the moral responsibility of the school, and ensuring good care for the children within school as members of society. A caring learning environment is an equitable one, built on trusting relationships between teachers and students (Peele-Eady & Pang, 2007) and has been found to be a central element of teaching and learning processes (Adams & Christenson, 1998; MacFarlane & Woolfson, 2013; Noddings, 1995).

The actual role and function of education are further questioned by Noddings (1995). She went as far as to suggest organising curricular subjects around themes of care and proposed that society needs to care for its children to produce people who can care competently for their families and contribute effectively to their communities (Noddings, 1995). The recent Scottish parliamentary inquiry into looked after

children's education identified the importance of the relational aspects between teachers and young people, noting that:

> The Committee recognises that good relationships between the main professionals and looked after children play a vital role in ensuring the wellbeing of looked after children in school and contribute to their learning. Excellent school leadership can facilitate this in shaping the ethos of the school. The Committee, therefore, considers that the Scottish Government should stress the importance of this area in its wider policies, in developing school leaders and in training teachers, recognising that building such relationships is an integral part of quality teaching rather than an additional part of teachers' job descriptions (Scottish Parliament, 2012, p. 16).

Poverty and the relationship with care

There is a well-documented link between being in the care of the state and experience of social disadvantage and poor outcomes, including in education (Sosu & Ellis, 2014). There is a correlation between geographical areas that score high on levels of deprivation and the numbers of children that become subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. Taking Glasgow as an example, there were 8,156 referrals made to the Children's Reporter in 2008-9 with 3,100 young people placed under a HSR (SCRA, 2009). In the Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation, the statistical barometer used by Scottish Government to compare and calculate levels of deprivation, of the 325 data zones in the 5% most deprived data zones in Scotland, 148 (45.5%) were found in Glasgow City in 2012.

In the UK, the Households Below Average Income figures for 2015/6 show that child poverty now stands at the highest level since 2009/10, with 4 million children in the UK now living in relative poverty. The figures also show that in-work poverty continues to rise, and now stands at 67 percent (Department of Work and Pensions, 2017). The Institute of Fiscal Studies's projects that this figure of children living in poverty will increase to five million by the year 2020, a return to the levels it was at in the 1990s (Hood & Waters, 2017). The cost to the state in the form of lost revenue, additional spend on services and other welfare payment costs, is estimated to be around £29 billion. A fiscal examination, however, neglects the incalculable human impact of poor housing conditions, physical ill-health, lack of employment opportunities, lack of food and basic provisions and detrimental mental health effects that the blight of poverty has on individuals and communities (Hirsch, 2013).

In Scotland in 2017, 17% of Scotland's population live in poverty equivalent to 880,000 people. When housing costs are factored in this figure rises to a million people (1 in 5 of the population) and in terms of child poverty, 1 in 4 of all children in Scotland live in poverty (Scottish Government, 2017). Since 2008, the number of under-25s who are unemployed has doubled to 90,000 and health inequalities are increasing. Equally problematic is the stark contrast in life expectancy for a boy who is born in the most

disadvantaged 10% of areas within Scotland who can have a life expectancy of 14 years below the least disadvantaged parts of Scotland (Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2013).   In 2009, 22 per cent of school leavers from the most deprived areas of Scotland moved into unemployment, compared to only six per cent from the least deprived areas.   High numbers of young people who have Home Supervision Requirements live in the most deprived areas of Scotland (Scottish Government, 2014).

All of this serves to place families living in poverty under emotional pressure and result in their exclusion. Standing (2016) notes that this a global trend that is creating a society where families across the globe becoming part of a class of people facing insecurity, moving in and out of precarious work that gives little meaning to their lives. Dorling (2015) observes:

> 'It is slowly becoming clear that growing financial inequality results in large and slowly growing numbers of people being excluded from the norms of society, and creates an expanding and increasingly differentiated social class suffering a new kind of poverty; the new poor, the indebted, the excluded' (Dorling, 2015, p.101).

Poverty and the relationship with educational attainment and being Looked After

There is evidence of a link between children experiencing deprivation and poverty and their educational attainment (Cassen & Kingdon, 2007).   However, poverty and educational attainment are not necessarily entwined given that three-quarters of parents living in poverty help their children with their homework (De Sousa, 2014).

Low income is a strong predictor of low educational performance (Hirsch, 2013).   Most young people, who find themselves on Home Supervision Requirements, come from areas in Scotland that experience high levels of deprivation and poverty (Henderson & Whitehead, 2013).

The statistical evidence suggests that in Scotland, as in the rest of the UK, children's educational attainment is linked to parental occupation, their income levels and qualification level (Iannelli & Paterson, 2006).   Moreover, the research indicates that these factors, including family background and income poverty at the household level, form only part of the problem (Pirrie & Hockings, 2012). Persistent income poverty is linked to the presence of a home environment where spoken learning and aptitude for learning is 'chronically impoverished' (Dufur et al., 2013).   Socioeconomic background is one of the main predictors of cognitive development, which provides the underpinnings of academic achievement and that strain of poverty can curtail and limit children's ability to adapt to circumstances (Schoon & Parsons, 2002).

The more time children spend in poverty the greater the risk of developing behaviour issues compared to those living in more affluent communities (Schonberg & Shaw, 2007).   There is also evidence to suggest

that poverty and the related problems that affect children play a role as a cause of mental ill-health (Miech, Caspi, Moffitt, Wright, & Silva, 1999). Socioeconomic disadvantage is associated with a variety of related factors such as poor living conditions, overcrowding, or lack of material resources (Schoon & Parsons, 2002). Less advantaged children and young people are more likely to feel a lack of control over their learning and also are more likely to become reluctant recipients of the taught curriculum (Ackerman, Brown, & Izard, 2004). Educational attainment can be influenced by a lack of income in the family leading to a deficit of resources as well as opportunities (Mahoney, Cairns, & Farmer, 2003).

Poverty directly detrimentally impacts on children's learning. The children with economically poor parents born in 2000/2001 were found to be up to one year behind educationally at age three compared to those living in families with higher income (Cassen & Kingdon, 2007). As young people from disadvantaged backgrounds move into adulthood, they are more likely to leave school at 16 and not have a positive destination such as further education or training. They are also less than half as likely to go on to higher education than their wealthier peers (Pirrie & Hockings, 2012). This suggests that there is an integrated set of inter-relationships at play for children looked after at home, between their families' income, social factors and stresses, poverty, and subsequent educational attainment. People from more advantaged social classes have a higher chance of achieving success and social mobility than those from disadvantaged backgrounds (Iannelli & Paterson, 2007).

Sosu and Ellis (2014) found that teachers are crucial in closing the attainment gap for looked after children and suggest there is a need for teachers to prioritise the needs of looked after children and those that are at risk of being vulnerable because of living in poverty. Teachers need to ensure that pedagogical approaches employed within their classrooms benefit not just the higher achievers within the classroom but those most at risk of exclusion (Sosu & Ellis, 2014).

Creating success in education with vulnerable children and young people

Part of the challenge lies in connecting and encouraging young people who have become disengaged from learning. Smyth et al. (2013) suggest that if teachers can ensure their programme of study and teaching style are developmentally appropriately these could influence how children in care solve problems. They could assist with how they learn, ask for help, and value themselves and how they deal with personal questions (Smyth, McInerney, & Fish, 2013). The aspirations and intent behind Curriculum for Excellence in Scotland should be conducive to encouraging this type of approach with a distinct emphasis on the need for choice and individualised curriculum (Scottish Government, 2012b).

Gilligan argues that schools have a role to play in enhancing resilience and providing positive role models for looked after children (Gilligan, 1998). There are many examples of active measures that can help support young people. For example providing mentoring support for looked after children appears to

be one intervention that can enable young people to succeed (Gilligan, 1999; Morgan, 2012; Philip & Hendry, 2000; Reid, 2002; Rogers, 2011).

Smyth et al. (2013) argue that a relational approach to learning, that is a more flexible way of teaching, can help improve outcomes for young people at risk of exclusion. This method involves building a curriculum around student interests, personalising the learning experience and constructing the learning experiences around their lives and thus challenging the deficit view of young people by having a focus on capabilities and the capacities that young people have (Smyth, 2013). The research literature indicates that the more engagement with learning activities the young people have, the greater the likelihood of them having higher levels of motivation (Bempechat & Shernoff, 2012).

Children and young people who are looked after often have a narrow curriculum, lacking exposure to subjects such as drama, music and extra-curricular activities (Gilligan, 1999). The narrowing of choice can mean that young people lack the necessary levels of cultural capital by having their subject choices and subsequent career pathways limited. Wider choice and exposure to a range of opportunities are important factors in raising levels of confidence, self-esteem and resilience as well as cultural capital levels of looked after children. A broad curriculum that supports leisure interests can provide opportunities to stimulate young people's appetite for general learning and progression (Gilligan, 2007a).

Teacher and professional aspiration

One study conducted in England by Ofsted (2009) found that 30% of the looked after children felt their teachers treated them differently at school with a further 23% reporting they felt that teachers expected less of them because of their care experience. An explanation for the narrow curricular pathways that some young people experience may be the culture of low aspiration that young people who are looked after experience from teaching professionals who have low expectations of their looked after children because of their circumstances (Sylva, 1994). A study of students in an urban borough of England conducted by Elliot (2002) found that teachers had lower expectations of looked after children compared to non-looked after children with regard to completion of homework. Elliot suggests that children would respond to this expectation by not completing homework on time (Elliott, 2002).

Research conducted by Kintrea (2011) found that pupils know when they are not achieving their full potential when following alternative curricular pathways. This study showed that students had an awareness that schools do not support all students equally and that they experience education in different ways. Part of the responsibility for raising the level of challenge and aspiration for pupils lies with schools. In one study of expectation of students within inner city schools, Strand(2008) found that there was a need for schools to 'reassess themselves as cultural institutions and find ways to connect

their normative values of aspiration with the lived curriculum of their pupils' (Strand & Winston, 2008, p. 266).

However, there is an essential set of links between student achievement, goals and their motivation to go on and achieve success.   Motivational factors can guide beliefs that influence school success including the value that is placed on learning by the individual; self-assessment of ability and performance as well as the expectations that others have on how well they will perform (Bempechat & Shernoff, 2012). Another factor is the learner's interpretation of their educational experience and individual responses to success or failure (Blackwell, Trzesniewski, & Dweck, 2007).

Ensuring that all professionals have high aspirations for looked after children including residential care staff, teachers, foster carers and parents is a crucial component for young people achieving educational success (Connie Cheung, Lwin, & Jenkins, 2012; Syme & Hill, 2015).   Many have lower aspirations that then subsequently impact on the educational achievements of looked after children.   As highlighted earlier in the literature review, the absence of expectation on the part of professionals can impact on the opportunities which are made available to young people. Such little expectation ultimately impacts on actual educational outcomes and can become a continuous cycle of low achievement (Connelly & Furnivall, 2013; Daniels & Cole, 2010; Ferguson, 2006; Gorard, See, & Davies, 2012; Holland, Reynolds, & Weller, 2007; Holland, Renold, Ross, & Hillman, 2010; Honey, Rees, & Griffey, 2011; Sylva, 1994).   The National Framework For Inclusion emphasises the need for teaching and learning to be fully inclusive and to work harder to overcome stigma for marginalised groups (Barrett et al., 2015).

Impact of teaching and learning on educational attainment

Internal notions of fixed and growth mindset affect beliefs that learners have about their abilities. Those who believe intelligence is fixed are more likely to avoid challenging tasks than those who believe that ability and their intelligence and brain development are malleable. The work of psychologist Carol Dweck argues that the adoption of a growth mindset can be instilled in young people when supported by teachers as well as parents and can lead to increased appetite for learning and sustained levels of motivation and ability to learn from constructive criticism (Blackwell et al., 2007; Elliott & Dweck, 1988; Paunesku et al., 2015a; Rattan, Good, & Dweck, 2012).

The research shows that work with children and young people on an asset-based approach rather than focusing on what cannot be achieved and weaknesses or deficits improves outcomes. Examples of effective teaching practice that encourage this include: co-operative learning; meta cognition strategies and phonics instruction can all increase the attainment of children from deprived backgrounds (Pirrie & Hockings, 2012).   The method requires a change in school cultures, teacher training and teacher behaviour as well as influencing parenting strategies to focus on building on strengths within families.

There is a proven link between motivation and resilience, with motivation being an established mediator of resiliency in creating success and achievement for young people in their educational experience (Bempechat & Shernoff, 2012; Masten, 2011; Parcel, Dufur, Zito, & Cornell Zito, 2010; Pirrie & Hockings, 2012; Woodier, 2011; Yoshikawa, Aber, & Beardslee, 2012).

Transitions

There are many key points in the lives of children and young people that serve as pivotal points of transition.   One of these critical junctures is in the transition in moving from primary to secondary school.   Young people go from being in a small environment, with one class teacher, and many opportunities to share their thoughts and feelings, and with staff who know them and their families very well, to a much larger, impersonal environment with many teachers and a much wider age range of pupils (West, Sweeting, & Young, 2010).   Secondary schools are required to meet emotional support needs, but, as Corrigan points out, this often can only be provided where there is identified and genuine need (Corrigan, 2012).   Pupils have to cope with both organisational discontinuities such as changes in school size, being put into streams or sets, changes in academic expectations and social discontinuities (such as changes in the diversity of the student population and relationships with teachers (Rice, 1997).

In addition to changes related directly to the school, the primary to secondary transition comes at a time when many children are experiencing the changes of puberty and cognitive capacity as well as their emotional development and sense of personal identity (Brewin & Statham, 2011).   Part of the challenge in this is that primary and secondary schools operate as different systems, with separate ethos and values and regulations (Corrigan, 2012).

However, looked after children also need to contend with multiple transitions, including moves of home and school. Social workers and others making decisions concerning looked after children need to appreciate the value of continuity in a child's schooling.   Changes of school may badly affect children's friendships, schoolwork and future education (Berridge, 2007; Daniels & Cole, 2010).   As such, continuity should include maintaining friendship groups, teacher relationships and after school and leisure provision where appropriate. Another disruptive factor can be changes of professional relationships such as social workers (Syme & Hill, 2015).

Many also have frequent movement between being at home and into alternative care provisions such as residential care, foster care or short term kinship care arrangements that can serve to destabilise and cause anxiety (Gadda, 2012; Michele McClung & Gayle, 2010).

Mental health of Looked After children

Young people's mental health and wellbeing play a significant role regarding educational attainment and receptiveness and ability to learn (Rothon, Goodwin, & Stansfeld, 2012). Mental health is a fundamental element of the resilience, health assets, capabilities and positive adaptation that enable people both to cope with adversity and to reach their full potential and humanity. (Mullan, McAlister, Rollock, & Fitzsimons, 2007; Rothon et al., 2012). Mental health is also the key to understanding the impact of inequalities on health and other outcomes (Bowes & Jaffee, 2013).

Young people who are looked after are more likely to suffer mental health difficulties. Those who are looked after at home or accommodated are six times more likely to have a mental health disorder than those children living with facilities in the community (Meltzer, Lader, Corbin, Goodman, & Ford, 2003). Mental health issues are recognised as both a cause and a potential consequence of children being looked after (Friedli, 2009). Research in the UK looking at mental health and young people has found a high prevalence of mental health disorders among 11 to 15 years olds in care (Mullan et al., 2007).

The literature suggests that intermittent exposure to environmental adversity poses particular challenges for children caused by the difficulty of constantly readjusting to the ups and downs of family circumstances (Daniel, Burgess, & Scott, 2012). Issues that contribute to this adversity within the family home are domestic violence, alcohol or drug misuse. Other problems include parental mental health problems (including suicide attempts), poor physical health, sibling offending, homelessness, poor living conditions, multiple home and school moves, child neglect, poor parenting or low income (Murray, 2006).

There is a direct link between the mental health of a child or young person and their academic performance. Anxiety, depression and withdrawal can act as predictors of classroom performance (Cassen & Kingdon, 2007). Young people's experience of having meaningful and affectional bonds with a responsive caregiver or attachment figure, in their infant years, has a bearing on subsequent abilities to develop adaptive patterns of attachment behaviours and expectations in other interpersonal relationships for the rest of their lives ((Lee, 2013). Such experiences can also affect their readiness and ability to learn, as children and infants with a secure base can have more effecrtive relationships with their teachers (Commodari, 2013; Tran & Winsler, 2011). Johnson (1992) suggests that knowledge of attachment behaviours assists in the identification of children at risk in schools. However, this knowledge is currently a gap in pre and post qualifying teacher education in Scotland (Furnivall, Mckenna, Mcfarlane, & Grant, 2012). Looked after young people are also less likely to have developed consistent relationships due to having experienced more than one set of carers, which can increase the risk of experiencing problems at times of stress or change (Mahoney et al., 2003). Research suggests that giving children some extra support to reduce the complex difficulties they face may make them

more resilient, and more able to cope with problems encountered during a transition (Mahoney et al., 2003).

The manifestation of young people's lack of positive care experience is often experienced by teachers as challenging or perplexing behaviours that they then must manage within their classroom.   As Geddes points out, though, all reactions, even negative, have meaning (Geddes, 2005).   However, if teachers do not have an adequate understanding of the attachment process or ability to interpret these behaviours correctly, it is possible that their interventions, as well as teaching and learning strategies, will be inappropriate, or make a situation worse for a looked after child (Geddes, 2005).

Research conducted by Sylva et al. (2004) with primary school-age children found that their experiences influence their view of the school and that those with a positive self-image and high levels of self-esteem also had equivalently positive beliefs about their schooling experience.   Pupils who felt more anxious and isolated tended to experience school less favourably than other pupils.   The research also found that younger students who have behavioural and social problems require more encouragement by teachers to engage with school in a more positive way.   The role of pupils' families, as well as the home learning environment, also influenced young people's view of school (Melhuish, Belsky, & Leyland, 2010; Sylva, 1994; Sylva, Melhuish, Sammons, Siraj-Blatchford, & Taggart, 2004).   Teachers' perception of pupils, as well as their responses to emotional and behavioural difficulties, has a direct impact on pupils' learning experiences as well as their potential and receptiveness to learning (Geddes, 2006).

Parents and carers have an important role in supporting the educational attainment of their children at home.   Sylva (2004) notes the need during the formative pre-school period of young children's development to provide rich learning environments.   Having a positive attitude towards learning and education is also a critical factor in improving educational outcomes (Sylva, 1994).

Part of the challenge in caring for young people who remain at home while on supervision, is that they are often living in turbulent environments.   For young people to be able to grow and develop, they need to have a stability of environment if they are to overcome earlier adversities and have 'a strong emotional platform for their journey to adulthood' (Stein & Dixon, 2006, p. 166) and note that young people require a range of different factors for healthy emotional development:

> Redeeming and warm relationship with at least one person in the family or secure attachment to at least one unconditionally supportive parent or parent substitute; positive school experiences; feeling able to plan and be in control; being given the chance of a turning point; positive peer influence (Stein, 2006, p. 166).

Resilience promoting factors

Stein (1994) identified several factors that help support and foster resilience. These include having good social support networks: a dedicated mentor or person from outside the family; a range of extra-curricular opportunities that promote the learning of competencies and emotional maturity. Other factors included the capacity to re-frame adversities so that the beneficial as well as damaging effects are recognised, part-time work, exposure to challenging situations which provide opportunities to develop problem-solving abilities and emotional coping skills with education a vital component in increasing resilience. Also, having a positive experience of school, including educational success, was linked to resilience. Meltzer et al. (2003) found that young people who are looked after are 50% more likely to suffer mental health difficulties compared to 10% of all 5-16-year-olds. Looked after children, like all children, require stability and consistency, supportive social networks and a sense of belonging (Gilligan, 2000). Gilligan observes that schools have an important role to play in these attributes and in building resilience in children to help them deal with adversity and the temptation and risk of risk-taking behaviour (Gilligan, 1998). Fostering the development of social capital in young people through participation in community based and leisure activities has been found to make a difference in increasing the life chances of young people by narrowing the physical and mental health gap between advantaged and disadvantaged young people (Magson, Craven, Munns, & Yeung, 2016a).

The need for further research has been highlighted by Mullan et al., who observed that 'one clear message to emerge from this is the need to understand the attitudes, experiences and behaviours of these young people within the context of their lives' (Mullan et al., 2007, p. 431).

Early intervention in the lives of children Looked After At Home

A key focus for early intervention across the UK has been a focus on initiatives that improve parenting practice and ensure that intervention occurs in a timely manner. (Melhuish et al., 2010; Sylva et al., 2004). There is research evidence available that shows the benefits of targeted, early intervention. One such example is the Sure Start programme in England and Northern Ireland. This involves providing extensive support programmes covering family health, early years' care, education and improved wellbeing programmes support to parents living in disadvantaged areas who had had some form of social service intervention and support requirement (Melhuish et al., 2010). The focus for this intervention was increasing parents' confidence and skills through positive parenting, building capacity and expertise. This showed that parents engaged in less harsh discipline, and provided a more educationally stimulating and enriching environment for their children. They provided a less chaotic home environment and reported having better life satisfaction (Melhuish, 2010).

Interventions factors for addressing low educational attainment for Looked After children

The research literature has highlighted a range of different interventions for vulnerable children and young people which have been shown to lead to improvement in their educational outcomes. For example, tutoring has been shown to help young people increase attainment and engagement with school subjects by providing additional support (Forsman & Vinnerljung, 2012). Within the school itself, in a Scottish context, the role of designated manager is a set of duties undertaken by a teacher within the school to help ensure the support needs of looked after children within the school are met. They have oversight of all the children deemed looked after attending the school to enable them to be supported through their educational experience despite adversities within the family home (Scottish Government, 2009). This support should include: communication, meeting the needs of looked after children and young people, advocacy and learning and development (Scottish Government, 2008a). The document 'We Can and Must Do Better' (2008), recommends that teachers are appropriately trained in the issues that looked after children face so that they are better able to support looked after children within the school.

Parental involvement

Having meaningful parental participation and interest in the lives of their children's education has been shown to have a positive effect in increasing educational attainment. Such interest can reduce the likelihood of young people's truancy and, where there is adequate supervision, increase attainment and lessen the risk of children dropping out of education (Connelly & Kinlochan, 2013; Jackson & Cameron, 2012). However, in the subset of young people looked after at home, many parents have a range of issues linked to difficult social and family circumstances, meaning that their ability to support and encourage their children's education may be difficult (Henderson & Hanson, 2012). This in part may be as a result of their own negative experiences of education (Cassen & Kingdon, 2007; Mallon, 2005) or because they have had little academic achievement themselves, meaning that a positive value of education is not transmitted down to their children (Bempechat & Shernoff, 2012). Interventions can positively bridge and encourage parental involvement by joining in school activities such as field trips, therefore, increasing their understanding of the child's learning experiences and becoming more involved in addressing the barriers to their learning and development (Reingle, Jennings, Lynne-Landsman, Cottler, & Maldonado-Molina, 2013). Encouraging and supporting parents within the family home to provide learning opportunities for their children is a major enabler of children's attainment as is parents willingness to create enthusiasm for learning and helping their children learn independently (Kintrea et al., 2011).

McNeely and Falci (2004) found that parental participation in activities within their communities can also have a bearing on children's social capital strengthening the need for whole family support into leisure and other supports within communities.   Van Breda (2014) found that parents of truanting learners' personal circumstances and their own past experiences of school were likely to influence their approach to parenting and involvement in their children's schooling suggesting an element of learned behaviours playing a role in the decisions that are made about the value of school and attendance.

Coaching and mentoring for Looked After children

Across both research and practice-based literature, the terms of mentoring and coaching have become interchangeable (Renton, 2009).   The coaching process is defined as [working]

> with a client or a group to clarify goals and objectives and to define and identify obstacles to their achieving a chosen path or purpose.   To do this, the coach must help the client acquire high levels of self-awareness, self-responsibility and self-belief, because in short, self-belief is the key to most successful human interventions (Renton,2009, p. 66).

Having a coach or mentor can be helpful in the absence of anyone within the parental home taking an interest in education. Such support has also been proven to have an ameliorating effect when family circumstances are difficult (Dufur, Parcel, & Troutman, 2013; Gilligan, 2007a; Morgan, 2012; Renton, 2009; Stein & Dixon, 2006; Weissberg, Durlak, Dymnicki, Taylor, & Schellinger, 2008).   There are various reasons for this.   Having someone acting as a pro-social role model with a healthy interest in the development of the child or young person can be helpful in promoting positive behaviours (Morgan, 2012).   It can, in part, compensate for the lack of care and encouragement previously experienced in early life by providing a secure base (Gilligan, 2000; Stein & Dixon, 2006), increasing the young person's confidence and resilience and helping on a practical level with homework, and making sense of subjects and general support for their education.   This support can also help with access to leisure pursuits and interests which can be healthy for the development of resilience as well as the development of social capital (Dufur et al., 2013; Gilligan, 2007b).

Young people value the voluntary nature of coaching and mentoring relationships (Clayden & Stein, 2005).   Informal education relationships with trusting professionals have been proven to help young people improve attainment and strengthen resiliency (Andersen & Hansen, 2012; Gilligan, 1999).   This trusting relationship can help create social norms that shape emotional intelligence and lead to the creation of social capital for young people (Gilligan, 1999; Reid, 2002).   Maintaining a clear focus on the emotional development needs of children is important as is the support of a caring professional using relational practice and is child-centred.   This can help overcome negative deficit experiences and an absence of loving and caring relationships within the family home (Bottrell, 2008; Cleaver, 2011;

Ferguson, 2006; Holt, Bowlby, & Lea, 2013; Schuller, Baron, & Field, 2000; Semo & Karmel, 2014; Wood, Giles-Corti, Zubrick, & Bulsara, 2011).

Mentoring has the potential to complement or compensate for family relationships (Morgan, 2013). Coaching and mentoring can assist by helping create a secure base in the absence of such a relationship being provided by the immediate family. Allowing time for trusting relationships to be formed also enables young people's interests and talents to be nurtured and encouraged, thereby increasing aspiration for further achievement and pursuit of leisure and career goals (Gilligan, 1999). The positive benefits of coaching support for young people can include enhanced confidence, engagement with services, reduction in social exclusion and wider participation in services and can ultimately help increase their engagement with school and educational attainment (Dufur et al., 2013; Jackson, 1994; Morgan, 2012; Renton, 2009; Sosu & Ellis, 2014).

Participation in extracurricular activities has been shown to have a beneficial impact on educational grades than those that do not participate in such activities (Sosu & Ellis, 2014). Informal learning opportunities can help with making learning enjoyable for young people, create opportunities for relationship building, make the connection between the formal and informal, and expose young people to other ways that they can learn (Jackson et al., 2015). De Sousa cautions that it is important that such activities also have a focus on education if they are to be beneficial in closing the attainment gap for Scotland's children (Sosu & Ellis, 2014). There is also a proven link between participation in extracurricular activities and aspiration (Jackson et al., 2015).

Connelly (2008) states the need for caution against having too narrow a specialist pathway for looked after children as learning should be as stimulating as possible. Alternative education pathways can contribute to reducing disruptive behaviours and exclusions as well as violent actions (Gutherson, Davies, & Daszkiewicz, 2011). However, this needs to well designed and balanced to ensure a high quality of education is provided that meets the individual needs of learners (Riddell & Weedon, 2014).

Summary and conclusion

The review of literature paints a complex picture of different factors and influences which impact on young people subject to HSR's chances of progression. The literature review shows that most of the literature on looked after at home young people has tended to homogenise all looked after young people, regardless of their care settings. Murray et al. (2002) noted that '[g]iven the long history of Home Supervision and the fact that it is the most common disposal of the children's hearings, the dearth of research in this area is somewhat surprising' (Murray et al., 2002, p.2). McClung & Gayle (2010) further reinforce the need for children looked after at home to be critically examined as a distinct grouping. Their study identified that 'an emerging feature of the empirical data is that being looked

after at home is a distinctive experience that has specific consequences for educational achievement. We strongly recommend that in the future researchers take care to recognise that this is a distinctive group of children in care' (McClung & Gayle, 2010, p. 10).

McClung and Gayle (2010) further recommend the need for research on the psychological impacts of being looked after at home and identified several limitations with the quantitative element of their research.   The main issue with the study from a qualitative analysis perspective was the fieldwork element was undertaken by a local authority employee and a staff member from the advocacy organisation, Who Cares Scotland.

There remains a need to gain a better understanding of the causes of the disparity in attainment between looked after at home children and young people and their counterparts in other settings, given there was an insufficient exploration of the wider social factors.   McClung (2010) observed that limitations to the study included the 'data related to parents and siblings as well as information on parental contact, extracurricular activities and social networks would have enabled a more comprehensive analysis' (McClung & Gayle, 2010, p. 418).

Part of the need for this study is an ethical issue linked to social justice.   Writing in 2008, Connelly et al. stated that 'The commitment to improving the educational experience and raising the attainment of a minority of its youth who are in public care represent a significant test of the socially just society' (Connelly, Siebelt, & Furnivall, 2007).   To provide better supports there is a need to further understand the lived experience of education as viewed by young people who have a HSR.

The literature raises many questions that require further research and that this study seeks to increase understanding of.   The dubiety over the effectiveness of Home Supervision as an intervention in encouraging attendance for looked after at home young people is one area.   It necessitates further investigation about the roles that professionals play in encouraging and supporting vulnerable young people.   During the research process, young people were asked their views on what difference they think being subject to HSR makes to them regarding their education.

Research aim

The aim of this study is to understand young people's experience of Home Supervision and what can be done to better support and encourage their education and schooling experience so that they can achieve their full potential.   To do so the research will address the following research aim:

What do the experiences of children and young people looked after at home tell us about their education and support needs?

I address the following two research questions:

- **What roles do significant professional relationships play in encouraging young people's educational attainment at school?**

- **What can be done at a practice level to better support looked after at home children and young people to help them achieve their full educational potential?**

- In the following chapter, I present and discuss the underpinning theoretical framework that is used to inform the analysis of the study.

Chapter 3: Underpinning Theoretical Frameworks

Introduction

In this chapter, I present the analytical framework I have developed to make sense of the findings of this study.   In presenting this framework, I show the combined and complementary nature of the underpinning theories and outline the contribution that such ideas can make to shine a light on the experiences of the children and young people in this study.

I have chosen three theories which I have woven together to serve as the underpinning theoretical framework for this study.   These are: social capital theory, a flexible framework to make sense of the relational context of this study; resilience theory; and informal education theory).   Combined these three theories allow an exploration of the significant relationships and factors that can impact on young people's educational experience whilst looked after at home.

In the following three sections, I discuss each of these theories in detail starting with social capital theory. I then explain the interrelationships between the key underpinning theories and map the similar characteristics between them.   From this, I account for the development of indicators from each of the critical ideas so that this can be used to inform the analysis of young people's experiences.

Social Capital Theory

In this section, I discuss social capital theory, the first of three theories that form the basis of my analytical framework. Social capital theory originated from the work of Bourdieu (1986).   He describes social capital from a Marxist theoretical standpoint and viewed social capital across three different domains.   These overlapping constructs were cultural, economic and social.   Of interest to this study are the impacts of cultural and social capital.   Bourdieu describes cultural capital as vital to establishing a social life.   This includes the skills, habits and familiarity with the conceptual codes that underlie a specific culture meaning that dominant groups within society use their power to maintain structural conditions that protect their interests   (Bourdieu, 1986).   De Graaf (2000) argues that cultural capital is institutionalised and schools can be seen as reinforcing the dominant normal culture of the privileged. The fundamental notion is that by having capital you have more power within society.   This realm of cultural capital extends to being able to gain education and learning.   Over subsequent decades, the definition of social capital has been further developed by prominent authors.   Key contributions have stemmed from Coleman (1994) and Putnam (2001).   Coleman defines social capital as referring to the less tangible relations between actors that 'inhere in family relationships and in community organization and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person' (Coleman & Coleman, 1994, p. 300).

Consequently, there is no one single definition of what constitutes social capital. However, it can be argued that this is a strength as it means that social capital theory provides a flexible and versatile framework. Previous studies have shown the benefits of using social capital to help make sense of relationships at various levels within society (Allan & Catts, 2012; Chau-kiu Cheung & Kam, 2010; McClung & Gayle, 2013; Miller et al., 2015; Raffo & Reeves, 2000) and therefore valuable in the context of this research study.

The work of Coleman makes a significant contribution. He considers social capital as having a function that is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities that facilitate certain actions of individuals who are within the structure. He broadens the definition of social capital to include both family and kin networks (Coleman, 1988), widely recognised in the literature as being a helpful lens for exploring issues connected to children and young people (Allan & Catts, 2012). In the context of this doctoral research, it is particularly helpful as a lens to make sense of the linkages between young peoples lived experiences, their views of family and community support and their school experience.

Putnam defines the different forms that social capital takes with two different types - bonding and bridging. Bonding capital, in this context, includes the intra-family connections and wider connections that help facilitate academic achievement for children and young people with the social connection being a key influencer - both with parents and others such as neighbours, peers and friends (Dufur et al., 2013). Bridging social capital is concerned with weaker ties that act as connections. These relationships exist outwith the immediate family to groups, community associations, leisure activities, teaching staff, social workers, and it could be argued act as bridging social capacity as they can create change or access resources or support, an important factor relevant to this research study. The constructs of bridging and bonding social capital are useful in addressing underlying causes of social injustice and inequality (Allan and Catts, 2012). Pinkerton et al. (2007) observe that social capital development has the potential to support young people in accessing help when they require it at various stages in their lives. Resilience is likely to be strengthened when formal and informal networks help young people, and when they have high levels of personal social capital.

Putnam, therefore, treats bonding and bridging capital as a social resource. As highlighted in the literature review, parents and schools have a shared responsibility for educating children. Dufur suggests that both bonding and bridging social capital may be necessary for promoting academic achievement (Dufur et al., 2013). Parents who become involved in their child's school or who get to know other parents are investing in a set of weak ties (Granovetter, 1973) or in bridging social capital (Putnam, 2001) that provide broader access to social resources. For some families, they have the potential to use this social capital to create educational advantage compared to parents who rely solely on strong ties of close relatives and immediate neighbours (Dufur et al., 2013). Concerning extra-familial social capital, Coleman argues that for the educational development of a child, parents having

substantial contact with the school and with the parents of the child's classmates is of great importance (Coleman, 1990) helping enforce norms of behaviour. Roth (2013) observes that social capital is useful within families when parents have the necessary human, economic and cultural capital to encourage and support schooling success in their children.

Coleman (1988) argued that the mere presence of parental stores of knowledge is insufficient to ensure transmission of that knowledge to children. Instead, parents must make specific choices to invest in their children's development and engage in interactions with a child to create the bonds along which information can pass. Families who invest this effort expect to see higher levels of academic achievement in their children; they undertake these investments with the expectation that strong academic performance during childhood will translate into higher levels of education and occupational attainment in later years, thus promoting upward mobility in our stratification system. For this reason, family social capital investment has intergenerational consequences (Dika & Singh, 2002; Parcel et al., 2010) and this insight has influenced the research design of this study. By making enquiry into young people's views about their parents academic achievement allows insight into their perceptions of parental expectations and value assigned to education.

There is also a direct correlation between family connections, interest and engagement with young people and their educational outcomes. In a literature review of 22 studies into social capital, three of the studies found that a higher frequency of social interactions between parents and children decreased the children's likelihood of dropping out of school. Positive outcomes from parents translated into better educational results and the presence of social support from extended members of the family was also found to reduce the frequency of dropout from school (Ferguson, 2006). High levels of parental empathy towards children's needs were found to influence children's future outcomes positively (Edwards & Alldred, 2010).

The makeup and composition of the family household are also significant variables. Ferguson (2006) found that in three studies, two-parent households consistently have more positive outcomes for vulnerable children and young people and by having two parents in the household had a buffering effect on pupils dropping out of school. Furthermore, parental monitoring results in better academic outcomes in children (Ferguson, 2000).

Putnam's work has received criticism for containing contradictory definitions: being vague and the inclusion of the mechanisms of that generate social capital such as group enforcement of norms creating the potential for tautology (Portes, 1998). However, the consistent themes that underpin his theoretical position are those of trust, networks and social norms of reciprocity (Carpiano, 2006). The research literature tells us that friendships are important to the healthy development of children. Friends are vital for their growth, development, and formation of individual resilience (Vernon & Gayle,

2010). Friendships and peer networks are a primary focus of seeking help and developing emotional intelligence through support, learning about relationships with mutuality of support being crucial to fostering resilience through the development of trust, reciprocity and mutual support (Bottrell, 2008). John Field has further developed the application of social capital as a measure for analysing the relational aspects. He considers that social capital exists in relationships between individuals, including relationships between people and groups; social networks are a valuable asset to social cohesion and through active involvement in supporting groups and association leading to participation in activities that create lasting benefits for participants (Schuller et al., 2000).

The notion of trust is a recurrent theme in social capital literature. Putnam argues that fostering trust occurs through reciprocity and participation in civic engagement. Reciprocity in a societal context meaning people helping each other without expecting an immediate service in return (Häuberer, 2011). Trust and understanding young people's thoughts and feelings about who they have confidence in, is a central area for exploration in this study making social capital theory an appropriate choice of underpinning theoretical framework.

Social capital theory and issues of wellbeing overlap as both have a focus on relationships with others making both a favoured choice for studying relationships and engagement (Pettit, Erath, Lansford, Dodge, & Bates, 2011; Pinkerton & Dolan, 2007; Rothon et al., 2012). Putnam believes that social capital out of all the predictive factors associated with the wellbeing of children has the highest influence on children's development and attainment of future outcomes (Ferguson, 2006).

There is no consensus on the dominant source of social capital when exploring young people and social capital across both their home and school situational contexts (Dufur et al., 2013, Allan & Catts, 2012). However, home environment and school environment are both recognised as major influencing factors on young people's development as a result of the influential roles that parents and teachers play. Along with these influences, the school itself creates or thwarts conditions for the development of social capital (Allan & Catts, Parcel et at 2010). Dufur (2013) consider that this strengthens the necessity to understand how the different situational contexts interact and learn more about where pupils derive their social capital.

Social class can also have a bearing on attainment and social capital. Family can play a more important role for children of highly educated parents whereas the social capital and environmental impacts of the neighbourhood have more impact on children's educational attainment for low-skilled parents (Patacchini & Zenou, 2011). Neighbourhood quality is thought to be one factor that determines how and if parents encourage their children's education and this, therefore, affects levels of attainment and achievement for children. Socialisation inside and outside the family is a major factor in the intergenerational transmission of both education and social capital (Patacchini & Zenou, 2011).

Families also have an important role to play in addressing child behaviour.   Within the family, along with trust, relationships establish the social norms of reciprocity and exchange, which contribute to the formation, and usage of social capital (Bubolz, 2001).

For my research, I view social capital as being a resource that is produced when individuals (and those within the school or wider community that are supporting the family or individual) interact together with any degree of mutual reciprocity.

Resilience Theory

The second underpinning theory used in this study is resilience theory.   Resilience is defined as positive adaptation despite adversity (Masten, Herbers, Cutuli, & Lafavor, 2010).   Resilience is not a personality trait but a two-dimensional construct that implies exposure to adversity and the manifestation of positive adjustment outcomes in dealing with life circumstances (Luthar & Zigler, 1991).   There is a debate in the literature as to whether resilience is a process or an outcome (Kolar, 2011) with the outcome based approach facing critique for not being consistent.   The process-based approach to resilience is defined as being a capacity.   This capability is one that can be further developed and nurtured in young people with interest and support from caring interaction with adults and peers (Kolar,2011).   It is this person-centred process with the potential influences of helping professionals such as teachers, social workers and coaches to foster resilience within young people that is of this relevance to my research topic.

The research literature tells us that caring adults can act as resilience-promoting resources when they build and sustain positive relationships and are valued by young people (Myers & Bourdillon, 2012). Clayden and Stein define resilience as 'the quality that enables some young people to find fulfilment in their lives despite the disadvantaged backgrounds, the problems or adversity they may have undergone or the pressures they may experience.   Resilience is about overcoming the odds, coping and recovery (Clayden & Stein, 2005).   Stein and Dixon (2006) point out that the absence of a supportive attachment figure can result in young people's emotional growth not developing and therefore their behaviours and abilities to survive and thrive in normal situations without support can be compromised (Stein & Dixon, 2006).

Resilience research is broadly concerned with enhancing young people's potential through seeking understandings that would facilitate resilience building, optimising coping and adaptive mechanisms and minimise detrimental impacts of external conditions (Bottrell, 2008).   Contemporary theories of resilience primarily focus on protective factors that mitigate the risks of adverse conditions and circumstances, allowing for healthy development where risk conditions would have predicted otherwise (Rutter, 1991; Ungar, 2004).   Schools can strengthen young people's resilience by providing nurturing

relationships which can compensate for poor relationships with parents and little parental involvement in school life (Parcel et al., 2010).

Trust also links to concepts of social capital theory and those of resilience.   Bubolz (2001) argues that trust is part of the attachment process that begins in infancy between parent and child and suggests that when these needs are not adequately met, inability to co-operate and mistrust and suspicion of others develops (Bubolz, 2001).   Young people's social networks play a role concerning young people's experience of transitions and institutional school settings (Allan & Catts, 2014).   On examining the role of the school in relation to social capital and pupil attainment, Allan & Catts (2014) observes that trust was central to the concept of friendship for young people, and breaches of trust were a reason why networks were disrupted (Allan & Catts, 2014).

Informal Education Theory

The third fundamental theory relevant to this study is that of informal education process.   Informal education or learning is defined as being 'Learning that takes place outside a dedicated learning environment, which arises from the activities and interests of individuals or groups but which may not be recognised as learning' (McGivney, 1999, p. 1).   Such work can take place anywhere. It is a deliberate and conscious process facilitated by an individual geared around conversations and not tied to any institution or setting (Paunesku et al., 2015b). Dialogue drives informal education and can use a variety of methods including group work, casual conversation, play, activities, work with individuals and casework (Jeffs & Smith, 1999).   Participation in such activities is usually voluntary in nature but is a deliberate process. The underlying intent is to facilitate learning in the other person through dialogue and reflection. Informal education practice has an underpinning ethos. This ethos emphasises young people's autonomy and their voluntary participation in activities, the negotiated and trusting nature of their relationship with informal youth educators (such as coaches, mentors, youth workers, sports leaders) and efforts by the likes of youth work staff to minimise their authority, status and power (Crimmens et al., 2004; Paunesku et al., 2015b; Young, 2007).

Informal learning activities often take place in a youth club, street, sports or leisure settings and provide opportunities for children and young people to develop social skills, critical thinking, confidence and self-esteem (Souto-Otero, 2016).   Professionally trained informal educators deliver the activities of informal education and can be found working in a wide variety of settings, including some schools in Scotland that use youth workers or home school partnership staff who have undertaken professional training such as community education or community learning and development. Such work has been shown to be useful in bridging the gap for vulnerable children and young people in sustaining their studies (Learning and Teaching Scotland & YouthLink Scotland, 2009).   Often this work encourages the development of associations through participation in clubs and groups within communities.   Informal education theory

has been chosen in the context of this study because of the insight that analysis of such informal interventions in a professional helping context can yield.   Such analysis of interventionary approaches is central to the themes being explored in this study.

Inter-relationships between key underpinning theories

This thesis uses an analytical framework that I have created to be able to analyse young people's narrative accounts of their life and educational experiences while subject to Home Supervision.   This model knits together three different but complementary theoretical perspectives to form a cohesive overarching framework.

The theoretical aspects that are central to this are: informal education (including coaching and mentoring); resilience theory (with a mix of both resilience promoting factors as well as the outcomes of resiliency); and social capital theory (with a focus on bonding and bridging capital).   This framework is helpful in maintaining a focus on ensuring that the analysis and subsequent practice recommendations of this study are grounded in the relational aspects of young people's experiences.   The range of experiences pertinent to this study include relationships with: teachers; parents; engagement with community activity; supportive friendships; family; and informal education professional relationships.

Resilience and social capital connect because of how they are fostered and developed.   An example of this would be the relationships that exist within the family home between parent/carer and child.   The research literature reviewed earlier showed that positive interactions between parent and child significantly improve attainment and healthy development of children.   Dufur et.al (2010) argue that this same set of interactions can serve to create social capital for individuals and build individual coping mechanisms and thus strengthen stores of individual resilience.   They also observe that parental engagement with children during formative years can help close ability gaps.   As well as this they also argues that earlier intervention, including those within families, is more effective in promoting positive school outcomes hence the strong link with educational issues pertinent to this study.

Informal education and resilience theories are deeply connected.   There is a strong interrelationship between resilient individuals and them having had the benefit of positive relationships with caring adults. At the core of informal education work is transformative action, empowering individuals to take control of their lives through having access information, understanding the power processes within society and the knowledge and skills to make changes to their lives (Freire, 2005).   Professionals have an important role to play in the successful development of resilience as young people require access and engagement with non-parental adults (Ungar, 2004).   There is also a correlation between substantial educational improvement and the need for resilience in young people at risk of exclusion (Erickson, McDonald, & Elder, 2009).   A study exploring the benefits of social capital and youth work found that informal

education helped diminish feelings of isolation and gave the young people a sense of empowerment by creating relationships with other members of their local communities (Miller et al., 2015).

There is also a strong connection between the way in which informal education works and the processes of creating social capital. Jeffs and Smith (1999) suggest that dialogue and conversation are linked to building communities and that the concern with mutual aid and group activities are the bedrock of democratic societies (Crimmens et al., 2004). This underpinning ideology fits well with the social capital concepts of reciprocity and trust discussed earlier.

Common characteristics map between Informal Education, Resiliency and Social Capital theories

Table 3 shows the areas of commonality between all three underpinning theories and how the different elements manifest themselves and inter-relate.

TABLE 3: AREAS OF COMMONALITY BETWEEN THE THREE UNDERPINNING THEORIES

Informal Education Practice Theory Characteristics	Resilience Theory Characteristics (Resilience promoting factors and outcomes of resiliency)	Social Capital Characteristics (Bonding / Bridging Capital)
Provision of guidance and advice	Confidence / self esteem Builds on interests, skills and aptitudes	Brokering contributes leads to awareness of opportunities leading to participation in networks, navigating bureaucracies, access to services / employment opportunties
Focus on sustaining and forming meaningful relationships	Self-worth Sense of agency Reducing isolation Reduces anxiety through providing support	Creation of Bonding Capital and linking capital leading to increased participation in networks
Provision / Signposting to groups and services	Increased participation increases opportunities for attachment & relationships with peers.	Bridging Capital > Networks > Affiliations
Enlarging experience through conversation & teachable moments	Self-esteem benefits, respect, interest from a significant caring adult relationship	Contributes to bridging, bonding, linking and cultural capital
Democracy and active participation in issues that affect lives	Empowerment, wider participation, Self-esteem, Self-efficacy	Participation in wider networks – bridging, bonding and linking capital.
Praxis – dialogue that is purposive, two-way process between young person.	Builds on self-esteem and has respect as a central value, attachment, empowerment. Helps with relationship development.	Bonding social capital.
Located within lived experience	Strengthened levels of resilience through support from caring relationships	Bonding Social Capital within family and out with the family.

Table 3 shows that there is a close inter-relationship between all three theoretical frameworks.   To make sense of these, I have developed a model that shows the overlapping and interdependent relationship between the three underpinning theories as can be seen in Figure 1, which shows the links between the different characteristics and their relationship.

Resilience through Informal Dialogue and Social Capital (REIDS) model

FIGURE 1: REsilience through Informal Dialogue and Social capital (Fitzpatrick, 2015)

**Social Capital -
Bonding & Bridging**
- Creation of Trust
- Engagement & Participation in school
- Participation in wider networks and opportunities brokered by trusted individual
- Higher levels of trust amongst peers and others

**Informal Education
(Youth work) Approach**
- Relational and dialogical in nature
- Deliberate interventions seeking teachable moments
- Starts where young person is at
- Non-judgmental in nature based on empathy and respect
- Purposive in nature (Praxis)
- Uses coaching, mentoring and supportive techniques to build a relationship with young person.

- Improved efficacy
- Increase in confidence and self esteem
- Ability to contain transitions and cope with home environment

Individual Resilience

Figure 1 shows the input of professional staff using informal education approaches and interventions (young people's coaching, mentoring or youth work) leading to the creation of social capital and strengthening resilience of individuals as a result.

I have used this framework as illustrated in Figure 1 to analyse the key themes from the research data I collected for the study through interviews with pupils and to create a structure for evidence to be gathered that shows the indication or presence of informal education approaches or interventions experienced by young people as well as looking for evidence that shows the presence or absence of resilience features and social capital.   To assist with this analysis, I created a broad set of indicators to map all three sets of characters of informal education, resilience and social capital.   These concepts

were taken and developed from the relevant theorists in each of their respective fields as discussed earlier. These indicators were then used to influence both the interview schedules and areas of exploration and the coding scheme that was used in the study.

Social capital has a broad range of application. This makes it important to be specific about the elements of social capital that are useful in the context of this study. As this study is interested in the relational aspects of education and care whilst being subject to Home Supervision, social capital is being used to identify practices that contribute to the creation or presence of bonding, bridging and linking capital (Putnam, 2001).

However, in line with previous research undertaken with young people that have a focus on social capital, no attempt is made to quantify amounts of personal social capital present in individuals, this approach has been used successfully in other studies (Allan & Catts, 2014). This was a conscious and deliberate decision in my choice of methodology. This approach of thematic analysis to look at experiences and then analyse this experience considering the presence or absence of strong ties and networks, stores of resilience and professional supportive relationships enables recommendations for professional practice to be made. I was not assessing the veracity of young people's accounts of their experiences but instead was aiming for verisimilitude (Clandinin, 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has explained the key theoretical frameworks that are used to analyse the accounts of young people's experiences of home and school life that have a bearing on their education. I develop a model that shows the inter-relationship between all three underpinning theories and explain their relevance and suitability for this study.

In the following chapter, I discuss and present the research methods used for this study.

Chapter 4: Research Methods

Introduction

In this chapter, I outline the methods and underpinning philosophical approach for my study and how this relates to my choice of theoretical frameworks previously introduced. I then discuss the ethical issues that relate to working with vulnerable children and young people that my approaches had to consider, including issues of gatekeeping and risk factors and how these were mitigated. I further discuss the process of fieldwork and data collection. Finally, I move on to consider the process of coding and analysis of the data.

Purpose of the research process

Given the research aim of the study, I made the decision from the outset to approach this study qualitatively. This enables a deeper understanding of the role and reach of professionals involved in a young person's life as viewed by the young people subject to supervision themselves. The intent was to create a better understanding of the events, circumstances and outcomes that young people face in their lives that intertwine and impact on their educational experience. The other element was to address unexplored issues highlighted by earlier studies including young people's levels of engagement with community-based and leisure services. Relationships are a vital topic for exploration. Friendship networks and what young people consider to be the effects of interactions with their teachers, social workers, parents/carers and siblings are important areas for examination.

Epistemological stance

The rationale for choosing qualitative research was my primary interest in the experiences of young people from their own perspectives. Previous research including the study carried out by McClung (2010) discussed earlier had undertaken a quantitative study with an element of data gathered from interviews with young people. The study by McClung (2010) relied on interviews conducted by third parties. The study took place in one location in Scotland through one interview with each young person. Educational experience was only a partial focus for that study. To balance this, I had to make sure my research added value to the previous research and created agency for the participants. I approached this study qualitatively and spent longer drilling down into the detail of young people's experiences. I also ensured that the study broadened the geographical areas.

After careful consideration of the research aim, subject matter and theoretical model I presented in the previous chapter, I decided that the approach would be guided by a constructivist-interpretivist perspective. The theoretical perspective of constructivism is:

instead of control, constructivists want naturally occurring social behaviour in place of isolated variables, they seek a contextualised holistic examination of participants perspectives, instead of measuring, correlating and predicting, constructivists describe and interpret (Hatch & Wisniewski, 1995, p. 122).

Social Capital theory with its focus on relationships, networks and influences fits well with this 'desire for the holistic' inherent within constructivism. Informal education has a focus on dialogical and transformative change (Jeffs & Smith, 1999) with resilience theory providing a lens on the individual response and capacity to cope (Gilligan, 2007a) both providing valuable insight into behaviour and how to influence such behaviours from a practice perspective.

However, I required my chosen methodology to go beyond description to consider meanings and intentions, activities and the actions of the young people involved in the study (Greig, Taylor, & MacKay, 2012). The research topic for this study has a focus on young people's experience and relationships viewed through the prisms of social capital, resilience and informal education to enable the possibility of richer understanding of how young people interpret and make sense of their experiences and connections to events, actions and inaction. Therefore, I adopted an interpretivist perspective. The aim of this approach was 'to understand the social world from the point of the children living in it… interpretivist's attempt to make sense of how children understand their experiences and how this affects the way they feel towards others' (Greig et al., 2012, p. 55).

This research does not seek to create truth but operates from the premise of multiple truths. I did not attempt any method of triangulation aside from interviewing participants as it was important that their voices had centrality within the study. The research does not seek to produce certainty but seeks to be well grounded and supported by the data that is collected (Webster & Mertova, 2007). By adopting this approach, I was attempting to create a shared imagination with participants and as Gustavson and Cytrynbaum (2003) articulate, create a space beyond the immediate confines of the local. In this respect, the study is located within a pragmatic ontology of experience and places emphasis on the social dimension as it is concerned with the storied way in which we live.

This research study sits within a Deweyan theory of experience as he described the relation between human beings and their environment as transactional. (Dewey, 1916). Questions for participants were structured so that they encourage reflection and recall of the key events with a focus on experience. I used guided questioning and a more conversational dialogue with the participants to try and elicit critical incidents and events and moments from their experiences that have meaning or relevance for them (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

It is important to be aware of my role as a researcher in this process. In this respect, I was conscious of being an actor within the research itself and the lens with which I conducted the interviews and

subsequent analysis to make conclusions and recommendations for practice.   The role of researcher as an active participant in the research process itself is succinctly described by Larson:

> Dialogue makes understanding the life world and lived realities of others possible.   Disparities between the meaning that researchers make of the lives of others and the sense that story-givers make of their own lives become points of entry into understanding human experience (Larson, 1997, p. 459).

The desire to explore the worldview of the research participants and use this to influence practice aligns comfortably with an interpretivist-constructivist perspective.   Moreover, knowledge ' of what others are doing and saying always depends upon some background or context of other meanings, beliefs, values, practices, and so forth' (Schwandt, 2000, p. 201).   Such an approach fits with the complex situational contexts that young people subject to home supervision face thus creating valuable opportunities through the research process to learn from their lived experience.

The study is located within a pragmatic ontology of experience, placing emphasis on the social dimension (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990).   Being able to view the research data through the prism of the social is important given the research is concerned with interpreting young people's views on their education and home life experiences and the interrelationships within.

Dewey (1916) believed that experience can lead to a new understanding that facilitates the creation of 'a new kind of experienced objects, not more real than those which preceded but more significant, and less overwhelming and oppressive' (Clandinin, 2006, p. 38).   Questions for participants were structured so that they encourage reflection on experience but were more open-ended and conversational.   The conversations that occurred were focused on issues relevant to the young people in the context of their school and home experience as well as exploring their key and trusting relationships both personal and with professional staff.

Ethical considerations

In the following section, I discuss the ethical issues that I had to consider when approaching this research study.   It was important due to the potentially vulnerable nature of the research participants in this study.   Careful consideration was given to ensure that any risks to participants were mitigated to ensure their wellbeing throughout the research process.

Such ethical issues occur for a variety of different reasons.   Interviews with children and young people merit specific concerns regarding vulnerability (Greig et al., 2012).   The UNICEF guidance on participation state that young people, as well as parents, must be aware of the implications of the research.   The guidance states that the child should give assent in addition to the consent of the adult

with parental responsibility   (Greig et al., 2012) and that they have a choice whether to participate or not.   It is critical that they know that they have the right to withdraw from the research at any time if they wish (Greig et al., 2012).   In terms of recruitment I ensured that I allocated time to explain to young people what they study involved and checked that they understood why they had been selected to participate and what their involvement meant, particularly in ensuring they knew about confidentiality and the limits to it. For example, this included any disclosures where the young person would be at risk or harm to themselves or others, and I explained from outset that any such disclosure would need to be discussed with either their teacher or social worker to safeguard their welfare.

I considered the potential value of this study as a small-scale piece of research.   It involved making a careful assessment of the possible benefits of the research against any possible adverse outcomes and risks for participants.   The limited research undertaken in this field ensured that this study was going to make a useful contribution to knowledge in this area.   I hoped that the research design would make this an enjoyable experience for the participants.

I was acutely aware of the need to make sure that all of the young people understood my role as a researcher and purpose of the research and engagement with them (Bryman, 2012).   I discussed this with the participants at the start of each research interview.   This was to ensure they were aware of the boundaries of the relationship.   Of importance was stressing the limits of confidentiality concerning disclosure of any issues that would be related to child protection.   I discuss this further in the risk factors and mitigation section.

From my practice, as well as the findings of the literature review in Chapter 2, I was aware of the need to ensure that young people were not stigmatised in any way because of their participation in the study. To mitigate this, I used several safeguards in the way that I operated.   Firstly, I assured young people and their families of their confidentiality and anonymity.   This involved anonymising data once it had been collated by changing names and working to ensure that young people were not named or identified in any way.   Most of the young people I spoke to did not have any concerns about this, but I felt it important to safeguard their anonymity.   The other step I took was to ensure sensitivity when working in a school to ensure relative anonymity of venue to avoid pupils being quizzed by their peers.   All interviews were arranged through education services in each of the three authorities.   Interviews took place at a location within the school usually a classroom or teacher's office.   Care was taken to prevent disrupting the pupils' education by timing sessions carefully.

One of the major risks I anticipated during the study that little could be done to mitigate, was young people changing setting between interviews.   This happened to two young participants between their first and second interviews. I anticipated this on considering the issues that young people subject to HSR face in moving from home to residential care or other alternate provision.   One was taken into secure

care; another was transferred out with the geographical area into a foster placement for reasons of care and protection.

I felt it necessary to work hard to try and create an effective rapport with the young people in the study for them to feel comfortable and at ease. I was aware of the need for this relationship between researcher and participant being one that was ethically responsible and thus recognised my relational responsibility (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). This underpinning philosophy extended during and after the research interviews. Post interview, I felt it important to ensure that the same integrity, honesty and a genuine meaning of what the participants intend to convey were accurately captured and transcribed verbatim. Gaining the trust of young people and the necessary gatekeepers required a communicative approach that was open and honest (Greig et al., 2012). Given the sensitivity of young people's circumstances, I worked hard to ensure that I treated everyone with care and a non-judgmental attitude always.

As the range of issues that young people were discussing was likely to be sensitive, attention was paid to supporting the young people on the lead up to, during and at the end of meetings. Care was taken during interviews to ensure good interviewing practice such as ensuring interviews ended with less emotionally difficult matter than may have been present earlier in the interview (Morse, 2003). At the end of each interview, I asked how the experience had been for them and how they were feeling. None of the young people experienced distress or required any additional support from their participation.

I obtained ethical approval to undertake the study from several different sources. I required ethical approval from the University of Strathclyde to proceed. This process involved submitting a copy of the research proposal, interview schedule and risk assessment for scrutiny. Once granted, I then contacted the three local authorities to gain approval to proceed with the study. This involved senior support from each of the authorities designated directors and principal officers.

Gatekeepers issues

All three local authorities were approached simultaneously to seek permission to undertake the research within their local authority area and to seek permission to liaise with schools and ask pupils if they wanted to participate. Once I had secured permission from senior officers, copies of all documents were sent to individual departments including both social work and education departments. Copies of all communication were kept, including follow-up call notes and emails.

The issue of young people's right to participate in the interview process was a recurring theme throughout the recruitment phase of the study. Gatekeepers played an integral role in determining whether young people would be able to participate in the study. My study involved three different local authorities, all with differing procedures for approval of research with vulnerable young people. To expedite proceedings, I contacted the relevant social work departments and education departments and

requested permission and then followed this up with an individual meeting. It is worthy to note that during all three meetings, the various heads of service were interested in my background and suitability. In one case, there was an abrupt change of approach to access once the service manager discovered that not only was I a researcher but employed as part of the Centre of Excellence for Looked After Children in Scotland (CELCIS) granting access that I believe would have otherwise not been possible. In another of the authorities, the fact that I had previously been a lecturer working with challenging young people and was known to staff in the agency and this made the approval process much easier and quicker, and I was given unparalleled access in this authority and fully supported by the local authority staff. This experience is in line with research findings on the identity of practitioner-researcher. My employment situation helped overcome the limitations of a previous study undertaken by Gadda (Roesch-Marsh, Gadda, & Smith, 2012).

All three local authorities granted ethical approval, two relatively quickly and the third authority took a little longer to give approval due to internal delays in the decision-making process. However, even though at a senior level approval was granted, this only represented a small aspect of the process of gaining approval. A key element to having access to participants was the ethos, approach, interest and willingness of the head teachers in the schools. Head teachers at the local level have considerable power to grant or deny access to young people for interview. In one local authority, several head teachers denied access to participants even to gauge their interest in the study without approaching parents first. I felt that this showed from teaching staff a greater respect for parental rights rather than young people's rights. Given the intended aim of the study was to empower participants through the research process (itself a mechanism for creating agency) (Roesch-Marsh et al., 2012), I believe that the denial of the right of young people to be able to choose to participate in the research itself could diminish their agency.

Like so much of young people's experiences of being looked after at home, with my own experience of access to young people to interview for the study being at the behest of gatekeepers, is a characteristic of the institutionalisation of the lives of children and young people (Heath, Charles, Crow, & Wiles, 2007). This position is contrary to my belief that young people should be able to express an interest in participating in the study, making an informed decision seeking parental assent after this. In other schools, often teachers and head teachers would not respond to communication and required prompting. Some never returned calls or emails. Other schools and individual teachers were incredibly keen to participate, showed a genuine interest in the topic of study and encouraged young people to speak to me to at least discover what the purpose of the research was.

In another school, one teacher, the designated manager responsible for looked after children within the school, went to great lengths to try and dissuade me from interviewing one young person as 'I'm sure they'd have nothing of worth for you. However, I carried on regardless, determined to allow the young

person to participate. The young girl in question provided thirty minutes of recorded interview and incredibly useful insight as she volunteered her opinions and experiences of Home Supervision.

The reluctance of children and adolescents to speak about difficult family circumstances within the family home has been identified in previous studies (Cleaver, 2011) and this was relevant at points during the interviews in the pilot phase. I found that this manifested itself in young people holding back from fuller explanations on any topics that could risk exposure to them, changing the topic or looking uncomfortable with the discussion. In line with ethical research practice, I did not pursue these lines of questioning as they were out of the scope of the study, as the reasons for young people being subject to an Home Supervision Requirement are commonly understood and been researched as discussed in the literature review.

Population and sampling

The sample of young people selected for the study was a convenience sample (Bryman, 2008) of young people who were all aged 12-16 and lived in three different local authorities. I applied to three authorities for access, unsure if all three would allow participation in the study. This was a convenience sample for the reasons of securing access to interview participants based on liaison and knowledge of the lead education liaison person in each authority who assisted with recruitment and access. This decision was made based on pragmatism in terms of securing access to participants and time available to conduct fieldwork. The potential impact of recruiting young people to solicit their views on school and home supervision who may be experiencing difficulties was assessed carefully. A consequence of this approach is that generalisations from young people's experiences in this study cannot be made as this would require a different approach to recruitment and a more quantitative approach.

Across the participants, I managed to get an equal mix of boys and girls. The reason for choosing three local authorities was to increase the likelihood of access to potential participants who were subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. Across the sample, young people were selected based on having been subject to a HSR for varying lengths of time, with the minimum period in the sample being one year and the longest five years. This was to allow young people to have an opportunity to reflect on their school experience whilst subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.

The local authorities selected were: a large urban city with a dense concentration of poverty; a more rural and mixed authority in terms of concentrations of poverty; and another city that covers a wide geographical area with pockets of deprivation and poverty. The sample is purposive because of the targeted nature of identifying young people (Bryman, 2012) subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. The mix of authorities also enabled comparison of experiences given that some of the young people in

one of the authorities were receiving coaching and mentoring support whilst in the other two authorities this was not the case.

One of the benefits of using three authorities was that one had a radically different approach to supporting young people compared to the two other local authorities. They provided an alternative curricular pathway which had as a key focus, the provision of mentoring and coaching for young people as a form of support. This enabled me to explore young people's opinions of the support that coaching and mentoring provided.

One of the issues that was anticipated during the study was young people moving from being subject to HSR to moving to alternative accommodation. As predicted this occurred to five young people between their first and second interviews. This was for reasons of them experiencing crisis in their lives. I completed 13 follow up interviews with young people. Two had to withdraw from the process due to changes of accommodation and having extremely difficult circumstances where it was deemed inappropriate for them to continue. This did not adversely impact on the study.

Fieldwork preparation

In this section I outline the preparation I undertook for the fieldwork interviews. I used a semi-structured interviewing approach. This was freer flowing in nature with the prepared interview schedule acting as a guide and I was more reflexive in pursuing topics deemed important by the participants themselves. To start with, I prepared interview schedules with open ended and carefully sequenced questions drawing on practical and structural questions as well as sensitising questions (issues, problems, concerns) (Morse, 2003). A copy of the interview schedule is attached in Appendix 1. For the second interview, this was only used as a broad guide, with the focus for second interview being centered around a presentation that was created for each interview to make the process more interactive. This is discussed in detail in the next chapter. The purpose of Interview schedules was to help with consistency across interviews but using a personalised pictorial presentation in the second interview allowed for the exploration of issues raised by participants that were important to them.

Information was given in advance to assist with recruitment and this was written in friendly, plain language that it could be easily understood by the young people. This outlined the background information to the research and avoided unnecessary jargon. Each interview commenced with an explanation of the limits to any confidentiality in terms of statutory obligation to safeguard their welfare should they disclose that they were in some way at risk of harm. This was a key requirement for the ethical approval being granted by each of the local authority areas. Prior to each interview I ensured that I had relevant contact data for link personnel within the school. In the end, all the interviews were undertaken without any disclosure of risk of being at harm by any of the participants.

Next, I identified potential eligible participants for the study. This involved me contacting key lead officers within both social work and education department. This was to identify potential participants. I then met with the young people to explain the purpose of the study. For those that expressed interest, I gave them a letter written in an accessible manner to explain the purpose of the study. It also outlined the methods to be used and the time commitment needed from them as well as an overview of the type of questions I would ask. I explained to them that they could withdraw at any time from the study. As the study was incentivised with each young person being provided with a voucher for his or her participation, this assisted with the recruitment process.

All the interviews were undertaken during the school day. The interviews took place using a natural and conversationalist approach as much as possible. This was to put the participant at ease. All the interviews took place within the school premises. This was a carefully balanced decision in trying to find a location that young people would be comfortable in and familiar. I tried to find a room that was comfortable, so that the young people would be more relaxed.

I interviewed each young person over two encounters. Each interview had an allocated time of an hour with a semi-structured element being used for the first interview with open-ended questions to encourage participants to engage in a more conversational approach (Webster & Mertova, 2007). All interviews were carefully transcribed and a summary prepared of each interview. This allowed me to identify gaps and follow up questions or clarify elements that were not clear. I also maintained a research journal in which I could record any observations after each interview, reflect on approaches and interests of the young people; on how the interview itself went; with notes for follow up so that I would not lose any valuable information due to not being able to recall important observations.

Each follow up interview took place after a short intervening gap of around three months. This was to allow a brief period of reflection and to be a significant enough period in which any further changes in the lives of participants in the intervening period could also be discussed and explored.

All the interviews with participants were recorded on a digital recorder and notes taken. My approach to interviewing was influenced by Bryman's (2008) approach to semi-structured interviewing and analysis (Bryman, 2008). Each interview was transcribed verbatim and then studied to identify issues and topics raised by participants as being of importance to them. This allowed me to identify the themes that were present within and across interviews. I discuss in detail in the next chapter some of the tools I used for engagement during the second interview to make the process more participative.

Piloting the research methods

To test the effectiveness of the recruitment process and interview schedule with young people, I decided to undertake an initial small-scale pilot. This involved working in two of the three local authorities

where I could interview three young people in total.   This involved testing the processes connected to undertaking first and second follow up interviews and working closely with the lead person in each local authority who had an overview of the looked after young populations in each area.   The purpose of the pilot interviews was to test out questions so that I could adjust before commencing the full series of interviews.

In each of the authorities, all the education staff at the local level required briefing and compliance with relevant ethical approval and child protection procedures and processes designed to safeguard the wellbeing of the children in their care.   I met with the key individuals to explain the purpose of the study and to instil confidence in the research, explain the process, how it would work in practice and to provide the opportunity to address any concerns that staff had.

One of the key lessons learned during the interview process, was the importance of connecting with young people where possible before the meeting, to put them at ease.   In one of the authorities, the research interviews took place in a further education college.   The college was a source of alternative provision for children and young people who were supported by a team of coaches.   Spending time with the participants during the breaks with their coaches helped smooth the transition into the interview and helped the young people relax and be more comfortable.   Young people were naturally enquiring and would engage in conversation about why I was there, football, television programmes and so on that helped with breaking the ice.   It also enabled me to witness first-hand the relationships that existed between coaches and young people.

One of the elements that surprised me during all three of the pilot interviews was the fact that young people struggled with the open-ended questioning.   Consequently, I re-sequenced many of the questions.   Answers were often much shorter than I had anticipated, and this required many more follow up questions.   After reviewing all the pilot interviews, it was evident that young people struggled with questioning that had a focus on when events occurred.   Many could vividly describe what had happened in each situation, but would not necessarily be able to be specific about when an event occurred.   Concepts of time and issues related to the temporality of a situation required different prompts and questions causing me some anxiety at the time, as I had envisaged working to make sense of stories chronologically concerning representing my findings to the young people at the second interview. Young people's perception of time can be linked to their emotional state, for example, levels of stress they have or depression (Brannen & Nilsen, 2002; Holt et al., 2013; Sévigny, Everett, & Grondin, 2003; Wearden, 2015) and also factors such as having a diagnosis of ADHD also have experience of the passage of time (Huang et al., 2012; Meaux & Chelonis, 2003).   Therefore, after careful consideration, I realised that the precision of chronology of events was not a major issue for this study and decided to abandon this approach.   It was far more important to capture the subtle nuances, themes and subtexts of young people's experiences.   If time and chronology and sequencing of events were important to the

young person, then I made the decision to trust their telling of this. On subsequent transcription of interviews, I noted that the timing and sequence of a circumstance reflected in the overall sense of what young people were communicating.

Young people's lack of sense of time did not extend solely to their participation at interviews and often manifested itself before the interview process had even begun. During the pilot phase, many interviews were arranged and subsequently re-arranged due to the chaotic nature of the young people's attendance at school, requiring a degree of reflexivity and being responsive. Key to the success of interview arranging was good communication with staff in schools. Having this relationship in place meant I could secure interviews at short notice when young people appeared in school once consent had been agreed.

On discussing my frustration with a research colleague, she helpfully pointed out that the absence of data was data itself. In this case, the non-attendance of young people at interview served as a powerful reminder of some of the challenges that young people experience in the family as well as the issues connected to being able to attend school or engage in a truanting behaviour. This strengthened my resolve and determination to continue to engage and understand the views of young people serving as a potential reason why so little substantial qualitative research had been undertaken previously with young people subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. The length of anticipated time for first stage interviews was often shorter than I had originally intended. Young people were comfortable speaking for around 30-35 minutes.

The pilot interviews gave me valuable practice experience in reading non-verbal cues that the young person was not at ease. I quickly learned not to push a line of questioning if I could see the young person was uncomfortable. I noted several instances in my research journal of having to adopt a different tact to make the young person more comfortable. I reworked many of the questions using trial and error. This approach informed the interview questions for the second-round interviews that contained more open questions such as 'paint a picture of your house for me' - that were designed to yield more contextual information about family life while avoiding asking too invasive questions.

Thematic analysis

In the following section, I discuss my use of a thematic approach to analysing the interview data that I had collated. I describe the process that I used to drill down and analyse the data to be able to present the findings in the study.

After careful consideration, I decided from the outset that the best way to be able to make sense of the data for this study would be to undertake a thematic analysis. Braun and Clark ((2006) define themes as capturing elements essential to the data that are related to the research question showing a level of meaning across the data. Riessemann (2008) points out this approach risks there being less of a focus

on the local circumstances of participants. However, the wider benefit of thematic analysis is that this method enables the identification of patterns and commonalities to be discussed and therefore inform recommendations. It allows a fuller exploration of the wider societal, structural and contextual issues that impact on the lives of the young people in the study and that this approach does not lose the essential elements of young people's experiences. I initially explored the potential for using a strict narrative method including that of a narrative analysis method as described by Clandinnin (2006) but rejected this in favour a thematic analysis. This involved a thorough exploration of the experiences articulated by the research participants. Working in a thematic way enabled me to look for patterns and themes in the data and being able to do so was an important consideration to facilitate the recommendation of practice implications, an essential requirement for this professional doctorate.

Indicators and Coding

As I have developed a framework using resilience, informal education and social capital theory, looking for elements that confirmed the presence or absence of this in young people's experiences was essential.

I selected the following indicators to inform the analysis of young people's experiences. Primarily I was interested in exploring whether young people had trusting relationships. This would give insight into levels of resilience, presence of social capital and evidence of trusting professional relationships that are conducive to supporting their education and learning experiences whilst subject to a Home Supervision Requirement:

Social Capital Indicators (Allan & Catts, 2014; Dufur et al., 2013; Morrow, 1999):

- Engagement in civic participation
- Attitudes to school from family;
- Neighbourhood involvement
- Trust in Friends
- Mobility in terms of accessing resources and networks such as employment or further learning opportunities
- Trust in teachers or significant other professionals
- Family connections and relationships

Resilience Indicators (Gilligan, 2000; NCH, 2007; Paunesku et al., 2015a; Stein, 2005)

- Articulation of struggle with school, family or community environment
- Describing significant issues during periods of transition
- Trust in friendships
- Describing not being able to bounce back from challenges of setbacks
- Descriptions of own self- worth or prospects.
- Evidence of low aspiration or esteem

Informal Education and dialogue Indicators(Eshach, 2007; Gilligan, 2007a):

- Interest from significant adult / relationship that is based on empathy and understanding
- Evidence of advice and support giving from mentor or significant relationship
- Evidence of positive relationship with a teacher, social worker or another professional that is relational
- Located within the current reality or lived experience of the young person
- Provision of emotional support / encouragement by a supportive adult.

These characteristics were used to inform the analysis of participant experiences and coding of research data that provide insight to the presence or absence of social capital or resilience or participation in informal education and dialogical processes.

After an initial reading of the transcripts, some patterns and commonalities emerged that helped to inform the development of wider patterns in the data for the rest of the first-round interviews. Themes were also developed based on the research questions. In this respect, the study is using a inductive reasoning (Bryman, 2012) as the study is interested in the breadth of issues and experiences young people face whilst subject to an Home Supervision Requirement whilst at school. I then moved onto a more detailed phase of coding. To facilitate coding, I used an online tool called Dedoose which required going through each transcript line by line and tagging each occurrence of a theme. The software then allowed searching and viewing of data by category to enable me to study in detail recurrences of issues that were common to young people's experiences.

However, during the process of coding the data, I realised that many of the codes were not adding anything unique or were too narrow in potential application to be of any value or showing any correlation with other factors or comparison with people's experiences. I generated an initial list of field codes from the first tranche of reading through transcripts and noting what was important to young people and potentially recurring themes.

I then mapped the characteristics and data to look for evidence of patterns emerging from the data that suggested the presence or absence of features that indicated the presence or absence of resilience, informal education and social capital. I did this by mapping keywords from the characteristics presented in the framework in chapter three against the transcribed data.

Table 4 shows the keywords that I assigned to the transcribed data:

Code List			
Trust, home life, Home Supervision	Panel experience	Agency/Voice	Future aspiration
Efficacy of Coaching	Parental Value of Education	Better in smaller groups	Length of time subject to Home Supervision requirement
Criminal justice involvement	Implication for practice	Continuity of relationships	Transition
Teacher relationship	Social worker Relationship	Significant relationship	Lack of trust
HSR opinions	Interest and aptitude in practical subjects	Attainment	Social Capital
Motivation/Aspiration	Mum's/Dad's own experience of school	Family and sibling relationship	Family Issues
Has Been Expelled			

I then explored the data from each participant to map keywords and experiences on each participant, this assisted with looking for commonality of experience across all the participants. This analysis identified a few redundant themes that were not providing much in the way of insight or that were out of the scope of this study which helped with subsequent analysis and helped keep a primary focus on the research questions of the study. Figure 2 shows the frequency of key words that emerged from the coding exercise:

FIGURE 2: WORD CLOUD CODE FREQUENCY

As the word cloud shows that the codes most prominently were connected to being subject to Home Supervision, relationships with siblings, social workers and teachers were frequently raised, as were wider issues related to home life and community. I explore these issues in detail in the findings chapters of this study.

Conclusion

Through an iterative process of planned research design, pilot testing of research questions and interview process and subsequent refinement, individual landscape production and second interviews, coding of transcripts and thematic analysis has provided a rich tapestry of data that allows for analysis and discussion of the experiences of children and young people whilst subject to Home Supervision.

In the next chapter, I discuss the method I used to engage young people in their second interviews to make the process a more interactive one for them and to ensure that meaning and understanding were correctly interpreted.

Chapter 5: Using Digital Tools For Participative Engagement With Young People

Introduction

In this chapter I present and discuss the approach I adopted in the study to encourage young people's meaningful involvement to check out understanding of young people's experiences using a two-stage interview process. I outline an innovative method for using interactive presentation software as a tool for enabling discussion with young people. I conclude by discussing the wider benefits of using such an approach may have for practice with social workers and educators as a tool for engaging with vulnerable children and young people. I decided from the outset that I wanted to make the process of engaging with young people more participative and was inspired by my practice experience and the writing of Brazilian educator, Paulo Freire. The key to Freire's work in adult education, particularly around literacies with disadvantaged communities is the concept of codification. The process of codification involves rewriting cultural expressions that were sufficiently distanced from individual issues or problems to gain influence through the encouraging of reflection in everyday language developing shared understanding and encouraging reflection in action (Freire, 2005). This desire stems from a personal and professional commitment to engage with young people honestly. I was driven to do this because marginalised young people are less represented in research and are less likely to be listened to (McLeod, 2007). I wanted to explore through the study young people's views on their relationships with peers, siblings, family and professionals. For this reason, I felt an ethical obligation to try and empower the young people, working with them in a participative manner to create a degree of agency for them in the process.

One of the key challenges I contemplated from the outset during the research design was the issue of clarifying with young people my understanding and interpretation of their views. There was a time sensitive urgency to get this element right given I had two opportunities to engage with them for about 30 minutes each time. I observed that much of the time spent in the first interview was assessing if the young person was at ease and felt comfortable with me, how much they could share and determining my purpose, intent and perhaps if they liked me and how much of themselves they were going to give during the process. My second round of interviews with young people was designed as an opportunity to clarify any information and more importantly, to check out with the young people their meanings and the verisimilitude of the narrative. I decided that I would draw on the Freireian core concept of codification (Freire, 2005) and used a pictorial based method to present back my understanding of the main points of what they had said. Freire used graphic representations for codification purposes as a way of showing learners that they could also contribute actively to shaping their environment (Ackerman et al., 2004). I wanted to avoid merely presenting the young people with a transcript of the first meeting and therefore avoid making unsafe assumptions about levels of literacy. I was also keen to try and select a method for

engaging young people that could create a shared space for understanding and use a more innovative approach of engagement; I decided on an approach that combined technology with a more visual and picture-based approach.

On finishing each of the first stage interviews, I transcribed them. From the transcription, I created a short form note for myself, with the young people's story grouped into different headings for me to draw out early research messages, and assist with analysis of the narratives later. From the notes, I then sourced a variety of images from the Internet that I felt could illustrate a key point that the young person was articulating about themselves or their experience. Then, using the interactive 'Prezi' presentation software, I created a unique presentation for each of the young people in the study. This was made up mainly of a series of pictures and illustrations but often littered with a series of relevant quotes from the young person beside the pictures to pick out something that they had said that was of interest to follow up or act as a prompt.

Each presentation was transferred to a tablet computer and set up during the second meeting. As young people came in, I would explain that I had created a unique presentation and gave them the tablet. I said that we would use this as a basis for undertaking the second discussion to check I had understood what they had said last time. This approach was phenomenally well received - more so than I had anticipated. So much so, that it fundamentally changed the dynamic of the second interview. I observed that participants were often more engaged, relaxed and for those that were less confident, enabled them to focus on the iPad screen rather than make eye contact with myself.

I found that the process and the actual images themselves often served to break the ice. Young people often laughed or suggested alternative pictures, and this made the discussion easier and more relaxed for them. I also realised from young people's reactions that this approach enhanced communication. One young person asked to keep a copy which I could print for them and another said 'That's brilliant, it must have taken you ages to do that mate, thanks!'. Although each landscape was unique, they followed a common structure. Figure 3 and Figure 4 are examples canvases with all place names altered to ensure anonymity of participants:

FIGURE 3: EXAMPLE CANVAS FROM 'DAVID'S STORY' USING DURING SECOND INTERVIEW IN LANDSCAPE VIEW

The software allowed zooming in on various aspects of the discussion as I was speaking about them with the young person.

FIGURE 4: EXAMPLE CLOSE UP USED DURING DISCUSSION OF DAVID'S FAMILY – HOUSE MOVES AND WORRYING ABOUT HIS FATHER.

Using the software helped with providing a common structure for each interview with the flexibility to go to another image on the presentation dependent on what was arising in the conversation. Each presentation started with a discussion about the young person's family and a unique, almost cartoon

style stick representation of the interviewee and their various family members.   It was used to prompt discussion about who in their family they connected with the most regarding trust.   Then the presentation moved onto pictures to stimulate discussion about their house to try and provoke deeper discussion about their lives and finally moved onto a monopoly board of their city and were asked their views of their local area. This approach was designed to enrich the narratives they had provided previously.

One of the key reasons that I believe this pictorial approach worked so well with this group of young people was that the software itself lends itself to non-traditional forms of presentation allowing a more natural form of conversation and circumventing the necessity of having a temporal view of experience. During the first series of interviews, I observed that young people struggled with concepts of time and when events occurred.   Often, these questions naturally resulted in young people being uncertain when an event occurred.   It appeared to me that for them, the issue was that their recall did not work in a way that deals with the temporality of situations - while they could connect with people and places, for some of them their sense of time was almost.   Using the software, allowed for the creation of a non-linear presentation.   At any point during the interview, I, or the young person could use the landscape to jump to and zoom in on different events or key moments from their lives and speak about another aspect based on either the flow of the conversation or what was of importance for them to discuss. Working with this type of presentation, with its potentially endless landscape, meant that there did not need to be a visible link between different events.   Often young people could articulate the linkages and sequences of events when presented with the main images, for example, a picture of their former school and a picture following representing them describing their exclusion or a critical event such as an argument with a teacher.   I found during the second interview this required more reflexivity on my part and involved facilitating the conversation, allowing young people time and space to discuss the issues that were of importance to them. I also had to ensure that points distilled from the case notes and transcripts were followed up to capture and clarify as much detail as possible from the first interview.

Humour also helped, and I was conscious of utilising my past professional training as a youth worker to help build a relationship.   I was nervous about Morrow's (1990) cautionary advice when interviewing children within a school setting.   Morrow advises that most children in a school class setting would agree to participate and then a minority will just write or draw minimally and not saying anything (Morrow, 1999).   However, this was not my experience of the interviews.   I tried to establish a relationship with the young people before the meeting.   I worked hard to put them at ease and help them relax into the conversation as well as again re-iterate the purpose and limits to confidentiality of the interview (Elliott, 2005).

I was aware of the need for a selection of images that did not use real people that could be connected to their lives and often avoided photography for people, but this proved useful for places.   I did use small

elements of humour, for example, the picture used to prompt discussion about their future was a picture from the film 'Back to the Future'.   I found that using humour helped build effective relationships with the young people but I was also aware of ensuring this was appropriate and not detrimental to the interview experience.   I was careful in my selection of what situations as described by young people to select for pictorial representation.   I did this to avoid any particularly unpleasant events that young people had discussed that would be inappropriate to represent with an image, a deliberate decision made to safeguard participants and did not diminish the ensuing dialogue that took place throughout the second interview.

Young people responded positively to this approach.   Through observation, it appeared that most enjoyed controlling the presentation and using the technology.   Such approaches have been found to be beneficial in classrooms using technology to empower children to tell their stories (Robin, 2008).   I also believe there was an underlying element of a re-distributing of the power dynamic that took place during the second interview compared to the first meeting.   Young people could control the presentation and for the brief time of the encounter, take power and guide their lives, albeit through their control of the narratives through the medium of the tablet device and the conversation.   It allowed them to make sense of their experiences and continue the discussion rather than being led merely by an interview transcript.   I also believe that the approach adopted was successful in engendering trust and building up more of a detailed picture of the narratives of young people's lives, experiences and worldview.

One example of this occurred while interviewing David (15) about his experiences.   He told me that he was involved in being creative as well.   When asked about what he meant, he revealed he had brought a rap for me to listen to and asked me if I would.   This rap itself was incredibly powerful and shared deeper insight into his circumstances and emotional state than he had verbalised through dialogue during the first interview.   He then actually asked if I could add this to his presentation, as he wanted other people to hear his experience and views, so we included this as a central feature of his story.

Although this form of work is more participatory in that a different medium is being used to check out understanding and meaning of the young people's stories, I would not class this as co-construction as young people did not initiate the selection of the images and they were not involved in the research design from the outset (Mason & Hood, 2011).   In future, were I to repeat this form of research, I would ensure that the research design had built in from the outset a level of participatory research. Such an approach would require more time and work to take place with young people over a longer process perhaps using collaborative dialogue or a project base approach (Morgan, 2012; Pain & Francis, 2003). The process could involve imagery created by young people themselves through photography (Sheridan, Chamberlain, & Dupuis, 2011) or selected by themselves to highlight views, situations that were of importance to them believed represented an element of their lives and stimulate further discussion.

There is a practice implication for professionals such as teachers, social workers and researchers who want to undertake work in a participatory way that engages young people. I believe that this approach leads itself extremely well to encouraging relational work and helping young people themselves to make sense of their experiences and issues that they face. It recognises that there exists a power imbalance by our roles and authority that we play when working with young people. By creating a different shared space using different tools and techniques we can create a productive climate for engaging vulnerable children. Making a concerted effort to listen and understand the views of young people, can lead to a shared understanding of young people's views of the world, and this goes some way to empowering young people through enabling them to tell their stories and ultimately understand the issues that affect them.

Conclusion

This chapter has explained the approach I used in the second interviews to check out meaning and understanding of young people's experiences. In doing so, I describe a novel and innovative approach to youth engagement that has practical implications for those working with vulnerable children and young people in research and other settings.

Over the course of the next four chapters, I move on to present the research findings from the study. Drawing on the thematic analysis, I have grouped the results from this study in a way that explores home life, school life and professional supporting relationships. In Chapter 6, I present young people's views of Home Supervision and the variety of circumstances that young people face while living at home as well as their views of Home Supervision itself. Subsequently, in Chapter 7, I explore young people's views of Home Supervision. In Chapter 8, I explore their views of school to understand the range of issues that occur whilst at school that impact on stability, attainment and young people succeeding within the school environment. Finally, Chapter 9 explores young people's views of both formal and informal supporting relationships that they have within their lives.

Chapter 6: Understanding Home Life for Children Subject To Home Supervision

Introduction

The literature review in Chapter 2 demonstrated the range of issues that affect looked after children. However, the available research literature has less emphasis on children who are subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.   Therefore, there was a need to examine the issues that influence and affect educational attainment for this particular sub group of looked after children.

In this first of four that relate to the findings of the study, I present an outline sketch of the young people whose views inform the findings.   I then address the main aim of the research and examine the experiences of the home life of young people subject to Home Supervision.   I explore: home life; crime; family relationships; friendships; and health and wellbeing.   I discuss the findings and conclude that young people's lives subject to supervision are fraught with complexity and risk of being marginalised within their local communities.

Pen picture of the young research participants

The following gives a brief outline sketch of each of the participants I interviewed for the study. All names have been anonymised and identifying features such as place names have been changed to protect their anonymity.   The pen picture was compiled solely from the young people themselves through the research process.

Rossco, 15	Stays with mum, step dad and two brothers. Struggles with school. Excluded many times. Diagnosed with ADHD. In alternative provision. Struggled in mainstream. Low aspiration. No community involvement. Excluded from secondary school multiple times. Several house moves. Had youth involvement disrupted as a result of house move and so had to give up playing football with team he was involved in. Regularly shop lifted. Enjoying non-mainstream provision, feels more supported and time with teachers.
David, 15	Stays with mum, step dad and little sister. Step dad been in and out of prison. Worries about his step dad's health. David has low aspiration. David shared rap he had recorded with me. Had been involved in activities unable to maintain them due to house moves. Smokes cannabis. Had trusted relationship with social worker but became distrusting when he left for Australia. Loves music. Not optimistic about

	future. Says he has no talents but shared with me his rap he had written and composed about his life.
Beverly, 15	Stays with mum. Has three sisters, and two brothers. Started truanting at age 12, now in alternate provision. Criminal record and ASBO at 13. Really values being in alternate provision and doing well, increasing her confidence but attendance still an issue with health issues, stomach pains and regular minor ailments. Behaviour still causing concern. Very skeptical about Home Supervision but has good relationship with key worker and values small teaching approaches at specialist provision but wishes she had more choice of subjects.
Romana, Age: 14	Stays with mum, dad, two brothers and sister. Stable primary school experience, multiple exclusions from school. She has moved school three times. Often avoids school due to minor ailments stomach upsets, etc. Previously attended youth work facilities but had to give it up when she moved to a new house. Very guarded about private life. Arrested for burning down a factory whilst truanting. Struggling with school and no interest in her subjects. No community involvement. Friends important but, has very few.
Kirk, Age: 15	Stays with older brother. Started truanting in first year. Lives in cramped busy house, often with older brother's friends hanging about. Has issues with managing his anger. Stopped going to school entirely in second year after being put on a part time timetable – didn't see point. Doesn't understand Home Supervision. Now on alternative curricular pathway programme within further education with coaching support. Uses cannabis frequently. Involved in gang fighting and his friendship group very important to him. No regular routines going to bed and so on.
Will, Age: 14	Stays with Gran. Parents divorced. Involved in anti-social behaviour. Struggles in groups. Several school exclusions. Struggles with panel decision and "interference" in his life of Home Supervision. Very suspicious of authority figures. Doesn't trust or like social worker. Benefiting from coaching – trusts his coach and helping him with his college placement. Alternative provision going much better than school. Had many exclusions. Four changes of social worker in four years.
Jean-Luc, Age: 15	Stays with mum, younger brother and older sister. Parents divorced. Primary school went well, had problems in first year. Issues with anger and aggression. Picked up an assault charge at age fourteen and allocated a social worker. Caught up in fighting, problems with behaviour. Felt picked on by certain teachers. Brilliant relationship with social

	worker and his coach on alternative curricular pathway. Uses cannabis. Bullied briefly.
Theo, Age: 12	Stays with mum, dad, brother and sister. Issues occurred late primary. Then Struggled with transition to secondary school. Now in first year at secondary school. Gets upset in class. Refuses to go to school. No relationship with social worker and doesn't understand Home Supervision. Receiving support in additional support base within school. Can't deal with larger groups and crowds within school. Very few friends.
Talia, Age: 14	Stays with mum and boyfriend, little sister, brother. Primary went well then struggling at secondary. Refused to go to school. Grounded by mum as a result. Skips certain subjects as doesn't get on with teachers. Move of house upset her. Meant she could not keep up her dance classes and lost contact with her friends. Spending some time in pupil support base for over a year. Finds children's panel stressful (and not listened to). Resents having a social worker and having privacy invaded. Worried about younger brother and little sister (who has anxiety and off school regularly).
Deanna, Age: 11	Stays with older brother and dad. Wants to be living with mum. Behavioural Issues started in Primary 7 – fighting with people in her class. Resulting in exclusions. Stays up late at night watching TV, can't be bothered going to school. Has had three social workers in last few years. Deanna gets anxious about what is going to happen to her when at children's panels, etc. Wants to live with mum but panel decision was to stay with dad. Second interview didn't take place as she moved into residential care due to a change in family circumstances. Wants to be an artist like her brother or a writer.
Barclay, Age: 15	Stays with dad and gran in a busy housing estate. Couldn't deal with school, issues with behavior started in Primary 5 but deteriorated after transitioning into first year at secondary school. Issues including dealing with authority, struggling with early mornings. Involved in anti-social behaviour, fighting, drinking in local community. Multiple exclusions from school though alternate provision working well for him. He really values having support of coaches – treat him with more respect than at school. It was one teacher that he really connected with that referred him to the alternate provision supported by coaching. Doing well now. Has very good relationship with coaches.
Geordi, Age: 15	Lives with dad in a two bedroom bungalow. Has three sisters and two brothers all who are in foster care. Lots of involvement in crime – has seventeen charges that occurred whilst truanting including setting fires. Loves motorbikes. Supervision order meant he

	could stay with his dad which made him happy. Doesn't trust social workers – was initially worried he was going to be put into care. Doesn't understand what Home Supervision is.
Myles, Age: 15	Stays with mum and two older brothers. Primary went well but then started truanting in first year. Behaviour resulted in a move of secondary school. Hates sitting about, prefers practical subjects. Money a real challenge and source of stress for family. He felt supervision order made things worse and led to more criminal involvement including breaking and entering and assault. Now on alternative curricular pathway programme supported by coaching. Enjoying motor vehicle maintenance course and has good relationship with his coaches at college. Motor mechanics course he is doing is better for him as more practical.
Bethany, Age: 14	Staying with her gran temporarily, previously lived with mum and a sister. Loved primary school. Hates secondary. Moved secondary school after not fitting into her first school and missing her friends. Likes the teachers that listen more and get on with her and try to understand her. Loves art. Doesn't get on with social worker – finds social worker always making excuses to see other children more than her. Worries about her little sister.
Jacob, Age: 14	Stays with mum, step dad and little brother. Shares room with little brother. Three different primary schools because of house moves. Got excluded from one school. Been involved in fighting. Experienced Bullying. Been in non-mainstream school helping doing things like more PE, spending more time with staff, smaller groups. Had ten changes of social worker in three years. Home life stressful and cramped. Has to lock himself into bathroom to do his homework as his 4-year-old brother rips it up and draws on it.

Home environment and circumstances

In this section, I present in detail the findings that relate to young people's home environment. To understand the reasons behind young people's struggle with their educational experience while subject to a Home Supervision Requirement, I felt it was important to comprehend the issues that young people face within their home environment. In this section, I present the research findings regarding young people's experience of life at home starting with why they are subject to Home Supervision in the first place, a matter that many of the young people were reluctant to discuss overtly.   Particularly, they were not keen at first interview to volunteer their reasons for being subject to Home Supervision, though often

did so when discussing other aspects of their lives or school experience. To mitigate participants' reluctance, they were asked at their second interview to describe their house to me. This line of enquiry was designed to be non-threatening and open. Although the question was exploring their physical environment, young people revealed valuable information in response to this that gave insight into the home life and the impacts this had on their wellbeing and mental health.

Across the range of research participant experiences, it was clear that many of the young people were living in a complex variety of situations. Most participants described living in households that were noisy and busy. Some spoke of different adults that they were not necessarily familiar with coming and going frequently and arguments between them being the norm.

This profile of stress and conflict were recurring themes across many of the young people's experiences. Many of the young people described being in situations where they were always arguing with their parents and carers. Issues raised included school (having to attend), staying out late, parents disapproving of friendships and associations. Many were living in situations with either divorced or separated parents or having another partner within the house which was often a source of tension for them.

Some of the young people felt that difficulties experienced at home had an impact on their school experience especially those that were experiencing parental separation. For a few young people in the study, their parent's divorce was a source of anxiety and stress for them as they were not living with the parent they wanted to.

Many described living in cramped conditions. They explained how their home environment then impacted on both their privacy and ability to comply with homework from school through having a lack of any personal space to complete homework tasks. Jacob tells the story of his home and describes the impact of having to share a room with his younger brother:

> *John Paul: Do you share a room with your wee brother?*
>
> *Jacob: Four of us in one room.*
>
> *John Paul: Four of you in one room?*
>
> *Jacob: We are trying to get a bigger house.*
>
> *John Paul: Does that make it hard to do homework?*
>
> *Jacob: (nods)*
>
> *John Paul: Tell me how come?*
>
> *Jacob: Well I'm trying to do it, and my brother comes over and then like, rips a page out the pad, and If I don't have it he can't get it he's telling mum, likes of mum, mum, mum, I want that!, and starts greeting until he gets it cause he wants to draw on it*

Jacob's circumstances show the relationship between being looked after at home and experiencing poverty. Jacob also described the environment as being a source of stress that living in cramped conditions brings. Jacob has a lack of personal space, and with interference from his brother has no space in which he can study or complete his homework. When discussing this, it was evident that Jacob had levels of resilience that he draws on as well as adaptive strategies for meeting the demands of school:

> Jacob: I just lock myself in the bathroom where he can't get me.
>
> John Paul: Is that where you do your homework?
>
> Jacob: Yeah. Or if they're out the back I can dae it in my bedroom but that doesn't happen much.

Having no private space in which to do their homework was a common occurrence across interviews. Jacob when asked about what his future aspiration shared his example of this:

> Jacob: To have a bigger house.
>
> John Paul: Ok. Why?
>
> Jacob: Cause I have to share a bedroom with my little brother
>
> John Paul: Ah right, ok. where do you study?
>
> Jacob: I try to fit it in.
>
> John Paul: Where do you do it? living room or where?
>
> Jacob: I just don't do it (laughing)

This aspiration for having a bigger house was a common one, with young people hoping to move with their families to larger homes in different neighbourhoods.

The resulting stress of being at home led many of the young people to spend time out on streets. Several described staying out very late to avoid spending time within the house. Most of the young people in the study were not participating in any organised community activities such as youth clubs or sports clubs or had any significant leisure interests, memberships of groups or organisations. They lacked shared interests with friends outside of school. For those that did this was limited to individual activities. For a lot of the young men in the study, this was playing computer games often on their own.

Several of the young people spoke about having leisure interests such as computing, football, sport, that they had initially followed but now did not pursue. Many were unable to give reasons as to why they had lost this initial interest, but some explained that they had moved into a different neighbourhood. Moving to a new house made facilities too far to travel to and they then did not feel confident starting with a new group or team with people that they did not know as well as lacking money from transport. Two of the young people had been members of local youth groups. However, for both, these facilities had been closed and no longer available to them.

Young people's involvement with crime

In this section, I present the findings that relate to young people in the study's involvement with crime. A quarter of the young people reported participation in crime in some way. The levels of crime varied from low level / anti-social behaviour to more formal criminal justice involvement including some receiving charges for assault and arson. In some of the more severe cases, this was part of the reason for young people having had a supervision requirement on the grounds of truanting, vandalism and some with significant police involvement. One young person volunteered having 21 crime files and 17 charges.

Another young girl, Romana, was involved in fire-raising and was arrested for setting fire to a factory while truanting from school with friends who also had a Home Supervision requirement:

> John Paul: How come you ended up setting a factory on fire?
>
> Romana: Well, there was a lot of stuff happening at home and stuff, then I didn't want to go school.

It is interesting to note that the young person cites issues in home life as being the reason for the behaviour although when further asked to expand on this could not.

Several young people in the study felt that previous involvement with the police was leading to them unfairly and wrongly being accused of participation in crimes or anti-social behaviour, as described by Rossco:

> Rossco: Well, I get accused n that for a lot the lead stealing that goes on, you know what I mean, they always come up to my door n I get took down to the polis station n all that to answer for it, you know, so I get interviews n that so they try and blame it on me.

For several young people, associations with friendships had led to them being involved in gangs and caught up in gang-related violence. Several young people articulated that they had deep friendships and connections with other gang members as well as describing territorial rivalries with other young people in the same local geography. In some cases, this had impacted on young people's abilities to attend other services and meetings with their social worker if it meant straying into another gang's territory, which young people were often unwilling to do due to fears for their safety. Interestingly, though, they were not open with their social worker in communicating this involvement as being a barrier to their non-attendance in social work meetings which then adversely affected them.

Parental relationships

I now present the findings that relate to young people's experiences and views of family. Throughout the study, the one area that young people were most reluctant to discuss was their family and their parents. I noted in my research journal that some young people's body language was visibly altered when asked

about relationships with their parents or life at home.   Others would choose not to answer the question or became evasive. I found this entirely understandable given their lack of knowledge or trust in me and given the range of experiences that young people had involvement in, as well with a range of statutory figures in their lives.   However, throughout most of the interviews, it was clear that participants regularly experienced conflict with their parents. However, despite such tensions, they often had either a very close relationship with one or both of their parents or carers.   Indeed, even when there were difficulties within the family home, they often still had strong bonds with parents. Others described volatile relationships with parents:

> *John Paul: Was your mum good at school?*
>
> *Talia: Hmm, I don't ask her. It's probably No. Pointless me wasting my breath.*
>
> *John Paul: Seriously? How come?*
>
> *Talia: Because she's been my step mum for nine years. And all we have done is argue*
>
> *John Paul: Why is that?*
>
> *Talia: Well, if she gives me grief, I like, walk out or just like not come back to eleven o clock at night or twelve.*

The lack of regular routines or boundaries within the family home such as set bed times or meal times was a recurring theme across many of the interviews, affirming that young people who are subject to Home Supervision are often living in challenging and chaotic environments.   However, some of the young people in the study voiced concern that their behaviours would have consequences for their parents:

> *John Paul: What makes you worried?*
>
> *Bethany: My mum might get in trouble, cause of me.*

Such levels of anxiety were shared by several of the young people with one interviewee even worried that his mum would face prosecution for his refusal to attend school and because of his behaviour in the wider community.   Others described feeling that because of their actions at school they were letting their parents down.

However, several of the participants had complicated relationships with their parents, with significant levels of conflict, volatility and confrontation.   Several indicated that they were subject to a supervision requirement because of behaviour towards their parents.   Several young people spoke about their parents' collusion with bad behaviour, for example, citing circumstances where they had been allowed to stay at their own or friends' houses and truanting without any consequences.   Rossco and David both spoke of being able to smoke cannabis at various friends' houses with their friends' parents' consent.

Relationships with siblings

A critical area of discovery in this study was the relationship between participants and their younger or older siblings. Many of the young people discussed having positive relationships with their older siblings who were felt to be a supporting influence on their behaviour and encouraging of their schooling. Examples of this included older siblings intervening and attempting to influence behaviours when younger siblings were not attending school. One older brother took his young sister's mobile and laptop from her until she went back to school and agreed to stop truanting. Others were in a caring role themselves for younger siblings. They spoke about supporting their young brothers or sisters by looking after them when parents were away or giving advice. Some spoke of a desire for things to be different for their siblings from their own experiences by having a better education or different environment to live in. For one young person, their aspiration was to move from their current home so that their younger siblings could have a more positive future. Most of the participants with older siblings valued their opinions and respected them, often describing 'looking up' to them.

Some in the study were informally acting as carers for younger siblings, speaking of helping their mothers around the house, taking younger siblings to nursery and doing routine tasks. Also, within the school some were playing a protective role for younger brothers and sisters, intervening in situations where bullying was taking place. There was an emotional pull also for this group, wanting their younger siblings to have a difference set of experiences than they have, and to do better than they had at school. For those playing this caring role, it was evident in some cases that this was a source of anxiety and stress for them. Beverly spoke about the stress of attending a children's panel:

> Beverly: Ah well, just to make sure it's a good hearing and no a nasty ein and one that makes my little sister greet, I dinnae care about me. I dinnae care if they're nasty to me, just my little sister 'cause they make her greet and everything and make her answer uncomfortable questions.

Other young people had their older siblings act for them in an advocacy role during Children's Panel Hearings.

Friendships

In this section, I discuss the findings concerning young people's friendships. All the young people described the importance of having strong friendships. A small minority expressed having unyielding bonds of association with friends despite experiencing various transitions such as house moves or changes of school. Their associations resulted in them becoming involved in gang culture and territorial fighting. For this minority of young people, their networks appear bonded through common friendships with security and safety given as reasons for being involved in this activity. Sources of disruption to sustaining friendships described were changes of school and moving to a different neighbourhood. Young

people often told of the struggle to fit in and make new friends after such transition. All described this as being stressful and a source of anxiety.

Seven out of the fifteen young people in the study spoke of having no strong friendships or associations. Several articulated the challenge of fitting in with others, with others saying they struggled with larger groups of peers. A lack of connections could indicate a potential risk of social exclusion and lower levels of social capital and thus a potential to hinder their emotional development, attainment and social networks.

For the participants in the study, maintaining friendships was a major concern for them. Many had changed peer groups or were struggling to make new friends and associations. As identified earlier, many have moved to a new house on one or more occasions resulting in them attending a new school and having to re-establish themselves with new peer groups and friendships. This need to be with friends and peer groups was a strong driver for many of the young people in the study, even influencing attempts to change school by one girl who wanted to be with her friends.

> *John Paul: Is that ones you have made since you came or did you know them from before?*
>
> *Bethany: No, I'd known them from before, that's how, like, I wanted to come to this school from the start.*

This desire drove some of her challenging behaviours to make her school situation untenable for her and consequently resulted in her becoming more disruptive so that she could force a move of school by the authorities.

Young people wanted to have strong bonds and ties with friends. Some described having such a bond although these young people were in the minority of participants. Very few young people indicated that they trusted their friends. Many young people had small numbers of very geographically localised groups of friends at the neighbourhood level, usually from school.

Often, young people described how spending time with their friends would lead to problems for them regarding involvement with police or anti-social behaviour, as David describes:

> *John Paul: So, what kind of stuff did you do before, when you stayed in Greenacres?*
>
> *David: Being a little shit.*
>
> *John Paul: What does that actually mean though? (laughing) I remember you saying you picked up charges n that?*
>
> *David: I just used to hang about wi all the Greenacres people n that. And just caused trouble for the fun of it. pretty much.*

Many of the young people articulated having low levels of trust amongst their peers. Young people could differentiate between vague association and connections (weaker ties) and much closer friendships

where there was a deeper friendship or higher levels of trust amongst them, usually with one or two close friends (strong and weak ties):

> *Rossco: I got heaps that I ken, millions of folk. They all think I'm their mate, and all, like 'my mate's Reidy' like this, now but I don't really count them as my mate. They're just folk I ken.*

Furthermore, for one of the young people in the study, because of his vocational choice of qualification, car mechanics, this had shifted his perception of some of his friends on the course:

> *Will: Well I need to kinda trust a lot of people. Because if your working with motors you need to trust em, you need to trust the things in a safe place … say your under a motor and it goes…   its them no me. Its them that are in the wrong. So, in the workshop you need to do everything right or your fucked.*

Friends were important to Will despite earlier having articulated not having much trust in them:

> *John Paul: How important to you are mates?*
>
> *Will: They are important. nay as important as they should be, like cause they'd hadn't been my mates for long, the mates I'm hanging about with just now.*

Health and wellbeing

In this section, I present the findings of young people that relate to their health (physical and mental) and wellbeing.   During the interviews, I did not ask young people about how they perceived their mental health and wellbeing.   However, during all the interviews, young people spoke about factors and situations which caused them stress, worry or anxiety.

Three of the young people disclosed that they had complex needs including a formal diagnosis of mental health issues.   Half of the participants described feeling stressed and anxious because of school and family life.   Several of the young people described conditions such as feeling awkward around others, an inability to be in larger groups within school classrooms, needing quiet and struggling with how busy school and family life was.   Many spoke of the fight to get up and attend school as well as suffering from boredom.   Many of the young men who talked about this described staying up late playing computer games in their bedrooms, and several were participating in recreational drug use, smoking cannabis. They described this as a way of relaxing and managing their anxiety.

Beverly explains, after a protracted period of absence from school due to stress and anxiety, not complying with social work because she felt that the number of professional staff in her life was adding to her anxiety:

Beverly: Well I think as well that's another thing - because I have been off school for so long and didn't have a routine, there were so many people coming and going from different places to try and see if they could help me get back to school and it was just too much. And it was just too much to cope with. I got upset, and my mum got angry - I was stressing out all the time I was doing stupid things, and ignoring people and basically, I made social work fail me on purpose, so I didn't have to do what I was supposed to do.

Relationships with friends and teachers were often deemed to be a cause of anxiety and part of the complexity of their behaviours.   Some described having very complicated relationships with at least one special teacher.   Several described how this one pivotal negative relationship would often result in periods of exclusion from school for them or them choosing not to attend subjects at school to avoid certain teachers and others truanting the entire day.

Other factors that young people spoke about as sources of anxiety and stress included: family pressure; anxiety for the parents; concern for siblings; parental divorce; criminal justice involvement; family financial issues; and bereavement.   David spoke about his concern for his step-dad's health.   Others talked about the stress of moving house to different areas and the challenge of fitting in and establishing themselves and making new friends.

The result of this anxiety and stress for some manifests itself in difficulties in managing aggression and anger.   Examples cited included lashing out at fellow pupils, resulting in their exclusion or getting into trouble at school although several had found coping mechanisms to deal with this including removing themselves from the situation.   Others spoke of lethargy and lack of motivation and inability to get out of bed to go to school.

Some of the young people felt that there was a link between their mental health, their ability to contain and manage their behaviours, and their subsequent ability to attend school:

Will See, I'm this type of person that gets annoyed easily about things, and I get frustrated like pure easy. And If I can't sleep I start getting annoyed and then come morning, I'm tired, I'm a bad mood, and I'm in a bad mood my mum will not put me to school as she doesn't see the point. 'Cause if I'm in a bad mood then I just end up getting sent home for throwing a chair, flipping a table, or goin' aff my heid wi somebody or goan ' fir somebody.

Many of the young people reported having anxiety that was in some way impacting on their wanting to attend school.   Several said that they were struggling in the larger classes and the busy environment of the school.

Others described not being able to get much sleep because of feeling anxious. Others were staying up late either watching television or playing computer games.   For several, they described how this made

getting up for school in the morning difficult, as well as affecting their concentration levels and their moods and the pattern being difficult to break once established:

> *Myles: I did get on doing that for a while but as soon as I start staying off school that's me into a habit, cause I stayed off school for so long. and it is really hard to get out of the routine of staying up all night.*

A few were aware of the correlation between the amount of sleep that they were getting, their mood in class the following day, and an increased likelihood of them encountering difficulties in the classroom. Examples of this included fighting with classmates, arguing with teachers and not being able to concentrate.

Several reported that stress was the reason for their non-attendance at school. Four of the participants in the study had disclosed that they experienced stress and anxiety as a result of being bullied at either primary or secondary school or within their own community. For many, this was part of the reason for their truancy at school. Many talked about how bullying contributed to them being stressed and worried and several expressed frustrations that this had gone unnoticed.

Others were reticent in seeking help from teachers or their social workers to address issues they were experiencing:

> *Deanna: Well for example, if I dinnae come to school she will make up a reason why, and if I tell her about bullying at school she makes it ten times worse, and she has stupid meetings.*

Several reported believing their anxiety and stress was because of moving house and the subsequent pressure of trying to fit in and make new friends.

One young person talked about her struggle to contain and manage her emotions being a reason for missing school. It was safer for her to remain at home as she knew that her behaviours would lead to her getting into trouble through anti-social behaviour having got into fights and thrown furniture around the classroom.

Many of the young people in the study, particularly the girls interviewed, described going to school as being a major source of anxiety and stress. They believed this emotional response was triggered at the thought of having to go to school. Some of the young people revealed that this was the reason for them choosing not to attend school and subsequently being placed under a Home Supervision requirement on the grounds of their non-attendance at school.

Another factor that was common throughout the interviews with the girls in the study was that of frequent absence caused by minor ailments. They told of having various minor ailments that prevented them from attending school. Examples of this were regularly suffering from a range of stomach

complaints and headaches. However, one young girl explained how this was a ploy used to avoid school. She went on to describe that she was worried her sister was also behaving in the same way and was creating excuses not to attend school and that her mum had not realised that both were faking illness to avoid school.

Across the study, many of the young people reported feeling lethargic and having little motivation. Very few said they exercised regularly. Several of the young male participants disclosed that they frequently used cannabis. Some acknowledged that this was also influencing their aptitude for learning and their attendance at school. They struggled with routines and being able to get to school on time as they struggled to get up in the mornings.

At least four of the young people had an adult in the house who suffered from some form of mental or physical ill health and this caused them to have concern for the well-being of their parents. An example of this was one young man who spoke about his concern and worry for his father who had recently had a diagnosis of terminal cancer on his release from prison.

Discussion

All the interview participants were living in complex and challenging conditions. The picture painted was one of pressure and stress within the family home itself including divorce, moves of school and home, mental health and wellbeing issues, and in particular self-reporting of anxiety.

Problems with mental health and wellbeing were evident in the frequency of young people reporting stress, lack of physical activity, few friendship networks and wider civic participation. Lack of involvement and fewer bonds can lead to increased risk of social isolation (Rees, 2013). In Chapter 2 it was noted that, according to the literature, the mental health issues of looked after children is a frequent cause of concern. Similarly, this study finds that children subject to HSR are suffering from anxiety and stress. There is an evident need for timely community and mental health service interventions. Addressing this could be part of curricular programmes that teach social and emotional skills for coping, self-management and establishing and maintaining positive relationships. This type of work has been described in the literature as providing successful interventions in supporting vulnerable young people (Weissberg et al., 2008).

The issue of isolation is likely to be impacting on mental health and resilience levels. Transitions are impacting on young people's ability to sustain friendships resulting in reporting of stress and anxiety. The isolation of young people has implications for the development of social capital. Previous studies have found that this group encounters significant barriers in accumulating social capital outside their family (Magson, Craven, Munns, & Yeung, 2016b). Such a reduction in capital can mean that within school

social isolation can become associated with risk-taking behaviours which ultimately impacts on attainment and readiness to learn.

A similar lack of association extends into the absence of leisure activities for this cohort. Such a lack of participation is likely to mean diminished extended support networks within their local communities and accordingly they have lower levels of bridging capital. (Cattell, 2001; Chau-kiu Cheung & Kam, 2010). Some young people were initially involved in leisure pursuits. However, their sports and youth club participation ended due to family house moves. Lack of access to recreation meant they had reduced opportunities to meet with friends and build wider social connections out with their immediate peers. Without any form of professional support risks creating a spiral effect into anti-social behaviour (McAra & McVie, 2010) and this was evident with a few of the research participants, manifesting itself in them spending more time out on the street rather than at home. In one case, this created the opportunity to get involved in criminal behaviour resulting in arrest.

The reporting of a lack of young people's participation in community-based activities suggests a risk of lower levels of social capital. This stems from having limited and narrow social networks having potential implications for their social mobility which could subsequently impact on resilience. The influence of informal networks, such as friends and relatives, is shown to play a part in the outcomes of young people, particularly males. Informal networks are often used to obtain employment and have been found to play a significant role in securing employment for young men (Dockery & Strathdee, 2003). Finding ways in which to encourage community-based participation, bridge any social capital deficit and the support needs of looked after at home young people are critical areas for exploration that I return to in Chapter 7. Evidence of tight geographically bound networks was reflected in young people's gang associations, itself a form of bonding capital. Although, as was evident, this served to limit access to certain geographical services due to the territorial nature and perceived safety issues for young people.

Young people's reporting of low levels of trust is significant. As discussed in Chapter 3 having lower levels of trust can serve as an indicator diminished levels of social capital (Adams & Christenson, 1998; Bubolz, 2001; Jobe & Gorin, 2013; Yagi et al., 2016). Such distrust is also likely to have a bearing on significant relationships. The absence of trust could in part be as a result of issues within the family home and previous adverse experiences, in line with the findings of other major studies on looked after children relating to the experience of attachment with significant adults in their lives (Lee, 2013). A similar pattern of distrust is also inherent in views of their professional helping relationships. This same lack of trust also has an impact on their abilities to widen social networks and develop bonding social capital. Young people's lack of wider friendship networks and levels of anxiety caused by the stress of maintaining friendships could be impacting directly on resilience and self-identity (McMurray, Connolly, Preston-Shoot, & Wigley, 2011). Evidence of this is apparent in the articulation of lack of positive relationships within the family home.

The relationships described by young people with their parents, carers and siblings prove to be significant when viewed through the model of resilience, social capital and informal education presented in Chapter 3. Young people's fragmented relationships with parents means that a vital source of family support for them with dealing with the challenges of adolescence appears diminished. This is occurring at a time of significant transition for many of them. There is an established link in the research literature that demonstrates that effective social support has a buffering effect in reducing stress and aiding positive mental health (Pinkerton & Dolan, 2007). Canavan & Dolan (2000) have described how informal support from family members creates a central helping system. In respect of young people's experiences in this study, some older siblings for the young people in the study can be seen as playing an informal supporting and bridging role in helping their younger siblings cope with the challenges of daily life including maintaining attendance at school.

In the literature review, I discussed the importance of using young people's interests to develop relationships and nurture their talents (Gilligan, 2007). Such an approach could help address the decline of leisure interests and ensuing reduction in young people's social capital and resilience. Such an intervention could provide a powerful mechanism for creating caring, supporting relationships between support staff and vulnerable children. Young people's interests provide a strong foundation for developing talent, enthusiasm and a relational connection between the young person and professional as well as the obvious health benefits of any sporting activities and I return to this topic in Chapter 9. One issue that was raised several times was a lack of leisure facilities due to closures. This is out with the scope of this study but warrants further scrutiny given the beneficial impacts that such facilities have on children and young people.

Sharing information between leisure domains and school life has consequences for the systems and processes that connect them. Efficient sharing is necessary so that social workers, teachers and other professionals have a rounded picture of a young person's whole life and understand their interests and what can serve to excite and engage them (Gilligan, 1998). This information can form the basis for conversations that build positive relationships and lead to the development of recognition of any activities in the community (Gilligan, 2007b; Reingle et al., 2013). In Chapter 8 I look at the potential for informal education relationships to assist with the process of building and sustaining community participation.

A pattern emerged that suggests an absence of routine and boundaries painting a picture of many households where there is a lack of supervision, discipline and in some cases, a lack of care in the lives of young people. As discussed in the literature review, inadequate monitoring of child behaviour serves as a predictor of poor outcomes (Parcel et al., 2010). In some cases, siblings were playing a role in trying to bridge this care deficit and maintain the stability of education for their younger siblings. These findings suggest that in the context of whole family work as an intervention, more could be done to help brothers

and sisters in their role as positive role models in promoting and encouraging a positive view and engagement with their siblings' education.   However, of equal importance, is the necessity to ensure vulnerable children themselves are supported and not solely carrying the burden for younger siblings as was the case for some in this study, again raising the need for active support for families.

The physical home environment of vulnerable children clearly has a bearing on their well-being. The relationship with the home environment, poverty and deprivation and impacts on education could not be more evident than in a young person locking themselves in their bathroom to complete their homework. In seeking practice suggestions to help with educational attainment for vulnerable children, there is a need to take such factors into account.

Conclusion

This chapter further enhances our understanding of the circumstances of young people subject to HSR within their home environments.   The analysis contributes to the first research question of the study by increasing understanding of the complex interplay between the range of different factors that create vulnerability for children and young people living at home.   Furthermore, this chapter contributes to the development of new knowledge and insight in four ways.   Firstly, the model introduced in Chapter 3 receives affirmation through demonstrating an iterative relationship between life circumstances and events that lead to isolation that in turn can lead to depleted social capital levels and an adverse effect on resilience. Secondly, such insight creates opportunities for possible practice interventions that could be staged to arrest the decline of capital and isolation through the provision of support.   Thirdly, the finding of siblings actively working to maintain the educational progress of younger siblings who are subject to an Home Supervision Requirement yield potentially practical implications for helping vulnerable children.

Finally, the relationship between social and physical environment, living in poverty and educational attainment, is evident and is in line with other similar research findings for both vulnerable children and young people living in poverty and for the subset of looked after children.   I further develop these themes over the course of the next two chapters.

In the next chapter, I present and discuss young people's views of the effectiveness of the processes and supports of Home Supervision itself.

Chapter 7: Young People's Views of Home Supervision

Introduction

In this second of four findings chapters, I present young people's views of Home Supervision and explore their understanding of what the concept means during their daily lives. I then explore their views of Home Supervision as a support measure for them discuss the divergent opinions described by young people and conclude that there is a need to fundamentally examine the nature of support for young people subject to Home Supervision and raises the need for further research.

Views of Home Supervision

There was a range of opinions expressed about the effectiveness of supervision as support for them was mixed among young people. Some felt that Home Supervision was positive, others felt that it made no difference and a small minority thought that having social work intervention in their lives made their situation worse.

Some of the young people valued the help and support that Home Supervision provided and felt that having the HSR was vital to their wellbeing:

> *Jean-Luc: I'd rather have a social worker. If I didn't have a social worker, I would be going out and hanging out with the wrong people cause that's what I used to do, and my social worker has helped me with that, and I've stopped hanging about with the people I shouldn't be.*

Interestingly, five of the young people in the study subject to supervision requirements did not in any way consider themselves to be under any formal measure aside from having an annual review at the Children's Panel. Some of this may be to do with language and terminology involved. In most of the interviews conducted, the young people did not understand what being subject to a Home Supervision requirement entailed for them or the implications of being on such an order. For others, though, it was more to do with their lived experience of actual relationships with social workers and the absence of any other supports - many saw their social worker infrequently and did not feel that being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement had any impact on their lives. The referral grounds for the HSR plays a role in this. Those who volunteered the information that the Home Supervision requirement was for reasons connected with their wellbeing, care or protection were more likely to understand their Home Supervision than those who were subject to HSR for other reasons such as their non-attendance of school.

By the same token others were acutely aware of the impact that supervision had on their lives, reporting having to tell their stories repeatedly to different professionals. Furthermore, some felt that supervision meant a level of intrusion that impacted on their freedom of movement and sense of being able to control their affairs. For this minority of participants, they were resentful of having social work involvement in their lives and there was stigma attached to having a social worker:

> *Rossco: It's like .. I still want help but I dinnae - once I'm leaving the school n that ah dinnae want to still hay a social worker n that - I just want to get taken off the supervision then but while I'm in still in school I still want to hay supervision.*

For several of the young people, being under a Home Supervision requirement was a negative experience because they were unable to reside with the parent of their own choosing.

Stigma of Home Supervision

Only a few considered there to be stigma in being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. For some this had changed the longer that they had been subject to the requirement and therefore normalising their social work involvement:

> *John Paul: I suppose, aye, totally. Do you think there is a stigma about being under a supervision order?*
>
> *Talia: Well, before, I used to be embarrassed about everything but now - honestly, I couldn't care what anybody thinks now.*

Many had communicated to their friends and peers that they had a supervision requirement and that there was no stigma for them:

> *John Paul: Do your pals know that you are under a supervision order?*
>
> *Deanna: Aye.*
>
> *John Paul: And do you tell them?*
>
> *Deanna: Aye, cause you shouldn't be ashamed.*

For Talia being under Home Supervision Requirement brought with it an unwelcome invasion of her privacy and felt more acutely because of the number of people involved in their care and support:

> *John Paul: Tell me more about invading your privacy?*
>
> *Talia: I dinnae like folk ken'ing my business, I dinnae mind if its like people - I dinnae ken how to explain it - just I dinnae like people invading it. I hate people ken'ing my business.*
>
> *John Paul: Uh huh. If you were to count just now, how many people are there asking about your business in a typical week or month?*
>
> *Talia: Dozens of folk. I'd be here forever!*

Perceived Value of Supervision

For some, though, having a Home Supervision requirement on an ongoing basis was not necessarily positive particularly when they feel they do not require it anymore:

> *David: Yes. I was pretty gutted about it cause I have been out of trouble for like a year now and then they came and said you've done that, but I was gutted cause I had bide out of trouble for so lang - its nay been easy to bide out trouble for that long then they go awa' n pin something on me that wasn't even me.*

In a similar manner, Beverly expressed the same sentiment:

> *Beverly: Well I suppose in a way with the supervision order I had not so much privacy, like every single time I did the slightest thing everywhere I went, everybody knew, well say like my social worker, my key worker, my barnardo's, everybody knew what I was doing and who I was with, but now I'm not on a supervision order it's not really… you get more privacy… not so much people know so much about you. And ask so many questions and put so much pressure on you and just things like that.*

For some, the consequences of having a supervision requirement proved to be a source of relief compared to alternate options. For many this was being able to reside with the parent of their choice:

> *Kirk: Well the first time I went I thought I was going to get taken away. But then she says I'm on a supervision order and can stay with my dad I was happy*
>
> *John Paul: do you know anything about it? [Home Supervision]:*
>
> *Kirk: that I get to stay with my dad and I don't get taken away*

For Rossco the real issue of supervision was the restrictions it placed on who he could associate with and when:

> *Rossco: It's sort of been like, in a way it's like having an ASBO. There's things you can do, there's things you're not allowed to do, like if I was to want to go out with my friends and stay at my friend's house, it would have to be organised and my mum would have to know, right before it happened not the same night and things like that and it's just, I can't, I need to be wherever its possible if there's anything that happens I need to go to my dad's or my granddads house cause there's my mums work, she can't watch me after I 've been here so up to my granddads. And cause if I wasn't under a supervision order it wouldn't be so strict. And being on a supervision order, it means you're not classed as an adult like if you 16 you won't be classed as adult until you're off your supervision order. But if you're not on one by the time you turn 16 you're classed as a young adult.*

A few of the young people were conscious that being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement was making them more aware of the potential negative implications if they misbehaved. For them, Home Supervision was serving as a double-edged sword having benefits and consequences:

> *Barclay: It's got it's - it's helped in a way but - in other ways its not cause it means If I did something wrong and it was reported to police or anything like that, it's just something they can hold against me when I go to my next panel it could be something serious and I could end up put away in secure.*

For some, such as Geordi, the restrictions placed on their freedom was a source of frustration:

> *John Paul: What would you say the difference is for somebody who's on Home Supervision? Compared to like one of your pals who isn't? What's different for you?*
>
> *Geordi: They've got a normal life and get to see their Mum and Dad at the same time and all that, and like when I need to see my Mum it's got to be a supervised visit, like they don't need to do that or anything, so, it's kind of hard that I can't talk to her properly, without someone listening in.*

Out of all the participants interviewed, only one participant came off their supervision requirement in between interviews.

The sheer numbers of people involved in each of the young people's lives as a consequence of their having a Home Supervision Requirement was a recurring issue. Some of the young people appeared to be troubled by this. Others gave long lists of the different professionals involved in their lives. Many were confused about what they all did and the roles they played. One young person could count having five additional people in her life as a result of their being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.

Will spoke about how he actively rebelled against having a HSR and deliberately tried to manipulate social workers who were trying to assist him:

> *Will: Cause like social workers are fly, and because obviously, I ken everything now cause I have had them for so long and because I've made them fail me, I knew what to do. I know that sounds bad. But like, I dunno I just got pure fed up of social workers always coming and going – I basically just thought to myself, I'm just gonna keep doing what I'm doing and being stubborn. Cause that's just me, I'm stubborn when I want to be.*

There was a broad range of opinions about Home Supervision and whether it was making a difference to their educational experience. A few respondents indicated that it was helpful. This was to the extent that Jean-Luc having asked (but was told this was not possible) to have his supervision extended.

Markedly, several of the young people in the study indicated that they had not been consulted or had a knowledge of the content of any individual education, pathway plan or child's plan (an essential

requirement of their supervision process).   Many said they had never heard of such a thing, nor been involved particularly in drawing up any plans for their studies.   Fourteen out of the fifteen participants also responded that they did not recall their social worker asking them about their school or education, with social workers focused on their home life and care.

A few of the young people felt that Home Supervision was simply not working for them.   David commented that he felt lost in the processes of systems and the number of individuals involved in his life to the extent that Home Supervision was contributing to his stress and anxiety levels:

> David: 'Just like - involve the - like, me more, or - the kid more, 'cause it's like - they just focus on like - like all the social workers, and like all the people that are there. When I think, it should be more like, on the, most important people, family and - me.

Understanding of Home Supervision

Several of the young people in the study appeared not to understand the implications of Home Supervision as was the case for Will:

> John Paul: what does it mean to you?
>
> Will: Shrugs
>
> John Paul: Does it mean anything?
>
> Will: Supervision? I barely know what it even means

For Will being under a supervision requirement had not made much of an impact:

> John Paul: Yeah. How had it been under an order change your life?
>
> Will: it doesn't bother me. The social worker doesn't come down. Doesn't bother us. The way I see it is - I don't need a social worker. I only need my gran and granddad. And the college course. And that can dae ma life, man. I canny rely on my gran and granda' all my life but this could get me money.

Two young people articulated that they felt that they didn't fully understand what Home Supervision meant for them in practice or even what it was.   One young person describes how it made him feel awkward knowing he was subject to a Home Supervision Requirement, that he did not understand the implications, or what this term meant.

Discussion

In the following section, I discuss the findings relating to young people's experience of Home Supervision. The analysis in this chapter shows differing views from the research sample on the impact of Home

Supervision on their lives suggesting both positive and neutral repercussions. I start by exploring perceptions of impact on young people's lives.

The reason for such a contrast of opinion on the efficacy of supervision from young people's accounts appears to be a result of a combination of different factors.   Such factors include clashes of personality, resistance to intervention and acceptance of support, family attitudes to support and the previous experience of intervention being one that was not viewed as being positive (e.g. social work involvement in moves of placement or having to live with a parent they did not want to live with).   However, the variation could also be in part caused by the country-wide variation in levels of support for looked after at home young people across the country and a lack of regular engagement with social work staff as suggested by some out with the annual children's hearing meeting.   The fact that some considered being subject to HSR as a moderating factor in their behaviour is a demonstration of a potential beneficial impact on them of the process and support.

Five out of the fifteen young people did not consider themselves to be under any formal measure whatsoever, unable to see any difference in their lives because of being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.   The guidance for Home Supervision works to a 'no order principle' in that Children's Hearing should only make, vary or continue a supervision order if it would be better for the child than not doing so (Scottish Government, 2009b).   The description by a young person of one social worker having to attend to higher risk children as a reason for cancelling meetings suggests that service delivery and support is not needs led but based on the limited resources that are available.   In the literature review, time was perceived to be the biggest barrier to effective supervision (Murray et al., 2002) and the findings from this study, albeit it a relatively sample size, suggest this remains an issue.   The apparent lack of impact also raises fundamental questions about communication between support agencies and young people and the intent and purpose behind their Home Supervision.   At the very least, young people should be involved in the decisions about their care as enshrined in the principles of GIRFEC (Buchanan, 2009).

However, those young people that claimed not to be under formal measures also tended to be the most cynical and sceptical about the impact of the intervention on their lives and coincided with being the same group that distrusted their social workers the most.   This same group of respondents had some involvement in crime and very few wider friendship groups.   Through observations in my research journal, I noted that young people who fell into this category appeared to be the most well defended in demonstrating hostility to intervention in their lives and most reluctant to answering questions about their parents.

The issue of young people not understanding what is meant by Home Supervision raises an important issue that runs contrary to the principles of both policy and practice guidance that stipulate that it is the

responsibility of all those working with children and young people to communicate directly with them, and to take cognisance of their views in assessment and decision making (Scottish Government, 2009; Scottish Executive, 2004).

For some, Home Supervision support processes appeared to be a painful reminder of their difficult family circumstances and experiences.   Some said that they felt it limited their freedom and for others, the necessity for supervised visits was stressful as they were aware someone else was listening which caused resentment.   Such encounters proved difficult for them to manage and this highlights the need for sufficient social and emotional support being made available to children subject to Home Supervision.

The descriptions given by young people of their Home Supervision experience suggest that many perceived Home Supervision as a form of punishment.   Some felt that they were at risk of being taken away into residential care.   Several spoke about their awareness of the potential hazard of their parents incurring charges because of their consistent non-attendance at school.   Others objected to the number of notes that were being taken about them.   They felt that this was an infringement of their freedom and a reminder of their circumstances and differences from mainstream young people, suggesting the need for care on the part of professionals to explain the context, purpose and intent of supervision to young people in ways that they understand. Such matters also require being attuned to young people's emotional state and to be handled with empathy by professional workers.   Such requirements are core parts of the value base of effective relational practice (Connelly, Siebelt, et al., 2008; Dufur, Hoffmann, Braudt, Parcel, & Spence, 2015; Mundy-McPherson, Fouché, & Elliot, 2012; Noble & McGrath, 2012). The negative factors cited about Home Supervision such as privacy and the actual underlying reasons for the young person being subject to supervision serve as a further reminder of the strains that young people carry into their educational experience.

The normalisation of social work involvement reported by some participants and the apparent correlation between length of involvement and stigma faced by young people warrants further research.

In some of the young people's descriptions of their dealings with statutory support agencies, lack of resources appears to be an issue although the level of resource provision was out with the scope of this investigation.   However, examples such as Deanna, who regularly had meetings with her social worker cancelled, citing higher priority cases, suggests that this was the view of the social worker.   The other indication of this was those that had no contact with their social worker except annual engagement with the children's hearing system.   Such indications raise both policy and practice implications, concerning the messages and values that are communicated by professional staff but also raises issues around the efficacy of interventions that mean little contact or support for young people.

In this respect, the findings are similar to those of Whincup(2015) highlighting the pressures on social work practitioners as a result of the way that work is allocated -   'Practitioners and managers mentioned the role managers play in workload allocation and time management, with some practitioners commenting that as a consequence they were unable to engage in the amount or level of direct work they would have liked' (Whincup, 2015).

This aspect of resource requires further research.

Conclusion

This chapter raises important issues and concerns for policy and practice relating to Home Supervision. In doing so, it contributes to the first and third questions of this research study (Question one - What do the experiences of children and young people looked after at home tell us about their education and support needs?   Question three -   What can be done at a practice level to better support looked after at home children and young people to help them achieve their full educational potential?

Young people had mixed views of Home Supervision.   However, the analysis paints a picture of a confused policy and practice landscape that raises the need to question the very purpose of Home Supervision resulting from a lack of perceived impact on those in need.   As a consequence of this ambiguity, there is an urgent need to re-examine the suitability of Home Supervision as a support vehicle for vulnerable children and their families.

Chapter 8: Young People's Experience of School whilst subject to a HSR

Introduction

In this third findings chapter, I discuss the findings from the study that relate to young people's experiences of school and education. I start by presenting the results that relate to disruption to education because of challenges they face within their home and family life. Then I discuss the issues relating to transitions between various settings with emphasis on the experience of pupils transferring from primary to secondary school. Next, I present the findings on attainment and young people's views about their future potential as well as parental values and attitudes towards education and schooling. Finally, I discuss the various ways in which young people can be supported to build resilience, sustain school experience and build social capital.

Disruption to schooling experience

In this section, I discuss young people's experience of school and education disruption. All the young people interviewed in the study reported having some disruption to their schooling experience in one form or another for differing reasons. All participants in the study had been excluded from school at least once, with half having been excluded many times, all for reasons of their behaviour within the school. The reasons included: disrupting classes; refusing to co-operate with requests from teachers; assaulting fellow pupils; non-attendance; and setting off fire alarms.

Many described having multiple moves of school as highlighted by Jean-Luc:

> Jean-Luc: Well, primary school didn't go too well. Had three different primary schools as I got excluded from one and had to move house twice.

Several spoke of encountering difficulties with some of their teachers that more frequently resulted in their exclusion or missing classes. For a few, this often involved repeated instances of two or more exclusions. Many incidences of exclusion were described as occurring when the young person was experiencing anger that resulted in aggression. A smaller number were experiencing 'exclusion' from school almost weekly to the extent this was just a regular part of school life. As Romana described:

> John Paul: How many times have you been excluded from school?

> Romana: Like 17 times, no, like 23 times something the whole four years I have been here.

Difficulties with relationships in school were commonplace with frequent conflict and issues with class teachers as well as support staff resulting in exclusion.

> John Paul: Ok so what kind of stuff were you getting excluded for?

> *Romana: For walking about corridors, swearing at teachers, telling teachers to get lost and everything.*

Several reported instances of bullying. For example, Jacob described suffering intimidation and in trying to fit in with the person who was bullying him became involved in anti-social behaviour. Many of the young people describe the compound impacts of multiple moves of school and how these can intersect to create difficulties and anxieties. Jacob describes his exclusion from school at primary:

> *Jacob: I started at primary school from primary 1 to primary 4, then I had to move house. Then I was at primary 5 to primary 6 at one school then I got excluded from there, but I was moving house at the same time, so it kinda worked, but obviously, I shouldn't have got excluded, and then primary 7 still got excluded from that school as well.*
>
> *John Paul: What was going on for you then?*
>
> *Jacob: Bullying and all that. And I just like ... I got bullied. Then no one like noticed it. And then when I went to do something, it's all that.*

Jacob appears to link his behaviour occurring with the disruption of moving house. He identified this situation as being made more complicated because of being bullied and goes on to describe some of the consequences of being bullied, and subsequent feelings that this causes for him such as the struggle to join in and belong. This behaviour has consequences for him, as he was given another exclusion and as he phrased it, this set him 'back to square one', resulting in exclusion from school and him becoming involved in anti-social behaviour.

For young people in the throes of difficult home circumstances, having established roots and connections in previous schools, they then have to restart the process of forming friendships in their new area. The resulting stress and anxiety endured by young people, as well as the additional pressures of trying to fit in with new peer groups, was a recurrent theme through the interviews.

Across young people's experiences, negative relationships with teachers contributed to negative behaviour:

> *Romana: I dunno, taking the mickey out of the teacher, no listening to the teachers 'n' that when they were telling me to dae stuff.*

Finally, some reported experiencing disruption to their class attendance as a result of having to attend meetings that related to Home Supervision requirements. Examples of appointments included children's panel hearings or meeting their social worker. Deanna spoke about how she had regularly missed her third-year maths class to attend various meetings and had requested for meetings to be at another time, so her education was not disrupted and was informed this was not possible.

Attendance and Absence from School

In this section I discuss findings about young people's attendance and absence from school. Absence from school was a frequent occurrence for most of the young people in the study. Some were involved in truanting behaviour. For many, this had been the reason that they had been subject to a Home Supervision requirement in the first place. Some had been disengaged for considerable periods of time; others described having had brief but habitual periods of absence from school. For most of the young people in the study, their truanting from school occurred while at secondary rather than at primary, although there were one or two exceptions to this with two young people who struggled with problematic behaviour throughout their primary school experience.

Several cited bullying as being the reason for stopping attendance at school. For one young man who refused to attend school this resulted in his having a Home Supervision Requirement. Initially, the pupil refused to co-operate with staff attempts to help, but chose to return to school after panel involvement but still did not at the time disclose being a victim of bullying.

For some, non-attendance was a gradual pattern that built up over time. Non-attendance would start with occasional truanting that progressively increased. Many described their truancy as being down to reasons of not being motivated or wanting to go to school, and for some, it was as a response to stress caused by difficult situations occurring at home. One young person became visibly upset when discussing the removal of their siblings into residential care for example.

Parental involvement and being complicit in children's non-attendance was frequently raised by participants in the study and for some there was the suggestion that young people were repeating patterns of their parents' non-attendance and co-operation with school. Several disclosed that their parents were not punitive towards non-attendance at school.

Transition between settings

In this section, I discuss the findings of the study that relate to various types of transition between school settings that occurred for participants in the study and participants' views on their preferences for primary, secondary and mainstream schooling.

Most described having a better experience of primary school than secondary. Some of the young people struggled with the size of classes compared to the smaller ones they had at primary. Some were unable to articulate why it was different. One young man said:

> Theo: I don't know. I just didn't like it. I hated it. And then I started refusing to come.

The sheer size of secondary school for some was intimidating. For example, Theo who was in first year, remarked that he was always 'feeling lost and getting lost' and that 'school was too big'. Bethany commented that the transition felt all very confusing and the challenge was:

Bethany: Keeping up with all the teachers.

Most of the young people in the study preferred their primary schooling experience compared to their high school with problems intensifying for young people as they transition into secondary education, as Barclay describes:

Barclay: When I got to primary 5 man, I started getting a bit 'iffy' and then as soon as ah hit secondary man, I just went right downhill, went nuts.

Similarly, Beverly describes her pattern of non-attendance at school:

Beverly: Well, I started staying off school when ah was about - twelve / thirteen. It's went on since then. I didn't really go to school much like in first year either, or second year or third year.

Complexity and difference in routine may be part of the issue for particular groups of young people, as well as the challenge of integrating with new peer and social groups highlighting a potential need for individualised support:

Barclay: I dunno ... in primary… like - it was just different from secondary. Secondary - you just have to dae everythin' yourself, and like the teachers just sit at their desk and if you ask for help it takes forever, and then by that time the class is ended and like the classes were quite short - you had a lot of classes but in primary you didn't, you just had like three 'hings to dae a day - but in secondary it was like, seven classes a day.

For Jacob, in first year at secondary school, the physical size of the different environment was unsettling. He said that primary school was better.

Jacob: 'Cause you didn't have to move classes and you cannae get lost.

For those who struggled with truancy and attendance at school, most had issues commencing at the point of transition between primary and secondary. Many reported that their behaviour within school deteriorated at this stage too. Several in this group spoke of needing regular routines once they had been excluded or experienced a change of provision. A lack of routine proved to be unsettling for them. House moves and moves of school regularly were cited as being stressful as the resulting change of routine proved difficult. Most of these comments came from young people who had either just transitioned from primary school or were in a specialist form of education. As highlighted in Chapter 5, one of the other areas affected by moving school from primary to secondary was friendship groups and associations. Changing neighbourhood or school often meant having to establish new friends and peer

groups.   Many spoke about the struggle to form new friendships and 'fit in' again when changing school. Several talked about finding this process of transition from primary to secondary incredibly difficult.

Talia said that she felt trapped in secondary and that when she went into secondary she struggled to cope with the difference in environment and issues connected to her mental health:

> *Talia: I stayed off for ages, full class of people, cause like, anxiety and panic attacks and stuff.*

Others commented on how they felt that they did not get as much attention in their various subject classes and it was difficult for them to get help.

Overall, relationships with primary school teachers were felt to be better than those with secondary teachers for most of the young people in the study. Many felt that their teacher in primary understood them better compared to their teachers in high school.   A similar sentiment was echoed by young people in non-mainstream alternatives who valued having more teacher time and preferred the approaches adopted by their current teachers, compared to the experiences they had in their mainstream secondary school previously.

Non-Mainstream Provision

Several of the participants were receiving their education in an alternative specialist provision.   These were characterised by young people as being smaller in size physically and with fewer pupils.   Many preferred the more personal ambience. Several felt that they made better progress with their education in non-mainstream provision than they had previously.   In part, some felt this was due to more positive relationships with staff.   The other aspect that young people valued in non-mainstream provision, or pupil support bases, was the fact they had more time with their teachers, and therefore more attention and support as well as having fewer numbers of classmates to contend with:

> *Theo: I'm getting on a bit better, because I'm up in the school base.*
>
> *John Paul: Ah right, OK, so how's that working for you?*
>
> *Theo: It's better than being in class*
>
> *John Paul: What makes it better?*
>
> *Theo: Because there's nay as much people, and the teacher can actually hear fit your saying and nay need to deal with another 20 kids.*

However, Beverly was critical of the range of course options available to them and was aware that it was different from the range available in a mainstream setting:

> *Beverly: I wish in a way that there was, like, had more people in it and a better choice of things like education wise. Not the same stuff every day. Like maths, history and English, that's it.*

Additional support needs

Now, I turn attention to the findings of the study connected to young people's experiences of having additional support requirements. Many of the young people spoke about having a variety of support needs. These ranged from having been diagnosed as having dyslexia; ADHD (Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder) to attending CAMHS (Child and Adolescent Mental Health Services) for issues relating to anxiety and eating disorders. Various young people spoke of their challenges in dealing with concentration span at school. The comments of Romana are typical of those expressed by young people across the study.

> *Romana: I didn't like school at all. Just the fact you had tae get up early in the mornings, just to sit in a classroom for fifty minutes each period, dain nothing or pretend your dain something, just pure boring no able to talk or nuthin.*

In a similar manner, Rossco also described experiencing difficulties managing his behaviour at home and school because of his diagnosed condition of ADHD:

> *Rossco: I really have problems with concentration. And shouting out. Just speaking whilst everybody else is paying attention to things. Short tempered as well, it's been like that since primary 3. And when I got told I had ADHD I got put on medication, but after a while it seemed to have no effect, so they changed the doses, changed everything about and now I am on, I'm still on, meds.*

Others regularly struggled to contain their emotions, resulting in challenging behaviour. Barclay describes how situations escalate, leaving him feeling he has almost no power or ability to mitigate the situation developing into aggression:

> *Barclay: It's arguments and aw that - start shouting and that turns into fighting. I don't want it to happen, but it then it ends up happening.*

Such experiences were shared across many of those involved in the study.

> *Theo: Well this boy says I pushed him. But I never. And then he kept on pushing me. He pushed me three times in a row and I then like, kicked him softly, and he tried to punch me so I punched him.*

This pattern of frustration and dealing with the challenges of struggling to contain and regulate emotional states was a recurring theme that cropped up in many of the young people's stories (often in the context of it being a reason for their exclusion from school). For some, this was linked to their initial reason for being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.

Many of the young people spoke of the challenges of dealing with a limited concentration span and a preference for practical subjects and not to be sitting for any length of time.

> *Barclay: I like PS3, (Playstation games console), chocolates, fitba aw that an' then I don't like...homework, writing, sitting about. I cannae sit about man.*
>
> *John Paul: Do you ever not come to school in the mornings?*
>
> *Barclay: There has been days but em, guidance teacher understands.*
>
> *John Paul: Yeah sure. See when you walk out a class, is that you for the rest of the day or what?*
>
> *Barclay: No I will go home and come back, just if I'm really annoyed.*

This suggests a need for a personalised and flexible approach that capitalises on the interests and abilities for young people to build and sustain positive relationships.

Some of this aggressive emotional response appears linked to frustration in response to not wanting to do something and is potentially linked to issues of control:

> *Myles: Well, like if I don't agree with something or I don't want to do something, I will. I'll be honest, if I am forced to do it, I'll end up kicking off. I'll get frustrated, aggressive.*

For some of the young people, their attitude towards school was intrinsically so negative that they felt their behaviours were as a result of being compelled to attend school.

> *John Paul: OK. And why do you think your behaviour is the way it is at school?*
>
> *Romana: Because I don't want to be here.*

Attainment issues

In this section, I explore the findings of the study that relate to young people's views on attainment. Experiencing struggles with curricular pathways was the norm for interview participants. Half of the interview cohort described having issues with their reading and writing or numeracy. Amongst the boys in this cohort, 'hating' doing any tasks that involved English and Maths was commonplace. Some resented even having to write things down. David typified such issues towards literacy. He spoke in detail about issues that he had in mainstream school with literacy. This lack of confidence in writing and reading affected him to the extent he would not co-operate with homework, or write when sitting beside another pupil. Instead of admitting his difficulties, David would behave badly in the classroom, often resulting in his exclusion. For him, a change to specialist provision led to him getting help with his writing and his confidence to the extent that he had improved his written work and no longer felt any stigma in asking for assistance with coursework that he could not complete.

Many of the young people in the study were receiving education outwith the standard classes because they required additional support. Many described feeling more comfortable and preferring the smaller scale environment of the pupil support unit than being in their regular classes. Several participants raised the issue about the level of their coursework when on alternative curricular pathways. Two

believed that they were not being stretched enough in terms of being given appropriate work for their abilities and therefore were not being sufficiently challenged. They felt they were not able to achieve their full academic potential as a result. Another young girl spoke about the alternative work she was doing in pupil support and described it as being 'not proper work: It's rubbish'. When asked why, she said that it was because of the constant stream of different support teachers and changes to staff and routines. She felt that she wasn't being offered the same level of choice of subjects because she was in a non-mainstream school setting and that this limited selection of courses was preventing her achieving her full potential.

Part-time schooling was a common feature of young people's experience. For those experiencing behavioural difficulties at school, many were on a part-time schedule rather than a full timetable, particularly for those excluded for a significant period. For most, this had been for considerable periods of their Home Supervision requirement, with exclusion and part-time education coinciding with a key transition point such as a home move or during a change of school. All participants expressed that part-time schooling did not encourage them to engage with education. In fact, the opposite was true. Some explained that part-time schooling led to them feeling disconnected from school and normal routines and made subsequent reintegration to school stressful and anxiety inducing.

Several indicated that they felt it was difficult for them to get back into coping with the demands of a full timetable and needed more support to be able to achieve this. One young person felt that not participating in a full school day was a source of stigma and 'not a real education'.

Several of the young people from one of the local authorities in the study were receiving coaching and mentoring and were on an alternative curricular pathway. Without exception, all described this as both a more enjoyable and positive experience for them than their previous schooling because of the support they received in this programme. The main reason for this was that they felt they had more choice in their individual curricular pathway and that their selection was of interest to them and was also linked to their aspiration for a career. Examples of this included health and beauty, motor mechanics and construction. Having had some degree of choice in the pathway was important to them, and many felt that this was much more enjoyable than the course of study that they had been following in their mainstream school. I explore the relational aspects and the impact of receiving coaching and mentoring in depth in Chapter 9.

Parental value of education and levels of educational attainment

In this section, I discuss participants' views on their parents' levels of attainment. I asked all participants what, if anything, they knew about their parents educational experience. In coding the data, I was alert to any comments or indications of parental values in the ways in which young people described school or

education. Such comments were then correlated with self-reporting of young people's views of their educational experience to see if there was any distinct pattern within the data.

An indicator of this value is whether young people were encouraged to attend school by their parents. Many described how refusing to go to school would be a source of tension within the family home.

> *Geordi: I've got to come to school. Cause If I don't wake up and my dad comes home, and I'm still in my bed, he'll drag me out my bed and say what the **** are you doing and if I say lying in my bed, he'll go mad.*

Others talked about being able to stay off school without any consequences from their parents or carers, sometimes with groups of friends also truanting from school being allowed to spend time at their homes or at other friends' houses where their parents did not object to missing school. Many young people felt that their parents not encouraging them to go to school meant they were less likely to attend themselves as it was not something that was particularly important to them.

I asked what they knew about how well their parents did at school. Some didn't seem to know, and a few said it had never occurred to them to ask, or that it had never previously come up in conversation. However, for those that did, some appeared to make connections between their patterns of behaviour and those of their parents:

> *David: Well. My dad has been in jail twice - and he just used to be the same as me. Skive but and get into trouble. Because my dad's mum used to drop him off at one gate and he would walk out the other.*

However, interestingly he did not feel that this was influencing his behaviour:

> *John Paul: Does the fact that your dad skived school, does that make you skive school?*
>
> *David: No. I never knew my dad skived school until I started skiving.*

Others felt that siblings were following the same patterns of behaviour as their parents and themselves:

> *Talia: My mum went until 4th year and then didn't go. I dunno about my dad. I think he never went at all, and my wee sister goes all the time, but she's turning out like me.*
>
> *John Paul: She's turning out like you? Yeah? Why do you think that is?*
>
> *Talia: 'Cause my mum hasn't managed to catch on, but she's saying she feels sick or got a sore head.*
>
> *John Paul: Right. Do you think she's copying you?*
>
> *Talia: (nods)*
>
> *John Paul: Yeah? Does that annoy you?*
>
> *Talia: Yeah. I just don't want her to end up like me.*

The above response suggests some link between parents' behaviours and attitudes and actions to support education, and young people's progress or attendance at school. Furthermore, both examples in the interviews above give an indication of the stress that can contribute to and impact the mental health of children and young people who are living in stressful situations subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. For Beverly, this question revealed a complicated family history, including her mum being in care previously and siblings all following a pattern of non-attendance and having complex needs.

Beverly: Well, my mum was in a children's home when she was 13 at the time. And my brother Wesley he never went to school 'cause he got excluded, he went here. Caley was off quite a lot, and Blake went to a school with other people 'cause he had learning difficulties and stuff.

When Beverly was asked if her parents having not attended school influenced her own decision not to attend, she responded:

Beverly: I don't think so. Everyone kind of blames it on my mum and my history of not going to school but like I don't see why - I don't think you can blame it on that.

For Jacob, his father's values and influences and previous negative experience had been shared with him:

Jacob: Yeh. Cause he was telling us 'n' that, like, look at me, look at what's happened to me, where am I now? He's no done nothing with his life, he's not even had a job or nothing. He got papped {excluded} out of school when he was in primary 7 or something he said.

John Paul: So, do you think that school wasn't important to him?

Jacob: No. That's what he's saying but, he's like that, I probably feel the same way as he was when he was young. People hated school 'n' that. He's like that though when you get older, you realise, what the fuck have I done man, he's like that, I wish I could turn back time, man. Start thinking about ma own life.

The discussion about parents' abilities revealed that for one young person, their father's lack of literacy was a barrier to him helping with homework:

Myles: My Mum OK, my Dad not.

John Paul: How do you know?

Myles: Cos he's bad at reading, and then he disses me that I can't read.

John Paul: Tell me more about that. Like what kind of things do they say about school?

Myles: No like, it's just an' they always go on. And can you read that and he keeps going on about stuff that I can't do and then I say, why don't you read it then and he goes, 'no', so.

John Paul: Right, and do you think your mum did better at school?

Myles: Yeah

John Paul: and how do you know?

> *Myles: Cos like when we were doing our homework when like when we were off, she'd just help us, and she'd know what to do, and we'd get it right a lot.*

Most of the young people in the study said that their parents did not attend parents' nights and only engaged with the school when it was necessary, for example, a meeting concerning re-admission after an exclusion. Most of the young people that I spoke to felt that their parents did not necessarily have a positive experience of education themselves. Several of the young people disclosed that one or both of their parents either could not read, or had difficulty reading or doing arithmetic. Such instances of parental illiteracy correlated with the same young people indicating they also had literacy and numeracy issues. However, several spoke about how their parents' low attainment had strengthened their determination to attend school and do well. When asked how they knew this, young people could describe occasions when their parents asked them about school and gave them into trouble for not attending school. Being able to get a job was often cited as being a primary reason for their parents encouraging them to do well at school. But again, this was contradicted by young people's description of their attendance and experience showing a mismatch between belief and action.

Barclay spoke of how his parents had intervened to secure alternative education provision when school experience had become problematic:

> *Barclay: If I was bad at school they'd say every week, 'were you sent hame'? and I'd say aye. Like the first one they went aff their goan aff their nut then they just end up like saying to them - they phoned up school n said schools not working for him, you have to get something else. and they came up with that EVIP (alternate curricular pathway programme) thing*

Lack of Aspiration

One of the interesting aspects of the research interviews was the lack of aspiration that young people had for themselves regarding future potential. Whether it was about further education, training or work, most of the young people were not particularly able to see a positive future for themselves:

> *Talia: I'll no probably like getting work 'n' all that - cause from what I see now like it's hard to get a job and stuff. So, I wonder what it will be like in the future when there's no jobs.*

In many cases, young people could not even see that they had any talents or skills. Several reported that they did not consider themselves to be as intelligent as their peers. Furthermore, they felt that their parents weren't smart, so they weren't either. Several explained how their parents had told them they were not able to go to college or university as they were too stupid. When asked further about this they said they did not mind and agreed with the assessment. Several based this on their performance and attendance at school, as well as comments from teachers.

Despite young people talking about their struggles to attend school and the issues that they faced during school, many of the young people interviewed spoke about how much they required to succeed with schooling to secure a job or further education or training. For some, it appeared to be a route out of their present circumstances and a way of ensuring a different future for them:

> *Barclay: I personally don't want to be one of the folk that are sitting signing on ... I feel that if I stick in at school, go to college or something like that and get an okay job or something that I enjoy doing, then I won't have any problems with it.*

Often, though, this recognition of the need to succeed in education was in direct conflict with the levels of optimism that young people articulated when asked about their goals for the future. Many were entirely pessimistic, did not think they would succeed, or had much hope that they would achieve their aspirations for training, education or employment. None had any hopes or expectations of attending higher education. However, notable exceptions to this were the young people I spoke to who had direct support from coaches and mentors. By far, they were more optimistic about achieving some form of further education, training or employment than those without coaching or mentoring support. Some had apprenticeship interviews arranged as a result of their participation in the course and attributed this to having encouragement and support from their coach. I explore the importance of coaching and mentoring relationships in Chapter 9.

Discussion

The results of the study raise important insights into the lived experience of school for children subject to a Home Supervision Requirement that relate directly to the central research question about both their educational and support needs. The overall picture that is evident from young people's experience is that of a significantly disrupted schooling. For many, this was linked to changes when living in chaotic households occurring at the point of transition from primary to secondary school. Such interrupted education suggests a need for effective bridging support for families and of vulnerable children requiring support to maintain their schooling experience.

In identifying effective support measures for looked after children, Brewin (2011) stresses the need for individualised high-quality supports to be made available at the point of transitions including pro-active social work support. The analysis of young people's experiences suggests a necessity for greater levels of community-based participation opportunities for looked after children that recognise the importance of developing and maintaining friendships and social networks. Additionally, there needs to be timely support from mental health services, given the levels of self-reporting of stress and anxiety by participants in this research. The question of who is best placed to provide such bridging support is one that I will return to in Chapter 9, but here I simply acknowledge that some young people are reluctant to disclose their difficult circumstances to teaching and social work staff.

The levels of support needs for this group of young people appear to be particularly high and correlate with the range of issues experienced by looked after children presented in the review of the literature in Chapter 2.   Such complex needs create both policy and resource challenges to ensure that sufficient support and expertise is available within schools.   Although in legal terms in Scotland young people are classed as having additional support needs automatically when they are classed as being looked after at home (Riddell & Weedon, 2014), it is unclear if there is sufficient resource within schools to be able to help young people with such complex needs.   However, in Chapter 2 attention was paid to the frequent reports of cuts occurring across all domains of the public sector which have seen a reduction in specialist provision and support for learning staff.   Therefore, the potential for lack of choice and range of support remains of concern and a barrier to this group of young people achieving their potential.   Despite these challenges in terms of resources, young people valued their alternative provision. McGregor and Mills argue that 'the ways in which these schools construct their learning environments, teaching programmes and pedagogical relationships are conducive to encouraging such young people to re-engage with educational processes and thus should be supported as viable alternatives within schooling sectors' (McGregor & Mills, 2011, p. 843).

The study raises concerns about the stigma experienced by young people looked after at home and how this could be a contributing factor to them achieving their full education potential.   The issues raised by participants about their academic levels not being sufficiently challenging for on alternative curricular pathways is of concern, as is the experience of young people having part-time schooling.   There is some indication that assumptions about the potential of children are serving to limit the range of options for study for looked after children.   This itself would constitute a form of indirect discrimination.

The need for individual and tailored educational support for young people looked after at home is fundamental. Many young people interviewed for this study indicated that they struggled with larger class sizes and operating within large groups of pupils, a finding in line with the research literature (Meltzer, Lader, Corbin, Goodman, & Ford, 2003; Munn & Lloyd, 2005; Stein & Dumaret, 2011).   The need for smaller group settings and support for young people's mental health has direct implications for the policy of presumed mainstreaming within a Scottish context.   This assumes that most children are capable of functioning and residing in their normal, often large class sizes.   The policy context also relies on teachers having a degree of expertise in being able to support children with complex needs.   Such assumptions serve to fail some looked after children given the complex needs articulated in this study and their need for less busy environments with close knit supportive teacher relationships.   Such needs are potentially at odds with current education practice with the pattern of reduction of support staff, and closure of alternative provisions across schools.   The impact of both austerity on education, combined with the impact of mainstreaming policies on looked after children in Scotland, requires further research.

Support from trained teachers and support staff with the skills and abilities to engage and support young people with complex behaviours is recognised as being beneficial for those in this research study. Such nurturing support has been found to be critical in helping vulnerable children transition and progress onto further learning and opportunities (Elsley et al., 2009). Young people valued the quality of nurturing relationships that primary teachers and staff within alternative provision can have. This in part appears to be due to the smaller numbers and scale of the environment but also as a result of young people having more time with their teachers who relate to them and understand them. For the young people in this study, having someone who understands them and has insight into their circumstances and can help them with their school work is vital in supporting their attainment. Such personalised and individual attention has been found to be a significant factor in raising the achievement of children living in poverty (Sosu & Ellis, 2014). The issue of quality of relationships is one that I will return to in Chapter 9.

The attitudes and values of parents appear to play a significant role in the outcomes and engagement of the children in this study. This research suggests that, in part, children may be repeating their parents' behaviour and non-attendance at school in line with the findings of Van Breda (2014) who found that indications of the level of value placed towards education within the family home are apparent from the lack of interest expressed in their day at school. Other indicators are the lack of attendance and engagement with the school. Equally troubling are the indications that children are routinely not being obliged to attend school. Statements made about collusion by parents in their non-attendance at school demonstrating a need for further bridging support work with the family. For such interventions to be effective would require relevant support workers to have a positive relationship with the family and help them prioritise education (Cassen & Kingdon, 2007; Joseph Rowentree Foundation, 2007). Moreover, this would mean that parents are better equipped to help their children with homework and encourage their educational progress and benefit parents' literacy and numeracy and be advantageous given the low levels of education that young people indicate their parents have. Ultimately such intervention could help the entire family develop by increasing social capital, social mobility and employment prospects thus helping address and reduce any underlying issues of poverty and inequality (Dufur et al., 2013).

The absence of aspiration also manifests itself in a lack of any future goals or ambitions concerning further study or employment. Young people in this study do not identify themselves as successful learners or see themselves going on to further or higher education. Some of the participants in this study believe their (lack of) aspiration comes from their parents. Such transmission of messages from parents has been found to be a significant influence in children's self-concept to the extent that it may outweigh positive feedback from teachers on performance and abilities (Pesu, Viljaranta, & Aunola, 2016). The reporting of self-worth and career and job potential serves as an indication of low levels of

self-esteem.   A lack of associations could lead to isolation that has the potential to impact on individual levels of resilience which are already being depleted due to the challenging nature of home life.

As discussed in Chapter 3, in describing the characteristics of resilience, a resulting lack of self-esteem can contribute to a lack of resilience that may also be indicative of low levels of social capital.   For the young people in this study, such deficits of resilience, esteem and social capital are likely to be exacerbated by the issues described during multiple transitions.   This includes disruption to social networks and friendships caused by moving home and school.   This presents a challenge for young people in maintaining close supporting friendships and establishing new ones.   To address such deficits requires support and encouragement for young people's participation in wider social networks at a community level using informal education supports such as youth work and mentoring.   Such participation in community based activities and receiving informal education support from a trusted adult could provide important bonding and bridging opportunities that create capital and thus disrupt the narrow networks that looked after children are currently operating within (Spohrer, 2016).   Webster et al. (2004) note the adversarial nature of some sources of bonding and bridging capital which means they merely get by rather than get on.   Widening of networks exposes young people to different social influences (both positive and at times negative in terms of peer influence) but can also open access to information and awareness of employment, leisure and further education opportunities through sharing and transmission of knowledge between professional workers as well as peer sharing of information. In Chapter 9, I discuss the roles that effective mentoring and coaching can play in developing the resilience and social capital of young people by using informal education practice approaches.

The issue of educational support is fundamental.   Interestingly, the issue of quality of relationships that young people in this study have with their primary teachers, and staff within alternative provision is important. Having someone who understands them and their adverse circumstances and can help them with their school work appears to be vital in supporting their attainment and educational progress (MacFarlane & Woolfson, 2013).   This is important in developing trust, necessary for the development of bonding and bridging capital.

The distinct lack of optimism about future direction articulated by participants in this study resonates with similar findings from other studies exploring career trajectories and aspirations of looked after children.   As discussed in Chapter 2, positive self-image and esteem come from supportive social networks, having supportive links with family members. Crucial to developing positive esteem and life chances is the point made by Stein who emphasises the need for active support for children and young people from a caring adult (Stein, 2006). This is fundamental.   The issue of caring supportive relationships that have depth and meaning to young support young people is one that I will return to in Chapter 9.

Our life experience drives our responses to present situations. For looked after at home young people, the evidence tells us this experience has often been difficult and thus self-limiting. Markus (1986) suggests that general carriers of motive define current behaviours: self-efficacy; notions of ability and attributes that subsequently influences the activities and priorities. Concepts of ability and potential stem from previous experience, self-aspirations, family influences and peers. Having more positive influences and encouragement influences motivation and creates resilience. Bourdieu (1990) describes the interplay between individual and collective constructions of the social world and individual choice stressing the importance of personal networks and the accrual of capital through social practice developed through groups and associations.

The findings of this research suggest young people have very narrow aspirations based on perceptions of themselves that stem from narrow peer groups operating in limited geographical boundaries e.g. small neighbourhoods, what Van Breda (2010) terms as thinly defined possible selves (Van Breda & Breda, 2010). The limitations of this thinking impacts on future potential by influencing current behaviours and choices. There is evidence of thinly developed senses of selves among the young people's accounts. All struggled when asked to conceptualise their view of their future. Having a job or university place appeared entirely unrealistic based on their experiences of family and friends and the messages they receive daily. This lack of personal growth is also likely to be exacerbated by their very limited and tight geographical networks and smaller friendship groups. So, how can we alter and disrupt such thinking? One way would be to strengthen parental involvement in their children's education through discussing peer influences, welfare, and school experience (Dufur et al., 2015). Van Breda (2010) gives examples of a group work programme which helps young people determine their potential future selves and focuses on the steps that are needed to be taken in the present to achieve these. The need for this type of intervention serves as an additional argument for professional support to assist with the development of widening networks and help with the development of bridging capital. I discuss the role of mentors and coaches in disrupting the concepts of self and aspiration in the next chapter. As discussed in the literature review, stigma and the low expectations of others can also influence the levels of resilience and levels of aspiration of young people.

Finally, the levels of exclusion from school described in this study present concern as do the behaviours of young people within the school. Young people's anger and aggression are often as a result of adverse family circumstances, problems with attachment or previous experience of trauma (Commodari, 2013; Furnivall et al., 2012; Geddes, 2005; Lee, 2013; Nabeel & Zafar, 2012; Stein, 2005). Young people in the cohort spoke of struggling with multiple changes. The additional stress of having new classmates and teaching staff likely exacerbates such emotional difficulties also contributing to challenging behaviours within the class. Given this, there is a need to examine teaching staff's knowledge and skills and abilities to deal with complex behavioural issues. Furthermore, the growing expectation of supporting

children with difficulties within their school rather than specialist provision may have training implications for staff to be able to manage such behaviour. Practically, this shows the need for good communication and a positive relationship between teachers and pupils working with looked after children, and highlights a need for professional development for teaching staff in understanding the issues of looked after children and the causes of their behaviour (Lally, 2012). The levels of exclusion appear high and at odds with the intent of the national guidance issued by Scottish Government (2009) on reducing the number of exclusions and absences of looked after children.

Conclusion

This chapter provides valuable insights into the schooling experience of children subject to a Home Supervision Requirement. The subsequent analysis helps address the research aim of the study. The analysis suggests a range of different factors are impacting on attainment and continuity of school experience. The interplay between resilience (concepts of self), social capital (bonding and bridging) and the meaningful involvement of adults that help or hinder progress. Young people's concept of self-identity and the correlation with the future aspiration requires further research, but there is sufficient evidence of the need for support work with vulnerable children to widen social networks, friendship groups and raise ambition and then increase educational outcomes for children looked after at home.

Transition points can be challenging and require supports to maintain stability and continuity of schooling experience. Additionally, the combination of different factors of difficult home life circumstances, parents' attainment and personal/parental value of education all play a role in contributing to poor educational outcomes for looked after at home children and young people.

Practitioners should be encouraged to work with parents in the context of the whole family to work together to help children to build confidence, resilience and self-esteem and value their education pathways and to ensure adequate resource, skills and abilities on the part of professional staff to do this well. This cocktail of support should also include alternative education settings which are important for young people who struggle in larger or busier settings.

In the following chapter, I present the findings of the study concerned with young people's formal and informal supporting relationships.

Chapter 9: Young People's Views of Formal And Informal Supporting Relationships

Introduction

In this final findings chapter, I explore young people's views on their relationships with teachers, social workers and, for some of the sample, coaches and mentors that are involved in their care and support. I discuss issues of trust and professional relationships and examine the findings that relate to young people's experiences and views on continuity of relationships. I conclude that the young people in this study were more likely to trust coaches and teachers than social workers. A lack of continuity of professional relationship hampers their development and has implications for both policy and practice.

Teacher relationships

In this section, I explore young people's views of their relationships with teachers, both in primary, and secondary schools, and in alternative provision. This is an important area for examination as I wanted to see the role such relationships play in supporting young people's educational experience and then understand how these compared with other types of helping relationships.

Young people reported having a range of relationships with teachers, although nearly all could recall one individual teacher who had a particularly strong influence on them that they connected with and held in high regard. Several indicated that they currently felt that had had positive, happy experiences with their teachers and others markedly less so. For some, their perceptions of teaching staff were connected to the situational task and more often the way they were asked, as well as what was being asked of them.

Here Romana talks about her approach to managing her behaviour within class:

> *Romana: Well, if they're annoying me I will tell them. If I dinnae like what I'm doing I'll tell em. If I've done it before and the make me dae it, I'll tell em. And if a teacher annoys me I just walk out.*

Interestingly, for her, this is a coping mechanism, which she feels is prudent as the alternative would be worse:

> *Romana: No, it's like. If I dinnae walk out the class there and then, I get aggressive - and I think it's better to dae the sensible thing and just walk out.*

In some cases, teachers were perceived to be a source of support, even when young people conflicted with staff within the school:

> *Theo: But at primary school, my head teacher was quiet, I was quite close with my head teacher, and she'd try to help me as much as she could 'n' that, but I was still getting excluded mostly every week.*

David described getting on well with some of his teachers although he indicated that he was holding back elements of himself and his life from them. When asked how he knew his teachers understood him, he replied:

> *David: like, cause they, I don't know how to explain it, but they just get me - they ken - well they dinnae like 100% get me - like ken how I'm feeling 'n' that but, like they ken pretty much how I'm feeling but nay as much as I do obviously.*

However, he was equally adamant that some of his teachers disliked him:

> *John Paul: So, did you get a sense that teachers didn't like you?*
>
> *David: Aye*
>
> *John Paul: Really? How come? How would you know that?*
>
> *David: You can just tell when somebody doesn't like you.*

Others, like Bethany, felt that they were not listened to or were spoken down to by their teachers:

> *John Paul: So, can you tell me about why you didn't go to your other school?*
>
> *Bethany: Like it was the teachers didn't really listen, they didn't understand, and they were, I dunno, just like spoke to you like you were nothing.*

Most of the young people spoke of preferring (and being able to) speak to one teacher over others if they had a particular issue:

> *John Paul: And what makes you think you can trust those teachers rather than other teachers?*
>
> *Deanna: I dunno. Cause they are really understanding and just really nice.*

Something that came up in many of the interviews was that the young people's perceptions of the demeanour of their class teacher played a role in whether the young person felt that they connected with that individual and whether they would accept their authority and be settled into the class environment or situation. Some teachers were described as unapproachable, moody and unpredictable, meaning that the young people were less likely to ask for their help in class. Most though could identify one teacher or former teacher that they really connected with:

> *Theo: I like Miss Vasquez my PE teacher, I like em Miss Ripley, she's really really nice.*
>
> *John Paul: Why are they different than the rest?*
>
> *Theo: I dunno. Cause they will listen more and they like understand and they won't just treat all the kids the same.*
>
> *John Paul: Yeah that makes sense. Do you get a sense that they understand how you work?*
>
> *Theo: Yeah and she really wants me to do well.*

John Paul: OK, brilliant. How do you know that they like you? I know that's a ridiculous question but how do you know?

Theo: Cause they seem like happy and cheery and I dunno I always get good responses and everything from them. She makes me want to be better.

In other cases, young people felt that some of their reactions and reasons for non-attendance or their overall behaviour within school occurred as a result of them not being listened to or valued by teaching staff that were not appreciative of their circumstances at home.   Young people demonstrated an ability to recognise, identify and reflect on key moments during their school experience when a particular teacher tried to support or assist them.   This insight and self-awareness was demonstrated throughout many of the interviews.   It appeared that the passage of time meant that they could reflect more on their behaviour and how it impacted on their relationship with their teachers:

John Paul: See in terms of primary and primary school - where were you with your primary school teachers did you get on with them?

David: Yeah most of the time - some of them - though I was still a little shit to them.

John Paul: Yeah?

David: I still liked them though. It's just I was a little shit, so they didn't like you.

For some young people, they would speak of setting out to irritate or cause disruption with individual teachers and had a full awareness of their behaviours and likely reactions from teaching staff. Young people talked about not responding well to behaviour of teachers that they interpreted as being angry, shouting or aggressive.   They felt that the characteristics of a good teacher were one who would listen to them, be flexible, and understanding.   Many felt that when they moved to a school that the change of teachers' approaches in their new schools was a big help to them, allowing them to do better within the school environment than they had previously.

What came across in young people's descriptions of their schooling experience was a deep-rooted sense of frustration manifested in various forms when talking about sensitive issues in school or transition points when moving house or school.   I observed that young people often became awkward or nervous, or fidgety, or spoke almost in anger at certain points.   This frustration also came across regarding their perceptions of how they were perceived and treated by others.   For some, they believed there was a lack of understanding by social workers and teaching staff involved in their care or education.   Many felt they were unfairly being picked on:

Jean-Luc: Teachers - just teachers should be able to - understand people more because like when I went to school, they made me out to be the pure worst one there, when I know I wasn't. I was sitting in classes, and there were boys and that that were just as bad as me that were getting away with it.

Young people were much more likely to have trusting relationships with their teachers than their social workers. Many could point to a teacher with whom they had a positive relationship and who had been a significant influence on their lives, from either primary or secondary or their alternative care setting. Young people also said they appreciated when teachers paid attention to how they were feeling on a given day, and were more flexible when they were struggling with either home life or behaviour in school and engaged with them in a supporting and encouraging manner. Such regard was given an important reason as to why they would prefer, and were more likely to trust their teachers. All of the young people whose education was in non-mainstream settings indicated they preferred their current teachers compared to their teachers they had in mainstream secondary school. Several indicated this was because they felt that they were understood better, that teachers in non-mainstream settings had more time for them and were more approachable. This more empathic approach felt more like their experience at primary school.

Social worker relationships

Most of the young people did not have particularly positive relationships with their social workers. Perceptions of benefits of having a social worker were mixed:

> *Will: It isn't the fact I don't trust them. It's just they don't dae enough for you. They think they're helping you when they're no.*

Some felt strongly that that having social work involvement in their lives constituted a breach of their privacy and were resentful of the intervention:

> *Romana: I've not had Home Supervision in my life. They tried to dae it but I told them to get to … I'm no spending time wi ma Ma and ma Da wi all you's sitting watch us. Get tae!*

Other young people in the study were resistant to co-operating or be seen to be co-operating with their social worker. For some, the difference in approach and personal connection between social worker and young person when there is a transition between social workers can cause issues:

> *Bethany: It was just like - I liked her to start with. I thought she was real, really nice but when she says that she didn't like my mum, cause I'm on a supervision order, and I wasn't going to school my mum phoned her because the social worker I had before that it was at St Andrews [school], she used to come and take me to school if I refused to go, and there would be days where she'd come and take me to school, and then the one that I have got now, she's like oh well, what are you expecting me to do about it, I can't take her to school and it's her own responsibility. It is my own responsibility, I dunno… put me off of her the things that she said and she like promised she will come and see me and then she's like there's other kids in danger and they're more important.*

For others, there was a low opinion and apparent lack of connection between young person and social worker:

> *John Paul: Anything else you want to tell me about social workers?*
>
> *Talia: They annoy me. I wish they didn't exist. They make things ten times worse*
>
> *John Paul: Uh huh. Yeah. Why do you think that is?*
>
> *Talia: Because they don't understand*
>
> *John Paul: How do you know?*
>
> *Talia: Because she's so dippy. Honestly. She just is.*
>
> *John Paul: Would a change of social worker help you?*
>
> *Talia: No. They'll just annoy n'all. I'm better off nay having a social worker cause it makes it worse.*

And some felt that their engagement with their social worker lacked purpose:

> *Romana: I don't see the point of social workers either. - (laughing) they just tell you what to do and stuff and get you to colour in. He takes me up to the guidance rooms and sits and gives me stuff to draw or colour in or that. I don't see the point.*

Young people were forthright about their expectations of how they wanted to be treated by professionals dealing with them.   They wanted to be listened to, not judged and for professionals to use appropriate body language that indicated that they were valuing and listening and taking on board their views:

> *Myles: Because they don't even look you in the face. I understand how I dinnae look them in the face, cause I'm proper nervous.*

In relation to their perceptions of trust between friends, family, social workers and teachers, there were several attributes in the individual that young people identified as being important in fostering a positive relationship.   These included being warm, friendly, engaging and approachable.

Conversely, a recurring theme was young people indicating that they did not feel listened to by adults. This serves to stress the need for professionals to pay attention to their communication approach when working with children and young people.   Also, the physical environment where support takes place was an issue that was raised by several participants.   In this quote, Beverly speaks about the difference that a comfortable environment can make when liaising with their social worker:

> *Beverly: Em, like when the social worker comes your just like sitting in the house and you need to speak to her, it's just like, I dunno, I don't like it but when your there (Greenacres Centre, Pupil Support Base) there's heaps of cosy chairs and there's, like, it's nice, like, surroundings.*

This shows the need for professionals to consider how they can make the environment friendlier and more conducive to supporting vulnerable learners, particularly when dealing with sensitive issues.

Continuity of professional relationships

One of the most striking findings that emerged across the study was the lack of continuity that young people appeared to have with the main professionals in their lives who were offering support, particularly with social work staff.   David describes the pattern of social work staff involvement that he experienced:

> *John Paul: OK, and how many social workers have you had between primary four and now?*
>
> *David: I couldn't tell ye. Like over…. over five anyway.*
>
> *John Paul: Really? Yeah? How come you have had so many?*
>
> *David: Well, it's just with them leaving 'n' that, and I got moved up to the youth justice team or summit like that. It's like when your offending 'n' that, and you get a different social worker like higher up because your offending, and then I got moved back down again, so I changed social workers three times for that, and other times it's just been cause they have left or something.*

David goes on to explain the devastating impact that changes of professional relationship can have:

> *David: Well, it depends if I like them or nay. Like one of my social workers, I really got on with, then he moved to Australia, and I was pretty gutted about that, and then after that, I didn't really like my social workers.*
>
> *John Paul: Ah, right, OK. That makes sense. What about your social worker just now, are you honest with her just now?*
>
> *David: Well, they are alright but the ein I have got just now is - disnae even come and speak to me or anything - I dinnae really hae a relationship wi' her really - like my other social workers they came and see me all the time I had a relationship with them and I could speak to them but this ein it's just like - she just comes now and again and then just asks me questions and I dinnae really like it to be honest, cause she's like there all the time, so, she's just pretty much a strange one.*

Another, Beverly, described what happens:

> *Beverly: I've got to repeat myself all the time. Just like, who I am. All the stuff about school. All the stuff about at home. I did this. I did that… got to tell them about nine different times.*

For some young people, lack of frequency of contact with their social worker appeared to be a barrier in forming a meaningful relationship with the young people:

> *John Paul: And is the social worker scary or what?*

> *Bethany: Not really. I hardly ever see her because she always makes up excuses that, like, there's other kids in danger and she should be with them.*
>
> *John Paul: How does that make you feel?*
>
> *Bethany: Em, like, I don't know really. Like I'm missing out - I don't know how to explain it.*

One of the areas of concern that the study validated, and a major source of frustration for young people, was the need to retell their story multiple times to different professionals due to changes in their allocated social worker. Many indicated they disliked having to explain very personal information to various social workers and other forms of support as this made them feel uncomfortable and at times, embarrassed.

For others, the difference in personality and approach can make the relationship problematic, with young people citing clashes with their replacement social worker. In some cases, this may have been a reaction to a change of person and the need to restart the relationship building process. Others felt that their allocated workers were not friendly and approachable and were hostile to them. Young people noted and appreciated when professionals went to efforts to maintain contact, for example, phoning them after a school move to see how they were getting on. Several young people in the study revealed that they did not confide in anyone honestly about their experiences that they were having or any issues or problems that they encountered in their lives and that this was for reasons of lack of trust in their friends, teachers and professionals.

The constant churn in relationships served to diminish expectations from young people. With Deanna assuming that her next allocated social worker will leave again:

> *John Paul: You got a new social worker a couple of weeks ago - do you think you're going to get on?*
>
> *Deanna: Until she leaves me, probably*

Deanna powerfully describes the impacts that changing social worker had on them, assuming that the changes of social worker are because of her:

> *Deanna: it must be me, my fault, must be something I am doing to make them leave all the time.*

Coaching and mentoring relationships

Half of the participants interviewed for the study were participating in an alternative curricular pathway programme supported by coaches who spent all day with the young people in their various classes giving advice and support. From the interviews conducted, all the participants with coaches valued the coaching support provided for them. Many spoke of the importance that they attached to the

relationship that they had with their coaches. The young people interviewed considered this to be a different type of relationship than they had experienced with teachers or social workers previously:

> *John Paul: What makes this different, then?*
>
> *Geordi: Just that college is a lot better than school. Cause you get treated better by the coaches.*

The importance of the relationship and the supportive climate set by their coaches was an important theme frequently raised by young people in receipt of coaching support:

> *Myles: They [coaches] help take my mind off everything, doing this, the now. I'm no thinking about going out 'n' that getting drunk 'n' that shite, but in here man, I just look forward to it. I wanna do well, and my pals are here 'n' that. Deckard [coach] is brand new, and Sebastian [coach] is brand new 'n' that. They are all down to earth 'n' that, and you get a laugh 'n' that in here but they still help you work.*

I asked Kirk to explain what he considered to be different about the relationship he had with his coaches compared to other helping relationships that he was involved with previously:

> *Kirk: They're more down to earth with you, they get a laugh with you, you get a carry-on, and they help you if you need them or anything. They tell you what to do more clear than teachers 'n' that. It's like, you just get a laugh with them. They dinnae make you feel stupid or look down on you.*

Being treated in an adult way by their coaches was also cited as a frequent reason for valuing the relationship and support of coaches:

> *Myles: I just didnae like the teachers. They just spoke to you as if you …were… just - I … don't know - like you weren't worth their time or anything. And in here, Khan[coach] just treats you like normal - the way you should be treated.*

Constructive feedback from the coaches was important to the young people who appreciated their honestly and valued the feedback:

> *Barclay: I think it's just the way they tell you, how they tell you, how they think about you and how your dain 'n' that. Cause if your no dain good, they just tell you straight. Listen, you need to get your act together or your no coming back here next year 'n' that.*

For Geordi, this helped with affirming positive behaviour:

> *Geordi: Aye, cause I feel like I'm getting noticed 'n' that for doing good things instead of doing all that shite 'n' getting the jail 'n' that.*

Kirk believed the combination of being on an alternative curricular pathway and the coaching support he was receiving helped him develop and maintain progress, compared to being at school with his teachers:

Kirk: I look back at school: my attendance was shocking, my time keeping, behaviour, dunno man. Look at mine now a year later man, my time keeping is brilliant, my attendance is brilliant, I'm no late or nothing. Behaviour is good. No been sent hame or suspended or anything.

From the perspective of the young people a core ingredient of the coaching relationship appears to be a relationship based on reciprocity and respect for the coaches based on a clear understanding of the two-way boundaries in place:

Kirk: Ah just like Chekov 'n' Sulu 'n' that - they don't tell you – 'n' boss you about 'n' that. If your good wi them, they'll be good with you.

John Paul: What difference does that make? Like why should that make a difference?

Kirk: Means you have got a lot more respect for them. Cause they have got respect for you. And it's real and honest.

Striking a balance - supporting the young people but doing so in a friendly manner while encouraging them to make progress - was also noted as being of value:

Will: Juan [coach] is just there to make sure we stay on the course, that's all he does – he's just there to try get us an apprenticeship at the end. They just talk different, act different from teachers, just different people.

John Paul: Do you like them better?

Will: Aye.

John Paul: tell me more – why is that?

Will: Just 'cause they are pure different. Just different people in general. Don't always moan at you. Just let you do your own thing.

All the interviewees who participated in the pathway with coaches said that they trusted their coaches and regularly spoke to them about problems they were facing within their educational programme or in their lives. Young people indicated that those who had coaches were more likely to speak to them about issues or problems than any other profession involved in their Home Supervision support or care. They were also more likely than those without coaches to talk about challenges they were facing and said they trusted their coaches more so than their social workers.

Young people described this support as being across a broad range of issues they were experiencing. Examples included helping them manage their behaviour and acting as a bridge between home life and education life and often communicating with parents/carers. Examples of this contact included speaking to parents if young people had been unwell during their school day (with young people describing being challenged to ensure that the cause of the illness wasn't simply an avoidance of school/college) or if they did not arrive at school. This intervention was viewed positively by the young

people in the sense that they found it supportive. Young people gave examples of their coaches speaking to their parents to give positive progress updates about improvements in behaviour, or time keeping and attitude in class, or making progress in their course. Next, I discuss the findings relating to coaching and mentoring in detail.

Discussion

Formal Professional Relationships (Teacher and Social Work Relationships)

In this section, I focus on the findings from the study that relate to young people's views of formal supporting relationships such as those of teacher and social worker. The first area of the study that requires further exploration is the issue of stability of the professional relationships in the lives of young people subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.

One of the key findings is the issue of continuity of relationships. Throughout the accounts of young people's experience was the lack of continuity of professional relationships in their lives and the emotional impact and subsequent lack of trust this caused for them. Many young people recounted stories of having multiple changes of social worker and other support workers during their periods of Home Supervision.

For some of the young people having a constant churn of professionals involved in their lives could be a factor in hampering efforts to develop resilience. Such frequency of changing relationships can also impact on their confidence, self-esteem and trust as well as have wider effects on their emotional health and wellbeing and therefore have a resulting impact on levels of social capital (Allan & Catts, 2014). Such a lack of trust and hope is common in children whose emotional needs have not been met, confidence in the ability of others to meet their emotional needs is often lacking (Gaskell, 2010).

Furthermore, this lack of consistency can serve to undermine and potentially be damaging rather than helping through the actual process of Home Supervision. This internalising of the ending of the relationship with the social worker by the young person is consistent with feelings and responses common in looked after children Gaskell (2010) and subsequent impacts on the ability to form meaningful and trusting relationships with other professionals. Such emotional responses could be an indicator of having low self-esteem and resilience. One of the desired outcomes of decision-making about supporting children is attempting to preserve the continuity of family relationships and connections (DePanfilis, 2006). Most of the young people interviewed did not have continuity of professional relationships and the implications for both policy and practice are discussed in Chapter 10.

Young people are clearly indicating that they need to feel valued, listened to and be supported by the range of professionals in their lives serving to remind of the need for processes and systems to take account of the views of children. Given the levels of home instability experienced by the young people

in this research cohort, there is a possible professional support issue for professional staff in engaging with vulnerable children and learners that consider their social and emotional needs.

Teachers, and other professional staff involved in care and support of vulnerable children, need to be able to cope with a broad range of challenging behaviours. Given the current policy context of presumed mainstreaming and a reduction in specialist teaching staff with these skills, there is a need for further scrutiny of the policy context to see if young people are adequately supported.

The findings connected to young people's regard for teachers in non-mainstream settings are likely attributable to the fact that staff are working with smaller numbers of pupils and therefore more able to support them. Young people clearly value teachers having time to build and sustain positive relationships with them. What is not clear from the study is the extent to which the underpinning ethos of alternative provision plays a role in young people responding to this support and is an area for future research.

Informal Education Relationships (Coaching and Mentoring Support)

In this section, I explore and then discuss the findings of the study that relate to sub-set of the young people in this study who were receiving coaching and mentoring support an on alternative curricular pathway programme. The discussion is underpinned by the theoretical model presented in Chapter 3. I explore the benefits that mentoring and coaching can make to supporting young people's educational attainment in the context of adverse home and family circumstances.

This study, akin to previous research by Stein (2006), shows the value young people attach to informal approaches and coaching support. The other commonality between this and studies elsewhere is the central nature of the relationship being one that is non-judgemental. The character of the support relationship provided by the coaches described throughout the interviews aligns with the descriptions of coaching and mentoring processes discussed in the literature review. Coaches are perceived by the young people as being positive role models to them. Consequently, there was evidence to suggest young people were reflecting on their situations and able to understand the consequences of behaviours and actions, making positive changes in their lives and therefore being recipients of a coaching process. In this respect, as per the literature review, for the purposes of this discussion, the boundary between coaching and mentoring processes are to a large extent, intertwined. What is common is that young people are receiving informal education support from their coaches to encourage their participation and progress. Other functions described throughout the young people's experiences on the alternative education programme included: mediation, advocacy, encouragement and negotiating access to further support services, when required.

Throughout the interviews, young people articulated having high levels of trust in their coaches compared to teachers or social workers. Part of the reason for this higher level of confidence and trust

with their coaches is likely to be as a result of the non-statutory nature of the intervention and the informal nature of the relationship as well as frequency of contact which helps with the development of a meaningful relationship. The young people in this study seem to perceive their relationships with their coaches as being one that has greater equity than that of their social workers. The non-statutory nature of their coaching relationships means that there is less perceived authority and therefore greater equality. Jeffs and Smith (2008) also state that such characteristics of a power relationship are defining features of informal education relationships. The examples in the study of young people going on to study for apprenticeships shows the transformational nature of the informal education relationship in widening access to opportunities and networks.

This articulation of confidence and trust in their coaches suggests the presence of social capital given the prominence of trust as an indicator of social capital identified in Chapter 3. In considering the core characteristics of this relationship, it is necessary first to understand the informal yet purposive nature of this relationship and the ensuing higher levels of trust that exist within informal education ties. Informal learning relationships can contribute in helping to redress the lack of control and power previously experienced by young people in relationships (Erickson et al., 2009; Hamilton & Hamilton, 2010; Philip & Hendry, 2000).

The coaches were working with the young people to help bridge the previously familiar world of school and their new learning environment. This bridging work involved supporting young people through various transitions. Having a coach as a constant and familiar source of support can help ameliorate adverse effects that change can bring. The findings of the study suggest that an emphasis on building effective and trusting relationships with young people through mentoring and coaching increases the chances of young people being able to sustain their educational experience during difficult transitions.

The research findings suggest that the young people accepted the authority of the coaches more so than they did with teachers. I had many opportunities to witness at first hand the various interactions between pupils and their coaches and to see their authority and rapport in practice. I recorded this series of interactions in my research fieldwork diary. In my journal, I noted that the conversational tone of the coaches was always informal and appeared to promote caring relationships with the young people. The tone was encouraging and supportive and seemed based on mutual respect. Young people spoke of their willingness to take advice and guidance from their coaches when they would not take this advice or support previously from their parents, teachers or social worker.

Between coach and young person, there was a distinct professional boundary that was perceptible to young people with the coaches keeping young people's behaviour in check through an appropriate challenge. I observed coaches doing this in a way that encouraged young people to reflect on what was happening and did not involve coaches raising their voice. I noted a special rapport that existed

between both parties. I watched the coaches encouraging young people to participate, deal with anxieties and issues that the young people had and liaising with family members when young people did not attend school/college. This correlates with the climate setting approaches used by informal education to ensure equity of power relationship and creating the conditions of trust between worker and young person explaining young people's receptiveness to such approaches (Coburn, 2011; Morgan, 2013).   The rapport that the young people had with their coaches was also beneficial in that it facilitated my introduction to the young people and made it easier for me to build a connection and rapport with them.   Although, at times, the coaches acted to maintain the discipline of the individual or the group, this was undertaken in an informal way, often with exchanges of humour.

For the young people in this study, their coaches provided continuity and stability of the relationship. This continuity helps them bridge their often-complicated home life and their day to day schooling experience.   In this regard they are fulfilling the role of supportive caring adult role advocated by Stein (2006).   Having their coaches present throughout their school day helped them deal with their situational contexts and manage the adversity of their home environment.

The coaches were employed from an informal education background such as youth work, and many had previous experience of working in youth work settings or qualifications in informal education such as community education (Personal Communication, 2013).   Underpinning the coaches' informal learning approach was an emphasis on relational practice whereby building and sustaining positive relationships with young people were the essential ingredients of these helping relationships.

There were many examples given by young people, where it was evident that the coaches had brokered access to opportunities for them.   These included: progression onto further learning opportunities, part-time employment and signposting to other agencies for specialist support; helping with the completion of applications for colleges; completing paperwork for the Children's Hearing System and attending hearings to help young people through the processes; and liaising with statutory services through attendance at children's hearing meetings.   Providing guidance and information on career pathways and options enables young people to access services they would not have previously had knowledge of or actively considered. The coaches helped with access to resources and knowledge and assistance in navigating the bureaucratic demands of the various institutions that exist in the lives of children and young people subject to HSR more so than non-looked after children.

This support helped ensure that systems and processes did not become a barrier to educational progress or participation. In social capital terms, the coaches are working to facilitate the creation of bridging capital through creating access to supports and access to provision and services. For the young people in this study such networks, services or supports would usually exist out with the immediate confines of their shared friendship connections and social ties, or having an awareness of their existence or how to

access them. Bridging social capital places emphasis on the importance of connections that link networks across different heterogeneous groups and mentors and coaches play a key role in supporting the development of these connections (Berridge, 2011).

The high levels of trust expressed in relationships with their coaches and the success of young people in an alternative provision to maintain their placements demonstrates characteristics of the benefits of the model outlined in Chapter 3.   Firstly, trust shows the linkages with the informal dialogical approach of relationship forming (taking place between coach and young person).   Secondly, an increase of self-worth and self-agency is evident in young people's sense of achievement in reducing their absences from previous placements and making progress with their courses.   Greater participation in networks that involves integrating into their further education setting and building and sustaining relationships with new classmates and peers is also evident.

There is also evidence of bonding social capital developing between coach and young person with young people indicating they were feeling supported through positive engagement with their coach and having regard for their welfare.   This suggests evidence of informal education approaches and through dialogue leads to strengthening levels of resiliency.   Moreover, this increase in confidence relates to increases in social capital and engagement with wider opportunities created by coaches and mentors because of a trusting and supportive relationship.   This creates the potential for vulnerable young people to have greater participation in widened networks through community participation.

During the interviews, young people showed a level of awareness of their disruptive behaviours within a class or consciously making decisions not to attend school/college.   Such recognition shows an understanding of their responses, although they did not necessarily mean that they anticipate the consequences of their actions.   Young people often lack the ability or knowledge to change their behaviour as they need help in processing the consequences of their actions or inactions (Furlong et al., 1997).   This is another potential benefit of having informal education support and attention from a trusting adult as advocated by Stein (2006).

The provision of coaching and mentoring for young people looked after at home could significantly help bridge deficits that exist for them, including in the realm of social capital such as access to leisure services.   Young people in this study spoke of accessing opportunities based on support and engagement with their coaches.   There is evidence to suggest that cultural capital is transmitted from parents to children through structured recreation and interaction as well as undertaking tasks such as helping with school work (Bubolz, 2001).   It is the same cultural capital that middle-class parents use to broker and create opportunities for their children.   This deficit when unaddressed creates an uneven playing field and means that young people miss possibilities to engage in work and leisure opportunities (Andersen & Hansen, 2012).   This highlights an interesting critique of social capital theory, namely that

it does not address the underlying inequalities inherent in society with the assumption that defects are existing within young people and parents rather than being located within the context of social class, poverty or other structural barriers which inhibit the accumulation of human, cultural or social capital. Historically, this is as a result of many authors' interest in social capital being utilised for analysing the effects of social capital on labour market outcomes (Pettit et al., 2011).

The structure and approach of this intervention by the coaches appears to act as a buffer for the young people in this study, helping bridge different structures and systems in daily life for looked after children that could overwhelm them such as financial systems, school systems and the children's hearing system. The coaching intervention creates a cushion in the form of a continuous relationship and acts as an interface between one world (from that of the current reality of the young person) and the world of the school. The coaching intervention takes place at a realistic pace guided to an extent by the young person and in a safe and supported way.   In this way, the coaching support helps strengthen both resiliency of individuals and contributes to bridging capital.

In the context of children and youth subject to a Home Supervision requirements, coaches are providing substitute support for young people who have an absence of social and cultural capital within their family home or peer groups. As this study has shown, young people often do not get homework support or encouragement from parents, and many do not have positive relationships with their parents. The coaching relationship allows opportunities for the creation and strengthening of both bonding and bridging social capital.

However, there are also significant implications for young people's resilience.   Stein & Dixon (2006) argue that if we are to increase resiliency in young people they require:

> Redeeming and warm relationship with at least one person in the family or secure attachment to at least one unconditionally supportive parent or parent substitute; positive school experiences; feeling able to plan and be in control; being given the chance of a turning point; positive peer influences (Stein & Dixon, 2006, p.166).

The relationships between coaches and young people in this study are viewed by the sub group who received coaching as being based on trust and positive regard.   In this respect, the relationship between coach and mentor helps in part address a deficit of positive parental relationships expressed by the young people throughout this research as being an issue.   This approach is affirmed in the research literature.   Stein (2006) advocates having a mentor from out with the family as well as strong networks.   The success of any mentoring intervention hinges on the crucial relationship between young person and coach. Furthermore, for transformational change to occur requires a deliberate informal education approach on behalf of the coach for the relationship to have a positive impact.

Trust, created through the building of rapport and dialogue to develop reciprocity in the relationship, is a crucial ingredient of social capital. In effect, using informal dialogue and supporting techniques the coaches can help young people to increase their resilience by empowering them to cope with their situation, talk through anxieties and stresses and obtain practical advice, help, encouragement and support. This intervention is a youth work and asset-based approach, a common characteristic of informal education (Paunesku et al., 2015b) and similarly an essential underpinning philosophy of social pedagogic practice common in social work circles internationally (Cameron, 2004). The informal nature of the relationship is central to the acceptance of any intervention support being accepted by young people. This relationship can thrive as a result of embracing informality and a different power dynamic compared to the relationships that young people have with their teachers and social workers. Throughout the study, the young people were clearly attuned to the power dynamic and varying statutory nature the professionals engaged in their support, education and care, yet receptive to non-threatening support that was advocating and encouraging them on more equal terms.

Yet compared to teachers and social workers, coaches and mentors can occupy a unique space in the lives of young people. They can help through interpersonal connections where young people navigate complex systems and structures and working with them in a way that they can relate to meaningfully. This relationship is based on co-operation and reciprocity and increase young people's capacity for development and growth and empowers young people (Hamilton & Hamilton, 2010; Miller et al., 2015).

The differences between the cohort that was receiving coaching support and those that had no input, were in persistence with learning, and sustaining academic progress, when encountering struggles with personal issues or changes in their lives. Those in receipt of coaching appeared to be able to articulate having made some form of achievement and having persisted with tasks associated with their learning aided by their coaches, whereas those without coaching support were less able to describe any sense of progress. Some were dismissive of feedback from their teachers or parents concerning their educational development and did not appear to value this assistance. Critical feedback is recognised within the academic literature as being important to help with the individuals achieving and pursuing their goals (Blackwell et al., 2007; Schroeder & Fishbach, 2015). Some of the young people in the study described struggling with being able to accept feedback from teaching staff in the absence of positive relationships. Those who had coaches experienced informal methods of engagement and appear through their trusting relationships receive encouragement and feedback in a way that they could process, recognise and accept. This links with established theory on motivation given that people value intrinsic incentives inside an activity more than outside (Schroeder & Fishbach, 2015).

This study shows young people value the informal education approach of coaches and being given positive feedback and treated with respect. The use of the phrase by one respondent of 'being treated like an adult' to describe their perception of their locus of control within the coaching relationship and

highlights their perceived difference in the power dynamic they experience between themselves and coaches compared to the more formal relationships that they have with their teachers and social workers. These same characteristics form the core conditions that help with the formation and sustaining of social capital.

Encouraging participation in decision-making serves to strengthen and promote resiliency (Pinkerton & Dolan, 2007). Meaningful and supportive relationships can increase young people's levels of confidence and increase levels of social capital through connections made. Therefore, this can create trust as well as both bonding and bridging social capital. The non-statutory nature of youth work as a profession means this professional grouping has the most potential, above others, to create a sense of agency. Informal relationships can help young people develop social capital. Such relationships are more likely to succeed with young people who are disaffected compared to other professional helping relationships. This relationship serves to strengthen and assist with the development of resilience.

Another major factor in sustaining meaningful and supportive relationships for those in direct practice with young people is that of time, and was identified in the literature review as being one of the barriers to effective social work support for children subject to Home Supervision. Relationships need to be developed over a natural and realistic timeframe to create trusting conditions (Noble & McGrath, 2012b). Informal education approaches, along with that of teacher and other supporting roles has the potential to empower young people.

Programmes such as mentoring could provide an effective intervention by working to directly challenge young people's worldview and attitudes. For young people with challenging social and emotional difficulties because of their home life experience, there is a clear need for additional bridging support with trusted relationships to enable young people to succeed in school life. A systematic application of coaching for looked after at home young people will need to consider the non-statutory nature of the relationships that impact on the funding resource available for this type of work and mitigate priority in social service resources being given to young people who are at the point of crisis rather than earlier intervention.

The main complexity in arguing for and recognising the benefits and advantages of informal intervention work is the problem caused by the time-delayed realisation of the perceived benefits to the individual. Such a delayed understanding can impact on evaluation and subsequent support for funding for resources. Stein and Dixon (2006) observed that young people might not understand the value such relationships provided directly at the time but in later years come to recognise through reflection how they have benefited from such supporting relationships.

Conclusion

This chapter shines a light on the relationships that young people have with significant professionals in their lives, and the analysis creates several findings that have implication for both theory and practice. In doing so, I have further contributed to the research questions of the study in three distinct ways. Firstly, young people indicated that they were more likely to trust teachers and coaches than social workers, likely because of the statutory nature of the social work role and related to intervention in their lives. Secondly, the levels of emotional and social needs of young people are often leading to exclusion and adolescents struggling within the school environment. This often leads to young people finding themselves in conflict with fellow pupils and with teaching staff at times leading to exclusion. The levels of behaviour described serve to highlight the need for experienced and specialist interventions. Thirdly, the lack of continuity of relationships experienced by young people in the study is detrimental in the provision of practical support for children and necessitates children and young people having to retell their stories to many professionals. Endeavours to reduce this lack of continuity should be a focus for both policy and practice.

In relation to the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 3 for this study, there is strong evidence of a relationship existing between engaging in informal education and the creation of bonding and bridging social capital. For the young people in this study, this appeared to increase engagement with their learning because of planned interventions and support by coaches. The provision of coaching and mentoring could significantly help young people improve their prospects for educational attainment while living in adverse circumstances.

Finally, informal education relationships are important to young people's responsiveness to receiving support, and this finding has potential implications for practice in considering the practical design of support systems and interventions for young people subject to an Home Supervision Requirement.

In the next and final chapter, I present the conclusions and implications for both policy and practice that stem from this study.

Chapter 10: Conclusions And Implications Of The Research

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I discussed the benefits that mentoring and coaching have in supporting young people's educational experience.   Now, I draw conclusions from the study.   Firstly, I review the aims of the research identified in Chapter 2 and discuss the extent to which I met these objectives.   Next, I show how this study has contributed to the body of knowledge about young people subject to a Home Supervision Requirement and their educational experience.   Then I discuss the implications of this study for education and social work policy and practice, and I suggest areas for future research.

The aims of this research

The review of the literature in Chapter 2 highlighted the gaps in research that looked at young people who were looked after at home and their educational experience. Given the low levels of attainment that this group has, there was a need to explore young people's views in the context of understanding perspectives and needs regarding their schooling experience. This research investigated their home life and views on school.   As a result of conducting the review of the literature and identifying knowledge and research gaps, I Identified one clear aim for the study:

What do the experiences of children and young people looked after at home tell us about their education and support needs?

In addressing this aim, I had two research questions:

What roles do significant professional relationships play in encouraging young people's educational attainment at school?

What can be done at a practice level to better support looked after at home children and young people to help them achieve their full educational potential?

I examined each of these using the underpinning theoretical framework I presented in Chapter 3 of resilience, informal education and social capital to make sense of young people's relationships with helping professionals in their lives.   I address each of these aims in turn and demonstrate the knowledge and learning that has resulted from this study.   The thematic analysis I undertook and subsequent coding of data and analysis through the lens of the underpinning theoretical framework presented in Chapter 3 enabled me to develop a series of findings and make conclusions.

Education and support needs of young people subject to a HSR

In this section, I address the first aim of my research, the experiences of looked after at home young people and what they tell us about their education and support needs. The study uncovered that young people in this study were living in difficult family circumstances, many in poverty and experiencing a broad range of social issues. Many talked about suffering from stress and anxiety. Therefore, young people require timely support with their mental health and interventions such as talking therapies and stress management.

As well as this, continuity of relationships was a recurring theme in the study. Many of the young people in this study had experienced multiple home and school moves and fragmented social relationships and challenging relationships with parents. Consequently, this has a bearing on levels of resilience, self-esteem and levels of social capital. Furthermore, problems at school became exacerbated through various points of home moves, school changes or other transitions in their lives. Despite some of the young people in the study having lasting and trusting relationships with teachers, some social workers and other professionals in their lives, the fragmented range of experiences that young people report suggests that there is an absence of a coherent underpinning approach that supports them at the point of need. Recommendations are made in the implications for practice section as to how this can be addressed.

The findings of this study indicate that some young people feel that they are not being stretched academically while in alternative educational provision or pathways. There is a need for professionals to ensure that they continue to have high aspirations for looked after children. Young people felt that they were not adequately being given challenging enough coursework and therefore not achieving all that they could. Therefore, more needs to be done to ensure that educational content is enriching and stimulating, as part of an overall culture of increasing aspirations that young people have of themselves and those that work with them have. Greater use needs to be made of differentiation, particularly within alternative educational provision to ensure that young people have appropriately challenging material that can stimulate their interests. Additionally, most of the study participants lacked any real future aspiration and believed their educational potential was limited, and many of the young people in the study had built up some forms of resilience around their determination to get through their school and experience as part of their defences for dealing with adversity.

Young people subject to HSR are living in situations that by their admission, are stressful. Many are living in cramped housing with little personal space. Consequently, they are unable to complete tasks such as homework without interruption. They often have poor relationships with their parents and many experience moves of the house that impact on their access to facilities, leisure facilities and their continuity of schooling and friendships and impact negatively on mental health. They require support

from caring professionals who can build meaningful relationships, provide an opportunity to discuss issues and problems and help young people deal with the stresses and strains of maintaining successful educational outcomes. The issue of resourcing is one that could explain the disparity between participants in the study that have received little or no support, while others in the study who have benefitted hugely from coaching and other interventions.

Most of the young people in the study believed their parents had not done particularly well at school. Most of the young people were not asked about their school experience and some parents reported collusion with their children's non-attendance at school.

Young people's lack of awareness of Home Supervision and the variability of support described by young people suggests that the Home Supervision as a process is not effectively aiding young people's educational progress due to a lack of consistency of supporting relationships for them.

Young people in this study operate within very narrow networks, with many suffering from isolation due to complex transitions and therefore are likely to have diminished social capital and resilience as a result.

Roles played by significant professional relationships in encouraging young people's educational attainment at school

In this section, I address the second research question of the study, that of the roles played by professionals in encouraging achievement at school. This study, combined with the wider research evidence highlighted in the literature review, shows the power of meaningful connection as a way of nurturing and encouraging young people's appetite for learning. This approach provides an opportunity to bridge deficit's that occur within the family home where there has been a lack of value attached to education or an absence of supportive relationships. This study has reinforced the importance for lasting and trusting relationships to support young people's educational outcomes.

Ensuring social work staff understand the necessity for maintaining supportive and trusting relationships as well as the equipping them with the necessary interpersonal skills is essential. It is imperative that there is a greater focus on relational practice in social work practice reinforcing the importance of feedback on interpersonal relationships through supervision. Moreover, having the necessary skills and abilities to connect and engage meaningfully with young people should be an underpinning philosophy of professional practice. Continuous professional development for both teachers and social workers should maintain a focus on attachment and trauma-informed practice, so that young people are receiving the necessary help and support they require.

Alternative curricular pathways were deemed to be useful and fruitful by young people when combined with coaching and support. Young people value informal ways of engagement as a source of

encouragement.   Giving young people opportunities to strengthen their social capital and resilience should be a priority to assist with their emotional and cognitive development and can be addressed through informal leisure provision in community-based activities.   This form of intervention can create opportunities that lead to the creation of bonding and bridging capital for young people.   Such support can increase the likelihood of securing employment, development of soft skills, attainment and create the potential to expose young people to wider social networks and therefore achieve more of their potential.

Mentoring and coaching opportunities can yield powerful transformational benefits enabling them to deal with difficult home life and school transitions, provide encouragement and allow them to achieve their full potential.   Coaching and mentoring provide an opportunity to work on addressing the confidence and esteem of the individual, strengthen their resilience, support and identify career aspiration and other future-oriented goals.

There is the strong potential role for non-formal learning opportunities through leisure activities to act as a bridge to formal education for parents and children together, strengthening relationships and helping reduce isolation within communities.   This leisure activity can contribute to formal attainment by encouraging participation in informal education and recreation activity to reduce exclusion. There are foundations for young people in this study that can be built on in the form of interests that they talked about not pursuing because of changes to their situations and circumstances.   The fostering of trusting relationships with teachers, youth workers, coaches and mentors can stabilise difficult transitions as their intervention will be accepted by the young person and open access to services they would not normally access unassisted.   Using leisure and informal educational interests as a bridge for encouraging the development of an interest and appetite for formal learning within the young person. This approach of connecting with young people to nurture talents and interests to assist with growth and development is a recurring one in the academic literature (Daly & Gilligan, 2005; Stein & Dixon, 2006).

Practice implications

I now turn my attention to the third aim of the research, namely the practice implications that stem from the study of the support needs of looked after at home children and young people. The recommendations in this section apply to social work, education and allied professionals.   Ensuring that young people understand the function, purpose and reason for their Home Supervision and the implications stemming from the requirement is an important recommendation that should be addressed by all the statutory agencies including social work and the Children's Hearing System.

Having an interdisciplinary approach to addressing the needs of looked after children is vital given that effective Home Supervision requires a holistic and interagency approach that supports the entire family

and not just the young person subject to Home Supervision Requirement. Joint working offers many potential benefits, including making a greater series of changes that sustain more than just working in isolation with the child or young person. For example, working with older or younger siblings to receive practical support as well as explore roles that they can play in encouraging attendance and engagement with learning. Such whole family support that works to equip families to deal with the underlying issues and challenges would also have a direct impact on young people's attainment through reduced stress, anxiety and greater home life stability. However, as a practice implication, teachers and social workers should be mindful of the potential embarrassment that young people often face and be sensitive to the needs of children and adolescents to help avoid unnecessary stigma or embarrassment as a result of being subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.

The issue of young people not having space to complete homework could be addressed by offering supported study schemes within the schools or community settings as well as ensuring the family have adequate housing conditions and support. The levels of deprivation experienced by many of the young people in the study serve as a reminder of the link between poverty and attainment.

Young people's lack of participation in leisure interests creates an urgency in helping young people identify, explore and develop their interests and to foster deeper community cohesion and maintenance and expansion of friendship groups and relevant supports. Hence, coaching and mentoring could form a vital part of any intervention. Such support should be provided at the earliest possible point, and before any significant transitions taking place. The focus of support work should be in providing bridging support for young people, encouraging engagement with services and maintaining friendship networks and leisure pursuits.

Young people in the study struggle with their education at the point of transition into secondary when combined with difficulties within the family home. This requires timely and early intervention. Such intervention should also address the mental health needs of children and adolescents. Professionals should be attuned to the mental health impacts of moving house and school through having to re-establish friendship and leisure activities and, in effect, re-establish themselves within a new community or school. Such an approach should be a routine part of the assessment and decision-making. The levels of reporting of stress and anxiety show a need for direct work with young people therapeutically to address issues from their chaotic life experience with the home environment. Teaching young people stress management and coping techniques could help. The study finds that as well as general family support there is the issue of parents' literacy and other educational needs. By ensuring that parents have the necessary skills to be literate and numerate means that they will be more able to help their children with homework tasks. Additionally, there is a need to work with parents and carers to create a culture of encouragement for learning within the family home. Furthermore, some young people told

of their parents having as being 'care experienced' and therefore in need of additional support in managing the challenges of parenting and any negative experience of education themselves.

Young people in this study reported being academically under challenged and were aware they were not achieving their full potential.   In light of this, teachers should ensure they have high aspirations for all their children and to make sure that they have opportunities through appropriately differentiated learning opportunities to reach their full learning potential.   Furthermore, this should be reflected in pre-and post-qualification training inputs that stress the importance of having a high aspiration for vulnerable children and young people.   Equally important is that teachers have a good understanding of trauma informed practice so that they can adapt their communication approach and teaching style to meet better the needs of vulnerable learners who have experienced trauma.

One practical way to achieve this would be to provide continuous professional development training for staff.   Topics such as resilience, attachment and trauma-informed practice should also be a focus for pre-qualifying training allowing for enabling newly qualified teachers to be fully prepared to support learners who are vulnerable and is in line with the recommendations of the Donaldson review (Donaldson, 2010).   Similarly, training could be provided during in-service days for existing teachers to give them the skills and knowledge to work with looked after children confidently.   Geddes (2005) suggests that the curriculum for this CPD should have a focus on understanding attachment behaviour and strategies for supporting pupils who are experiencing emotional difficulties.   Such a programme of learning would skill teachers to be able to use a range of alternative intervention strategies rather than resorting to exclusion.

There is a need to ensure that systems and processes designed to support such looked after at home young people are used to record details connected to attainment.   Examples of this include using the Child's Plan as well as recognition of prior learning to capture interests and activities from youth work and voluntary participation.   In brief, there is a pragmatic point highlighted by the findings to young people requiring absence from the school day to attend meetings connected to their Home Supervision, that they do not always miss the same subject and thus adversely impact on their attainment in that subject area.

The methods I used in the study to present findings to young people using interactive presentation software on a tablet device to demonstrate visually understanding of their situation and use as a basis for stimulating further dialogue have practical implications for researchers, education staff and social workers as a tool for engaging with young people.   This could be further developed to make the process truly one of co-construction with young people more active participants in the design of the images and leading on the explaining of their choices of pictures and what that means for them.

Lastly, there is another point requiring consideration, namely the stability of relationships experienced by children and young people needing support. There needs to be an investment in service provision to ensure and provision of stable, caring and continuous professional relationships. There is a need to ensure that senior leaders understand the importance of lasting relationships and this should be at the heart of all systems, processes and recruitment within social work and education. Therefore, pre-qualification courses in social work and allied professions should highlight this significant finding with their students.

Policy implications

Several policy implications stem from this research. In line with other studies, there is a need to ensure that young people subject to Home Supervision have a consistency of approach and options for support across Scotland so that they all can have the same opportunities to succeed. The findings of this study suggest a need to review the efficacy of Home Supervision as an intervention and to ensure a more equitable and consistent form of support is available to Scotland's vulnerable children and young people.

There should be scrutiny of local authority policies concerning funding and support of informal education and leisure services to make sure they are accessible to looked after at home young people. Such supports are often provided by non-statutory agencies and not always protected from budgetary cuts. However, an investment in this type of approach would undoubtedly result in longer term savings to criminal justice, mental health and even prison costs by earlier and more effective intervention.

The review of the literature highlights a broad range of pressures on the various professionals that work with young people who have a litany of multiple and complex needs. The literature review highlights that social workers, teachers and others work in a climate where they are time-poor because of the competing demands of their roles. This is despite the length of time since the research recommendations by Murray et al. in 2002 being that social work time with young people is critical and would make the most difference to young people's lives under Home Supervision (Murray et al., 2002). Young people value the relationships that they have with coaches, mentors, teachers and some of their social workers. Without time for creating bonds between staff and adolescents and a detailed understanding of the issues as well as their views on their life situation and experience, Home Supervision simply cannot be an effective intervention as it does not address underlying issues and problems within families.

The study finds that for this cohort, participation in the alternative education programme and Informal education opportunities enable young people to generate social capital by creating opportunities for them to sustain their engagement and form relationships with people outside their normal networks (i.e. new classmates and further education lecturers) and is in line with other studies (Coburn, 2011; Deuchar, 2009; Miller et al., 2015).

Limitations of the study

In this section, I discuss the potential limitations of the study. Firstly, the study would have benefitted from having been conducted over a longer period. The study was not designed to be longitudinal in nature, with only a relatively short gap between first and follow-up interviews. Ideally, a greater gap between the two meetings would have allowed for more insight into any changes that occurred in the young person's life and the impact of any support interventions.

The relatively small sample size of the study is a limitation and therefore caution is required in generalising from the findings that all young people looked after at home have similar experiences. This is highlighted as an area that would benefit from further research below.

No standardised scientific measure was used to assess the social capital or resilience levels of the young people and therefore generalisations have been made about the indications of the absence or presence of social capital. This was a conscious decision regarding the research design. Although the study provides rich insight from the experiences of young people, further work is required to understand the needs of parents and their levels of social capital and engagement within their communities.

It is possible that the recruitment method of approaching young people via schools may have introduced an element of bias in the findings of the study particularly in the findings of young people's negative experiences of social worker engagement.

An area for a future enquiry would be an exploration of the extent that coaches are consciously aware of the impact they have on young people to encourage motivation and the effective giving of feedback and relational approaches are inherent in training for coaches and their support systems. There is a need to explore further the potential for providing this form of support with vulnerable young people at risk of exclusion to encourage their support and engagement with learning.

Future research

There are some issues raised through undertaking this research that would be worthy of further study. Firstly, the current policy and practice agenda relating to supporting young people with additional support needs within their mainstream class settings. In this study young people indicated they valued the support and smaller scale of alternative provision. Further research could explore the impact of policies based on the presumption of mainstreaming have on supporting learners with additional support needs including those that are looked after at home.

There is research potential in further developing the findings of this study on the benefits of coaching and mentoring for looked after children and longitudinal tracking a cohort to assess the impact of coaching

and mentoring on the lives of looked after at home children. Such research would be suited to practitioner research.

The findings in this study on the theme siblings and their attainment, as well as influence on younger brothers' and sisters' attendance at school, warrants further research to find out if siblings can succeed under the same adverse difficulties and look at the role that resilience plays in supporting this.

There is a need to explore the relationship between financial spend and the approaches to supporting children and young people subject to Home Supervision by local authorities to critically evaluate whether there is equity of support for children living in different parts of the country.   There would also be a benefit in undertaking a comparison of the approaches nationally to ascertain whether the functions of Home Supervision work as a support as the policy and legislation intend.

To mitigate the relatively small sample size of this study, the issues around support and experience of young people looked after at home in terms of educational attainment would benefit from further research that combined a quantitative and qualitative research approach.   Such a combined approach would help develop a fuller understanding of the issues and support needs of children subject to a Home Supervision Requirement across Scotland as well as understanding fully what interventions this cohort receive and further require in terms of educational and other support needs.

I would like to develop the model drawn up for this study further. I would like to develop measures to assess levels of social capital and track the impact that coaching and mentoring has on bridging social capital deficits for vulnerable children and young people and further explore the resulting impact on young people's resilience potentially some form of self-evaluation framework to assess reporting of social capital levels.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that with support, young people in difficult circumstances have the potential to flourish educationally.   However, not all young people have access to the same supporting and nurturing professional relationships with workers that provide a chance to develop an effective rapport and connection.   This research should serve as a reminder that vulnerable children and young people risk losing the opportunity to form meaningful connections and relationships over time and therefore work needs to be done to strengthen the nurture base, social capital and resilience of looked after children and young people.

The analysis suggests a need to further scrutinise the impact of the policies and practice connected to Home Supervision to ensure that they are making a supportive difference to young people's quality of life and at the same time enabling them to achieve their full educational potential.

The subject of education itself is a complex discipline, perhaps equally as complex as the lives of children and young people subject to a Home Supervision Requirement.   Education is subject to many influences and judgements about the nature, purpose and priorities of education.   This research finds that just as there is no one single cause of the issues why young people looked after at home struggle with their educational experience; there is no unique solution that serves as the panacea to their attainment and support needs. However, this study has suggested many different approaches would have a major effect on the educational experience and eventual outcomes of young people who are subject to Home Supervision.   There is a need within education to redouble efforts to harness and utilise young people's strengths and focus on their potential rather than risk stigmatising and limiting their developmental potential.

Many of the young people in this study do not conform to the schooling rigidity that does not recognise the complex lives led by young people subject to HSR and there is a need to ensure that beneficial alternative approaches are considered as part of the mix of solutions to address the education requirements of this group.

The status quo that meets the needs of most pupils who can cope with the discipline, norms and rhythms of the school day, rituals and regimented authority that the formal Scottish schooling brings, does not work for all the young people in this study subject to Home Supervision.   For those that have very different experiences of childhood and care and complex support needs, there need to be specific and personalised interventions that are flexible in meeting young people's holistic needs. The recommendations for practice emerging from this thesis require a focused determination on addressing the issues of educational attainment for looked after at home young people.   If there is to be social justice for this group of young people we need to ensure all endeavours are backed up with adequate resourcing to ensure parity of support across Scotland.   Without such a focus, the cycle of low achievement, low aspiration and poverty will continue to have a stranglehold on our society and the moral injustice and inequality for our most vulnerable young people will continue.

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Appendix 1: Interview Aide for First-Round Interviews

(Note: The questions below were used as a guide for interviews conducted with young people and not used as a structured list of questions to ask but used to prompt discussion).

Looked After At Home Study

Researcher: John Paul Fitzpatrick

Narrative Enquiry: First Interview

Interview Schedule

- Tell me a bit about you, where, you stay and who you live with?
- Tell me the story of how you ended up in EVIP programme?
- How much influence do you think you have in education?
- Who in your life do you think shows an interest in your education?
- Tell me how you got with your teachers at school?
- Do you get on with your social worker? Do they understand you? How you feel about school?
- What does it feel like to be under a supervision order?
- What do you think of life at school?
- What is good / bad about school?
- What makes you feel like coming to school / not feel like coming to school in the morning?
- What would make school better for you?
- Is there anything that makes you feel angry/sad/upset in school?
- Have you ever been excluded?
- Tell me the story of you being excluded?
- What was the most important thing that you learned in school?
- When you don't come to school, what do you do instead?
- What would make school more motivating for you?
- If you could change one thing in your life what would it be?
- What are you fears for the future?
- What are your hopes?

Appendix 2: Interview Schedule for Second-Round Interviews

(Note: The questions below were used as a guide for interviews conducted with young people and not used as a structured list of questions to ask but used to prompt discussion).

(FOLLOW UP ANY GAPS FROM PREVIOUS INTEVIEW) e.g:

FAMILY

Family relationships - tell me the story of your family?   Who, if any, in your family works or what do they do?

Tell me who in your family influences you the most? What do you think your mum wants for you?

What help and support you think other families in your situation need?

What do you friends want for you?

HOUSE

Paint me a picture of your house and life in it -   Describe it all to me?

What do you think of where you stay? Describe it to me?

Who does your family socialise with in the area?   Who, if anyone in the area would you go to if you had a problem?   Do you trust your neighbours? Family? Friends?

Who looks out for you most?

HEALTH

Tell me the story of you and your health? Do you see your health as a priority?

SCHOOL

Tell me the stress and going off when you were 12/13 when you first started not attending school? Tell me the story of being under Home Supervision? How long? What advice would you give to someone else under Home Supervision? What support or help did you need when you first stopped coming to school?

SOCIAL WORK / SOCIAL CAPITAL

Tell me the story of you having a social worker? How did you relate to them? What changed for you? Who do you take advice from? Do you trust social workers? Tell me if or how they understood you? Teachers? Who does?

Tell me about your friends. Are friends important to you?

how did you relate to (key workers etc.) them? What difference does having a key worker make?

ASPIRATIONS

Tell me the story of why college and getting a proper education is important to you?

How do you think your family did with their education? Does education matter to you? Why? Do you think it matters to your family?

What advice would you give to someone in a similar situation to yourself?

What do teachers need to do differently to help people in the same situation as you? What do social workers and others need to do?

How do you see your future?

Appendix 3: Participants information Sheet

Below is the information sheet used by to inform young people about the study.   This was approved by the university ethics committee prior to the study commencing.

Research Project on the Education of Looked After At Home Young People

Information for Young People

Hello!

My name is John Paul and I am a researcher from the University of Strathclyde. I am doing some research to find out young people's views about education and being 'looked after at home'. I want to know your views and opinions on the important events that affect school and your learning.

Q: Why are you interested in my experiences and education?

A: Very little research has been done to find out what goes on for someone when they are looked after home. I believe that experts need to listen to the views, events and experiences of young people so that what you tell us will help others in the future.

Q: What will taking part involve?

A: It would mean speaking to me twice during a 45 interview spread out over a few months and the discussion will be recorded using a digital recorder.

Q: Who else are you talking to?

A: I am speaking to 11 other looked after children from different parts of Scotland.

Q: **Do I have a choice?**

A: **Yes** - No-one will try to persuade you to be involved if you don't want to be. Even if you decide now you can change your mind at any point. Signing the consent form does not mean you **must** take part. Even if you agree now, you can change your mind without giving a reason. If at any time you have concerns about taking part just let someone such as your teacher, worker or social worker that told you about this and they will tell me. If you complete both interviews you will be given a £10.00 voucher to thank you for participating in the interviews.

Q: How will you protect my privacy?

A: Your opinions and stories will be included in our report but we will never use your name or any details that would identify you. What you tell us will be confidential. Only if you told us about someone who has been or is going to be harmed (including you) would we have to tell a member of social work or education staff what you have said. In the case of that happening, we would always speak to you about the best way to do this.

Q: What happens to the recording of the [interview / group discussion]?

A: The recording will be typed and then the digital file on the machine will be wiped. The typed 'transcript' will have a code rather than your name for your privacy. We are very careful with our materials. We store records for four years after the end of a project and then destroy the information in a shredding machine. We will read all the interviews and use them to write a report on the views of young people. We also plan to tell children and young people and professionals who work with them about the research results.

Q: What now?

A: If you agree to take part you will be asked to sign a form giving your consent and get your parent / carer to sign it also – with out a parent/carer's signature you can't get involved!

Q: What if I have questions about the research or my involvement?

If you would like more information about the research or if you have questions, you can speak to an adult you trust or myself. Email or me or call me!

My contact details are:

XXX

Thanks!

John Paul

Researcher, Strathclyde University & CELCIS