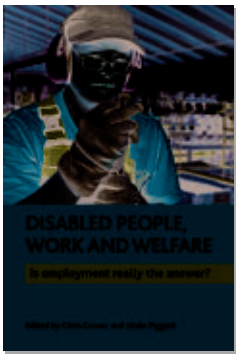
9. Employment experiences and outcomes of young people in Scotland who are deaf or hard of hearing: intersections of deafness and social class



Published by

Piggott, Linda and Chris Grover.
Disabled People, Work and Welfare: Is Employment Really the Answer?
Bristol University Press, 2015.
Project MUSE. https://muse.jhu.edu/book/79948.

Part Three
Assistance and access to paid work

NINE

Employment experiences and outcomes of young people in Scotland who are deaf or hard of hearing: intersections of deafness and social class

Mariela Fordyce and Sheila Riddell

Introduction

The financial crash of 2008 has had a particularly negative effect on young people born in the 1980s, especially those from poorer backgrounds (Hills, 2013). The consequences have been dire for young people living in poverty with additional support needs, which are often a consequence of social disadvantage. This chapter focuses on the employment experiences and outcomes of young people who are deaf or hard of hearing (DHH), who make up approximately 0.3% of the total population of young people in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2013). Whereas much analysis of the experiences of disabled people treats those with particular impairments as homogeneous groups, this chapter attempts to unpick the relationship between social class and labour market outcomes for people who are DHH.

Drawing on recent research into the post-school transitions of young people who are DHH (Fordyce et al, 2013a), we discuss the role played by social class in their employment outcomes as depicted by findings from interviews with young people who are DHH in Scotland.

The significance of educational qualifications in the labour market outcomes of disabled people

Young disabled people occupy an increasingly precarious position in the labour market due to their disability status (Meager and Higgins, 2011) and the generally high youth unemployment in recent years (Hills, 2013). Although the employment rates of disabled people have

slightly increased in the last decade (Sayce, 2011), they still remain approximately 30 percentage points lower than those of non-disabled people (Office for Disability Issues, 2013). The reasons for this include:

- lower qualifications (Burchardt, 2005);
- lower participation rates in post-16 education, training and employment (Directorate-General for Education and Culture, 2012);
- employer discrimination (Jones and Sloane, 2010; Meager and Higgins, 2011).

Research suggests that the labour market penalty associated with lower qualifications is higher for disabled than non-disabled people. Berthoud (2007), for example, carried out a secondary analysis of data from the General Household Survey and found that between 1974 and 2003 the employment rates of disabled men with no qualifications decreased by half (from 77% to 38%), while those of non-disabled men with no qualifications decreased by only 10 percentage points (from 95% to 85%). In comparison, disabled men with post-secondary qualifications faced a less dramatic, albeit marked reduction in employment rates over the same years (from 93% to 75%). This indicates that higher educational qualifications have a mitigating effect on the disadvantage associated with disability. This finding is supported by Meager and Higgins' (2011) analysis of Labour Force Survey data. Meager and Higgins (2011) demonstrate that in 2010, disabled people with post-secondary qualifications were 3.6 times more likely to be in employment than disabled people with no qualifications (72% versus 20%), while the employment rate of non-disabled people with post-secondary qualifications was only 1.6 times higher than those of non-disabled people with no qualifications (88% versus 55%).

While there is no comparable research in Britain on the employment rates of people who are DHH in relation to their qualifications, studies conducted in Sweden and the United States (US) substantiate this finding. Rydberg et al (2011) compared the sociodemographic characteristics and employment rates of 2,144 people aged 25-64 who attended a Swedish school for deaf people with the general population, and found that for both groups a higher level of educational attainment was associated with higher employment rates. However, deaf people with low qualifications had markedly lower employment rates than their non-disabled counterparts (43% versus 65%), while the employment rates of deaf people with post-secondary qualifications were similar to those of the general population (83% versus 84%). In the US, Schley et

al (2011) found that DHH people who had completed post-secondary education, including those with vocational qualifications, were less likely to claim unemployment benefits than DHH people with lower qualifications.

Social reproduction, disability and deafness

The influence of parental socioeconomic status on young people's labour market outcomes has been widely documented (see, for example, Iannelli and Smyth, 2008). Parental social background has been found to be a direct or indirect predictor (through education) of young people's employment outcomes and job satisfaction (Iannelli, 2003; Faas et al, 2012). There has been little research on the effects of socioeconomic background on the labour market outcomes of disabled people, although the relationship between social background and disability in relation to prevalence and educational outcomes has long been acknowledged (Elwan, 1999; Burchardt, 2005; Dyson and Kozleski, 2008). Theorists, such as Vernon (1999, p 394), have argued that 'class privilege is a powerful diluter of discrimination both economically and socially', but 15 years later there seems to be limited research evidence to substantiate this claim.

A longitudinal survey of the post-school transitions of young people with special educational needs in five European countries (Ebersold, 2012) revealed that young people from advantaged socioeconomic backgrounds had better post-school outcomes than those from poorer backgrounds. Ebersold (2012, p 69) suggests that the support and involvement of more highly qualified parents was the key factor in ensuring positive outcomes, and that parents with lower qualifications may lack the ability to 'overcome weaknesses of existing support'. Similarly, findings from the National Longitudinal Transitions Study in the US (Newman et al, 2011) show that eight years after leaving secondary education, young disabled people from high-earning households were significantly more likely to be employed than those from poorer households. Also in the US, this finding was replicated for young people who are DHH by Garberoglio et al (2014), who call for further research into the relationship between the post-school experiences of young deaf people and other indicators of socioeconomic status, such as parental education level.

Our study of the post-school outcomes of DHH young people in Scotland sought to investigate the influence of parental social capital on the education and employment outcomes of DHH young people (Fordyce et al, 2013a; Fordyce et al, 2014). Findings revealed that the

social networks and advocacy skills of middle-class parents mitigated the negative consequences of deafness. This contrasted with the more troubled post-school experiences of DHH young people from less advantaged social backgrounds. At the same time, the study revealed that DHH university graduates, who were a socially advantaged group, had good employment outcomes, which were in stark contrast to the low employment rates of the working-age people who were DHH. The aim of this chapter is to explore the qualitative differences between the labour market experiences of young people with higher qualifications and from socially advantaged backgrounds, and those of young people with lower qualifications and socially disadvantaged backgrounds.

Method

The study of the post-school transitions of young people who are DHH combined a secondary analysis of survey and administrative data of post-school outcomes, and semi-structured interviews with 30 DHH young people. The interviews aimed to place young people's post-school transition experiences in the wider context of their life histories from primary school to the present. Using biographical research conventions (Merrill and West, 2009), the interviews elicited information on:

- their school background;
- post-school transition planning;
- experiences of post-16 education, training and employment.

This chapter focuses on findings related to employment outcomes as reflected in the semi-structured interviews.

Participants

The participants were 30 young people aged 18-24 with various degrees and types of hearing loss. Their degrees of hearing loss ranged from mild to profound, and the majority were in the severe to profound range. Eight participants were cochlear implant users. The participants were at various stages of their transitions from compulsory education to full-time employment. The majority were in higher and further education, training or employment (24), but the sample also included young people who were looking for paid work or were not in education, employment or training at the time of the interview (6). All participants were or had been in employment, on a full-time, part-

time or temporary basis. Table 9.1 shows the number of participants by highest qualification.

Table 9.1: Number of participants by highest qualification

Scottish Credit and Qualifications Framework	Type of qualification	Number of participants
SCQF Level 11	Postgraduate Diploma	1
SCQF Level 10	Honours Degree	5
SCQF Level 9	Bachelors	2
SCQF Level 8	Higher National Diploma	2
SCQF Level 7	Scottish Vocational Qualification Level 3 Modern Apprenticeships Level 3 Advanced Highers	8
SCQF Level 6	Highers	3
SCQF Level 5	Scottish Vocational Qualification Level 2 Modern Apprenticeships Level 2 Intermediate 2	7
SCQF Level 4	Scottish Vocational Qualification Level 1 Intermediate 1	2
TOTAL		30

In order to ensure that the sample reflected the sociodemographic characteristics of the wider population of 18- to 24-year-olds who are DHH in Scotland, information was also collected on characteristics such as gender, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, urban/rural residence, preferred mode of communication, highest qualification and presence of other disabilities or support needs. The sample included young people from minority ethnic backgrounds, the most deprived areas in Scotland and remote rural areas, and young people who preferred to communicate orally, in British Sign Language (BSL) or Sign-Supported English. Some participants had additional disabilities or support needs.

Data collection and analysis

Most interviews were conducted face to face in spoken English or BSL. The interviews with young people who preferred to communicate in BSL were carried out by a deaf researcher.

An intersectional approach was adopted for data collection and analysis (Siltanen, 2004) in recognition of the fact that individual

experiences are shaped by complex interactions between multiple structural dimensions, such as disability, social class, ethnicity and gender. Interview data were analysed horizontally (through thematic analysis) and vertically (as individual case studies). The case studies provided insights into how outcomes and experiences were influenced by the interplay between social class and disability. The Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation (SIMD) is used as an indicator of social class. The SIMD is a measure of the relative level of deprivation of the areas where participants lived. It consists of a ranking of neighbourhoods based on seven different aspects of deprivation: employment, income, health, education, access to services, crime and housing (Scottish Government, 2012). In this chapter we used the quintile ranking, where the most deprived areas are in the first quintile and the least deprived are in the fifth quintile.

Ethical considerations

The research was carried out in adherence to university research ethics standards. Given the wide range of communication needs of the young people who took part in the study, an easy-read version and a BSL version of the project leaflet and consent form were made available. With participant permission, oral interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed, and BSL interviews were videotaped and translated into English by the deaf researcher who conducted the interviews. In this chapter, participants' names have been changed in order to protect their anonymity.

DHH young people's labour market experiences: evidence from the case studies

The case studies reveal that all participants believed that they experienced a certain degree of disadvantage when they were in employment or looking for work. However, there seemed to be qualitative differences in the difficulties they encountered, depending on their qualifications and socioeconomic resources. Given the discrepancy between the employment levels of graduates who are DHH and those of DHH people with lower qualifications (Fordyce et al, 2014), this chapter consists of a comparison between the labour market experiences of young people with higher school-level qualifications, most of whom were on degree programmes, and those with few or no qualifications, most of whom were in vocational education or training. It is important to emphasise that, apart from differences in qualifications and post-16

pathways, there were also marked socioeconomic differences between the two groups, in line with the research findings outlined in the previous section.

The interviews revealed that young people who were DHH encountered a series of barriers to securing and maintaining employment. Some were experienced by young people irrespective of their qualifications or socioeconomic backgrounds, while others were shared only by those who had lower qualifications and came from disadvantaged backgrounds. Table 9.2 provides an overview of these barriers.

Table 9.2 suggests that those who had lower qualifications suffered increased disadvantage in the labour market and had fewer resources to draw on in order to negotiate these difficulties. The combined influence of social capital and educational qualifications on the employment outcomes of young people who are DHH is illustrated in the case studies below.

Table 9.2: Perceived barriers to finding and staying in employment

All young people, irrespective of qualifications	Young people with lower-level educational qualifications
Lack of accessibility in applying for work Employers' and co-workers' lack of deaf awareness	Overt discrimination in recruitment practices Limited social networks Limited work experience

Lack of accessibility in applying for work

Some jobseekers encountered recruitment practices that were inaccessible to people with hearing loss. These included having to ask for job details over the telephone or being invited to have telephone interviews. Young people who communicated orally, such as Jack, whose case study is given below, also mentioned difficulties in taking part in group interviews or exercises, or the inability to take advantage of networking opportunities. There were differences in the way young people with different levels of qualifications negotiated these barriers. Karen, an 18-year-old college student from a deprived area, who at the time of the interview had been looking for work for six months, explained that she relied on her mother to telephone potential employers. On the other hand, young people with graduate qualifications were more likely to apply for work with larger companies,

and notified potential employers in writing of their communication needs.

Case study 1: Jack

Jack had meningitis when he was two years old, and started using hearing aids when he was three. He has profound hearing loss in one ear, and severe hearing loss in the other. He lives with his family in a very affluent urban area (SIMD fifth quintile). He communicates orally. He went to a private mainstream school, which he left in his sixth year with Advanced Highers. He graduated with a degree in Business from an ancient university. At the time of the interview he was looking for work in the financial sector. He first described how, unlike his peers, he could not take advantage of university careers fairs:

> 'I went along to the careers fairs the university arranged and they were a bit of a disaster because the rooms were so packed and it was so noisy you couldn't speak, you couldn't network so you were just reduced to picking up the literature they had on the tables and trying to avoid speaking to people and looking like an idiot because you can't understand a word that they're saying. So that was a hindrance, especially when everyone says networking is so important and all that sort of thing.'

He also reported that he could not take full advantage of networking lunches and that he had difficulties in group exercises, which were part of the selection procedure. Nevertheless, Jack always disclosed his disability in job applications and asked for face-to-face interviews. He reported that companies were eager to oblige. In spite of this, he still encountered communication difficulties. He explained that in his first interview he failed to show enthusiasm because he struggled to hear the interviewers' questions. In spite of these difficulties, he was successful in obtaining a place on a graduate employment scheme.

Jack benefited from the fact that he applied for work with large companies that had commitments to equality and offered guaranteed interview schemes to disabled people. His experience is similar to that of many other graduates in the study, who were more likely to be aware of equality legislation than jobseekers with lower qualifications.

Employers' and co-workers' lack of deaf awareness

Many young people who were in employment or training mentioned that employers and co-workers were unaware of their communication needs. This was particularly problematic for young people who communicated orally, who were believed to be or wanted to be considered hearing in the workplace. Co-workers' lack of deaf awareness seemed to affect young people with lower qualifications to a larger extent, possibly because of poorer self-advocacy skills. Mia, a 19-year-old apprentice from a deprived rural area, recounted that that she struggled to hear at work and missed out at training courses, but did not ask for adjustments because she believed that she did not need any. However, the case study below suggests that even young people with good self-advocacy skills and knowledge of specialist employment support may suffer from the negative consequences of co-workers' lack of deaf awareness.

Case study 2: Emily

Emily was diagnosed with severe hearing loss when she was two years old. She communicates orally. She lives with her father in a relatively disadvantaged urban area (SIMD third quintile). She went to local mainstream schools. In spite of the fact that her secondary school had very low rates of progression to higher education, she achieved one Advanced Higher and went on to study Religious Studies at a pre-1992 university. After graduation she was offered a full-time permanent position in the public sector. She worked in a busy, open-plan office:

> 'The telephones rang a lot and I was expected to answer them. I was expected to take people at reception as well … as well as all these other sort of admin duties…. It quickly became apparent though that the telephone was a big part of the job and so something was going to have to be done about that.'

Although she obtained an amplified telephone through the Access to Work[1] scheme, she continued to have difficulties using the telephone because of the background noise in her office. In time, she developed what she described as 'a phone phobia'. Her fear of making mistakes was augmented by the unsupportive attitude of some of her co-workers. After five months, Emily handed in her resignation. She was later diagnosed with anxiety and depression. At the time of the research interview she had completed a postgraduate diploma in Information

Technology and was looking for work. Commenting on her previous employment experiences, she explained that she found it difficult to make others aware of her communication needs, as they did not 'fit in a neat box'.

Discrimination in recruitment practices

Most young people feared discrimination in recruitment, irrespective of their qualifications. However, while graduate jobseekers always disclosed their disability in job applications and were aware that they could use equality legislation as a 'battering ram', DHH young people with lower qualifications were more likely to encounter potential employers who held openly negative views of deafness. Madhat, a 24-year-old beautician, recounted how some employers seemed to doubt her ability to work with the public. Many young people with lower qualifications believed that they were more likely to be offered an interview when they did not disclose their disability. The case study below is an example of a young person who believed she was discriminated against because she was a BSL user.

Case study 3: Leah

Leah is a full-time mother and communicates mainly in BSL. She was diagnosed with hearing loss when she was a toddler. She lives in an urban area of high social deprivation (SIMD first quintile) with her partner and baby daughter, who are also deaf. Her parents and siblings are hearing and she communicates with them orally, although she is most comfortable using BSL. Leah spent most of her school career in schools for deaf people. She left school at 16 with Intermediate 2 qualifications, and went on to a college of further education, where she obtained a vocational qualification in Beauty Therapy. She looked for work for a year. She believed that she had difficulties finding work because she was deaf and was a victim of discrimination:

> 'I received lots of rejections because I am deaf, have no telephone skills and no communication skills with the public.… It was interesting because I noticed that when I sent my CV to the employers with a statement about me being deaf, I never got a reply. I tried again with no mention about my deafness on my CV and I received replies! I have been invited to interviews but I had to let them know that I

> need an interpreter for the interview. The interviews were then cancelled. This is discrimination!'

Equality legislation in the United Kingdom has sought to tackle prejudice and encourage positive attitudes towards disabled people. The General Equality Duty associated with the Equality Act 2010 aims to protect disabled job applicants by placing duties on employers not to discriminate in the way they offer employment. However, evidence suggests that smaller employers may be less likely to make reasonable adjustments (Fordyce et al, 2013a). Young people with lower qualifications, like Leah, are particularly at risk as they are more likely to apply for positions with smaller companies or businesses and at the same time may lack the knowledge or advocacy skills to request reasonable adjustments.

Social networks versus the jobcentre

A common and effective jobseeking strategy of DHH young people with graduate degrees and who came from socially advantaged backgrounds was to seek help from family, friends and wider social networks. Several young people reported that they found work through parents, other relatives or friends. This usually started with short summer jobs or internships, which later led to full-time employment. The case study below is an example of a young woman who benefited from her mother's social capital, which consisted of knowledge of employment opportunities and extended social networks. On the other hand, there was little evidence that jobseekers from poorer backgrounds could make use of parental social capital in finding employment. They mainly looked for work online or through Jobcentre Plus.[2] This may be a less effective strategy to secure paid work, as these young people were less successful in finding work.

Case study 4: Lucy

Lucy was diagnosed with profound hearing loss when she was four years old. Her mother is deaf and they both communicate orally. Lucy lives with her parents in an advantaged suburban area (SIMD fifth quintile). She went to local mainstream schools. She left school with Advanced Highers and went on to study Law at a pre-1992 university. In her final year at university, Lucy started working part time as a support worker for the third sector organisation where her mother worked.

Soon after graduation she was encouraged by her mother to send a speculative application to a similar organisation:

> 'So my mum said: "Why don't you hand in a speculative application?" As it turned out, I had done [this] at the right time because they were actually looking for relief workers.… And she would often say: "Why don't you try this?" She obviously knows other organisations that maybe other people wouldn't be aware of.'

Lucy was offered permanent full-time employment within the organisation. She was one of several graduates in our study to achieve full-time employment with the help of their parents. The interviews with young people from socially advantaged backgrounds revealed how they benefited from their parents' social capital and advocacy skills throughout their school career. They were more likely to receive a good level of support in school and to achieve qualifications, which enabled them to enter higher education. And, as illustrated in the above case study, middle-class parents were often instrumental in helping their young people find employment.

Limited work experience

There were also marked differences between graduates and young people with lower qualifications with regard to their work experience. Most graduates worked part time or had summer jobs when they were at university. Some even started to work for their current employers when they were students. This is, at least in part, a consequence of these young people's social capital, as most found their first part-time jobs with the help of their parents. On the other hand, jobseekers with lower qualifications, such as James (see case study 5 below), reported fewer part-time work opportunities, although work experience was sometimes required as part of their vocational education.

Case study 5: James

James had meningitis when he was 18 months old. He has profound hearing loss and communicates in BSL. He went to special schools for deaf people and mainstream schools with resource centres. At the time of the interview he lived with his partner in an area of social disadvantage (SIMD first quintile). James left school at 16 and went to a college of further education to train as a car mechanic. At the time of

the research interview he had been looking for work for six months, but had never been offered a job interview. He blamed this on his lack of work experience, which was limited to one work placement arranged by the college.

Similar to other young people from poorer backgrounds, James used conventional jobseeking strategies, such a registering with the jobcentre. Similar to other jobseekers who had been referred to disability employment advisers, he believed that the specialist support provided by the jobcentre was not effective in helping him find employment.

The intersection between DHH young people's post-school outcomes and social class

There are limited data on the education and employment outcomes of disabled people in Scotland and Britain in relation to their socioeconomic characteristics. Secondary analyses of Scottish Government data on pupils in publicly funded schools has revealed that there is an association between the socioeconomic background of pupils who are DHH and their attainment levels, as well as their post-school destinations (Fordyce et al, 2014). School leavers who are DHH and come from the most disadvantaged areas in Scotland were more likely to be unemployed than both DHH school leavers from more advantaged areas and their non-disabled counterparts.

Like all Scottish young people from the most deprived backgrounds (Sosu and Ellis, 2014), school leavers who are DHH are more likely to enrol in further education courses compared with their peers (Fordyce et al, 2014). It is important to note that DHH students in further education may be enrolled on a range of Scottish Vocational Qualifications at different levels, or in extension (or 'special') programmes for disabled students, which focus on life skills. Riddell et al (2001) explored the experiences of learning disabled young people on extension programmes and concluded that they tended to lead into a revolving cycle of training, with little chance of moving into mainstream education or employment. In addition, there is evidence to suggest that there are inconsistencies in the level and quality of support offered to students who are DHH by various Scottish colleges (Fordyce et al, 2013a), and that in the first six months students who are DHH are more likely to drop out from further education courses compared with their peers in higher education (Fordyce et al, 2013b).

On the other hand, graduates who are DHH have good employment outcomes (Fordyce et al, 2014). This success is likely to be attributable

both to their high skill levels, and also to their relatively high socioeconomic status, which provides access to social networks, facilitating entry to the professions via internment positions and work experience. An analysis of parental occupations of DHH students in higher education suggests that they are a relatively advantaged group, similar to their non-disabled peers: approximately 60% of students in both groups have parents in managerial and professional occupations (Fordyce et al, 2014).

Conclusions: the interplay between deafness, social class and employment

Evidence is mounting with regard to the importance of different types of social capital available to young people from more and less socially advantaged backgrounds as they negotiate the world beyond the school gates. Scottish Government survey and administrative data (see Fordyce et al, 2013b) indicate that school leavers who are DHH have lower qualifications and as a consequence their post-school trajectories are different from those of their non-disabled peers. The small proportion who have the necessary qualifications to enter higher education have very positive employment outcomes. However, DHH people with lower qualifications are very likely to be excluded from the labour market altogether or find themselves in low-level and insecure jobs. DHH people from poorer backgrounds may suffer a triple disadvantage. First, they have to compete for work with an increasingly overqualified workforce. Second, they may lack the resources to overcome systemic barriers in the labour market (such as parental social capital and extended social networks, which would give them access to gainful employment, and the ability to take advantage of social support mechanisms, like the employment protection legislation or employment support programmes such as Access to Work). And, finally, they may be more likely to be victims of employer discrimination. Due to their hearing loss and possible communication difficulties, they may be perceived by employers as lacking the soft skills that are increasingly important in the low-skills area of the labour market (Keep, 2012).

The case studies of young people who are DHH in Scotland reveal qualitative differences in the disabling barriers encountered by people with low and high qualifications. The magnitude of these barriers is amplified by the difference in social resources between those from more and less advantaged backgrounds. The Scottish Government recognises the need to improve transitions for school leavers with additional

support needs. However, the latest report on the implementation of the Additional Support for Learning Act 2004 (Scottish Government, 2014), which covers the issue of post-school transitions, does not mention the increased risk of stalled transitions of DHH young people from disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition, there is a growing tension between government rhetoric of support for disabled people and the undertow of hostility towards those living with poverty and disability, who are increasingly likely to be stigmatised and excluded (Jones, 2011). Unless there are serious efforts to understand the relationship between poverty and disability, young disabled people, including those who are DHH, are likely to be the victims of the growing economic inequalities associated with late capitalist societies.

Notes

[1] Access to Work is a British government grant for disabled people in employment, towards extra costs such as specialised equipment and support workers.

[2] Jobcentre Plus is an executive agency of the British Department for Work and Pensions. It offers support to people who are looking for work and/or who are in receipt of benefits.

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the National Deaf Children's Society for funding the research project with the title 'Post-school Transitions of Young People who are Deaf or Hard of Hearing', on which this chapter is based. We would also like to thank colleagues Rachel O'Neill, Elisabet Weedon and Audrey Cameron, who collaborated on the project.

References

Berthoud, R. (2007) *Work-rich, work-poor: Three decades of change*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Burchardt, T. (2005) *The education and employment of disabled young people: Frustrated ambition*, Bristol: Policy Press.

Directorate-General for Education and Culture (2012) *Education and disability/special needs policies and practice in education, training and employment for students with disabilities and special educational needs in the EU: An independent report prepared for the European Commission by the NESSE network of experts*, Brussels: European Commission.

Dyson, A. and Kozleski, E.B. (2008) 'Disproportionality in special education: a transatlantic phenomenon', in L. Florian and M. McLaughlin (eds) *Dilemmas and alternatives in the classification of children with disabilities: New perspectives*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press, pp 170-90.

Ebersold, S. (2012) *Transitions to tertiary education and work for youth with disabilities*, Paris: OECD Publishing.

Elwan, A. (1999) *Poverty and disability: A survey of literature*, Washington, DC: The World Bank.

Faas, C., Benson, M.J. and Kaestle, C.E. (2012) 'Parent resources during adolescence: effects on education and careers in young adulthood', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 16(2), pp 151-71.

Fordyce, M., Riddell, S., O'Neill, R. and Weedon, E. (2013a) *Post-school transitions of people who are deaf or hard of hearing: Report commissioned by the National Deaf Children's Society*, Edinburgh: Centre for Research in Education, Inclusion and Diversity.

Fordyce, M., Riddell, S., O'Neill, R. and Weedon, E. (2013b) *Post-school transitions of people who are deaf or hard of hearing: Appendices*, Edinburgh: Centre for Research in Education, Inclusion and Diversity.

Fordyce, M., Riddell, S., O'Neill, R. and Weedon, E. (2014) 'Educational outcomes of young people in Scotland who are deaf or hard of hearing: intersections of deafness and social class', *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, published online 30 June, doi: 10.1080/13603116.2014.929749.

Garberoglio, C.L., Cawthon, S.W. and Bond, M. (2014) 'Assessing English literacy as a predictor of postschool outcomes in the lives of deaf individuals', *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 19(1), pp 50-67.

Hills, J. (2013) *Winners and losers in the crisis: The changing anatomy of educational inequality in the UK 2007-2010 social policy in a cold climate: Research report 02*, London: Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion.

Iannelli, C. (2003) 'Parental education and young people's educational and labour market outcomes: a comparison across Europe', in I. Kogan and W. Muller (eds) *School-to-work transition in Europe: Analyses of the EULFS 2000 qd hoc module*, Mannheim, Germany: MZES, pp 27-53.

Iannelli, C. and Smyth, E. (2008) 'Mapping gender and social background differences in education and youth transitions across Europe', *Journal of Youth Studies*, 11(2), pp 213-32.

Jones, M.K. and Sloane, P.J. (2010) 'Disability and skill mismatch', *Economic Record*, 86(1), pp 101-14.

Jones, O. (2011) *Chavs: The demonization of the working class*, London: Verso.

Keep, E. (2012) *Youth transitions, the labour market and entry into employment: Some reflections and questions*: *SKOPE Research Paper Number 88*, Cardiff: SKOPE.

Meager, N. and Higgins, T. (2011) *Disability and skills in a changing economy*, Briefing Paper Series, Wath Upon Dearne, UK: UK Commission for Employment and Skills.

Merrill, B. and West, L. (2009) *Using biographical methods in social research*, London: Sage Publications.

Newman, L., Wagner, M., Knokey, A.-M., Marder, C., Nagle, K., Shaver, D. and Schwarting, M. (2011) *The post-high school outcomes of young adults with disabilities up to 8 years after high school: A report from the national longitudinal transition study-2 (NLTS2) (NCSER 2011-3005)*, Menlo Park, CA: SRI International.

Office for Disability Issues (2013) *Disability equality indicators*, London: Office for Disability Issues, http://odi.dwp.gov.uk/disability-statistics-and-research/disability-equality-indicators.php

Riddell, S., Baron, S. and Wilson, A. (2001) '*Social capital and people with learning difficulties', International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 11(1), pp 3-23.

Rydberg, E., Gellerstedt, L.C. and Danermark, B. (2011) Deaf people's employment and workplaces–similarities and differences in comparison with a reference population, *Scandinavian Journal of Disability Research*, 13(4), pp 327-45.

Sayce, L. (2011) *Getting in, staying in and getting on: Disability employment support fit for the future*, London: Department for Work and Pensions.

Schley, S., Walter, G., Weathers, R., Hemmeter, J., Hennessey, J. and Burkhauser, R. (2011) 'Effect of postsecondary education on the economic status of persons who are deaf or hard of hearing', *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 16(4), pp 524-36.

Scottish Government (2012) *Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation 2012: A national statistics publication for Scotland*, Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Scottish Government (2013) *Pupil Census Supplementary Data*, Edinburgh: SG, http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/dspupcensus/pupcensus2012

Scottish Government (2014) *Implementation of the Education (Additional Support for Learning) (Scotland) Act 2004 (as amended): Report to Parliament 2013*, Edinburgh: Scottish Government.

Siltanen, J. (2004) 'Inequalities of gender and class: charting the sea change', in J. Curtis, E.G. Grabb and L. Guppy (eds) *Social inequality in Canada* (4th edn), Toronto, Canada: Pearson Education Canada.

Sosu, E. and Ellis, S. (2014) *Closing the attainment gap in Scottish education*, York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Vernon, A. (1999) 'The dialectics of multiple identities and the disabled people's movement', *Disability & Society*, 14(3), pp 385-98.