

Teachers' pedagogic discourses around
bilingual children:
Encounters with difference

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bilingual children:
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ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to open up a professional context in relation to practice around teaching bilingual children to seek further insights for myself and other educational professionals. It can be argued that the only differences between bilingual or monolingual children are those of linguistic and cultural repertoire. Therefore understandings were sought about how these differences were understood within education. This qualitative study loosely adopted a grounded theory approach, involving note taking and observations within a large multi ethnic primary school in the North West of England where the large majority of children were developing their English as an additional language. To gain further insights into the basis of educational practice, six primary school teachers were interviewed in relation to their teaching of bilingual children. The researcher also reflexively engaged with the inquiry throughout so that there was a relational engagement with the data and knowledge construction. The usefulness of Foucauldian insights into power being dispersed and embedded in discourse became evident and this was explored within the teachers' discourses using generative rather than reductive theorising. It was realised that language was integral to the social construction of any perceived reality around bilingual children. The study became to centre upon discursive contexts and the social, political and historical aspects that were implied. Within these contexts I was able to situate my own professional experience alongside those of the teachers in a critical exploration of practice.

The emergence of the themes of *invisibility* and *inaudibility* of the languages of bilingual children became evident in the school discourses. Within a further level of poststructural analysis, Ricoeur's wider and philosophical understandings of language together with Rancière's insightful link of sensory perception to politics, leads to a new interpretation. This is one that depicts how perceptions of those involved in education may coalesce to avoid genuine linguistic and cultural *encounters* within school and education. It is suggested that many perceptions are upheld by questionable assumptions. These assumptions include notions such as language separation which are inscribed within narrow curricula with limited educational aims.

The thesis concludes by indicating that a broader social acceptance is consequent upon meaningful linguistic and cultural encounters within the school experience, including special educational contexts, which seek to help children to *translate* (in a philosophical

sense) their home and school identities. Innovative use of theory supports a reappraisal of pedagogy around bilingual learners that seeks to reconnect professionals to a research-based pedagogy that perceives children in local, national and international contexts.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a professional reflection upon my practice as teacher and lecturer with a particular focus on English as an Additional language (EAL) and bilingualism over the past three decades. I wish in this introduction to tell you some of the experiences that raised the questions that prompted this undertaking. Firstly, however, I need to interrogate the nature of the focus and to clarify some of the terms that I have used. The focus comes from my experience and knowledge of EAL and bilingualism. The experience is of three decades of working with bilingual learners and the knowledge is of the wide range of research and pedagogy connected to this. My professional roles have involved meeting the assumed linguistic and cultural needs of bilingual children within the school situation, and I have worked within school, local authority and university teams with this focus. I also recall that I chose this route due to a commitment to ideals of equality.

Undertaking the route to the Doctor in Education (Ed.D.), which is part taught, being assessed through assignments and part thesis, I have had the privilege and opportunity to reflect on my roles as well as on the educational perceptions of bilingual children. In this thesis, I seek to clarify what these perceptions are, why they are there, and how perceptions work to hold discourses in place. I chose the reflective route of the EdD course which opened my mind to a range of different ideas. Ideas of socially constructed reality gripped my imagination as I came to realise that my own professional identity was intricately related to who bilingual pupils were, not only to me personally but to schools, universities, teachers, governments and bilingual children and communities themselves. This personal quest is therefore linked to the whole societal and globally contested and constructed edifice of education.

In this thesis I have mainly used the term of bilingual child or children, and it is intended for this to be interchangeable with the terms multilingual and plurilingual. The choice of the term children, in preference to that of learners or pupils, is to reflect a holistic perspective and is in avoidance of any particular usage in policy. Initially I was seeking to focus on bilingual children who did not make progress, but found the need to also navigate terminology around special educational needs (SEN). I found that this terminology did not appear holistic and that this also would form a part of the study. Firstly, however, I found it necessary to consider in greater depth the terms in use around bilingual children.

To this end, and to illustrate some of the issues within EAL that began to puzzle me, I refer to one of the modular assignments of the taught part of the doctoral course at appendix A. In this assignment, to gain the skills as a researcher I conducted some action research with student teachers who had taken my EAL and diversity specialism option on the undergraduate teaching degree course. The aim of this research was to help students to incorporate some of the children's local or community language within the teaching of EAL and curriculum content. Glancing at the first paragraph of the assignment, I note that my own use of the term EAL is very prominent. I further reflect that as well as my own frequent usage, this probably reflects the use of this term within policy documents. I reflect therefore that the use of EAL was perhaps an expedient rather than personal choice and I wondered at the influences on the language use of professionals and the implications. Could this change in use of language present a different perspective on the learner? Whose perspective did it present and why was it there? The need to further interrogate professional language thus presented itself. Looking at the findings within the assignment at appendix A, I have first highlighted that 'at the beginning of the term students had reflected on what they thought teaching of EAL entailed and at this stage children's first languages were not mentioned.' The students had not realised that the teaching of bilingual children would involve the knowledge of children's languages.

The teaching of bilingual children or of EAL appeared at that point to be an issue of knowledge. While a lot of teachers have experience of teaching bilingual children, if they did not know of the research about bilingualism they might not include the home languages. While it is probably understandable that this should be the case amongst students, it made me question why I saw little or no evidence of community language use in the teaching pedagogy in the curriculum subjects on graduate and postgraduate teaching courses, within my university as well as in the schools where I visited students to observe student teaching practice. Was it just a matter of tutors and teachers lacking the knowledge, or were there other reasons?

Looking further at my assignment, other things begin to emerge. In the second highlighted area (appendix A), I reported, 'I twice tried to rearrange this group to include a student speaking a community language. Each time they rearranged themselves back to exclude this person.' As I tried to mix bilingual students in with non-bilingual students, I found resistance from the students along the lines of pre-existing ethnic divisions.

In another group, as depicted in the third highlighted area (appendix A), one of the monolingual students confided in me that 'she sometimes felt rude and ignorant because she did not know what to do or say or how to act with students from other backgrounds.' Furthermore, the bilingual student in her group did not feel able to use her own Bangla language with the Bengali child in the group. What forces, I wondered, constrained these students?

As I reflected that the students were recently children in schools themselves, I came to the realisation that the teaching or specialism of EAL did not reside in knowledge alone of English or home languages. There were other societal factors glimpsed, and it was these other factors I wanted to investigate.

What is the knowledge and understanding of linguistic diversity in the education system? How are bilingual children constructed, perceived and understood? This leads onto other questions such as, how well does the education system know bilingual children or indeed all children? Which children do they know? To answer these and other questions I chose the study of the discourses of teachers, as teachers are at the interface of the child and the educational system and are the channel and mediators of policy, knowledge and understanding. This research to me is important because educationalists need to know what to include in the training of teachers in regard to EAL and bilingualism, and to realise the best in education for all our children.

In casual conversation with former colleagues, we found ourselves bemoaning the fact that there was nothing new. Why did we feel this, when there is a continual stream of research about EAL? There are some small government initiatives and also, importantly, a continual flow of the children of migrants into school. A new approach then is perhaps needed.

I have envisioned this study broadly as a series of encounters metaphorically speaking, because in the journey through life, some encounters, meetings and ideas persist and continue to travel with you while some fall away. It is also an effort to research and attempt to fathom a mystery or puzzle. As the research is qualitative, I have employed narrative devices in the use of imagination, to gain further insight.

Chapter one is an exploration of the scene. Within the territory of wider research and literature, I will examine the socioscape or landscape of curriculum and inclusion to contextualise this research. Relevant here are the distinctive knowledge and

understandings that appear to comprise EAL pedagogy. I will look at the view of the bilingual child in the development of policy and curriculum, and the overlap between other educationally constructed categories, particularly EAL and SEN. I will identify fissures, gaps and spaces in pedagogy, policy and curriculum.

In chapter two I will explain the choice of grounded theory methodology employed as the vehicle to traverse the intricacies of the social worlds constructed within the discourses of the teachers. I will examine how questionnaires were employed as probes to gain evidence in relation to the broad research questions and to elicit teachers to talk about their role, the issues and their children. I will explain how I examined the transcripts to establish meaning and arrive at themes and concepts.

Chapter three will depict how, as researcher, I worked over the seams and layers of data to examine the grains of meaning to consider a range of possible interpretations and to clarify how these were considered and suggested. Links and explanation through literature are explored. Key language used, understandings and omissions around EAL development, bilingualism, curriculum and assessment are examined to reveal missing areas and divides.

In chapter four I seek theoretical models and employ narrative devices to imagine social worlds and to support aesthetic and political thinking around the data. This is with a view to envisioning a range of perspectives by looking at the political role in perpetuating relations of power and averting other possibilities. Explanation of reasons for gaps and missing parts are sought. Analysis of alternatives, mediation and ways of thinking laterally about the issues are suggested.

In chapter five I review the previous chapters to extrapolate from them the learning from the research. I outline the dynamic nature of the enquiry as regards ontological, epistemological and political positions. Key learning from both the process and outcomes and from personal and professional viewpoints is detailed.

As I have attempted to introduce my work and myself to you, I reflect that this research and thesis was written to reflect on the very question of my professional identity. You may ask, who is this educational professional who has specialised in bilingual children? This thesis is here to help me to substantially address that question. It is to reflect on the societal and educational response to diversity of which I am a part. In undertaking this I seek to

discover who I have become as well as to seek direction as to where to go next in relation to bilingual learners. I would therefore invite the reader to join me in this quest.

CHAPTER 1. Encounters with literature-exploring the scene

In sensing that something was missing, not quite right or out of place in connection with the teaching of bilingual children, I ask what the issues are for bilingual children and what are the pedagogical implications for the professional? In a study of teacher discourses I aim to see how bilingual pupils are constructed within education and to link this with the wider field. According to Charmaz (2006:163), both the theoretical frameworks and literature review chapters are 'ideological sites in which you claim, locate, evaluate, and defend your position'. This chapter is not intended as a comprehensive review of literature, but rather as a synthesis of a range of perspectives that relate to my research perspective and research questions around the education of bilingual learners. The literature is indeed a part of the enquiry where I seek to provide a depth of explanation that links the specifics of language teaching and learning with the wider social context. Being a part of this context, I will discuss these from my perspective as participant, as educator with a focus on the teaching of bilingual children.

How can I perceive the literature? As discourse and dialogue or as cacophony coexisting with silences and gaps? As landscape perhaps, the socioscape as interpreted by policy, curriculum, researchers, linguists and educators, carving their own places and territories. Certainly literature depicts territories, borderlands and marginal spaces. Overland and underground, what we can see and what disappears when tectonic plates of power collide and how individuals, myself included, who comprise the social landscape come together in the shaping and reshaping of educational space and place.

First I intend to seek an overview of the pedagogical landscape of research and literature relevant to the education of bilingual children. Secondly I wish to consider the intersection of bilingualism with other educational categories. Then, I want to examine the historical context of government policy in the UK and how this translates into curriculum and practice. After that I will examine explanations of curriculum theorists and briefly touch on philosophical perspectives and the need for these in research. In undertaking this I am interested in the viewpoints of researchers and policymakers. What are the issues for bilingual children and what are the pedagogical implications for the professional? Who or what is visible or hidden in this diverse and changing landscape? Who shapes the landscape and what are the reasons for the ensuing vistas?

Pedagogy for bilingual learners

In this section I wish to look at the roots of proposed pedagogies for bilingual learners. In viewing language and language teaching as being socially constructed, I wish to examine who is proposing what, and why this is done, rather than focusing on which approaches are more efficient in a given curriculum. Professional organisations like the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) in the UK are proactive in attempting to maintain the distinctive understandings and pedagogy around the teaching of English as an Additional Language (EAL). Starting up in 1992, their stated aim is 'to promote the effective teaching and learning of EAL and bilingual pupils in our schools' (NALDIC, 2015). NALDIC therefore is a pressure group that works within the establishment to represent its members, who in turn represent a wide range of teachers, practitioners and researchers of bilingual pupils. Is EAL pedagogy likely to address all the issues for bilingual learners? Whose needs does EAL pedagogy serve?

To investigate this, I look to an early document outlining the distinctiveness of EAL as a discipline (South, 1999), which is also reproduced in an Australian language teacher handbook (NALDIC, 1999). This document situates EAL teaching within a dynamic research base spanning a wide range of fields, including cognitive psychology, linguistics, social and cultural ethnography, bilingualism, curriculum studies, theories of teaching and learning, and language assessment. I consider the document to be ahead of its time and it is clearly stated that fundamental to language teaching is the link to sociocultural context (NALDIC 1999:6) and to social justice. I note that South claims,

If pupils' identities and existing knowledge and experience is undermined through their social and institutional experience, their learning will be undermined. (NALDIC 1999:3).

Furthermore, as it is alleged, 'the visibility of EAL as a field of education is closely linked to the visibility of bilingual children' (NALDIC 1999:3). This prompts me to consider more about this visibility. Is it a full vision or is it only partial? Who is looking, and what for?

Within EAL pedagogy, there appears to be a division between approaches that prioritise English as a goal and those that emphasise the role of linguistic and cultural background. The first concentrates on the teaching and assessment of English, to perhaps an inadvertent

marginalisation of other aspects of bilingualism. The second advocates a bilingual approach that is not seemingly evident in policy and practice. Since both aspects seem important, I need to consider which aspects are more effectively represented than others.

As regards the first approach there appears to be according to Leung, Davison and Mohan (2014), a consensus within EAL pedagogy about the need for learners to develop a high level of academic English which is best attained through the teaching of language and curriculum content together (NALDIC, 2009, Leung et al., 2014). Recent approaches to language and curriculum teaching relate to pedagogies based on Vygotskian psychology and sociocultural approaches envisioning the child actively and creatively developing language during interaction with the adult and peers. This contrasts with the innatist approaches to language of Chomsky and the individualist psychological model of child development of Piaget. These models are presented as generic but are seen to be culturally specific (Burman, 2008) with a tendency for marginalisation of minority groups.

One influential Vygotskyian approach is based on the communicative language teaching of Halliday (1973). This has been adapted for schools as a result of research in Australia (Derewianka, 1990, Gibbons, 2002). This prioritises communicative purpose and spoken and written discourse as being determinants of structure and vocabulary, and sees language as relevant to sociocultural context rather than as a fixed system. Being adaptive to curriculum purposes, it underpins most language across the curriculum approaches (Coffin, 2010).

I find research into the role of specialist and mainstream staff working in partnership to teach language and curriculum content together is also instructive (Creese, 2006). In Creese's ethnographic study, the mainstream teacher prioritised the subject rather than the language, which would indicate an important supplementary role for knowledgeable specialist staff within the school teaching team. However, the teacher did not appreciate the knowledge base and skills of the specialist who was able to demonstrate skills to identify and elicit the use of the language of the subject.

The lack of appreciation of the language knowledge required is explained, according to Leung (2005), with reference to Bernstein's ideas of the recontextualisation of knowledge in education (Bernstein, 2000). Leung (2005) has identified that EAL teaching appears to be a diffuse curriculum concern rather than a recognised subject. This also results in a removal

of professionals from their areas of interest and expertise, and I perceive that specialist staff, as well as mainstream staff, are subject to these influences.

The forces behind recontextualisation are related to existing power relations and Leung suggests the need for change. A syllabus would make second language pedagogy visible and explicit (Leung, 2005). This might be envisioned in the common European framework (Verhelst et al., 2009), or the ESL scales of Australia (Elder, 2014). Such approaches, however, involve normative assessments, and seem to feed into the ideas of fixed standard languages and homogeneity of learners. Without this, Leung considers that it is left to chance as to whether required language features are comprehensively embedded, and he questions whether the higher levels of language can be reached without comprehensive coverage and teaching strategies. The implications of Leung's approach are a requirement for all staff to be knowledgeable about both language and curriculum content, and indeed for the time and space to teach both together.

Harper, Cook and James (2010), in a US context, identify misconceptions around the teaching of EAL in the simplistic understanding that the needs of English language learners are similar to those of other diverse learners and require simple adaptations of pedagogy. This is due to the belief that the first language is acquired in the same way as subsequent languages without understanding the implications of the differences. Harper et al (2010) point out that the absence of teacher knowledge about such features as interlanguage (Selinker and Rutherford, 1992, Harper et al., 2010) resulted in the view of learner language as error. Also, a lack of language teaching pedagogical knowledge prevented the detailed identification of language structures needed for the practice required to attain native speaker competency. Furthermore, a facile understanding of the use of non-verbal communication and visuals could actually prevent engagement with language. Harper therefore sees teacher knowledge of the language differences as essential.

While I would perceive the need for teachers to be knowledgeable about language, there are dangers that this knowledge can be applied in a culturally insensitive way. In the above linguistics-based approaches, it appears to me that the teaching of the English language could be construed as the teaching of a self-contained system, abstracted from social context and placed within a socially constructed curriculum. Research seems to indicate that the promotion of the national language, which is what the teaching of EAL is doing, has marginalizing effects. According to Makoni and Pennycook (2007:129), subjects are no

longer seen as 'some kind of pre formed psychological entity,' existing outside of the forces that construct them. The promotion of national languages, with a lack of reference to local language, therefore has implications for meaning and identity. Furthermore, attention is drawn to the hybridity of languages rather than discrete boundaries, as well as the diversity of meanings within languages. Makoni and Pennycook criticize linguistics for its role in the constraint of local language practices by treating languages as separate lexiogrammatical systems (Makoni and Pennycook, 2007).

The aspect of EAL pedagogy not seemingly related directly to the teaching of English, therefore, is the valuing of home languages and cultures. Early psychological views of bilingualism as being a cognitive disadvantage have been dispelled by the work of Bialystok (Bialystok, 2010) and many others, whose empirical research demonstrates advantages of cognitive flexibility in bilingual children. Notably, bilingual children need to attend at a subliminal level to distinctions in languages and this has effects that are measurable in language domains such as auditory awareness and attention. Other empirical studies have pointed to the higher attainment of children with two well developed languages, as compared with monolinguals (Cummins, 2000, Thomas and Collier, 1997). Therefore 'premature loss' of local languages needs to be avoided and bilingual pedagogies need to be explored (Corson, 2000:99).

Much recent research has been of an interactionist and interpretative nature, 'where conversations between participants habitually involve the use of multiple communicative resources' (Saxena and Martin-Jones, 2013). In the UK this is exemplified by research into the translanguaging practices in English supplementary schools (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Using bilingual skills is seen as empowering children in their creative use of language as well as in negotiation of their bilingual and bicultural identities, which are themselves changing and changed through interaction with the wider community and world. Blackledge and Creese note 'the ambivalences and commodification, appropriations and denials embodied in children's discourses at supplementary schools' (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 225). Communication between school staff and children's community schools could be fruitful to afford mutual understandings.

Garcia uses the term translanguaging (Garcia, 2009) to illustrate the unity of the language system that embodies all children's linguistic resources. She argues for the need to adopt new dynamic theoretical frameworks and new pedagogical practices to accommodate the

understandings of the heteroglossic practices of bilingual children and be more reflective of their lives and needs as multilingual learners. This rests on principles of social justice that are impinged upon when, for example, such language practices become stigmatized at school when the 'gift of translinguaging' (Garcia, 2009:384) is marked as incorrect. Garcia (2009) recommends educating equitably to use children's languages to provide a broader, more meaningful education for everybody to function in wider global contexts and to go beyond the cultural worlds in which schooling operates.

Notably, examples of use of local languages are rarely exemplified within the English school system (Wallace, 2013) and the fear is expressed that due to a lack of recognition of local or community languages, linguistic resources are being wasted (Conteh, 2013). It is also suggested that Britain's adherence to monolingual policies might actually place English children at a disadvantage in the global marketplace (Tinsley, 2013).

There is no sign that the primary curriculum allows children's languages and cultures any significant recognition. Wallace, from a critical literacy perspective, asked how the children's cultural and linguistic resources were taken account of in the literacy hour aspect of the UK curriculum. She noted that the children's bilingual skills as translator, storyteller, and writer were not demonstrated and that children were very informed about world events in wider discussion around texts. Although some of these skills could be fashioned as part of the vertical discourse of school, they found little place for multilingual literacy practices in mainstream schooling (Wallace, 2005). What seemed important was to offer access to texts which mediate in different kinds of identity expression (Wallace, 2011). Recently arrived children wanted texts to inform about Christianity, for example, rather than reflection of their own religions, as well as books depicting lives of people like themselves, for example of the struggle of immigrants. Wallace (2011:112) talks of the 'interweaving' of cultural references required to gain differences from their own perspectives and to help children make connections between all their worlds. To do this would require great teacher and curriculum sensitivity to the contextual needs of children and that the cultural references underpinning home and school languages meet in creative expression.

The landscape of bilingualism shows children as vibrant, creative and empowered, negotiating multiple identities and heritages (Blackledge and Creese, 2010a). No less than a veritable carnival of language activity (Blackledge and Creese, 2010:223). This, however,

shows little connection to the English language teaching aspects of EAL pedagogy and largely takes place outside the public space of school. It would suggest that EAL and bilingual pedagogy has been recontextualised within education to include some aspects but not others. To meet the heights of a standard linguistic proficiency it seems necessary to climb up and away from other, lower languages, and it is necessary to see how the forces behind policy and practice have combined to bring this about. How can children be encouraged to develop all the languages needed for full participation in a national and global society? The importance of concepts relevant to social justice and relations between groups are also intricately combined. This would make me question how the issues relevant to the bilingual child are represented in policy, and the reason for gaps and spaces. First, I would like to examine notions of bilingualism and EAL as they intersect with other constructed categories within the education system.

Intersecting categories

Bilingual children may attract labels or categories additional to or other than EAL. In this section I will examine the notion of categories generally and then consider in more detail the overlap between special educational needs (SEN) and EAL. Categories within the education system are usually used during assessment to identify children for 'narrowing the gap' approaches to try to raise attainment in relation to national norms and standards. Under the Foucauldian analysis of Campbell (2013), I can see that within education there are administrative categories that map onto pre-existing socially construed categories. Ainscow, Conteh, Dyson and Gallanaugh (2007) pointed to the range of different groups identified by OFSTED (2000:4) of gender, minority ethnic groups, EAL, gifted and talented, SEN etc. They note that the term EAL is the most commonly used term to refer to bilingual children in official documentation since 2000, with some mention of bilingual pupils, and they point out how these were defined in terms of need for support (OFSTED, 2000). Ainscow et al. (2007) show how a performance-based approach informs the way schools view their families and backgrounds, as the families are judged by their capacity to attain the desired results. They sensibly suggest that schools need to develop communities of practice to mediate between government policy rather than the application of interventions and to strive for understanding of why pupils are not responding. This sees

central government not as a provider of categories and interventions, but as support for local and contextually informed initiatives (Ainscow et al., 2007).

One category that has attracted attention in policy again is social class, currently indicated by receipt of free school meals (FSM) (DFE, 2015). Here again we see the construction out of deficit rather than a positive ethos of support and understanding. Reay (2006) argues for more understanding of issues relating to socioeconomic disadvantage and social class within education, as a result of the negative impact on identity of under-attainment. Using the theory of Bourdieu, her analysis suggests that higher attaining pupils gain their distinction from the presence of lower attaining, usually poorer, children. However, Stokes, Rolfe and Hudson-Sharpe (2015) suggest that while many bilingual children fall into lower socioeconomic categories, there are indications that some, but not all, groups of bilingual children are resistant to adverse effects of socioeconomic deprivation (Stokes et al., 2015). This is suggestive of the positive effect of family influence and motivation and I see a need for more research and understanding into the interrelation of inequality and diversity.

In addition to socioeconomic factors, bilingual children also may be under or over represented in statistics for SEN according to Lindsay, Pather and Strand (2006) due to lower performance than monolingual peers. Literature on bilingualism raises the question as to how bilingual and multilingual children can be fairly assessed within monolingual assessment systems. Garcia (2009:377) suggests that bilingual students should be given the opportunity to show their proficiency in both languages and that comparing emergent bilingual children with monolingual or well developed bilingual children is unfair. If we accept this, we can see that the school assessment system is unfair in making no allowance for this. As Safford and Drury (2012: 73) note, 'large numbers of bilingual children therefore enter mainstream education pre-labelled as underachievers in relation to mother tongue English norms'. If bilingual children are not understood, in my experience this renders them liable to be considered for additional SEN assessment and pedagogy that is similarly designed for monolingual populations.

Historically, SEN ideas arose with the growth of psychology, to identify children significantly below norms that consist of verbal and non-verbal standardized tests (Thomas, 2007:35). These tests are based on what are now disputed ideas of fixed ability and were originally used to place children in separate schools (Thomas, 2007). The underlying assumptions of this approach are of deficit within the child needing remediation by mainly behaviourist

pedagogical approaches. Campbell (2013: loc 4100) takes a Foucauldian approach to dyslexia and shows how SEN categories have arisen through psychology from medical categories to being instruments of government rationality (Campbell, 2013).

The concept of SEN has long been criticized as covering up the failure of schooling and so serving to keep existing structures in place (Slee and Allan, 2001). Sociocultural ideas see the role of environment in the development and outcomes of children identified as having SEN and advocates changing the school environment to accommodate the holistic needs of children. Therefore challenges to a narrow curriculum are indicated and the ideas of fixed abilities are also being challenged. Pedagogies for children identified as having learning difficulties are not necessarily distinctive as regards curriculum or pedagogic strategy (Norwich, 2004: 221) but are already, or could be incorporated within, the school repertoire of provision (Norwich and Lewis, 2004).

Similarly in the mainstreaming of EAL and beyond, there is the aspiration for provision for EAL and bilingualism to be in the school repertoire of provision (Leung et al., 2014). The schools need to be more knowledgeable and to incorporate approaches that are favourable not only to develop the EAL, but also to encompass and accommodate more effectively the range of language use, to see language as language, and not just English only (Martin, 2009: 201).

Under the latter paradigms, the challenge for SEN is for educators to help children with, yet see beyond, the disability, and to afford access to the same curriculum as everyone else (Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011). In this view then, children will develop their abilities through a curriculum that needs to be sufficiently wide to encompass their needs. Norwich notes that inclusion and difference should not be a binary, for inclusion needs to admit of difference just as much as difference needs to admit of inclusion (Norwich, 2010). He further notes that this might work differently with different aspects of equality. For children with SEN, some professionals fear that an approach involving only access to the curriculum does not respond to needs and that the nature of the curriculum for all needs to be challenged. Hence, for both SEN and EAL, there are advocates for change.

Issues in EAL literature often focus on assessment from a psychological perspective, since educational psychology has engaged with issues of assessment in mainly empirical studies (Cline and Shamsi, 2000). Research relating to specific standardized tests commonly used by educational psychologists shows bilingual children score differently, and attain a

different profile, to monolingual children. For example, in the British Picture Vocabulary Scale (Dunn, Whetton and Burley, 1997) which is a measurement of receptive vocabulary, the technical supplement for EAL norms of a bilingual sample reports age related differences for bilingual children of nearly two years (Dunn et al., 1997). This is statistically significant and capable of obscuring valid and reliable diagnosis into SEN categories. Reports are influenced by the views of teachers, and the views of teachers may be negatively shaped by understandings of EAL and the pressures of accountability (Conteh, 2003: 115). Stow and Dodd (2005) suggest that teachers do not report the languages and backgrounds of children, indicating a lack of knowledge. Furthermore it is noted that there is no requirement in the national curriculum for schools to report on children's spoken language learning in English. Therefore the ability of teachers to inform testing might be constrained. A wider ranging general discussion of assessment is found in Martin (2009: 153).

Doubts about the validity of testing for some groups create significant implications for equality. On the one hand underperformance in verbal tests means that bilingual children are less likely to be allocated to the category of dyslexia, which Campbell (2013: loc 4112) shows avoids the negative associations of wider cognitive deficit. However, according to Lindsay, Pather and Strand (2006) they may well be over represented in other categories relying upon verbal tests and this analysis goes some way in explaining statistical under and over representation for some groups. The difficulty of providing language and culture free testing have led to a focus on whether the issue is EAL or SEN. This is semantically an oppositional approach since the bilingual child falls into both categories, and I would say that it is this overlap that needs to be addressed. Without this, inaccurate categorisation may entail the diversion from whole language communicative EAL approaches to learning, in favour of behaviourist SEN pedagogical approaches. Hypothesis testing approaches advocated by Hall, Griffiths, Haslam and Wilkins (2012) may also inadvertently lead people to assume and perpetuate fixed and deficit views of both EAL and SEN, which do not sit easily with situated sociocultural approaches to meet a range of linguistic, cultural and learning needs (Hall et al., 2012). The SEN/EAL binary hypothesis testing approach is still commonly advocated among practitioners, however (British Council, 2015).

If hypothesis testing is seen here as requiring a choice amongst alternatives that might be cumulative rather than oppositional, the recent view of SEN as a normal difference

(Norwich and Lewis, 2004) is suggestive of a continuum of different approaches. This would mean the consideration of practice that may seek to explicitly incorporate both bilingual and/or EAL pedagogies and even might seek to adapt EAL approaches for monolinguals and vice versa. A growing convergence of pedagogies with different paradigms is apparent and I suggest that these should be welcomed, since education perhaps needs to see language as a broader concept drawing on the different psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic fields as well as on theories of cognition, teaching and learning. While behaviourist repetition and overlearning may be required in some areas, this cannot be a total approach when seeing what the child can do is important. However, it is reported that some teachers cannot see beyond the special need and do see it as alternative rather than supplementary (Florian and Rouse, 2009) to views of the child as active constructor of language and learning, evident in mainstream pedagogy.

Approaches to pedagogy for children who are not making progress in particular areas are illustrated in the following three examples. Deidre Martin suggests the Cummins theoretical framework (Cummins, 1984) 'explores the interface between conceptual, academic learning and learning through language.' Martin (2005:100) argues that the Cummins approach helps children with SLCN and those learning EAL for different reasons. They both need approaches that integrate academic language with the development of concepts (Martin, 2005).

A further example is that of Hart (Hart, 2000), who also challenges the view of fixed abilities and presents a rather different view than hypothesis testing. This approach requires the teacher not to eliminate possibilities but to think through the situation from different viewpoints, including that of the child, and to challenge their own preconceptions (Hart, 2000:10). The approach by Hart affords the use of situation-based analysis and approaches, and her examples also include use of the Cummins framework with a bilingual child.

The final example is that of research to test a dyslexia screener. The empirical research of Mortimore, Hansen, Hutchings and Northcote (2010) found positive results in literacy development due to provision of a hybrid of SEN (multisensory) and EAL (contextually supportive) approaches for bilingual children with reading difficulties. They found, however, that their screener did not reliably identify children with dyslexia (Mortimore et al., 2010).

The above approaches appear to be situated and to utilise mainstream, EAL and SEN approaches, to meet aspects of sameness and difference. However, they draw on, rather than dilute, expertise, requiring professionals to be thoughtful and reflective, working in communities of practice as Ainscow et al. (2007) suggest. Drawing on repositories of knowledge centred on categories of difference need not require the labelling of children and the attribution of associated deficit within the child (Martin, 2000:65). It is useful for professionals to understand that the knowledge base refers to dynamic and contested abstract bodies of thinking about patterns and circumstances rather than any particular child.

Current school policy for SEN is embedded in the Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND) code of practice (DfE, 2014). This has replaced the previous 2001 SEN Code of Practice, which recommended that children had a first language assessment to inform about their needs (DfES 2001:46). This was the only opportunity for the child's language and culture to be officially recognized and is now omitted from the process. Secondly, although parents are supposedly central to the new legislation, there are no recommendations about translation or interpretation of the complex understandings for minority parents. The complete absence of recognition of linguistic and cultural diversity is baffling and continues to represent a policy void (Cline and Shamsi, 2000).

The two precipices of SEN and EAL, at the lower regions of progress in a narrow curriculum, seemingly straddle a chasm of difference that might envelop the child residing in both areas. How to fathom the depths needs to be of continual concern, but I would suggest that we need informed professionals in touch with dynamic pedagogies and communities, within a sensitive curriculum and assessment, to understand a range of approaches to meet the needs of individuals. This research is intended to help to explore if and how this can come about. Curriculum, however, being constructed external to the needs of minority pupils whether attracting the bilingual, EAL, FSM or SEN label, means that the discussion of policy for bilingual learners that follows below, embodied in government reports, depicts equality as a difficult struggle.

Government Policy in the UK - pre 1986

Policy is perhaps what most research and academic thinking probably wishes to influence, but could it also be the case that policy has influenced research and thinking in the narrowing of pedagogy to the teaching of one language? What is the relation between the pedagogical roots of EAL and bilingualism and the implementation of policy? The landscape of policy, according to Lewis, Gewirtz and Clarke (2000), is seen to solidify and fix in representing what are very fluid situations (Lewis et al., 2000). In this solidification, some things are omitted and reconfigured and it is interesting to see how responses to cultures, languages and pedagogies are formulated in ways to exclude some things and not others.

Looking at government policy in the UK around the needs of bilingual children, I note that there is a difference between earlier and later policy. Earlier policy encompassed language, culture and equality issues, while later policy refers to more limited English language teaching needs. This is undoubtedly due to the different remits and contexts of the reports. Plowden (1967) embodied a push for educational equality, while Bullock (1975) was concerned mainly with English teaching across the curriculum, with a growing awareness of the need for accommodation for bilingualism. The reports of Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) were directly concerned with the response of society to children from ethnic minority groups and were motivated to change the behaviour and attitudes of the majority. Later reports were focussed on attainment and changing notions of English teaching. The features of policy I will look at relate to funding, first and second languages, relevance of curriculum and knowledge of teachers.

If policies purport to combat discrimination, the provision of funding to effect policy is a contested area. At present, provision for each child for the first three years of learning English is given to schools to use how they wish in a pupil premium grant. Prior to that, from 1999 to 2011, additional provision was from the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) grant specifically ringfenced to raise the attainment of ethnic minority children, which was conducive to the provision by the Local Education Authority (LEA) of support and training (NALDIC, no date). The earliest determinant of policy, however, was additional funding from the Home Office under Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act. This funding was a 'grant for certain expenditure due to immigrant population... whose language or customs differ from those of the community.' It was initially used by LEAs to fund provision in language centres or separate classes in schools, this being a cost effective way of

deploying support. The findings of a 1986 Commission for Racial Equality (CRE, 1986) report led, however, to the closure of separate language centres. The CRE report found that in Calderdale Borough Council 'children in both language centres had no access to a normal school environment' (CRE, 1986:9). Even within schools, the organisation of learning support may be inadvertently discriminatory (Gillbourn and Youdell, 2000) and this tension has permeated additional provision for children within policy and practice.

With regard to the 'children of immigrants,' the Plowden report (Department for Education and Science, 1967) sees language as 'the worst problem of all' (DES, 1967:71) and that 'it is absolutely essential to overcome the language barrier.' The Bullock report (Department for Education and Science, 1975) continued seeing the language of children from overseas as a problem, saying there was a need for 'more and sustained tuition in English' (DES, 1975:284). This was envisaged as being delivered by specialists but also there was a realisation that it was teachers who needed to be aware of language across all curriculum areas. The Swann report (Department of Education and Skills, 1985) prioritised English, saying children needed more than language just to settle in, but a 'full command of standard English' (DES,1985:325). The Swann report (1985) expressed concerns about separate provision. It identified the need for school provision but saw specialists were needed as an interim measure.

From my point of view as an EMA funded teacher, although partnership teaching was advocated, many staff would prefer my work to be at the margins of or outside of the classroom. There is some acknowledgement of this in Creese (2012), in the examination of different power relations and the lack of subject recognition of the specialist. Indeed, Swann saw that there was a considerable way to go before responsibility for language needs was accepted by school staff (DES, 1985:395).

While the development of English was a major concern of policy, it was not the only concern. The Bullock Report (DES, 1985: 286) is clear that the school curriculum should adapt to include culturally relevant books and materials and stated:

No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold nor to live and act as if school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures. (DES, 1975:286)

The Swann report followed a period of social unrest and was concerned as to the 'ignorance of the majority community' (DES: 1985:15). Swann saw the key role of schools in educating all children for a multiracial and multicultural society and saw multicultural understandings as relevant for all pupils, not just for those from minority communities. The dangers of institutional as well as individual racism were recognised. He drew on studies of teacher ethnocentrism, seeing teachers and schools as the problem rather than the child (DES, 1985: 27) therefore rejecting colour-blind approaches to difference. Such approaches perpetuate adverse attitudes by not addressing them (Ullucci and Battey, 2011). He saw that 'a history syllabus centred on British history will only reinforce ethnocentric attitudes' (DES, 1985:330) and advocated a global perspective. This is an obvious contrast to the ethnocentric approach of history curriculum at the time of writing (DfE, 2013).

Meanwhile, Troyna (Troyna, 1987) and other academics were writing critically about the superficial culture of sari, samosas and steel bands that was part of my professional life. This was seen to warrant an additional focus on anti-racism and promotion of race equality policies by the LEAs. Professionally my work was alongside colleagues and parents and was party to their sometimes life threatening experiences of racism. One of these was a murder of a schoolboy in a playground (Macdonald et al., 1989). However, nationally, race relations policies were strongly recommended but never enforced and Robin Richardson (Richardson, 2013) notes current noncompliance of schools to publish equality objectives relevant to race and ethnicity. Anderson, writing about policy making, notes that inaction becomes a public policy when officials decline to act on a problem (Anderson, 2006).

The other serious charge by Troyna and other academics was of an orientalist, colonial and essentialist view of immigrant cultures (Troyna, 1987). This needed to be answered. As Sarah Pearce points out (Pearce, 2005), children might not celebrate Eid and Divali with Samosas, the provision of Samosas is perhaps a white understanding. On reflection, nevertheless, a form of cultural translation of understandings between cultural groups is represented. The multicultural response of the LEAs, although a product of the time, did embody working closely with local community, as well as entailing the employment of higher numbers of specialist staff than previously from a range of sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds. Modood and May (2001) similarly defend multiculturalism as being

welcoming of communities, while acknowledging that both anti-racist and multicultural traditions have strengths and weaknesses (Modood and May, 2001).

With regard to home languages, the government reports were generally positive, expecting the school and teachers to see bilingualism as an asset and that 'one of the agents who should nurture it is the school' (DES, 1985: 293). The Swann report seems aware of the low status of mother tongue and also advocated for schools to encourage 'mother tongue maintenance' (DES, 1985:293). It falls short, however, of making provision the responsibility of schools. The stated reason was the lack of evidence that it improved attainment and the idea that there was only benefit to bilingual children themselves, not to all children (DES, 1985:403). Perhaps he underestimated the resistance of schools to change as regards the linguistic and cultural understandings embedded in the report as many of the expectations, such as for schools to link with supplementary schools and free provision of premises for them, have since been eroded.

Throughout these reports, it was noted that there was a lack of school and teacher linguistic and cultural understandings. Plowden (DES, 1967: 71) reported that teachers needed to know cultural traditions. In Bullock they were to be aware of language teaching and language across the curriculum (DES, 1975) as well as needing training in multiculturalism and to learn the structure of other languages to inform their teaching (Swann: 395). I recall, however, some resistance to change in the classroom, and the preference for a colour blind approach to both language and culture (Hachfeld et al., 2015).

Yoon's research shows that teacher positioning is important (Yoon, 2008). Using sociocultural positioning theory (Van Langenhove and Harré, 1998), Yoon found that if learners were considered by the teacher as 'uninvited guests,' the teacher was unwilling to change their own teaching to meet individual pupil needs. In this situation, content knowledge was privileged over learner knowledge and failure was attributed to the primary language. If, however, the pupils were accepted as cultural and social beings, they were regarded sympathetically and provided for as language learners. Therefore classroom dynamics and power relations as well as content pedagogy were then, as now, important for bilingual learners.

One related reason for the resistance to change of schools could be that support for ethnic minorities appeared to be the only visible support for an identified group of children which may have appeared inequitable. Previous efforts towards help for working class pupils were

seen as not doing anything to change social and economic conditions and with poststructural ideas came a debate as to the relevance of class as a construct in sociology (Pahl, 1993). It is now acknowledged that issues both of race and class persist (Anthias, 2013a).

Policy until the middle of the 1980s therefore tended to be wide ranging with some unspecified idea of English language teaching appropriate for bilingual children accepted, a provisional welcome to languages endorsed and an attempt to see a curriculum relevant to individual cultures. There was recognition of a school role in the combat of racism and of the importance of education for a multicultural society and changing world. After the middle of the eighties, all the locally and nationally constructed effort to implement this was shortly to be subsumed into a narrow curriculum.

Policy post 1986

I now wish to reflect on what appears to happen next. According to Gillard (2011), 1986 was the end of the dominance of the LEA in education. This was the second term of the Thatcher government, with recession and increased marketization (Gillard, 2011). The Kingman report (Department for Education and Science, 1988) showed a more sophisticated understanding of language than previous reports, drawing on academic theory and research in understandings of knowledge about language and knowledge of language. It demonstrated understandings of the value of home dialects and the arbitrariness yet value of English as 'a language in common', cited the good practice of the teaching of Punjabi in schools and also used examples of teachers' employment of Urdu to deepen understandings of all children as to the meanings of words. It also advocated language coordinators and consultants in schools. These understandings about language per se do not appear to have been taken up or embedded in practice. It is pertinent to wonder why wider understandings and an opening up to a more equitable consideration of languages has not been taken up by schools and teachers, and to consider if this is due to the domination of the standard variety of English and language separation ideas.

Cameron and Bourne show how the Kingman report, and ensuing national curriculum, continue to re-inscribe the ideological position of standard English and to marginalise local languages as well as to reinstate grammar into the curriculum (Cameron and Bourne, 1988).

While policy appears to welcome diversity, the 'universal' (Heller, 2007) model of language development and assessment in a standard language as embodied by the 1988 National Curriculum, closes it down. Heller and the range of research taking a social approach sees the construction of boundaries around a standard language as being artificial and a social positioning of boundaries between self and other. This is political in the imposition of a social language hierarchy, which is in effect divisive and inequitable. For Heller then, the problem should not be how to attain accuracy against the norms of language development for monolinguals and those with differential experiences of language, but how to change this positioning.

In 1989 the Cox report built on Kingman and added that 'all children must have access to the same attainment targets and programmes of study for English.' At this point, where the convergence or conflation of the needs of first and second language learners were merged into one, it seemed that this was how the mainstreaming of EAL provision became policy. The need for complex pedagogical understanding was thus averted.

In response to the publication of the Cox (1989) and Kingman (1988) reports on the state of English teaching and learning in schools for children aged 5-16, the Language in the National Curriculum (LINC) project was set up by professionals to produce materials for in service teacher training. Political influence was brought to bear, however, as the materials were rejected in 1991 as the government decided that the programme was insufficiently formal and decontextualized and paid insufficient attention to the rules of standard English (Carter, no date). Further politicization of education is demonstrated in the thwarting of the Cambridge Review. This was a major report embodying a wider view of curriculum and assessment with wide ranging democratic consultation (Alexander and Armstrong, 2010).

Within both the current National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) and the National Literacy Strategy (DfES, 1997), minorities were not central to the thinking of policy makers. Due to this a diffuse (Leung, 2001) communicative language teaching approach appears by default to be the national system of language teaching, requiring staff trained in the ability to operate the curriculum and the participation of the child. The input of Vygotskian scaffolding and focus on questioning, pace, genre, structure and cohesion, however, supported children developing EAL to do well in the schools that I worked in and even to outperform monolingual peers. Conteh (Conteh, 2013) also agrees that this genre approach, which was based on Halliday's linguistics (Halliday, 1973), was beneficial for bilingual children (Conteh,

2013:136). Kevan Collins, Chief Executive of Tower Hamlets Education authority at the time, reports similarly reports good results with the EAL pupils in Tower Hamlets following implementation of the National Literacy Strategy (NLS), a major initiative to implement the first national literacy curriculum (Collins and Keating, 2013). Collins and Keating, however, attribute the success not to the structured communicative approach but to ‘a reform of local education values and the emergence of a shared accountability.’ Interestingly, a recent statistical report by Greaves, Macmillan and Sibieta (2014:36) for the Social Mobility and Child Poverty Commission, also attributes the achievement of bilingual children in cities such as London and Manchester to the earlier policies of the NLS, rather than to academies or initiatives to improve attainment like the London Challenge (Greaves et al., 2014). Another statistical report by Stokes, Rolfe and Hudson-Sharpe (2015) for the National Institute of Social Research apparently contradicts this, attributing success not to school but to that of factors relating to parent, family and student (Stokes et al., 2015). All of these factors may be important but in view of the complexity, it is easy to see the space for political ideology to take hold over educational pedagogy.

If a particular pedagogical approach in the curriculum appears to benefit bilingual learners, then any changes to the curriculum may be expected to detract or enhance that success. From 2014 the National Curriculum (DfE, 2013) has been changed to one that embodies more traditional approaches. In many respects this can arguably be seen as less conducive for language development of learners. It arguably includes less focus on speaking and listening, less contextualisation in discourse, less focus on cohesion in writing, and a less relevant curriculum. Conversely, a focus on traditional grammar exercises is not associated with success in usage (Wyse, 2001). However, a postmodern approach may see all these approaches as being beneficial to different learners, at different times and for different purposes. The teacher would need the detailed knowledge of pupils and understandings of the various strategies with the time and freedom to develop their pedagogies and to understand ideological positions of various choices.

That the national provision at the time of writing may not meet all needs is perhaps the reason that educational foundations have entered onto the scene. Examples of these are the Education Endowment Foundation, Unbound Philanthropy and the Bell Foundation, funded by the government and who, while appearing independent, work within the efficiency agenda of the curriculum (The Bell Foundation, 2015). Furthermore in this

context, academic reports appear to justify their aims (Strand, 2015) in endorsement of a deficit view of spoken English (Gorski, 2011) and in isolating the child from sociocultural context. It is interesting also that the review of interventions (Murphy, 2014) that appear to work with EAL children in the curriculum do not convey understandings of pedagogy relevant to research traditions in linguistics, but rather appear as requiring no particular understanding of staff. Only interventions in connection with the literacy curriculum are considered, as a holistic view of language is subsumed by this approach. Without the remit of critically interrogating the curriculum itself as a language teaching instrument, and as an agent responsible for participatory social justice, teaching professionals may therefore find themselves in the uncomfortable position of policing the boundaries of standard English and may need to question themselves as to how they can mitigate the consequent denigration of the cultural and linguistic repertoires of the most vulnerable.

Previous approaches of the Labour government (1997-2010) incorporated guidance materials relevant to the teaching of bilingual pupils in order to narrow attainment gaps (Primary National Strategy, 2006). However, these, like the LA provision of the 80's, were arguably peripheral to a curriculum that paid lip service to diversity within the mainstream materials. Furthermore the explicit purpose of developing EAL was to narrow attainment gaps and so this maintained a view of bilingualism being useful until an elementary level of English was attained. Such things as bilingualism and biculturalism were therefore confined to approaches concerned with removal of barriers to learning, rather than being an equality or identity related issue. Modood (2011) points out the high aspiration and attainment of some Asian groups that provides more support for the view that policy needs to change from assumptions of deficit.

A commitment to the cultural relevance of curriculum for individuals, as well as a concern to address how groups perceive each other, was visible within former policy but is arguably missing from later and modern policy development, as the focus is on attainment in English. Modood responds to controversy about the concept of multiculturalism by saying that post immigration communities wish to be written into the public space of the British story and not excluded from it (Modood, 2011). A report on the effect of community cohesion policies for the Rowntree Trust by Hudson, Phillips, Ray and Barnes (2007) found that participants questioned the emphasis on similarities rather than difference. They suggested that as the public space is the place where communities first meet, more opportunities for

exploring difference in this space would enhance mutual understanding (Hudson et al., 2007). Similarly, schools are where children from different communities meet and we might expect children to develop their understandings through curricula.

This would suggest from a pedagogical point of view a need to reconnect with the full EAL research base to seek a comprehensive perspective. Furthermore, at all stages, policy has resisted the valuing of local languages by not making them part of the curriculum. Where this has been an option, as with the National Languages Strategy (Department for Education and Skills, 2002), take up is minimal (Ratcliffe, 2013). This would suggest the need for a specific focus on this aspect.

Educational policy has shaped the educational landscape considerably. The move from local to national responsibility appears to have been arguably accompanied by the atrophying of multicultural and antiracist strategy, away from the appreciation of the bilingual abilities of children, and is suggestive of a move from integrationist to assimilatory policies. Assimilation implies that aspects of language and culture are viewed as relevant temporarily until the child and family become indistinguishable to the rest of the population, a process of 'absorbing difference' (Anthias, 2013b). Could the green and pleasant land of England be creating homogenous sociocultural deserts and wastelands?

Curriculum theory

We have seen how policies influence curricula that shape the language and learning landscapes for children and schools. This affects not only approaches to languages and language teaching but also how children view themselves in the world in relation to others, including minorities. What are the influences on the curriculum and how can educators position themselves to effect change? To answer these and other questions I look to literature on curriculum theory, which while not maybe addressing the question of bilingualism directly, may illuminate the issues.

To conclude from the previous section, by the end of 1980s, the policy landscape appeared to be wide ranging for bilingual children, drawing on the wide range of pedagogies around language and culture (Hester, 1984). These pedagogies met with varying degrees of acceptance and resistance at local and policy level. The public face of school however, was responding to perceived social and educational needs. In short, the educational system

could be seen to be involved in the socialisation of the schools, teachers and children to accommodate change. It was working within the social context of the time to change social attitudes towards languages and cultures. Biesta (Biesta, 2013) asks us to revisit the aims of education:

Qualification (roughly the domain of knowledge and skills); socialisation (the educational encounter with cultures and traditions); and subjectification (education's orientation towards children and students as subjects of action and responsibility, not objects of intervention and influence) (Biesta, 2013: 39).

This sees the role of education not solely as service to the labour market, but as responding to a range of social and cultural understandings. However, national curricula are responses by government to global forces, and as we have seen, in the UK this involved a centralisation of educational power away from local involvement and local circumstances.

Anderson-Levitt (2008) sees the dangers of globalisation, with curricula representing the narrow concerns of international companies and richer countries (Anderson-Levitt, 2008). This is exemplified by the curriculum of the Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD) programme for international assessment (PISA) and comparison of reading, mathematics and science. According to Priestly and Biesta (2013:230) as countries adjust their policies to attain better results assuming that this is conducive to economic competitiveness, it is seen to define what good education is and is seen by them as essentially undemocratic.

Priestly and Biesta (2013) note that there needs to be explicit teaching of democratic values. They also point out that teaching of values goes beyond information but needs to be experienced within the school and communities of children. Applying this to bilingual children, this would entail the active appreciation of and involvement in local language, dialect and culture. The view of children embodied in curricula, however, according to Priestly and Biesta, appears to be as recipients of skills rather than active agents of democracy creating their own learning opportunities. A democratic curriculum would have concern for the participatory nature of democracy (Priestley and Biesta, 2013).

A democratic curriculum would therefore see teachers and students as active constructors of knowledge. In the reports of Swann (1985), Bullock (1975) and Kingman (1988), that drew upon research and practice, teachers were seen as starting to construct wider and

deeper knowledge of language and languages, which was curtailed due to direct political intervention (Carter, no date). In the implementation of predetermined national curricula, the current trend prioritising economics perhaps situates teachers increasingly as technicians and facilitators rather than there being an appreciation of the complexity of the task and the creative nature of the instructional role (Biesta, 2009).

According to Apple (Apple, 2000), teachers are increasingly being deskilled. Apple builds on Bernstein's analysis of knowledge being recontextualised in curriculum and taken away from the original knowledge base, research and debates in the field (Apple, 2000:64). The effect is to remove teachers from the position as subject specialists and ensures modification of knowledge. With regard to the broad base of pedagogy for bilingual children, if the curriculum alone is seen to define what counts as knowledge, this perhaps obviates the need for this pedagogy as well as from debate within the educational field.

Pinar (2012) sees that ideas and knowledge are being replaced by cognitive skills and that the regime of teaching to the test is a race to nowhere' (Pinar, 2012:12). He notes that testing distracts teachers from racialized, gendered and economic injustice (Pinar, 2012:65), as 'black bodies' are viewed as only being important economically. In this view, efforts at multiculturalism, cohesion and equality, worked on in previous policy, are also seen as being marginalised and not relevant to success (Pinar, 2012).

As curricula are becoming modified due to the need for measurability, they are becoming increasingly abstract and removed from their diverse local contexts. Furthermore, Apple refers to the intensification of the nature of modern work and the fact that this means teachers take short cuts and have less time for activities not directly measured (Apple, 2000). Adaption of materials and resources to ensure that local cultures, languages and contexts are represented, then, is seen as additional and as unimportant.

Pinar uses the analogy of Weimar Germany with the USA and Europe today. Mass production brought standardisation of goods and people. Regimentation and control was made visible by the mass ornament (Pinar, 2012:79) pageants with rows of spectators and formations of people. Severe austerity meant that middle class employees as well as blue collar workers were unable to keep up with the faster pace of work. Minorities were scapegoated and failure of political and economic policies caused hyperinflation and the rise of the Nazi party.

Pinar sees mass visual representation today in films and media. He highlights the change in policy that commenced as America blamed schools for falling behind in the space race. The mission of democratisation of liberal culture, according to him, was abandoned (Pinar: 228). The emphasis on test scores produces regimentation, reduces curriculum and subjects to abstractions, increases the intensification of work as in all the labour market and entails the following of orders on a mass scale. These, for Pinar, are ingredients for fascism and are features of the current situation (2007).

It must be expected that curricula are political and are sites of political struggle with politics, from egalitarian to authoritarian, penetrating the layout of the classrooms, as well as content, pedagogy and organisation (Popkewitz, 2009). This would support my understanding of the interactive and explicit features of the communicative speaking and listening components of the literacy hour as being more egalitarian, say, than the considerably lesser focus on spoken language of the revised National Curriculum (DfE, 2013). In the former National Curriculum based on the wider views embodied in Kingman (1981), 'speaking and listening' comprised a distinct attainment target embodying specific pedagogy, whereas the 'spoken language' of the revised curriculum appears to relate to less specific exhortation to teachers.

This may appear to be a depressing situation, but Anderson-Levitt (2008) points out that while curricula in different countries have an emphasis on core curricula and skills, how these are enacted display a variety of diversity and localism. Therefore in this view, schools and educators appear to have agency and this would be a social interactionist perspective. Furthermore, Pinar, whose concerns are with curricular reproduction of inequalities, does see the possibility for a globally aware curriculum (Pinar, 2009), which 'cultivates comprehension of alterity, including that self-knowledge that enables understanding of others.'

Are curricula in the modern world too busy concentrating on a skills curriculum assumed to bring economic success and diverting a focus on a just society? Could the educational landscape perhaps be diverted from the potential eruption of possibly divisive social forces?

In looking at policy and curriculum, I have been able to demonstrate the influences brought to bear on the range of research, pedagogy and understandings about bilingual children.

My research

The educational landscape that the bilingual primary child steps into has been carved out for him or her by school policy, curriculum, teacher views of languages, and understandings about learning, each with histories and bodies of knowledge that sometimes harmonize and sometimes come in conflict with each other. My research seeks to explore gaps in policy and practice to gain a dynamic perspective on the interaction of these various factors and to gain an understanding of how they work together in a particular time and place. EAL and bilingualism in the UK are under researched. There is a comprehensive review for the former Training and Development Agency (TDA) (Andrews, 2009) around the needs of a teacher workforce. Much research also shows gaps in training for teachers on the diverse needs of bilingual learners (Cajkler and Hall, 2009, Foley et al., 2012, Safford and Kelly, 2010). However, my own uncertainty as to what the issues are for bilingual learners in schools leads me on a quest at classroom level to ascertain new understandings for teachers. There is much ethnographic research in homes, communities and supplementary schools showing the warmth and the creativity of the use of languages and lives that practitioners often rarely glimpse (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, Conteh and Brock, 2010). I would like to understand further why these are often left outside or marginalized in many classrooms and how to bring these aspects into the mainstream. Practitioners like myself constantly question why there are still gaps in provision, knowledge and understanding after decades of experience in education (Flynn, 2015, Safford and Drury, 2012). There is a need for new approaches and new understandings that will support the work of educationalists within the inconsistencies of educational policy in promoting an ethical education for bilingual children.

The bilingual child steps into an undulating, ever-changing world, and as I use the metaphor of landscape to help perceive and bring to life to the words on paper, so theory uses metaphor to support thinking. Saxena and Martin-Jones, in their review of research on multilingualism, say that recent ethnological approaches have made links with wider ideologies to seek fuller explanatory accounts (Saxena and Martin-Jones, 2013). Most engagement with contemporary thought, however, has been through the work of Foucault (1991) and Bourdieu (1991). Saxena and Martyn Jones (2013) argue that, invaluable as this is, the outcome appears overly pessimistic and determining and there are still spaces for

interaction, as power has to be performed. This may be so, but I would argue that if practitioners are to navigate the constraints, they must be made visible. Practitioners need to know directions that may help them to avoid perpetuating unhelpful ideologies.

Perusal of policy has shown that approaches to the teaching of bilingual learners in schools are contested areas embedded in linguistic, cultural and ideological responses to increasing diversity (Leung 2007:253). This political dimension requires that we widen our approach to see how theoretical understandings afford greater insights. One such notion is that of *hospitality*, a concept deriving from Greek philosophy through Kant, Derrida and others. Yegenoglu (2012:8) discusses the concepts of conditional and unconditional *hospitality*, the former allowing the host to retain sovereignty favoured by Kant, the latter an egalitarian theoretical position advocated by Derrida. Employing the analogy of *hospitality* with this review, I note that despite aspects of multiculturalism within policy and curriculum, the current national curriculum is still dominantly monolingual and monocultural, and I deduce that the hospitality is conditional. The 'guests,' despite receiving the hospitality of multiculturalism, are still expected to leave language and culture at the door. In the position of additionality, multiculturalism is seen to be controlled and marginalised (Yegenoglu, 2012). Is this the case and what may be the effects of this?

To investigate this and the political aspects of the education of bilingual learners, I have sought insights from Rancière (2004) and Ricoeur (2004). In the context of research into teacher discourses, the use of Rancière illuminates how practices such as policy implementation and curriculum, together with beliefs around language and learning, operate in historical and social contexts in the implementation of power relations. Using his analogy of the historical development of art and the political concept of the division of the *sensible*, it is possible to gain an insight into the sensory effects of language policies. While this may appear pessimistic, it is important for the link with ethics and opens up understandings and questions of equality in relation to bilingualism in schools. The philosophy of Ricoeur (2004), with notions of *translation* and linguistic *hospitality*, reveals directions for practice that resonate with the understandings of educators and practitioners in the field of language and multilingualism. It is hoped that the landscape can be reconfigured in such a way as to work laterally and fruitfully within the gaps, spaces and even chasms.

Therefore to further explore issues relevant for bilingual pupils in education and to seek new understandings, my research examines how bilingual children are socially constructed in the discourses of teachers in a particular school in order to see how the political, social, linguistic and curricular factors work together, and the implications for practitioners and researchers.

CHAPTER 2. Methodology-the research journey

As my thesis is to document metaphorically a series of encounters, with data, with reading and with theory, I would need to explore the dimensions of social life in order to achieve these encounters. For such a voyage I would need suitable equipment for an enquiry that would take place among the weft and warp of urban social and linguistic tapestry. In this chapter I attempt to document how this was undertaken.

The journey was to involve travel within and above the dimensions of school life to examine the nature and buoyancy of constructions around EAL and SEN. What suspends these conceptions? What lies between these ideas? Why are they there? In this chapter I attempt to document how the research developed out of a dialogic relationship with the data, the rationales behind my chosen methodologies, the nature of the research process and the thinking employed along the way.

Investigation of the research problematic

Why I chose the area of EAL and SEN and how I conceptualised the topic of study would have implications for the development of the research.

The reason for choosing to research into the overlapping area between SEN and EAL was because this was important to my teaching and professional growth. How could I guide students and promote strategies if I did not have a depth of understanding around the issues in connection with the schooling of bilingual children?

Having an educational specialism in the field of EAL as well as interest, experience and qualification in SEN, I realised that these separate and occasionally overlapping areas would be difficult to research. Meetings with pupils and students in connection with these areas made me consider that there was something unsatisfactory, or perhaps incongruent that I could not pinpoint. What did this uncertainty mean?

Along with the feeling that something was wrong or out of place came the feeling of a need to put something right or restore order? This might require that an aim of research be

related to equality or social justice. Understanding of provisions for a range of bilingual children in the context of socially egalitarian aims would entail a broadly critical perspective. I therefore needed to delve deeper, to look behind the scenarios wherein I enacted my professionalism, to see backstage and further even, to how the 'realities' behind EAL, SEN, bilingual children and even education itself were constructed. Who fashioned these concepts? How and why were they constructed? What held these constructions in place?

With my growing realisation that social worlds were not as they appeared, I had a developing understanding of the extent to which terms such as EAL and SEN referred to 'realities' that were heavily contested. Indeed, my research needed perhaps to even embody contestation of realities, whether empirical or social. While alternative approaches might include using different terminology, such as the term 'bilingual' in preference to 'EAL' I realised that this was also based on equally questionable assumptions, and that reasons underpinning the use of different terminology also needed to be called into question. What were the range of understandings in relation to these issues, and the threads that underpinned their suspension? The need to constantly question assumptions or certainties was seen to open new doors as old ones fell away. I was beginning to question the possible reasons for these differences, and to consider the general implications of this in relation to the choice of methodology for the study.

This understanding, that the realities that are assumed were perhaps in some major sense arbitrary, supported a reflexive stance and the realization that my role, too, in the EAL field was also arbitrary. Was it policy, myself or some other power that determined this role? I needed to consider whether I was an instrument or an agent. Could I even suggest to myself that I had been the practitioner of some institutional form of domination or colonialism? I needed to open myself to such possibilities in order to avoid a subjectivity that would obscure my interpretation.

As I did not wish to pre-empt any outcomes from the research, very open research questions were chosen. The general research questions would seek to explore: What are the issues for bilingual children and what are the pedagogical implications for the professional? I therefore needed a method or methods flexible and sensitive enough to unravel the yarn to reveal the gaps and nuances these questions indicated.

These considerations about social worlds as being as complex woven construction rather than objective fact, the gaps and in-between spaces beneath that I felt were necessary to penetrate, my own positioning philosophically and ethically, together with the questions continually being generated, all influenced the methodological approaches taken with regard to the data collection and analysis. I needed an approach or approaches that were sensitive in supporting but not determining the continual journeys between my observations and listening into the social worlds and my thoughts, understandings and analyses. The starting point for my overall approach were therefore the aims in relation to a depth of understanding of the issues for bilingual children together with the pursuit of the knots and threads within a social fabric that performed the world of school. The pursuit of these threads and entwinements helped my decisions as to where and how to employ methodological tools most suitable to gain the necessary insights into the complex social worlds.

Methodological approaches- a philosophical discussion

In the collection and analysis of my data, it was important that I was sensitive to the philosophies behind the various research methods to ensure they were sufficiently flexible and compatible with my general and ongoing research questions around issues for bilingual children and SEN. I anticipated that these issues would be interwoven within the fabric and crevices of the shared social world while being articulated, understood and acted upon by individuals. The questions arose as to how this was happening and how might I best research this?

Understanding the philosophical underpinnings of methodologies supports the researcher in the address of research questions. Methods crucially differ in their understandings regarding the nature of social reality. This is in connection with what is known and how we know it, of ontology and epistemology.

Positivist approaches perceive the methodological model for social science to be analogous to physical science based on the formulation of experiments to test ideas or hypotheses. A positivist approach was eschewed as through my reading and reflection I came to realise that the empirical world, whether material or social, was understood from societal

perspectives, including that of the researcher. In particular as I entered the social worlds of schools and teachers as participant observer, I increasingly began to appreciate that it could be viewed as a complexity of individual and societal construction. Therefore care needed to be taken to avoid an ontology or view of the world with an epistemology that saw social data as objective fact and evidence rather than one that saw social data as constructions of people.

Seeing social worlds of school and classroom as creation therefore made me look towards interpretative positions as regards methodology. As I was seeking to understand the world of school in relation to bilingual pupils, I would need to get inside the fabric of that social world and see this from the perspectives of participants, but also to see into these perspectives to see the complexities of the social framework within which they weave the tapestry of education. I would also therefore need to take a wider societal and philosophical perspective and needed an approach that was sensitive to both 'inside out' and 'outside in' perspectives in the interpretation of the data.

Interpretative approaches include amongst others, phenomenological, ethnographic and grounded theory approaches. A range of research methodologies including ethnography and action research were considered during my taught doctoral module and I refer to my assignment at appendix B.

I became aware as research was ongoing that there appeared to be an institutional dimension to the social constructions observed so I did not adopt a phenomenological approach which has a focus on the individual. Conceivably this study could have entailed a case study approach centred on specific bilingual children. I judged however that it was not likely for the ideas around bilingual children to arise from within the children themselves, but rather the staff. Also phenomenological approaches do not take into account of the shifts and changes over time.

I also considered the use of an ethnographic approach which is often used in studies relevant to different cultural groups. This could aim to examine classroom interactions on how ideas about the individual child arose or were performed within the ecology of the classroom. The traditional ethnographic approach is claimed by Blommaert (2010) to be a distinctive tradition within anthropology. He suggests it seeks to provide a rich description

of a specific culture to perhaps provide narratives of players and actions. Here again, I would need to consider whether obtaining descriptions or narratives about what was happening in a specific place and time would possibly lead to a static, functional perspective. Would this view suggest itself when looking at the data, or relate to my research questions about the suspension of concepts around bilingual children? Moreover prior to and during the research my perception of a need for change also guided my actions and lead my pursuit of a model for research that opened up possibilities for change and alternatives rather than the presentation of a static understanding that conceivably may pertain from a traditional functional ethnographic perspective.

A grounded theory approach was considered and I compare this with ethnography. The philosophical underpinnings of both grounded theory and ethnography are very similar. Grounded theory and ethnography derive from the Chicago school view of symbolic interactionism (Strauss and Corbin 1990, Glazer 1992 in Charmaz (2006:8) which places an emphasis on how people interact to shape their social worlds. This movement itself was a reaction to a behaviourist and deterministic view of human action, but still was based to some extent on the natural sciences with the emphasis on social facts. Since then scholars have moved even further from the positivist roots of the earlier grounded theory method and have adapted it to conduct diverse studies (Charmaz 2006:9).

Both grounded theory and ethnography are similar in using a holistic approach and in using multiple methods. Interviews may be used to examine participants' beliefs and values as well as observation to see how these are put into action. The range of methods ensures a depth of understanding. The researcher is also part of both approaches being both participant and analyst.

Despite a shared tradition of interactionism and multiple methods, grounded theory and ethnography differ in many ways. In ethnography, theorising follows the data collection process rather than being integral throughout. The grounded theory perspective with a more emergent and generative approach to data collection, analysis and presentation of findings, facilitated a focus on conceptual analysis and theory generation.

Charmaz (2008) argues that grounded theory is an emergent methodology. Emergent methodologies have been identified as a way of transcending traditional boundaries

between disciplines and of being more open to possibilities. Charmaz advocates that the application of an overly procedural approach to methodology, suppresses the emerging ideas and creative thinking of the researcher. Being open to the development of ideas during the research process and analysis, and travelling backwards and forwards through the data with questions, was an important aim of the research.

Thomas and James (2006) advise that in social analyses the result is an interpretation rather than inductive theory. They note that this is different for Strauss and Corbin (1997 cited in Thomas and James 2006) as for them, theory enables one to make predictions from the data, Nevertheless, in the view of Thomas and James (2006), grounded theories are legitimate contributions to social enquiry being products of 'cultured minds'. The nature of theory then in grounded theory is different, being of invention and construction rather than the discovery of facts and causation.

Importantly, in grounded theory also, data is not necessarily analysed through the symbolic interaction but is compatible with a range of interpretative positions. (Wuest, 2007:228). This makes it more open to possibilities in responding to data.

It appeared to me during my observations that although teachers were powerful agents in the classroom, they were also working under constraints and ideas coming from outside. I therefore sought to elicit teacher discourses around their thinking to gain insights into their professional world through their reflections. I became conscious that the language embodied contradiction and struggle and drew on the poststructural understandings of Foucault of the workings of power being dispersed and embedded in discourses (Rabinow,1991). Foucault takes a dynamic view of the circulation of power, as compared to the perhaps more static functional and linguistic critical discourse analysis approach of Fairclough (Chouliaraki and Faiclough, 1991).

Whilst as we have seen, interactionist approaches concentrate on the meaning of individual actors, the emphasis within poststructuralist approaches leads to the consideration of meaning as being socially rather than individually constructed (Parker, 1997). Also, in opposition to fixed method abstracted from the context, it sees data as being historically constituted to consider how it came into being to see how it can change. Poststructuralist approaches also have a distinctive stance around language. Ethnography sees language

within a functionalist epistemology, as a resource to enable humans to perform as social beings (Blommaert 2010), and to be studied in action as evidence relevant to human meanings and intentions. This places language in a seemingly neutral role with meaning residing within the individual. A poststructuralist ontology however sees language as culturally and politically laden, being integral to the social construction of a perceived reality. Poststructuralism is based on the linguistic arbitrariness of Saussure's structural theory but it views language and language teaching as a set of social or political practices. Importantly discourses constrain the self, the population being willingly controlled through the disciplinary power of discourses, although the person can resist and take up positions (Burr, 2015:79).

The study therefore came to critically explore a particular discursive understanding of data with a view to obtaining insight and understanding rather than the presentation of empirical detail. A discussion of the range of approaches to discourse is outlined in Maclure (2003). The approach taken here therefore is philosophical rather than linguistic and looks at how meanings are mobilised, *translated* or exchanged.

This perhaps brings us to an important distinction between the ontology and epistemology of traditional ethnography and poststructuralism, since the former retains a structuralist ontological perspective and seeks to make claims about knowledge produced through research based on understandings of social facts. Poststructuralism however makes no such claim, but rather seeks insights, possibilities and understandings.

Criticisms of the use of post structural theory pertain. Firstly it is said to be too abstract and connected with ideas than contexts. In this study of the conceptual understandings of teachers, I have tried to show how the discourses arise within and affect the school context through my use of theory arising from the analysis of discourses of teachers. The exploration is of the discursive contexts of teachers however rather than the geographical space.

Secondly, it is claimed that there is little room for agency of the individual. However, this would be contested by Foucault as power is dispersed and the individual can choose to do differently. To avoid repetition of practice and a lack of agency however, people need to see alternatives. Consideration of why individuals apparently do not perceive alternatives, was examined through my use of the lens of the post structural theory of Rancière (2004).

This opened up further understandings as to how people's perceptions may be manipulated. In understanding the constraints we can learn to resist them more effectively and exercise agency. In the use of Ricoeur's philosophical concept of translation (Ricoeur 2006) I tried to use theory in this constructive and productive way, to look laterally at opening up possibilities.

The usage of a combination of grounded theory and post structural theory therefore was consequent upon the questions I asked during the research, my thinking and dialogue with the data and the analysis emerging from engagement with it. The intention was to follow the data not in the pursuit of a world of fixed social facts but in being open to insights, ideas and possibilities in a world of dynamic change.

Challenges of data collection

Research Summary

Teachers pedagogic discourses around bilingual children: Encounters with difference

Research questions: In the context of rising migration and austerity, issues of linguistic and cultural difference rise to the fore. What are the issues or problems for bilingual children and schools? How can education make a difference?

How can the education system respond to linguistic and cultural diversity? What are the issues for bilingual children, and what are the pedagogical implications for the professional?

Methodology: Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis with Grounded theory looking at the discourses of professionals.

Data collection: Visits to school (May–November 2014)

May-30 min telephone interview with EAL coordinator

May/June-informal meetings with school staff including headteacher, classteachers, teaching assistants, SENCO, EAL coordinator

May/June observations in specific classroom

September/October- meeting SMT and interviews with six class teachers (approx. 40 mins each)

November-summary meeting with headteacher and tour of the school.

Data obtained:

-interviews	-observations	- notes , photos
-memo writing	-reflexive diary	-school website data.

Fig 1. Research Summary

After two taught years on the five-year, part-time Ed. Doc programme I had three further years to complete my research. There were some challenges of a pragmatic nature in commencing the research but eventually I ascertained a school willing to participate and

which had been involved for some years in providing experience for student teachers who were on my EAL specialism course.

I took notes to record the information from observation about how the teaching staff went about their job of teaching bilingual and monolingual children, who they considered were or should be on the SEN register and why, and the challenges they experienced in teaching the children. During participation I also observed how the children went about their learning and the children's challenges and experiences. An example of a page of my classroom observation notes from my research diary is at Fig 2 below, with the fuller version written shortly after in appendix C.

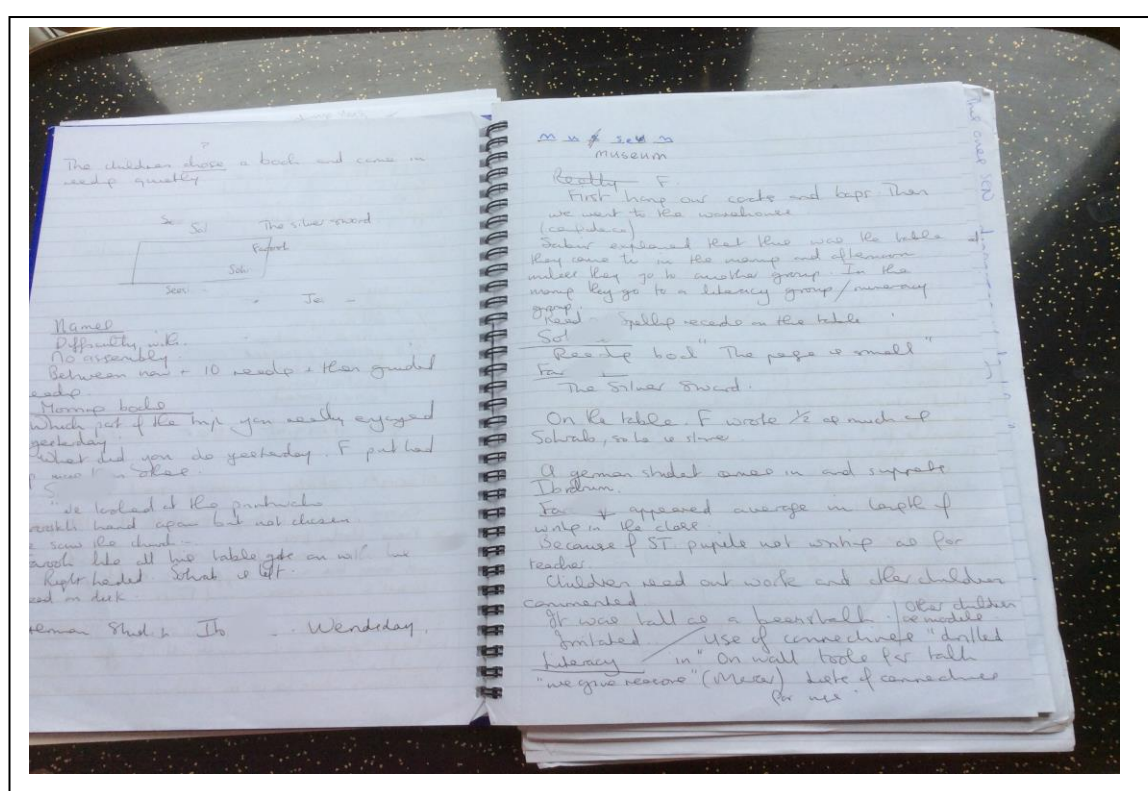


Fig 2. Pages of observation notes

I came to realise that the teaching, systems and procedures around curriculum, SEN and EAL, although integral to the classroom, were part of a professional repertoire that went beyond the classroom. As Charmaz says:

‘We construct these data through our observations, interactions and materials that we gather about the topic or setting’ (Charmaz 2006:3).

I also realised the power of school and teacher practices based on ideas about SEN and bilingualism, language and learning, on children's constructions of their own learning selves.

This influenced me to want to investigate this further. Whilst I had spoken to the class teacher, this was during the course of busy daily activities. I felt I needed an in depth interview. In particular it would be useful to speak to a range of teachers throughout the school, which led to my setting up interviews.

At this point, it is useful to consider my own reflexivity in note writing in influencing my decision to interview. Barron, in revisiting his ethnographic data on his visits to the homes of ethnic minority children, recalls his white, middle class male values in what he noticed and omitted in his note taking and data collection (Barron, 2013). He notes the lack of guidance in the literature on making notes (Barron 2013:122), and asks what it was that he might not have seen. This might be an advantage of interview data that the exact words of staff could at least be revisited, whereas my observational data would be likely to miss things.

The main part of my data is comprised of the interviews with six individual class teachers during September 2014. The choice of the sample of mainstream teachers rather than a range of staff or children was due to my focus on an underlying institutional perspective rather than comparison of staff. My developing awareness of subjectivity, combined with my experiences, made me consider that any issues or problems for bilingual children would arise from perspectives of the mainstream, which were perhaps best represented by their teachers.

The teachers volunteered for the interview which was further facilitated by having a music teacher who was able to take their class. This left them time to speak to me without the pressure of a busy class. Furthermore the interviews took place in the privacy of a quiet office. I considered the sample of teachers who were all middle managers to represent perhaps the 'core' of the school. This is because they were experienced teachers who represented the age range within the primary school that contained mainly bilingual children. The nursery was not included because it represented some differences to curriculum and teaching philosophy to that for children of statutory school age, and this may have introduced unnecessary complexity. I understood this to be purposive sampling

(Charmaz 2006:4) in that the sample aimed to fulfil the research purpose for a study centred on bilingual children.

The interview schedule was developed from pilot interviews. I was also guided by Charmaz (2006) to use open questions and have prompts ready in case participants did not give full answers. The semi structured interviews were designed to elicit teachers' professional talk around the teaching of bilingual children. At appendix E is the semi structured interview proforma with prompts that ask about knowledge and understandings of bilingualism, teaching approaches and curriculum, language learning, bilingual staff, monolingual children, bilingual children with SEN, parents, and outside professionals. I wanted to elicit the teachers' understandings and use of professional terminology around EAL and SEN, and to make these discourses the object for analysis.

The semi-structured interviews lasted up to 45 minutes (appendix E) and were designed to provide common ground for a discussion about the areas of bilingualism, EAL, curriculum, SEN and the overlapping area of bilingualism/SEN. Charmaz (2006:28) advises that just a few broad, open-ended questions are required, and I consider that my aim was to encourage teachers to talk in terms that they were used to and familiar with in discussion about bilingual children and to help them to articulate their understandings. I had reasoned that the only difference between bilingual children and their peers were their linguistic and cultural repertoires, and these aspects underpinned the initial title of the research both within the consent form (appendix D) and the interview (appendix E).

After introducing myself as lecturer/teacher/researcher in EAL, I introduced the research as being a focus on the overlapping areas of Bilingualism and SEN and went through the questions in the first column, using questions and prompts from the second column where appropriate. The aim was to elicit talk from teachers about their class, their work with bilingual children and how they spoke about them. I did not want to administer the interview as a questionnaire.

Through open-ended questions, 'leading' questions were avoided as far as possible. However, as discussed above, I was very aware that the terminology used in the questions positioned myself in some way that was not neutral. The use of terminology was a judgement on my part as to how teachers would or would not normally use these terms, and so I used terms like EAL/SEN and Bilingual. I used the term bilingual as my preferred

term that was contained in my research question, and I thought that would be understood. I also used the term SEN, as I anticipated that if I used the recent terms of additional needs, learning difference or intellectual disability, answers may be ambiguous. I took care with the interview as the teachers needed to be able to talk about their experiences in their own professional language and I needed to ascertain their understandings and perspectives. During the interviews I felt that teachers used terms EAL and SEN comfortably and, while apparently having an understanding of the term bilingual, were less familiar or perhaps did not feel it useful to be using this term. Other terminology did not appear to be involved. That one of the teachers reminded me that 'more able children too may have special needs' (interview data) reassured me that they felt able to challenge me while making me aware of the visibility of my own position. In retrospect, I could have asked teachers to state their preferred terms directly.

The exemplar pages of interview transcript at appendix F shows my role as facilitator in that the teachers' views were prominent while I did not speak very much at all. I consider this a good thing for my research as my further influence could have been directive and I am satisfied that I avoided this as far as possible.

I sought to establish a professional and cordial relationship at the outset of each interview by exchanging information about our respective roles. I considered that teachers seemed willing participants and that we established a mutual professional relationship. Due to the interviews unavoidably being at the beginning of the year, teachers tended to draw on their own experiences from previous classes. A wealth of data was obtained, which I came to consider a valuable affordance of material for analysis.

In the interview, all of the aspects that I thought were relevant including teaching strategies, parents, bilingual staff, monolingual children, outside professionals and SEN procedures were discussed. It can be seen from the interview proforma at appendix D that I also provided opportunities for participants to add any further topics they wished to discuss. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) refers to a radical critique of the rigor of interviews by Murphy et al. 1998, suggesting that perhaps the apparent stability of perspectives may not extend into action beyond the interview situation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). My supplementary observations, notes, research diary, school website data as well as my knowledge gained being a teacher myself, did not however give me cause to question the perspectives demonstrated.

Initially I was disappointed in the apparent absence of teachers' specific understandings around bilingualism, EAL, SEN and the overlapping areas. Charmaz (2006:48) advises that the realization that the data has gaps or holes is a part of the analytic process. Further probing, however, might suggest thoughts that were not there, and I came to consider that this lack of data on my own categories actually afforded the provision of data on what the understandings of the teachers were. The link to this aspect of the data was important to preserve within the research process. I needed to realize that my own preconceptions had to be cast aside in order to be open to different understandings, as there would be no need for research if we already had the answers.

A further understanding was the realization of the difficulty of researching social worlds that were already constructed over, without and around gaps and silences in policy and practice. Educational knowledge can be heavily striated, with a long history and tradition of some things but not others. My methodology would need to be flexible within this environment.

Transcripts of the teacher discourses were made, and, after taking notes in my research diary during my previous observations, I found it reassuring to have a set of interview data depicting actual words used by teachers, that I could revisit. I consulted literature on grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006) to gain ideas of different stages and levels of analysis as well as ideas on discourse analysis (Maclure 2003) to support my way of thinking about the data.

My middle class professional background was probably congruent with that of my participants, and this was to be considered in a conscious manner at the next theoretical level. The professional focus of the EAL professional was, however, different to that of the mainstream teachers that I interviewed, and this was of particular relevance to me at this time. I interpret the difference of my practice as EAL professional as being distinct to the teachers in my focus on bilingual children, which has been informed by various theories around language learning pedagogy as well as further study about children's linguistic and cultural backgrounds. My value as to the benefit of this may therefore be considered as arising from egalitarian aims and assumptions. Like Barron (2013:123), I noticed that my analysis was underpinned by these values, and so I would need to see this from other perspectives.

The interview transcript data was analysed in accord with grounded theory principles. Memos recorded my understandings of what the teachers said about their teaching and their constructions of teaching. Teachers' individual experiences and reflections on their practice were categorised, compared and analysed broadly in the manner of grounded theory techniques to establish first what they were saying and understanding about EAL teaching, bilingual children, SEN, curriculum etc. (See fig.3.)

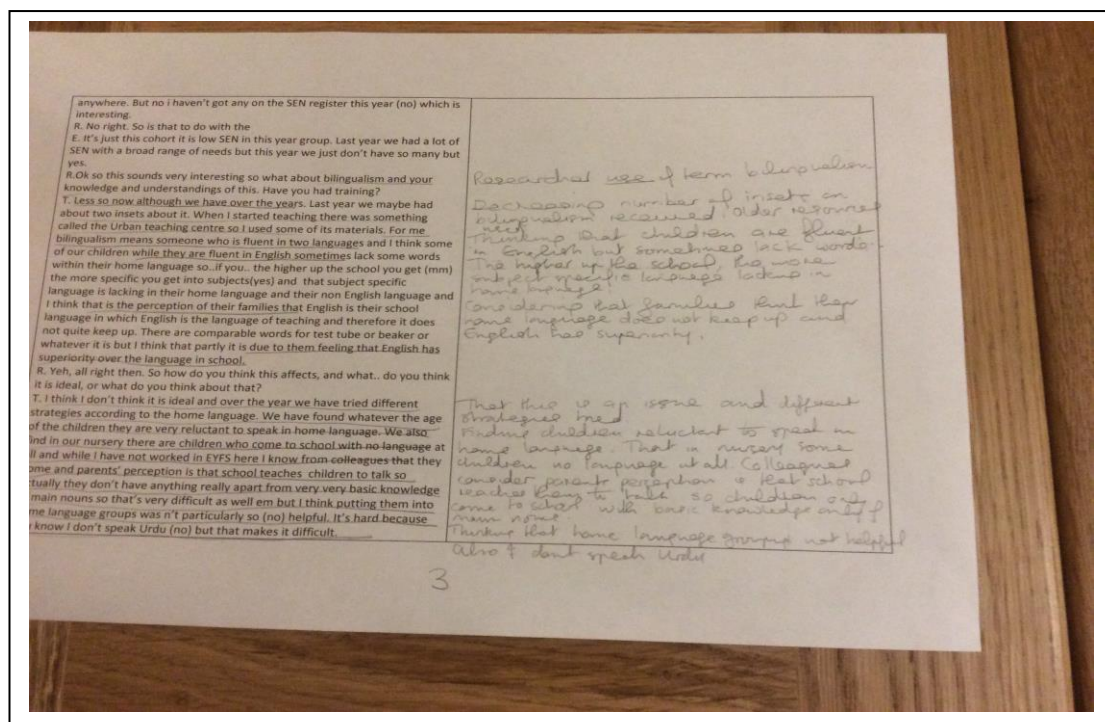


Fig 3. An example of memo writing

Through grounded theory I was able to consider contradictions and contrasts in the data as I compared the teachers' talk about the categories that they talked about. This entailed comparison of use, thoughts, understandings of professional terms, bilingualism, EAL etc. (See examples of interview transcript with EAL focus at appendix G).

I listened carefully to the interview transcripts and from these developed themes. I progressively focused on the themes in a process that involved continual excursions through the data.

Maclure (2013) points out that strict adherence to coding procedures and attending to what is codable intervenes between the researcher and their material, diverting the researcher particularly from the nuances of what is not expressed, where they may need to draw on own experiences, insights, prior knowledge of possibilities. This prompted me

to eschew numerical coding and claims for objectivity but I recognized myself as part of the context and of the shared educational understandings in the representation of my own recollections and experiences.

Under the grounded theory approach, themes emerged relevant to the absence rather than the presence of notions in relation to bilingualism, whereby the silences, gaps and excluded parts were then considered.

A further reflection here would be the apparent change in focus from the overlapping SEN/Bilingualism field at the outset of the research to the bilingual child, which necessitated an adjustment of the title. The change was a result of an attempt to be open to a range of meanings and significations. It was therefore necessary to understand how all of the meanings and variables worked together, rather than to work from particular or positivist social constructions.

Whilst insights would be sought through analysis of the discourses of the teachers, these did not arise in a social vacuum so it is useful to see how these discourses arose from the wider school context.

The school context

As the study was not an empirical study of the school, but concerned with the construction, perpetuation, constraints and possibilities of notions about bilingual children and EAL, the study focused on the language of the teachers and how it worked to construct ideas and practice around bilingual children. This then is a discursive context rather than a geographical one. The teaching of children did however take place in a particular location that contributed to understandings particularly of the social context.

This was a school which since the 1980's had a large ethnic minority population and could be considered ideal as a base for a project around bilingual children as it was a school with historic institutional experience of teaching such children.

Data in the form of notes about the school created from my reading of the school website is at appendix H. It was perceived by myself to be part of the discourse constructed or fabricated by the school. This was considered as an extant text (Charmaz 2006: 35) and I was aware that this may reflect or contrast with observations. Prominent in the school

website were the government standard OFSTED (Office for Standards in Education) reports. This states that 'the school is a much larger than the average sized primary school'. Overall over the years an increasingly managerial and skills oriented school policy was evident, being encouraged by OFSTED and coinciding with better results in the year of study. I noticed that on the website the only indication that approximately ninety percent of children at this large urban primary school in the North West of England were from bilingual homes, came from some of the minor details of the OFSTED report. The school pictures showing mainly nonwhite pupils and the presence of the Google translate button, were the only acknowledgement of the 20 different languages spoken at the school. OFSTED report that the 'very large majority are from minority ethnic backgrounds, mainly of Bangladeshi, Pakistani and South Asian heritage and speak English as an additional language'. Support for SEN, despite very low numbers qualifying for it, was prominent on the website in line with the statutory nature of provision. Support for EAL however, although existing in the school, was not specified despite the increasing numbers of new arrivals. With respect to the majority of pupils developing EAL, OFSTED reported that they 'make good progress from their starting points' attributing this to their being given 'required opportunities to hear and practice their speaking skills'. Previous OFSTED reports appeared to consider EAL a problem for the school saying that 'the difficulties many face with learning English as an additional language has a detrimental impact on the school's overall standards, which are below those expected nationally.' Specific former LA support was praised however. Overall though, it became increasingly clear that the discourses of the teachers were party to the current institutional discourses of the website.

Data from interview transcripts at appendix I enables comparison of the teachers' perceived contextual backgrounds. This showed a range of very different individuals. All except one felt they were experienced with bilingual children. Most had been at the school for some years and all were positive overall about the school community.

Only generic information has been provided about the school and staff in this thesis in observation of ethical considerations.

Ethical considerations

At each stage in the process, ethics were considered. My main concerns initially were anonymity of participants and subsequently my interpretation of the discourses. The underlying principles were observed regarding ensuring informed consent and observation of privacy. Ethical issues, however, are not clear-cut (Hammersley and Atkinson and Atkinson, 2007) and I would agree that the researcher needs to make a situated judgement in relation to the goals and circumstances relevant to the research. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:224) advises, it is important to consider what information the participants are not privy to. This I reflect would be my interpretation of the discourse, which moved from understanding participants' viewpoints to abstract discussion of theory that may portray practice in a light converse to that intended or perceived of by participants. Charmaz (2008) suggests that ethics are ongoing throughout the research, with principles established at the outset possibly proving inadequate. In this sense ethics are emergent, as the researcher seeks to navigate their ethical course beyond interviewing and data collection and into the analysis and presentation of findings. For example my presentation of staff within a play script was an attempt to portray them within social roles to convey institutional life rather than to blame individuals caught up in a collective system which would not have been the aim of my research. Rather I wanted to see how these professional and institutionally acceptable discourses of professionals had come about, with a view to seeing the possible effects and how the situation could change.

I also investigated the efficacy of the interviewing and considered the difficulties of anonymity. It was suggested that in many cases schools could be identified with some investigation (Walford, 2005). I was concerned about this, and was careful to choose pseudonyms for school names and initials for staff. There are quite a few schools in the North West with the profile I have described, and specific details were omitted so as to make me reasonably certain that confidentiality was afforded.

Walford also suggests that the alleged guarantee of anonymity benefits the researcher rather than the researched. He suggests that it may result in less transparency or less concern for accuracy. I reflected that interpretation rather than accuracy was the issue, as indeed my own interpretation may differ from that of the school. Where transparency may lead to the researcher modifying their interpretation, I wondered whether the authenticity of the analysis could conceivably be compromised. I found reflection on ethical issues such

as this was fruitful, and served to inculcate a sense of responsibility to ensure my interpretation and presentation of the data was justified.

Reflexivity in relation to both anonymity and ongoing analysis and interpretation leads me to consider therefore my own intent, which was to portray a balanced view through consideration of a range of influences and possibilities. It also lead me to consider that any discomfort as to the findings was also my own, since I also worked within the same discourses. On balance, I considered adverse effects to be avoided, and any new understandings or knowledge arising through the analysis would be of overall benefit within education.

Analysis of data

Analysis of the data was guided by the reflexive use of both grounded theory and post structural discourse analytic approaches. Grounded theory served as a guide to an analysis that arose directly from within the data and which worked in a non-linear manner towards the wider view. In contrast to other approaches therefore, particular ideas or hypotheses did not precede the research and be directive of thinking and analysis. This latter arose from the research process. Post structural theory similarly was used to aid my further level of interpretation. The particular theorists were chosen for their specific conceptual tools in response to the previous analyses of data.

Grounded theory also helped me to read for meaning in a lateral inductive way rather than in a linear, deductive manner. It guided me to consider interconnections and resonances arising across the data as well as along. I was able to look at a discursive context that was comprised of vertical and official dominant discourses as well as horizontal, informal and unofficial discourses around the school. The flexibility allowed a process that went beyond description to allow the emergence of themes and meaning from within the data. Themes help to identify issues that extend beyond specific interviews and to develop theory.

Furthermore Thomas and James (2006) question the possibility that the researcher can enter the research without preconceptions and in a state of 'abstract emptiness' (Glaser 1992:22 in Thomas and James 2006), and sees the researchers' own understandings as enabling of the interpretation rather than an obstacle to it.

Thomas and James (2006) also see the concept of qualitative analysis as regards working with the data, being subject to normal but systematic thinking procedures combined with inspiration. Method led analyses that ultimately may seek to legitimate qualitative research by replicating prescriptive and positivist approaches may therefore be misguided.

The ideas of Thomas and James (2006) additionally enable my reflection on how the ongoing and non-linear changes in my thinking and understandings influenced a constant reorientation during the research process. Different questions led to further thought and interpretation with different understandings of the research and of myself as researcher.

Questions such as 'what are the teachers' understandings of EAL?' gave way to those relating to the range of social understandings conveyed by the actual words spoken. 'Words catch people up in things... they form entanglements, sensitivities, encounters, impulses...' (Pearce, Kidd, Patterson and Hanley, 2012) As Pearce et al (2012) advise, discourses can make sense but they cannot sense. This sensing or sensitivity then must come from the researcher. The interpretation of discourses was therefore challenging and was subject to my own reflection in order to attempt to gain a sensitivity to the discourses. Thinking and reflection is more than recall, but also it is feeling, evaluating, understanding and more. It is the perception or sensing of opportunities, spaces, silences, interstices where change may occur. It is also an effort to resist habits of thinking, usual ways of seeing the world to gain other perspectives and dimensions and to avoid reduction and simplification. Values linked to a sense of timeliness were also required, Pearce et al (2012) identify the position between hope and failure as being productive in thinking and hoping for a future that benefits from past experience, but also in perceiving the world as in flux, perceiving possibilities for imminence and new beginnings.

Intentional and unintentional connotations of discourses were examined not merely to look at a finite range of ideas but to understand how and why certain constructions operate and in consideration of alternatives, see possibilities. I thus became aware that the professional terminology used by teachers carries the weight of social and political struggle and I consciously looked at poststructural thought (Maclure 2003) to consider not only what was said but what was not said, seen, heard or done.

This led to the awareness that the societal configuration relevant to bilingualism, SEN, EAL and curriculum, eclipsed some aspects and enhanced and empowered others. Insights were sought through post structural theorists who each understood inequality in different ways. The use of poststructuralist theory contrasts with positivist method involving the testing of theory against empirical data for some sort of proof. In thinking with the theory I sought to work with the data for further analysis, insights and possibilities as regards education and teaching.

Rancière was already known in an educational context due to his well-known work 'The ignorant schoolmaster' (Rancière, 1991), where he challenges the hierarchies within learning. Surprisingly to me however, it was in his politics of aesthetics (Rancière, 2004) that I found a model of society where I could see a convergence with my thinking around the teacher discourses, and which would provide a vantage point to illuminate how inequality or difference within societies could be linked to sensory perception.

Within the theoretical data analysis chapter, the device of a play script as a further level of the analysis was used. Playfulness and literature are used for exploration of ideas in poststructuralism and for presentation in grounded theory. I used this to help me to imagine a sensory perception of how the actors in the play, the teachers, pupils, parent and researcher would hear, see and perceive each other in a school setting that was imaginary yet based entirely on my notes and interview data. The choice of play script was in the spirit of Rancière's own analysis that depicted literature and consequently art as being politically contingent rather than the independent truth that some claim art to be. I therefore present a view indicated by the educational data that is consistent with Rancière's focus on sensory perception that works to present data in a way that the reader can also envisage. In this way I could understand how from Ancient Greece to the present day, societies are ruled to a greater or lesser extent by a struggle of forces representing the balance of power of the Ochos who is not the Demos, but who needs to manipulate the population's view to gain legitimacy. With regard to subjectivity, I can identify as being a part of that Ochos together with the teachers and have become more aware of the workings of power and control in order to find ways to work within these towards a more egalitarian position. For Rancière, change can come about through active struggle of the excluded part and sought to understand the nature of the excluded part to envisage how things could change.

Some imagination as to the nature of exclusion was afforded by Badiou (2007) who anticipates that the unrepresented part may generate unforeseen consequences. To attempt to imagine my way out of this unsatisfactory situation I employed the thinking of Ricoeur (2006), and a philosophical view of language. Ricoeur as a translator himself addresses linguistic and cultural *encounters* between groups. He sees language, not as remote abstraction but lived experience and integral to our understanding of ourselves and of each other. Within this view language has political, ethical and social implications.

Ricoeur (2006) and Badiou's (2007) separate understandings inform a notion of an *encounter* that is a theme of my work. These encounters represented to me the children, educationalists, writers and theorists that I did meet and who left an indelible impression on me, and who made their way in some form into this thesis. They inspired the idea of an educational *encounter* with children as well as the researcher *encounter* with participants and ideas. The educational *encounter* with bilingual children was to be central to the thesis, and examined as an allegory with the research. This allegory requires the researcher to be open, and to portray the passion required to submit to the research process with the realisation that some things are neither calculable nor experienced. It is therefore a metaphor I would consider most suitable in the undertaking of my qualitative research.

Reflection on the journey

I have to understand that the choice of western European philosophy reflected my own positioning as being white and European. This position also reflected that of the school and other aspects of the educational structures that construct the subjectivities of the bilingual child, and so the study can be seen as critique of these from within. It can be seen perhaps as complementary to studies attempting to depict views from the position of those marginalized, who may choose the use of 'emic' ethnographic approaches or postcolonial theory. I found reflecting on positioning in the context of theory helpful as a researcher, assisting me to stand back and see myself as participant in the research process.

Reflexivity as a researcher follows a tradition at MMU, with Catherine Pearce and Ian Stronach playing a leading role. Stronach, Garrett, Pearce and Piper (2007) show how it can be conceived of as 'picturing' or seeing how the researcher places themselves in the picture or the work that is their research (Stronach et al., 2007). For example, the painting by

Velazquez of himself painting a portrait of the king serves to help consider a range of other functions of reflexivity. In doing this, Velazquez destabilizes the social order. As he himself is positioned at the centre, while the portrait of the king is seen as a distant reflection, he appears to be taking the place of the king in some way. The effect may be to draw the reader in, to invite their participation, to unsettle or to enhance the feeling of indeterminacy. This example also serves to illustrate the likely effect of my creation of a play script to depict aspects of the research process. It assumes a position that may be viewed as subversive, inviting the reader to participate and unsettling the idea of a determined outcome.

In the experience of Stronach et al (2007), working with doctoral students, many 'pictured' their research as a journey. This research illuminates diverse metaphors employed to afford insights into a range of possible depictions of researchers' selves. Here I reflect on my research process as being a journey unlike the predetermined package of the modern tourist, but rather a voyage of enquiry over history, time and space involving active participation in what, where and how to explore. Furthermore, the cultural edifices explored can be represented in an allegory of artwork or tapestry in a state of continual construction. An imaginary perspective such as this helps the researcher to perform a reflexivity (Stronach et al. 2007:12) that helps to reflect on their roles of being both a part of and apart from the situation under study. In my case, I was part of the educational fabric of provision for bilingual children under the many facets of this provision and yet needed to detach myself in order to gain new perspectives. During the research journey, I envisioned that this transported me to diverse encounters with teachers, bilingual children, education and my professional self.

This journey has examined how the vessels of grounded theory and poststructural discourse analysis have been employed in ways to be sensitive to the aims of the research regarding notions of teaching bilingual children. The positions embodied within each have been tools to support my own changing professional understandings. It has involved the unravelling and ravelling of knots and tangles of data showing the supports for daily fluctuating tapestries that 'stitch up' school life for societal visibility and scrutiny. The positions also support the listening to and emergent understandings about bilingual children and the exploration of possibilities, depicted in the following chapters. This research has enabled my reflection as a participant central to my own research, as a part of my own tapestry,

like the other teachers, caught up in webs of our own fabrication. It has certainly enabled my traverse through and behind the diversity of social and linguistic landscapes in order to gain understanding of the constructions of the social and institutional worlds that impact on educational practice and the educational encounter for bilingual children.

Summary

The research journey proved to be a complex multidirectional process involving sensitivity to the interplay between theory and practice as regards philosophical ways of knowing, methodology and the making of detailed, concrete decisions (Edwards and Ribbens, 1998). To avoid pre-emption of the data or the presupposition of what might emerge, a data led approach was constructed to address the aims. These aims sought to understand how the construction of Bilingualism and SEN might be better understood and entailed a critical exploration of the underpinnings of the constructions upholding these concepts. During the research process themes arose from close sensitivity to and analysis of transcripts of teacher interviews. The themes that emerged did not claim to reflect existing or alternative realities but glimpses of and openings to a range of possibilities and insights. To gain a more nuanced understanding of the issues these possibilities were explored imaginatively using the ideas of post structural theorists. My reflexivity was apparent in that I appreciated that my research self, while trying to be open, was embedded within the discursive context in the questions I asked, decisions made and thinking employed. With this realisation the aim became to recognise and gain views from different perspectives and to perceive how these operated in a dynamic way to construct possibilities for bilingual children.

CHAPTER 3. Working with data-teacher's discourses

This chapter aims to present the range of findings from the research in relation to how the discourses of teachers position bilingual children. It is being presented as a co-construction between myself and the various discursive positioning of participants. It represents themes and perspectives arrived at through stages of analysis and study and through the depiction of my thought processes. I invite the reader to participate in understanding how I arrived at this perspective. The position does not necessarily require consensual agreement, preferring instead to work with the productive power of difference. It does not claim to be the only possible interpretation but I would claim that it is a plausible perspective and is supportive of the ability to think differently about the issues for bilingual children in schools.

As the previous chapter demonstrates, the data analysis, in the form of tape transcripts of teacher discourses, was guided but not directed by, grounded theory methodology (Charmaz, 2006). In working with the data I followed the advice by Glaser in Charmaz (2006:5) on describing the studied phenomena and then seeing what theoretical categories, themes, discourses or ideas emerged, to maintain the link with the data and context (Charmaz, 2006). This was a dynamic undertaking and involved going backwards and forwards through the texts, and comparing them with each other and within the text. As stated in the previous chapter it entailed note taking and analysis relevant to assisting of thinking processes. This 'sifting and sorting' of data (Brown, 2005:5) is by no means a linear process some of which is illustrated here, using a range of data from the interview transcripts, in this chapter.

The interviews were an attempt to ascertain the teachers' rationales about their practice and they became the main focus of the analysis. Through the discourses I have sought to put the professional talk of teachers under the spotlight. How did teachers view their bilingual children? What understandings might the professional talk of teachers afford about the perpetuation and construction of systems of daily practice for bilingual learners?

In my approach to data analysis I aimed at being open to all ideas and sought to cast aside my preconceptions. This was not to gain an objectivity in a positivist sense, since I have already acknowledged that within the qualitative research paradigm this was not required. I did wish however to gain alternative perspectives and to go beyond my current level of

understanding. Being an EAL professional was integral to this current level of understanding and this also informed my analysis at all stages, since it provided the knowledge and motivation that underpinned the study. Whilst this was understood as facilitating, being open to a range of understandings and perspectives was essential to take me beyond this.

At appendix G is an outline of my analysis about how I developed the themes relating to how teachers talked about EAL. This illustrated the layered approach commencing with individual discourses, using inductive, comparative and interactive approaches to examine and compare data. Questions were formulated, deductions were made and ideas arrived at. These were examined against observational data or further return to the field with more questions until themes emerged that accounted for the data. This was an inductive process, using my own thinking about the data from the school context. At this stage I drew a diagram at fig 4 that tentatively illustrated my perception at this stage when trying to understand the relationship between the themes identified of divisions between EAL, SEN, home languages and school curriculum.

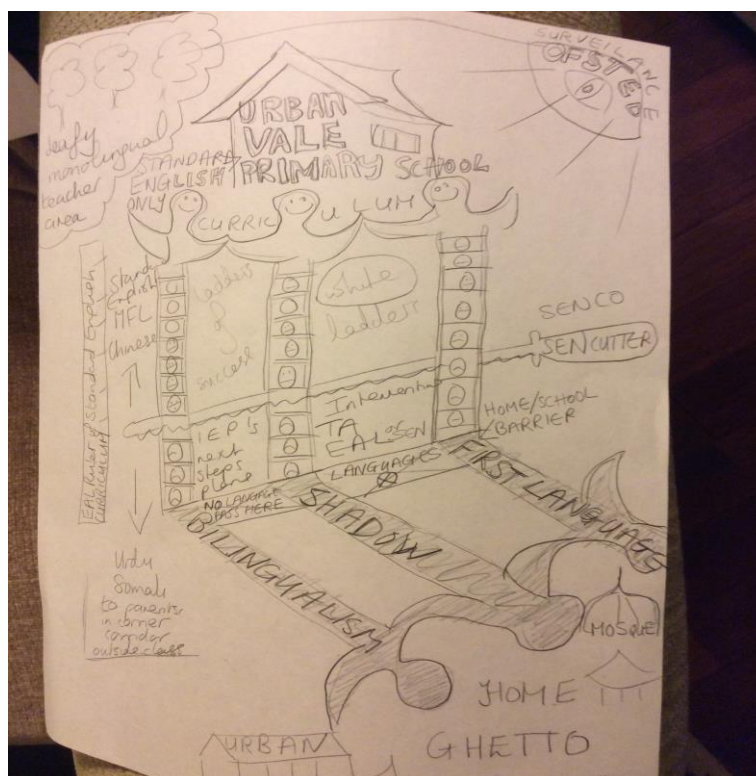


Fig. 4. Diagram to illustrate my thinking

Here, I could see a gap between home and school languages, between home and school attainment, the divisiveness of SEN, the surveillance and even endorsement of OFSTED, the yardstick of Standard English. At this stage, as themes of gaps and partiality emerged, thinking had become increasingly abstract in nature and I started to look outside the context, for references in the literature that could inform my findings and my thinking.

In accord with grounded theory methodology I had not appraised the literature relevant to my topic prior to data collection or the writing of the current chapter, in order to avoid preconceptions. I consider that I was reasonably well informed in the various fields of language teaching and tried to consider my current level of thinking, experience and reading as resources upon which to draw in response to the data and the formulation of questions. The reading therefore referred to in this section, for example about the distinctiveness of EAL,(NALDIC,1999) followed my own thinking when teachers told me about their approaches to teaching bilingual children, in my attempting to locate what they said within the debates and understandings of different approaches, within language teaching academic fields and pedagogies. A theme or idea of a gap had already arisen from the teacher discourses and I explored this further here and in the literature review written after this chapter and the subsequent theoretical chapter. The writing of this chapter was therefore a part of the research and analysis in that it entailed going back to the literature to help locate and interpret the specific interview discourses and my own ideas about them, within the wider social and historic frame.

If my topic had been on personal issues I may have found more need to prompt, and hence I was not as directive as with the intensive interviewing that Charmaz depicts (2006:29). Furthermore, Charmaz's interviewing as depicted, is reflective of a symbolic interactionist emphasis on participants feelings, views, and interactions whereas in my research, I was finding I was beginning to take what I now recognise as a poststructural position. This was taken as a response to following leads in the data. As the discourses centred around the professional educational viewpoint of bilingual children, I perceived the constructions to be affected by influences outside the classroom and within the wider social context.

At the earlier stages of the analysis presented in this chapter, under grounded theory perspectives, no particular poststructural perspective was chosen but rather I wanted to see what ideas emerged from the data and what reading was suggested by the data. Hence

there are references to a range of thinkers associated with poststructural ideas as well as those who are not.

The focus became to see what underpins teachers' practice of teaching bilingual children through examination of the language they use about it. Teachers do differ from each other in their ideas and any resistances or contradictions in the data were seen to be in relation to the range of social forces on practice evident within the discourses. In consideration of the range of forces, I perceived that we might gain insights into not only how the teachers use the language to perhaps inadvertently position children but also to see how that language itself helps to construct professional practice and perceptions of bilingual children. Poststructuralism addresses this aspect in seeing 'power, knowledge, truth and subjectivity as being interlinked and produced in language' (Maclure, 2003:181). Therefore I was concerned with not just the internal workings of professional discourse but in the '*conditions which had given rise to its emergence as an educational concern*' (Maclure, 2003:185). This contrasts with sociological or linguistic views that take alternative perspectives on the role of discourse and which might focus for example on how language is used either in relation to the individual perspectives of actors in sociological approaches to discourse or to ascertain specific communicative purposes as in some types of linguistic discourse analysis.

The poststructural position on the power of language to construct has been criticised by many, including Hammersley. He questions the ethics of attending to what people say and arriving at understandings that were not intended by or accessible to participants. Taylor (2014) answers Hammersley concerning the inevitability of this, pointing to changing notions of individuals and subjectivity that underpin many if not all areas of research. Hammersley acknowledges discourse analysis to be insightful but suggests it be supplementary to more traditional approaches. It is hard to disagree with this as there are indeed many dimensions to social life and each can supplement the other. However perspectives need to be compatible. Within my small scale research the methods used of both grounded theory and discourse analysis were tailored to the questions and perspectives identified. It was in effect an attempt to penetrate the complex social fabric of understandings that comprised the teacher's discourses, and to see what ideas and theories about this emerged.

The social fabric constructed in relation to bilingual pupils within the school was perceived by myself to be somewhat patchy, undeveloped and constructed over. The themes therefore that arose were of absence rather than presence and a sense of possibilities that were missing. The analysis presented here is supported mainly by extracts from the transcripts but also from a range of data that illustrates how I arrived at these themes. I chose to use transcripts rather than my own memos to enhance transparency for the reader. This chapter depicts a preliminary interpretation, linked to a wide range of literature. The perspective was built on in the subsequent chapter, using a poststructural lens to construct an original theory to further interpret the findings outlined in this chapter.

A lack of a distinctive approach to teaching EAL?

As an EAL professional, I wondered what the mainstream teachers' pedagogical approach to teaching the bilingual learners was and indeed whether the discourse manifested a distinctive approach. There are debates in the field of EAL as to the necessity for and nature of a distinctive teaching approach to the teaching of bilingual children (Leung 2001, 2010, NALDIC 1999). These are explored in the Literature review in Chapter 1. By a distinctive approach within the discourses I mean any sign of recognition or acknowledgement of any distinctive teaching or learning needs that otherwise might not be met in mainstream provision. The policy context here is also important, as the teachers showed awareness of the changes over recent years.

Ms F. We used to have teachers provided by the Local Authority but we have our own teachers now, which is better really. ¹

This change to ownership of the provision for bilingual learners by the school is in combination with a national focus on mainstreaming, dating from the 1980s, and it would

¹ The following standard key is used within extracts of the teacher discourses:

.... pause

__emphasis

appear nevertheless that the teachers seemed mainly confident in teaching children developing EAL, as depicted by Ms F. herself a Y1 teacher for 12 years who was also obviously aware the term EAL had adverse connotations. However, Mrs F. said:

I don't think of the children as EAL, because they can access the school, they can access the classroom - I have had children come in and have been special needs and EAL and when you see them in Y6 and their production at the end of the year and how their language has come on, it's outstanding really.

In working with the data it was often difficult to arrive at an interpretation of what was being said. Is the teacher here saying that there is no problem, or no difference, or no need, or that the term is not applicable, or all of the above? There seems, however, a reluctance to acknowledge difference or distinctiveness and that any difference is defined in terms of access to the school that is not apparently problematic. Ms F. advised that 'it just comes naturally and is part of the way you would teach at Urbanvale'. This may imply a language acquisition approach, based on innatist or native speaker models of language development that assume learning the first language is the same as learning the second. Alternatively, it might reflect my own observation that teachers often do teach different children differently without necessarily being aware of this. In addition, it would possibly reflect the view that the language learning of younger children appears to be as a result of implicit processes rather than explicit, direct teaching (Dörnyei 2006:loc 6172). This statement would seem to imply little additional or distinctive effort or thought was needed on the part of the teacher.

Ms D. Children learning a second language here need to be immersed in that language and spoken to and they need visual cues as well to support them.

Ms D. was not the only teacher to use the word immersion and Cummins (2008:65) refers to it as 'submersion' in view of the possibility that the second language will not be additional to the first, but may well replace it, resulting in net loss (Cummins, 2008). The teacher is also talking about the language of need here, and implies other strategies are necessary, but only to supplement meaning in English. Teachers don't seem to encourage the use of home language in classrooms apparently because the reasons are not seemingly apparent:

Mrs A. We make sure children have access to dictionaries. I have a bilingual dictionary in my room. I'm not sure the value of it really but it is there, and thesauri.

The use of the first language that might signify a distinctive approach is not seen as a strategy for support in learning the second or learning in the second, or raising language awareness of all, particularly for older children. However, it was used with younger children, although this use appeared incidental rather than an identified strategy with the purpose of participation in the curriculum.

Mrs F. I have an Urdu speaking TA so I wouldn't discourage them speaking in home language to explain something to her and to each other to translate and share if it means they can get their ideas across and their ideas are going to be valued then that's fine.

Use of the first language is an accepted strategy for English language teaching in some ESL approaches (Baker, 2006) and was part of the historic EMA strategy discussed previously.

Ms F. ... so we will start with what the children know, so we will assume they know nothing and then they will give us any ideas and then we'll introduce vocabulary

that they'll hear. At the moment we're doing superheroes and this morning in my class they will hear that superheroes are strong, confident, and successful... and these will be written on the literacy board.

The use of popular culture may provide for shared understandings, but this does not seem to necessarily be the case here, with this predetermined topic based on certain genres of TV. The five year old children above are being specifically and explicitly taught a range of English vocabulary that would be the same for all children, not only those developing EAL. Children from bilingual homes may be less likely to have heard or used those terms. Use of the first language could have linked concepts such as strong and confident to words in the first language to support learning. Consciousness of this and possible use of bilingual staff to facilitate this was not indicated.

The teacher continues:

Ms F. I had a class a couple of years ago where I had ten new arrivals at the start of the year... and it really did make us reconsider the classroom. A lot more photographs and symbols, for independence and access as well. And for parents to be able to access the classroom. It's also a new environment for those coming from another school, so labels, pictures.

The above shows the specific adaptations tailored to the needs of newly arrived pupils and that a large number of new arrivals led to the staff changing their practices to enhance access for the parents and pupils. The need for adaptations such as visuals seems thus to be intensified in the event of arrivals new to English and indeed this was a concern and focus for TA support where available. Bligh (2014:22) elaborates the concepts from ideas about communities of practice, that it is newcomers' guided participation and interaction with those more experienced that supports learning (Bligh, 2014, Lave and Wenger, 1991).

Ms E. Some of the words at my last school I maybe would expect children to know, here they don't, so it takes longer to go over things and have lots of visuals in the class and explain what things mean and things like that. Like we were doing eels. 'What's an eel?' And none of them knew. It might be like this in a lot of schools as well but I don't think it will be as much maybe.

Teaching for EAL then may take more time in order to ensure engagement and comprehension. Here the focus seems to be on the words, and again on what the teacher has to do rather than what the children themselves bring to the learning and how they make sense of it.

Ms D. Curriculum based vocabulary around the room. Success criteria on the language of the lesson (as well as content is implied here).

The language and close links of language teaching to curriculum content are clear but brief in the above.

Ms E. With writing a lot of it is talk for writing... so they all know it off by heart, so when they come and write their own stories, they literally use the structure of that story and change the odd thing like the character name. I did that at my last school because they did not read at home. It was a quite deprived area.

Here there is comparison with a different group of children and reflection on the scaffolding and modelling language teaching technique 'talk for writing' approach in the curriculum that is employed for children to learn specified language. I reflected that this language repetition skills approach as with some other language teaching techniques perhaps supports a simulacrum of language. Bernstein (Bernstein, 2000) shows how knowledge

from subject fields is re-contextualised in education and so is removed from its original contexts. This made me consider the idea of simulacrum, as used by Baudrillard, in referring to a copy which does not have an original (Baudrillard, 1981). In this context the story is reproduced, but is neither the original, yet stands for 'their own.' Any real voice, agency or creativity would require more than minor changes and this might be an issue in any EAL provision for bilingual learners.

I would consider that the approach to teaching bilingual children depicted by staff was implicit and was overall what would arguably be a version (Larsen-Freeman, 2011) of a communicative approach (Halliday 1978) which was recognisable and partly adapted in the teaching of genres at text, word and sentence level in the 1999 Primary National Literacy Strategy (PNS) instigated by the previous Labour government. Furthermore, a communicative approach is one of many identified approaches for teaching first and second languages in an international context. A communicative approach would imply a whole language approach to engage pupils in a language and content rich curriculum with the optimum amount of direct teaching of language form being under debate. Teaching strategies would be collaborative, participatory and interactive, with use of key visuals and so on, as exemplified in the guided and shared teaching approaches of the PNS and employed by teachers with the focus on Listening and Speaking as integral. It must be noted that the national curriculum of the subsequent governments are based on other principles, which would alter the focus, content and structure of English teaching.

The teachers seemed to depict their strategies as part of the curriculum rather than a distinct approach and as perhaps minor modifications, except in the case of those new to English. From the perspective of the need for a distinctive approach to language teaching the curriculum appears to be privileged above language teaching. However, if assumptions are held that language learning is implicit, then the curriculum is seen to suffice.

Academics and practitioners in the field of EAL continue to seek to outline a certain distinctiveness in underlying pedagogical approaches (Leung, 2010), and point out that a strategy for mainstream learners does not provide for those arriving mid-term, from a range of international backgrounds, nor does it encompass the range of strategies to be found in ESL contexts. This also seems to be the case here. Furthermore, an explanation or conceptualisation of how learning takes place during participation is not provided and

indeed the teachers do not demonstrate this either. Dörnyei's (2009) views are apparently consistent with Leung's as regards there being a role for explicit teaching in language learning and he suggests a postmodern approach to language teaching would not advocate a particular strategy or approach but a range of approaches (Dörnyei, 2009).

Governments tend, however, to select knowledge for their curriculum which marginalises other possibilities, removes knowledge from their research bases, and from those who are connected with producing that knowledge in their curriculum and the effect is a gain in power and control. Bernstein discusses this and the implications for teacher knowledge and the reproduction of existing power relations (Bernstein, 2000).

Applying Bernstein's analysis of the framing of pedagogy to the field of EAL, I began to consider whether the discourse of the teachers here is not making space for other pedagogy. Also, probably because the curriculum precludes it, there appears little recognition of the knowledge and understanding or application of the 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992) of the specific pupils or groups of pupils, in order to bridge or induct their participation into the classroom, in the manner of communities of practice theory (Lave and Wenger, 1991). I reflect on my professional interest here and my aim is not to put one view above another but to attempt to interpret what is happening and to find out who was benefitting. It would appear that the bilingual children in this school have benefitted in recent years in terms of the respective assessments of the previous Labour (1997-2010) and Coalition (2010-2015) curriculum and this would very much be in accord with children's interests as perceived by parents and community. The educational context would seem to indicate that there were no particular differences, issues or problems as regards children with EAL as teachers advise: 'We did excellently at the tests this year', and that 'the children want to come to school.' Whether these ultimately translate into either market value, and/or or fulfilment in a democratic society is open to debate (Ball, 2013b). However the school is considered a good school by OFSTED standards and this would run counter to any narratives pertaining to low EAL attainment and problematic communities that abound in the press and among politicians.

If at a policy level the concerns of pupils and their communities are not paramount and hegemonies are at work (Corson, 2001), aptitudes of diverse groups of pupils may not be

recognised in the mainstream setting. I turned my attention from teacher pedagogy around inclusion in the curriculum to that in relation to the language used by learners.

The language of learners of EAL – a partial view

Strategies to enable access to the curriculum in the main appear to be a part of classroom life, therefore appearing not to be problematic. When considering the actual language use of learners of EAL however, quite a different aspect emerges.

Mr C. There is also quite a lot of tense work we have to teach...a girl this morning wrote I feeled instead of I felt... and she just didn't know, bright girl, didn't have a clue about that... whereas I have a 5 year old son at home and he would.

Here there is surprise shown that the girl 'just did not know,' but additionally there is a normative judgement about the use of English. This noticing of grammatical difference appeared to result from teaching tense work from the new curriculum.

Teachers of younger children did not go beyond words and meaning but as in the above, the KS2 teachers speak of sentence level deviations from the norms of Standard English as well as indicating a more explicit teaching of English. The teaching of this is apparently forced on staff, and the response then to children's needs seems to be subject to the requirements of an imposed curriculum. This is echoed below:

Mr C. ... the new national curriculum is very prescribed in terms of, and it's very back to old school in terms of this is a modal verb. It almost teaches English as a foreign language anyway... em... We almost teach every single child English in a very mechanical way now...

In as much as the change to the curriculum of the Coalition government was impacting on the teaching, it was apparent that the genre based junior (KS2) writing test had been discontinued and a descriptive approach to grammar teaching was being implemented with older children, as embodied by the new KS2 spelling, punctuation and grammar (SPAG) national tests. From an ESL teaching view, this would appear to be based on an identified bottom up, traditional, authoritarian approach derived from the teaching of Latin grammar that focused on receptive rather than productive language (Larsen-Freeman, 2011). It is characterised by grammatical exercises, such as those as embodied in the new national tests. While this seemed to heighten teachers' awareness of the language spoken by the children, it is also interesting that children are succeeding in the new tests:

Ms A. Now we are teaching the new grammar, punctuation and spelling our children are actually excelling at that because they are learning English as a new or as a second language and I think that helps with their grammar because they are learning it as a science - because they want to get it right. They know that there is this formula and so they like to see the nuts and bolts of the language they are learning.

Therefore the new primary curriculum constructs new discourses and new pedagogies from alternate ideologies in replacement of the former.

Other strategies reported include correction:

Ms A. ... I think we correct all the time and there is no excuse and I think that we have had conversations over the last couple of years em as a staff about whether we are right to make these corrections but think the consensus here and in my view there is no excuse to let things slip. I think we should be as correct and as specific as we can in the classroom and maintain those high expectations all the time.

Importantly, the above example implies a surveillance, upholding and policing of the standards of correct English in line with Foucault's analysis of institutions as applied to education and discussed by Ball (Ball, 2013b). Maintenance of the boundaries of Standard English and ideas of norms and correct grammar are bound up with ideas of nationhood and threats to the culture of the majority. A full discussion is in Blackledge and Creese (2010:8). Briefly the argument is that the privileging of English marginalises the reality of multilingualism and multiculturalism in society and excludes the interests and histories of all citizens (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b). Furthermore, the emphasis on correction could also be construed as routine malignment or disparagement that would amount to disrespect in the sense used by Nancy Fraser (Fraser, 2008). Bourdieu would construe this as symbolic violence.

This also led me to consider whether the teaching techniques here illustrate a lack of access to the range of pedagogical knowledge and theories around language acquisition previously referred to, as techniques for correction are discussed amongst applied linguists, to avoid having detrimental effects on confidence and motivation (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). I then reflected that under Foucault's analysis this would still be an exercise of power, particularly in the case of a minority group learning their own new language as a necessity and not as an option as for a modern foreign language. Therefore, any alternative language teaching pedagogy needs to be scrutinised for effects of exercise of power.

I sought to discover what viewpoints of the learner were brought about by discourses around EAL. There were some positives about progress and ability for language learning. Mr C. said they '... can slip between the two and just pick it up at an amazing speed.' Here he is very positive about code switching as well as speed of learning. Mostly the positives were qualified by negative discourses as is shown by Mr B. 'Although it (EAL) is detrimental on paper, it is very rich and I can work with that... It can also be a Manc. thing... a nice melting pot. We are always conscious of it'. Ms D. reports that ... 'most of them speak English fairly well; sometimes it can affect their comprehension'. Ms E. considers 'with EAL their vocabulary is not as sophisticated as those who just speak English'.

Below, it can be seen that to attain proficiency in an immersion situation, exposure to native speakers is important and that opportunities for this were limited due to the high number of bilingual pupils. This is seen as the cause of incorrect English and we can see the

learner of EAL is constructed as having a deficit version of English, with less grammar and less vocabulary.

Researcher(R). How do you think children learn their additional languages? Their EAL as it were?

Ms E. I think here they learn language through us and modelling but we are the minority so inevitably they learn most from peers and siblings and I think that is when we have phrases like 'closing of the light' and 'I done sick' that they hear other children using it and therefore it is self-correcting and you think that is the right way to speak if you are a child immersed in that culture. So you don't notice it.

R. So non-Standard English is part of the... informal school culture as it were?

E. Yes and you correct it obviously as a teacher but they are exposed to it.

Researchers such as Swan (2001) have portrayed this as 'learner English'. In opposition to behaviourist ideas of repetition, it is suggested that children will need to use their first language structures to learn their second ones and will experiment and take risks with new structures. Therefore 'error' is seen here as productive and an alternative view might see it welcomed (Swan, 2001).

In terms of concepts from literature there could be the need for the third space of Bhabha (Bhabha, 1994). It must be acknowledged that this space is also constructive of identity, that of taking on the identity of an English subject and also being a member of the home culture, rather than a binary of having to cast one off to become another. Through language, worlds are created and learners are both culturally constructed themselves and yet constructors of worlds. Holland and Lave (2001). Blackledge and Creese (2010:222), in a supplementary school context where pupils are learning their community languages, note the need for children to appropriate the language and make it their own (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, Bakhtin, 1981).

It becomes one's own only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention (Bakhtin 1981:293).

The school discourses, however, appear to wish to disconnect the speech of pupils from their non standard 'learner English', (Swan, 2001) or 'interlanguage' (Selinker and Rutherford, 1992), or even local dialect and so try to prevent this appropriation. Also many linguists, including Cummins (Cummins, 1995) and Labov (Labov, 2006), have drawn attention to implications for community and pupil identity.

In asking about the teachers' knowledge and understanding of bilingualism, they often told me about the English language of pupils, thus confounding or bringing forward connotations of teaching the EAL with bilingualism:

Ms D. A lot of it comes from experience, and, you have to be aware... that you need to model the correct language... make sure the children are speaking correctly and you correct them, not in a negative way... not to paraphrase things... start lessons with the vocabulary you will be using... not assuming they already know... don't have the correct models at home because their parents may not have very good English. It's vital that they hear the correct models in school.

There is a real feeling here that English is the only important language and that it is only the teachers who can 'correct' the incorrect version brought from home. Thus a division between the English speaking teachers and their children appears to pertain.

Ms A. It has been gradual only this year it is stark. I have not got any of them who is a native British speaker but all of them I would say are NASSEA² steps 6 or 7 and I

² NASSEA Northern Association Support Services for Equality and Achievement produced an EAL assessment system 'Next Steps'

still think in the NASSEA steps even though we are not asked to record them... they have a very good vocabulary but there are some nuances or idioms that they are not familiar with or the range of words for one noun they haven't got that range.

The teacher above uses third person plural pronouns to distinguish children who are not native speakers, and generalises English to British. She invokes a previous assessment system and perhaps some past training to articulate what she feels are language deficits of children. This is significant because separate assessment systems continue to be advocated by some EAL professionals and groups nationally and in Europe, and it needs to be considered how or whether articulation of language deficits in separate assessments can be productive.

Monolingual norms of a language are not necessarily met by ESL populations in any type of programme according to Lightbown and Spada (Lightbown and Spada, 2006). The children would appear overall to meet national norms in their curriculum results in the school and so one may question why the issue appeared to be problematic. It has been noted in an ESL context (Hornberger and McKay, 2010) that English teachers appear derogatory of their students and so was there something about the privileging of English that brought this about? A suggestion has been made that teachers 'perform whiteness' (Ahmed, 2004). Indeed, from a community of practice point of view (Lave and Wenger, 1991) it needs to be considered whether, although children were fully participating in the curriculum, full acceptance was being withheld because of this.

To conclude so far, strong centralising discourses privileging the pedagogy of curriculum and access to this appear to predominate over distinctive or separate pedagogies of English language teaching. In language learning, promotion of monolingual norms of English in the monolingual curriculum appears to prevail to the exclusion of children's home languages and cultures. However, all these are subject to change as curriculums change with governments responding to pressures of elections and interest groups. Teachers and

schools can also collectively change their approach, but a new approach needs to be seen by them to benefit pupils.

Home and school-the rift between

I wanted to explore further what school discourses around home languages and cultures were, since there appeared to be a relative absence of discourse around bilingualism. While all bilingual children are learners of EAL, bilingualism perhaps implies an equality amongst languages while the term EAL appears to signify a lack or need in the learning of English. Below we can see awareness of the range of language experiences of the children but was this part of 'their' culture rather than the school culture?

Ms F. I've got some children coming through maybe who are aware of home language - grandma and grandad speak it but they don't actually know any and they might just start doing it in Y1 when they start going to Mosque as part of their culture but we do have some children who have just English.

The home languages of the children, similarly to that of EAL, were ambivalently portrayed by the teachers:

Ms D. I think it is quite a positive thing really, I would love to learn another language. I think it is a bit of a shame really that people in England don't seem to speak a second language. My teaching assistant speaks Urdu but she doesn't speak it in the classroom, it's just not promoted as something we should use really.

Also:

Ms E. We had a man in to talk about racism last year... our children were there and he asked, 'Who speaks another language?' and all the hands went up apart from me and Mr C.

Teachers as role models and members of the powerful white majority may be visible here as *not* speaking *another* language. Only two members of the teaching staff are bilingual.

Mr B. We always find our children really, really embarrassed about speaking their home languages at school and that's something we spent years trying to get past. When we take the register in home language... [they are] petrified at doing that.

This was confirmed in my discussions with the EAL specialist teacher who also said that children did not want to use their home languages. As Bourdieu argues:

Where the symbolic value of one language or language variety is privileged above others, the symbolically dominated group is complicit in the misrecognition or valorisation of that language or variety Blackledge and Creese, 2010:8.

Another possible instance of this is where a new arrival was mentioned. Although Mr B. said that he didn't normally place arrivals new to English in the lowest group, no one else wanted the child in their group. 'All the other children said he doesn't speak English and so cast him out before they could get to know him...' This would seem to illustrate a reproduction of the division between home and school use of languages. Interestingly, below the use of English also seems to be connected to the lack of vocabulary in the home language:

Mrs A. For me bilingualism means someone who is fluent in two languages and I think some of the children while they are fluent in English sometimes lack the words in their home language so - that subject specific language is lacking in their home language.

This seems to draw on the view of balanced bilingualism (Cummins, 1995, Baker, 2006). The view here then is that some of the children and families are not balanced bilinguals, a conceptualisation that would require education in both languages.

R. So what's the role of the home languages then? It does not seem to have a role I think that is what you are saying.

Ms E. No not for me in my experience and I think I make sure there are translators at parent's evening and we send home bilingual leaflets on some occasions for some things when appropriate. But no I don't think that there is and I mean walking around school you'll see we don't have very many signs in dual language or however many languages we'd need and I think if you walked around school when the children weren't here you wouldn't necessarily appreciate the languages that our children have access to.

Encouragingly, I see opportunities in the discourses around home language. If children could see the teachers using the language in the curriculum, they may not be embarrassed. However, the value does not yet seem to be apparent. Since the languages children have access to come from home, how parents were perceived in connection with the discourse around EAL and bilingualism was of interest.

Mr B. 'The parents are very supportive, the kids are very with it... a nice, solid and by Ms F. 'A really, really lovely community at Urbanvale Primary, with parents who we have taught.'

In the discourse of overall home school relations above, the teachers presented a positive view. The view around parents and ability for support however was again negative. This resonates with a national discourse of parenting as a social problem, with the virtuous parent being English speaking (Vincent, 2012).

Ms A. We run parent classes, English classes for parents to speak English but again I think that there is a sort of timidness among parents and also a huge amount of trust that we will teach their children and suddenly when the children get to a certain level in reading say they can't... they don't feel they can help in reading anymore and feel unable to offer that support so as a school we try to help them but I still think the perception of parents is that that's our role, that's our job.

In the above the parent is seen as needy. There were several references to parents who are unable to support due to lack of English in teachers' discourses. The school's response, as depicted by Mr C.: 'We are trying to address this through English classes.' I note the need to address every obstacle to success with a belief that the school response is perhaps not working? In considering how this might not be working would be the impossibility of the school and teachers to change the socioeconomic conditions of the community. In attempting to do this the tide may well seem to be overwhelming.

However, there is also a feeling that more should be done.

Ms A. Generally maybe more funding for parents groups to come to see what we do because while we do things there is still a little bit of a rift... We had an open evening last week and one of my parents came in and she can't speak English and it was lovely to see her. But I felt very sorry for her because she was at the back of

the classroom not necessarily knowing what was going on - so it was very difficult indeed really.

'A little bit of a rift' might be an understatement. 'And it was lovely to see her' may disguise the dread as it would not be seen to be acceptable for her to say to me that parents were not welcome, as current views on accountability in Ball, (2013:loc 3007) have extended accountability to parents (Ball, 2013a). In application to Foucault this would appear that surveillance of teachers by parents may necessitate the need of the school to control parents. I also considered whether a thread throughout was that the parent/school relationship was perhaps exploitative, rather than that of equal partners.

Having control of the curriculum perhaps encouraged schools to expect parents to learn from them rather than according value to home by learning from the parents about the languages and cultures of the children.

Ms A. We also find in our nursery there are children who come to school with no language at all and while I have not worked in EYFS here I know from colleagues that they come and parents' perception is that school teaches children to talk so actually they don't have anything really apart from very very basic knowledge of main nouns so that's very difficult as well em.

Whether the teacher is referring to no English or no language at all is unclear here. Certainly it indicates a possible lack of visibility of any language other than English. A lack of language before coming to school appears to echo a constant theme in teacher discourses and interestingly seems to be applied here in reference to home languages in the context of bilingual children. Maclure (2003:4) points out that the 'denial of language to certain groups has a history within education' and calls this a 'discourse of disgust' (Maclure, 2003).

Mr C. Now parents are expected to pay for nursery places - so what we've done is paid for them because we think it is so important to get those kids in nine till half three speaking English and immersing themselves in the language.

Here again the language works to show the superhuman efforts of the school to promote English but simultaneously help to replace rather than add the additional language to the children's existing and developing repertoires. (Rymes, 2010). There does not appear to be the recognition that bilingualism needs to be worked at and that parents and communities deserve teachers who are knowledgeable about bilingualism (Macrory, 2006). The loss of the first language is a type of collateral damage which may be counterproductive. While this might be contrary to the stated policy of the school or government, it would appear to be happening here. Any parents likely to object may see this as a price to pay for economic wellbeing in the form of good results and good spoken English skills. Indeed I was informed that the parent governor supported the school in matters of parent conflict. However, these 'errors' and 'differences' from Standard English seem to persist despite the school's excellent results so this must surely call into question whether assumptions as to the primacy of efficiency in English are warranted, or to consider whether other pressures are in play. There may also be a price to pay with language loss in respect of identity and belonging (Rampton, 1990). Linguists (Edwards, 2009) are also acknowledging that there are different Englishes rather than one correct English in the world.

One of the teachers shows his awareness of the parents' dilemma:

Mr B. I share with parents to keep the home language going, you can do both. Usually they feel reassured. A lot of kids you almost find them apologising for their parents... my mum hasn't got much English. I said it doesn't matter, tell them to come in and it will be fun and you can translate. I was a bit embarrassed with my parents sometimes. It's not just one or two parents, it's a lot of parents not confident in English.

In summary the predominant discourse around parents seems to centre on their lack of ability to support the children in English with an associated negativity towards the home language. It therefore seems that English is hugely privileged. The pressure appears to be for parents to support the children to attain in a prescribed system. Perhaps consequences of this could be undermining the confidence of children and parents as well as maintaining language boundaries and segregation.

If the home language could be seen to be of value, teachers, parents and schools could benefit from this information and perhaps need to be informed. Other schools have incorporated community language teaching in the curriculum. Therefore, this would appear to be a space where changes could occur and I wondered if the curriculum could be a vehicle to address the gap in other ways.

Curriculum and assessment -obscuring the view

I have discussed the curriculum in relation to it being a vehicle for the teaching of language and now turn to the wider issues, including content. The teachers spoke positively about the success of their recently adopted project based curriculum:

Ms D. [It] Engages them, is visually stimulating, interactive, activity based, gives access for all special needs and EAL – [In Y1] superheroes, dinosaurs, there is a geography based project called the skies, where we look at weather, seasons... em bright lights, big city where we learn about places, all sorts of things stimulated in a lot of ways.

The interview question on curriculum in relation to bilingual children and EAL did not elicit a lot of information and I wondered if somehow they considered the curriculum a common thing for everyone and something separate from the teaching of bilingual learners. In the above extract the teacher recognises it as very accessible. However, examples where teachers based their topic on children's cultures or community concerns were not

demonstrated. Instead, the common idealised world of and for children was created by, for example, the use of superheroes mentioned above. This depicts the use of popular culture as a common learning platform. However, superheroes themselves assert the power of the individual over the collective, they speak English and in general appear to represent neoliberal individualism as opposed to traditional cultural understandings. In a study amongst Spanish speaking children (Orellana, 1994) they are implicated as part of the complex process of negative attitude to home language and language loss. Therefore curriculum content is seen here as a powerful vehicle for global values.

Mr C. There is a massive distinction between home and school... that's not just because of language but behaviour and how they behave at Mosque. They see that life as so separate which is a shame, but you know it's two very different sides specially religion... We do try to embrace it, we do language days.

So perhaps through the use of third person pronouns we deduce that this teacher does not feel connected to 'that life' himself. I wondered if the teacher had been to a Mosque or community school. There are schools where teachers have been to see their children in the community school and community school teachers have come to see their children in a mainstream class, to help children to connect both aspects of their lives. What, apart from holding language days, is this school doing to bring together the two very different sides? How are the sides different? What knowledge do children bring to school and how is it valued? The values of the dominant group are observed to be different to those of minority groups (Bourdieu, 1991). This could be mediated with the curriculum content, which could reflect home experience.

Mr C. When they do watch news at home they might know more about what's happening in Syria, but the current affairs and language that comes out of that and general knowledge isn't there.

The example here is the topical events in Syria that children appear to find relevant and to be able to discuss at home but does not support background knowledge of curricular content that is actually discussed in class. Therefore this would indicate that there is a discrepancy between home and school experience.

Mr C. The National Curriculum is so English, the new history curriculum... is all about England. Alfred and his cakes. And we spent years and years and years going away from that... learning about things more relevant to them... helping them to understand their heritage through history not what William the Conqueror does. We are wondering if we can just do it in guided reading or something and carry on with what we are doing.

R. What about the scheme you use?

Mr C. Cornerstones are brilliant but they just kind of ignore it.

During my observations there was indeed some effort shown in displays depicting cultural groups' participation during historical events and there is at least the intention of a relevant curriculum here. The evasion implied of the imposition of a new history curriculum seems rather aspirational but is indicative of a willingness of teachers to negotiate and adapt. In the interpretation of the curriculum by teachers there is indeed a significant space for change, but would it perhaps need to be as informed by the concerns and lives of the communities within school to ensure sensitivity to identity as much as by the published generic documentation?

The pressure of assessment-displacement of views and values

What did the teachers say caused them most conflict? This appears to be national standards, the relentless pressure for progress as documented by Ball (Ball, 2003). Every year was a crisis for the school similar to all schools because results cannot be seen to go

down. In addition there were reductions in staff with cuts in funding with a new curriculum and new assessments imminent.

Mrs D. That's what you are judged on isn't it [penetrating look]. So if children don't make progress that's the teacher's responsibility because all the children, have got to make, outstanding progress, in every lesson, that's a real challenge.

Also:

Ms E. There's so much pressure for progress for all the children, it's just fitting it all in it's crazy, but we have to do it every day has to be progress, progress... They come to school and they learn how to get on with people and how to work in groups and nothing's made of that and for some children that's a massive thing... but that's not progress so it can't be measured.

Here a perception that some things are not measured is evident. Nevertheless the positives and the benefits of this for children were recognised:

Mr C. The pressure we have been put under has really raised SEN and EAL attainment because we can't ignore them now because they have to make the same progress as everyone else and I think that once upon a time these might have been ignored because you could get away with that. They love coming to school and don't mind being tested either.

This really seemed to undermine any possible resistance to the apparently relentless pressures the teachers worked under, and made me realise that change would need to be accompanied by a coherent argument in support of the benefits. According to Larsen-Freeman (Larsen-Freeman, 2011), the features of a communicative approach to language would be assessment for learning or formative assessment. The national curriculum levels

however are summative because they are tied to age expectations or norms, used as an objective measure of pupil performance and reported publicly. They enable comparison not only between pupils, but teachers, classes and schools and thus are integral to school accountability to the state (Ball, 2013b).

Mr B. The longer I have taught the more confident I've become in saying to kids you need to know what your level is so that... so you can progress to the next... so you can identify your success criteria to move on but first I didn't want to do that. I remember being labelled as a kid... like you're doing the blue book and you're doing the green book... I think I was a bit resistant at first to do that... but I'm more confident to do that... not to have like a ladder of kids or anything like that... but to know what the next steps are...

Children being on 'ladders', is a very illuminative description of the current system of school and individual performance. The ladders depict how the children are visible to themselves, peers, staff and parents with some being at the top and some at the bottom. This would inevitably have an impact on esteem and identity and awareness is shown of this. The resonance with Foucault's Panopticon is striking according to Allen (1996:219), but then this is operating in an educational institution (Allan, 1996). National curriculum levels, although having age related expectations, were criteria or descriptors, not standardised normative assessments, and appeared to be the vehicle for state surveillance. There was apprehension as these were imminently being replaced by alternative normative systems with standardised testing at Y2 and Y6 as the new curriculum was established. However, normative systems have underpinned the previous tripartite education system and embody determinative views of ability rather than aspirations for equal opportunity. While the success of children appears to justify the surveillance, could educators come to have doubts as to the quality of learning and the values transmitted? In the application of either hierarchical system it would appear that success may depend on the relative lack of progress in others. Taking a societal view, this may be other vulnerable groups in society, and disadvantage to any group would not be supportive of community cohesion or be seen

to be equitable. In addition teachers readily conceded that value was accorded to a narrow range of academic skills. The way forward, argues Bussey (2012), would be to look to the future. Constant crisis and change affects learning and his view is that of a move to a deep learning within a more holistic approach (Bussey, 2012).

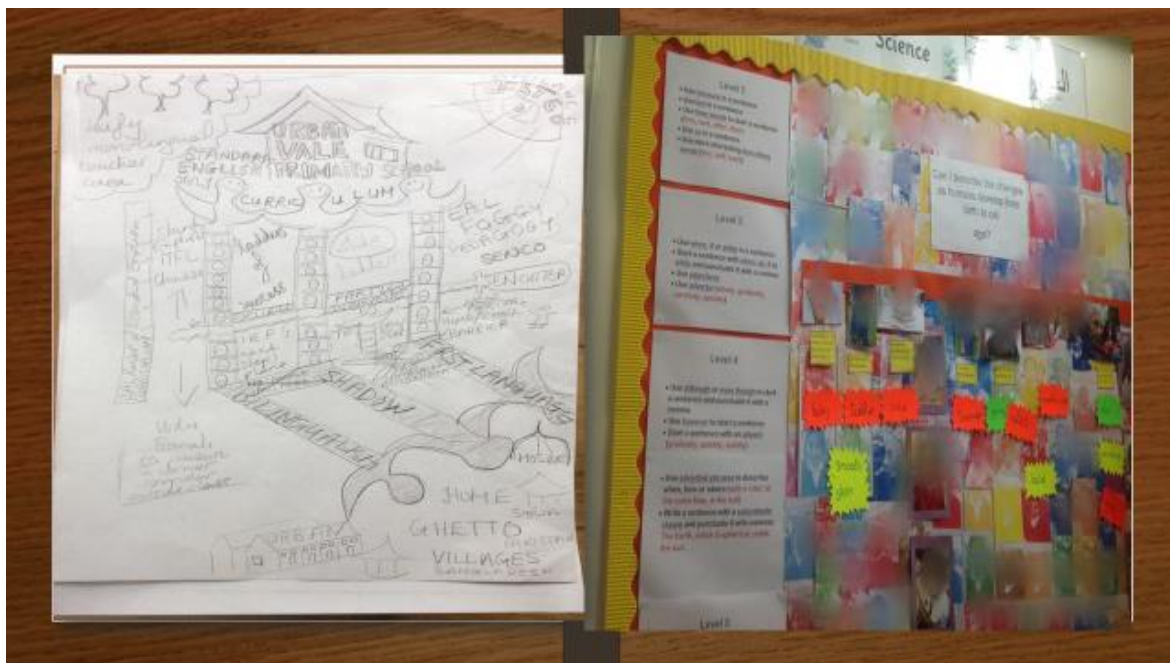


Figure 5. Display of national curriculum levels

Figure 1 shows a display from the classroom on the right side. On the left side of this display the criteria for the different levels are clearly displayed for children. The left side is an extract from my research diary which attempts to visually depict children on their individualised journeys. The refrain of the song children were rehearsing in the classroom where I observed was:

I can do anything I want,

I can climb the highest mountain,

I can feel the ocean calling wild and free,

If I can just believe in me. (Diary data: 2014)

I subsequently discovered this refrain was from the song 'Believe' by Lin Marsh (2005). Children thus were supported in their climb by the music curriculum and by individualistic liberal values and beliefs. Liberalism depends on the choice of good over evil by the rational citizen, and the conflicts therein are discussed by Zizek (2011:43). Social and educational mobility under neoliberalism may require an individual to detach themselves from home and community for economic advantage which may conceivably conflict with values acquired in home contexts. Curriculum and assessment therefore appear to promote particular views and values which may obscure or displace those from other sources.

Relations between groups in school

The consideration of school assessment of continual progress led me to wonder whether the pressure for conformity to Standard English and indifference to home languages and cultures came from the performative and accountability aspects which accorded these of no value to success. The relationship of assessment to professional practice as evidenced by the discourses indeed was worthy of exploration. While some teachers empathise with the children, others do not. Below, the effect of the discourse is a positioning spatially and geographically apart from the school community.

Ms A. Although my placement schools were very different. They were in leafy Cheshire. So coming here was a bit of a culture shock in every sense really. So over the years it has twofold changed - so I think we were getting a lot of, some first generation children from mostly same villages in Pakistan- it's fairly ghettoised around here- and then the minority of Bangladeshi children and a few middle African children, so that Central African sort of populace and some white Irish origin children and now we find that we are getting a broader spread from my experience.

Many of these terms are a use of census categories, which again helps teachers to detach themselves from their children. Furthermore, the use of the words 'villages' and 'ghettoised' in this context indicate schemata which carry unfavourable connotations.

Therefore, social attitudes and uses of language around race and ethnicity as well as of disability are carried within the language used by professionals, and may come from their social influences not just values from policy. Research continues to show that racism is an issue in teaching and teacher education (Hick, 2011). While issues of race and community cohesion are, according to Ball (2013:loc 3007), subsumed under other standards raising moves and brought only to the forefront at moments of 'race crisis' (Ball, 2013a).

Children also seem to be aware of ethnicities as while I was observing in school, the children had a whole school assembly on racism. Ms E. reports:

It has been between the Somali and Pakistani children, but now the white children were getting targeted as well which was not very nice but hopefully it has stopped now. That was not very pleasant. Normally, in the press and things it is the white on black racism. But here it was the other way round...

'Not very nice... not very pleasant.' These are understatement perhaps. This depicts both children and teachers as being aware of ethnic division. Indeed, during observations I saw the only two white children in the class seated together. Positions towards racism generally agree that power relations between groups underpin incidents and attitudes. Black on white racism is now prominent in the press and there is evidence that this is being perceived of as a problem by the white population (Norton and Sommers, 2011). Following the assembly, in the classroom the teacher attempted to promote an understanding that being British was inclusive of children's ethnicities. This complex task of identity would inevitably be an undercurrent in children's education and how children see their linguistic and cultural identities being depicted in schools would have an impact. As advocated by Crowther and Shaw (2012), future approaches might need to take the minority situation of the pupils into account in the building of resilience to hostile discourses (Crowther and Shaw, 2012). In addition, any future approach to EAL by professionals could incorporate wider understandings of the relation of home languages and identities, both of which appear to be missing within curriculum and assessment.

SEN procedure-overlooking the difference.

Pupils with EAL present a challenge to norms as arguably the issue of EAL throws into disarray a normative system of assessing according to cognitive performance mediated through language. With each class having such different ranges of experience, aptitude and language level, it is difficult to compare a bilingual child against age related norms. The Y5 class I observed had a six year range of performance as measured by curriculum tests. With regard to reading, researchers consider standardised tests insufficient in themselves and lacking in validity for children developing EAL due to this wide range in background experiences (August and Shanahan, 2006, Mortimore et al., 2010). Therefore, progress and particularly lack of progress were of great concern, being a way to measure and demonstrate differences between children. Results were shared by teachers at 'pupil progress meetings' which is where progress and the lack of it means visibility to accountability measures, and where action was decided upon. It can be seen that whether or not the child goes on the SEN register is decided upon by relating the progress of one child to that of peers and therefore relies on norms:

Mr C. We have pupil progress meetings where we look at our results and which children are on the SEN register and which ones are EAL and it just seems sometimes they are kept very separate, which is what it should be because they are not the same EAL and SEN are separate... sometimes you want to say that child needs to be taken out but... they're taken up with the special needs children... so we can sometimes ignore children with EAL.

This may be the case. The EAL Coordinator was responsible for induction of new parents to the school and arrangement of English classes for parents but otherwise has been directed towards reading intervention. The class teachers were considered responsible for EAL language teaching. Being on the SEN register appears to be the start of a change in attitudes

towards a child's competence and then entails giving children a different type of learning experience: that requiring additional effort and resources.

Mr B. 3 or 4 kids who are targets for interventions. As teachers we differentiate... and if a child does not fall into a group and needs something extra to access the lesson. That's what I understand by that. The ones with EAL on paper look SEN... but will zoom ahead.

Slower progress is not acceptable in a performative culture. This has been criticised by many including Marcus Bussey (Bussey, 2012) who argues for slow education, so that everyone can learn at the pace to which they are suited. Otherwise, teachers are pressed to look to some reason in the child, the school environment or their teaching but not the levels, assessments and unrealistic norms themselves. Since the standards are fixed nationally and the environment is the responsibility of the teachers it is easy to see how assumptions of child deficit would start to accrue when practical measures within the confines of a narrow education agenda are exhausted. Allan advises that the special education paradigm engenders deficit orientated practices (Allan, 1996).

Mr C. But SEN children get a lot of support and get taken out of class and interventions and whatever else but with EAL there is a different team...

There is controversy about removal from the class. While there may be benefits to a child being taken out, inevitably there is an opportunity cost with work missed and loss of coherence, with the possibility of stigma. During my observations a TA reported that the child he supported covered up his work so that the other children could not see the level of that work. Furthermore an 'intervention' implies something is missing from the mainstream practice, without having any effect on that practice. It is often undertaken with TA support which is also negatively associated with progress (Russell et al., 2013). Norwich

and Lewis (2004) and Florian and Black-Hawkins (2011) have questioned the need for different pedagogy for children with SEN (Norwich and Lewis, 2004) (Florian and Black-Hawkins, 2011). Having been identified, some children will be put on individual plans. Discourses around individual plans invoke a history of behaviourism, individual learning, fragmentation of learning experience, separation from peers and assumptions of low cognition (Goddard, 1997). Under these circumstances, progress might not be assured.

Ms E. Last year there were 3 on next step plans. At the end one of them came off it. It was probably because of her language and she had not been to school at all and her writing was really, well awful and her language wasn't great. It helped, phonics and stuff. She was on next step plans but I said shall we just leave her and see how she gets on... By the end of the year her writing was amazing, she jumped from a 1b to a 3b.

While one child managed to make progress in the above statement and with agreement from the SENCO was allowed to leave the individual plan, three other bilingual children remained on them. It can be seen that the SENCO is influential here, as being a specialist teacher required under current legislation.

Ms E. You can just sort of gauge if there is something wrong, you know where the children should be at... if you give them an intervention and it is still not working and you've sort of identified something.

One might expect so, but if all this amounts to continued lack of progress, the next stage appeared to be advice from outside the school in order to gain identification and categorisation of need. In addition to the language used in schools in connection with EAL and curriculum, with SEN, teachers additionally employed the language of developmental psychology in context with the use of specialists to categorise speech, language and

communication needs (SLCN); dyslexia, autism, global delay, and so on. They used terminology such as 'diagnosis', identified as being from a medical model of disability (Burman, 2008). Labelling children as such requires normative cognitive assessments and this has been criticised in many respects, particularly as it shapes the views of educators (Thomas, 2007). This is apparent here:

Ms A. I think it changes your expectation of a child. You don't ever want to add another layer of exclusion because they know they are excluded already by not being able to access the information that you are giving.

During my observations at the school I found myself feeling very uneasy also when some of these terms were used, particularly terms like 'global delay', as a case needs to be made as to how a child can benefit from this. In my interviews I mainly sought to discover whether and how such categories were used and probed as to the type of advice proffered and sought as well as the usefulness of the advice. Mrs E. advises:

One of them it's like global delay... In terms of time, they always have a TA making resources it takes a lot of time... I don't feel at the moment I'm meeting their needs because they are literally doing the same thing over and over and they are still not getting it but I can't be with them all the time so that is quite a lot of pressure. She [SENCO] said literally to give them the same thing every day. Until they've got it they can't move on.

Terms such as global delay have been particularly criticised as having no explanatory or pedagogical value and yet appear to be in common use by teachers (Thomas, 2007, Norwich and Lewis, 2004). It is a category seemingly only created by the hierarchy of progress itself. Apparently the children are following P levels prescribed for children below national curriculum levels and form part of IEP's previously discussed where the

children are involved in low cognitive tasks. This type of pedagogy is very different and may conflict with a holistic socially based EAL learning pedagogy. In literature, two different types of child are theorised: the SEN child is the rejected liberal subject, rejected and categorised for not being rational (Burman, 2008) and not requiring high level work and the EAL child who is accepted as requiring cognitively demanding work embedded with context (Cummins, 1995). Furthermore, the experiences may be provided by different staff, often low qualified TAs.

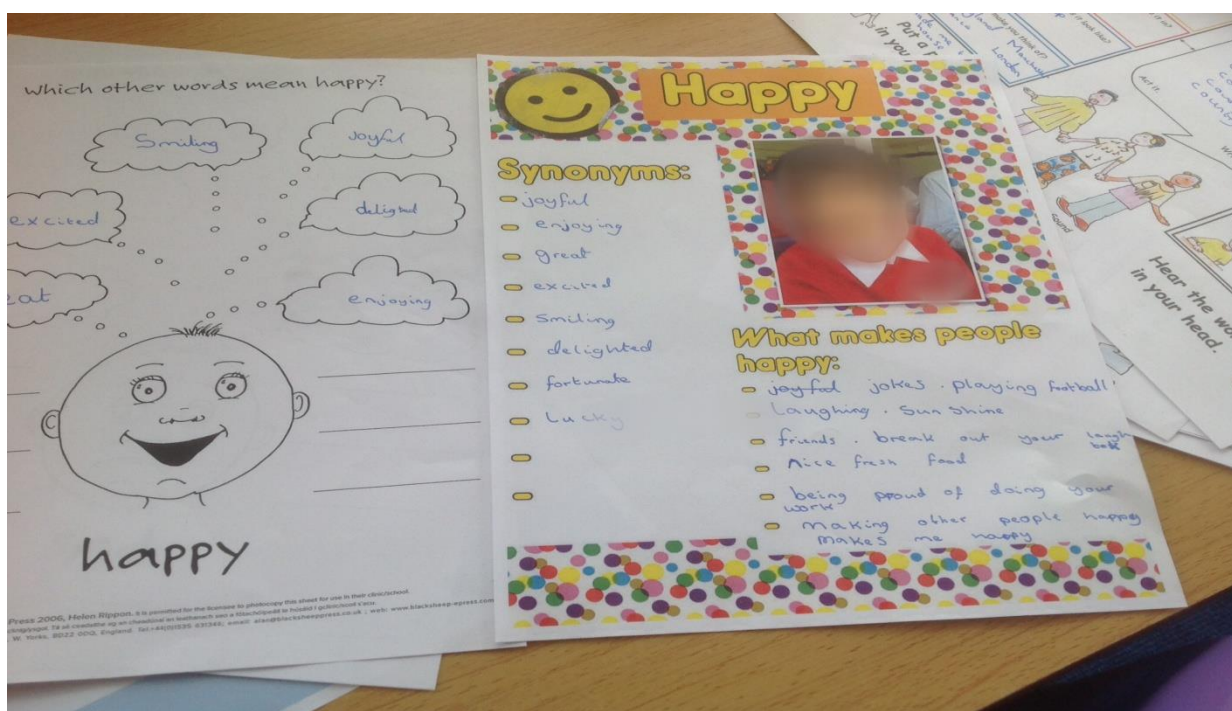


Figure 6: Worksheets for SEN

During my observations in the school a ten year old child with a recently diagnosed SLCN was completing the worksheet (Figure 2) individually with the TA. The one on the left provided by the SL therapist illustrates the type of material often given. This was not contextualised linguistically for EAL, neither was there any purposeful activity or cognitive challenge commensurate to the child's abilities. The one on the right shows

how the teacher personalised it. This illustrates the power of SLCN advice to influence the education of a child.

Mrs F. confirms that SEN is prioritised:

It's, it's tricky because... in some ways it's probably easier to focus on one thing and I think we probably focus on the special educational need - then language generally will come.

However, could it be that this assumption about language may apply especially to those who find it easier to learn? Is it assumed here that the special need excludes language learning, when in some cases there is an overlap, and the term generally implies that there are cases where the language does not just 'come.' I notice that while we are actually discussing small numbers here and the teacher is still using categorical terms, I need to consider if and how these obscure our understandings.

Some bilingual children may make less progress in both language and content and indeed this was not uncommon in the school and in the extract in the next section there is an example where this was the case.

SEN or EAL? The invisibility of each to the other

Identifying a special need amongst bilingual children apparently entailed a sort of 'disentangling' approach by teachers where Ms A reported: 'The main issue is that it can be very difficult to diagnose if a child has specific educational needs because of the language issue which can sort of mask it.' The outside SEN specialist (Speech and Language Therapy (SLT), Ed. Psych.) was sometimes deemed needed by two of the teachers to *unmask* and therefore reveal the SEN. This entailed measurement of the first and second languages to obtain age related scores, apparently to disentangle the two and confirm whether it was an EAL or SEN issue.

Ms A. The last, I think the last agency I was dealing with was the speech and language therapy and they came in and did an assessment on a child this time last year in home language and in English and she scored, she was 11 when the assessment was done and she came out as a six and a half year old in both languages so and it was great that they went into that depth because you need to know if there is a discrepancy and if it is just a barrier to English but it turns out that it wasn't and both of the languages were the same.

There is a significant issue of reliability of scores for bilingual pupils. In the second language there is no test that is not culture free and when testing in the first language these issues are magnified. Problems of norm referenced tests are reviewed by Deirdre Martin (Martin, 2009). Therefore we can reasonably question the validity of age related norms in both languages here.

Psychological testing has been heavily criticised for all children due to the impossibility of quantifying the complexity of human experience. However, it has comprised a major part of research and practice over the last century, is favoured by governments as part of their surveillance, and is embedded in hegemonic practices. Burman (2008:145) demonstrates how the norms upon which it relies are embedded in the Western European middle class norm of child development embodied in the tests (Burman, 2008). Furthermore the tests identify weaknesses in children that may not bear any relation to what is taught, rather than strengths upon which to build. It is evident from the teacher's comments that they do not lend themselves readily to teaching pedagogy and that the external staff (Educational Psychologists, Speech and Language Therapists) administering them are remote to a classroom situation.

With the latest Special Educational Needs and Disability Act 2014 (DfE, 2014), the expectation of expert consultation by schools is explicitly stated and categorisation is required for the reduced level of additional funding. However, if teachers were not required to categorise children, arguably the issues concerning identification of children with EAL and SEN could be averted. Could the disentangling of needs be a disentangling

of different pedagogies and discourses that teachers are required to perform, and what effect does this have?

Ms D. But special needs children their lack of understanding might be in a different way to a child who is bilingual... so by explaining one word they might understand, whereas the special needs child may not be able to understand the concept.

Here the teacher is explaining what professionals, including myself, often say without thinking of the implications. She is distinguishing between EAL and SEN by generalising in a way that embodies the rather negative historic understanding of these concepts; that children with SEN are not capable of understanding concepts, i.e. are not the highly valued rational subjects. This of course represents a gross misrepresentation. It also succeeds in the performance, perpetuation, and recreation of understandings that probably even the teacher who said it would not agree with. In addition it would be necessary to consider how the term EAL benefits or otherwise from this, and the implications for an ethical approach to both. This could be approached by looking in depth at the philosophy of language of writers in the traditions of Saussure, Derrida, Barthes and others.

The context of negativity towards the home language discussed previously passes through to the child who was identified as having SEN:

Ms F. A little girl with Down's - we've discovered that her knowledge of her home language is also of around a two year old and her parents speak their own language at home and we've asked them to try and speak a little more English, but the beauty of that little girl is that she's got siblings who we happened to have taught 12 years ago and who are very westernised.

These siblings are able to support where parents apparently fail. Being 'westernised' then appears as being the superior outcome, with the implication that parents are not. That the first language is seen as important for identity and affiliation to the social group as well as concept formation is documented (Rampton, 1990). The question of how the parents can support bilingual language development is not here seen as a school responsibility.

What did parents think about children being on the special needs register?

Ms F. With parents it is difficult I don't think they understand it a lot of the time. We have to be quite careful... Last year the parents have been very supportive but in the past we have had parents who did not want to be on it, didn't want the funding for it, didn't want this, there was nothing wrong with their child, but ultimately they need to appreciate if the child needs support then they need to recognise it does need to happen.

Such a system is not easy for a parent to understand. The language and understandings behind the provision are difficult to convey, so while informing parents is stated as important in the legislation one would question whether parents are fully informed. Consent to educational intervention is not required, however, so the power is with the educators to act in the child's best interests.

But was the advice from the specialists useful and why did teachers need to seek this advice?

Ms E. Well the educational psychologist came in last year to talk about one of the children who again well we think he's dyslexic but to be honest I sat there an hour and listened to everything she said and we were doing all of it anyway, so I don't really know what the benefit is. At least I got a diagnosis, I see the point in that. The strategies she suggested we were either already doing or they were just I don't know, ridiculous, so...

Most admitted that often the strategies were those they had already adopted. Two of them pointed to the fact that they were not able to adopt such individualised strategies while simultaneously ensuring access to the curriculum.

Mr B. Educational psychologists..... have always sort of issued me with reports and that does not mean as much to me as actually sitting down with the children... not always doable and a pain in the neck for the kid. With interventions she has to miss class sessions it's more important the one to one...

Individualised strategies required more staffing, which was being cut already as money for bilingual pupils in school budgets dwindle and the school diverts resources for early nursery places. However, Teacher A below, as well as another teacher did find advice to be of significant value.

Ms A. ... it meant that we could get very, very specific materials for her, so sentence builders and making sure she is reading a reading book at the right level and giving her time to complete tasks which we were already doing but because of this the breakdown told us precisely what she was struggling with and it was with sentence formation, it was not noun recognition, it was not sequencing, it was the basic syntax of being able to qualify what she was saying into a sentence.

Although well received, the advice appears of a limited nature. Language knowledge underpins all teaching, so it would appear there is a need to interrogate the rather different understandings about language and learning of the teachers and specialists. The national curriculum for literacy is underpinned by pedagogy for assessment, expected progression and teaching at text, word and sentence level. Developmental psychology provided normative advice here on sentences that appeared anachronistic to current curriculum aims.

Pulling the threads together

Themes that emerged from the research then were a lack of specific language teaching pedagogies for teaching EAL despite staff confidence and school success, an apparent value for home language despite their omission from the teaching process, a narrow visibility of learners' attainments and cultures in the curriculum and separate SEN and EAL constructions unable to perceive each other without loss of identity. These represented gaps and contradictions that needed to be further understood.

Discourses around EAL focused on the standard form of English to be, as stated by Mrs A, 'as correct and as specific as we can', to the marginalisation of other languages, cultures and identities. This and the close entwinement with a value laden curriculum, has the potential to shape and perpetuate teacher, parent, children's and ultimately national views of the languages and cultures of speakers of languages other than English.

The close relation to the curriculum made me consider whether the concentration on strategies so that as Ms E said, 'they can access the classroom', did obviate and control a range of other possible language teaching pedagogies and bodies of knowledge outside the curriculum. It also did detract from a focus on the holistic view of the child in linguistic and cultural contexts.

The advantages appear to be success for most children on the curriculums' own very specific and arguably narrow terms of assessment. I considered whether inclusion for the bilingual child depicted in the data is based generally on appearing to make difference invisible. This did not apparently pre-empt the need for anti-racist strategy in the school, suggesting a continuing need for the address of group relations. The privileging of a particular version of English and emphasis on correctness and norms appeared to affect depreciation of both the versions of English used by children and the languages spoken at home. This in turn appears to affect the confidence of parents to support, as Mrs A. remarks, 'there is a sort of timidity among parents' and this might be expected to affect

the confidence of children themselves and their identities as language users and participants in the wider national community.

With regard to the bilingual child considered as apparently having a SEN, he or she is depicted here to be initially in that minority (with arrivals new to English), as not making expected progress within monolingual norms and subject to misrecognition with respect to difficulty. The child is potentially subjected to assessment and pedagogical procedures currently under critique as regards suitability for both monolingual and multilingual children. If the knowledge base can be construed as pedagogically recontextualised in Bernstein's sense it can be seen as removed from internal and external critique by enshrinement in legislation and embodiment in national SEN procedure. Identification as SEN may also in effect remove a child from EAL status in the decision depicted by Mr C. as to 'which children are on the SEN register and which ones are EAL'. This would entail further removal from resources to draw from all his or her linguistic and cultural resources, which arguably a child struggling to keep up might need more of. Pedagogy can also be seen to be based on deterministic views of ability and incompatible with many notions of EAL and teaching pedagogy.

The view of the bilingual pupil voice portrayed here by teacher discourse is thought provoking in that it would suggest to me the idea that the removal of children's lived home contexts and lack of a two way engagement with community contributes to notions of educational simulation. Within this, language and language teaching in a school context is in danger of becoming a simulacrum in Baudrillard's sense. Control of the voice of children may also be apparent as I have presented data that shows children being discouraged from the use of the language versions, dialects and identities arising from and intimately connected with, their own hybrid heritages and identities. This would lead us to question what language or curriculum teaching and learning would bring about a self-expression that is able to draw both on the lived experiences of children in the manner of respect and recognition.

The main area I have struggled with is the complexity of the data. Here is presented a wide range of data in demonstration of the discourses used and to demonstrate my thinking. My attempt at critical thinking has inevitably called into question practices that I have been involved with as a professional. Indeed, looking through the familiar words spoken, to view

them in a completely different way is a challenge. Blommaert (Blommaert, 2005) advises that the discourse analyst must be reflexive in that analysis inevitably entails a meta-pragmatic reframing or remodelling.

EAL seems to historically mean different things to different people. While it may encompass understanding of bilingual children and communities to some specialists, it appears to have been divested of this holistic understanding within mainstream teacher and policy discourses. Strategies for bilingual children to find their voice as well as to learn, or learn through a language requires reframing my own ideas and finding new discourse. The term bilingualism similarly calls forth negative connotations. Opportunities for change are indicated but rarely realised in my findings but could come from increased democracy in national or local policy and school and teacher interpretation. Teachers show frustration at 'ticking boxes' and lack of recognition of social aspects of learning as well as incoherence caused by policy change and they want to do what is best for children. This could open gaps for creative approaches in the face of convincing arguments.

Zizek (Zizek, 2008) discusses paradoxes in relation to violence, actual and symbolic, and I reflected that in many aspects the language used by the professionals depicted amount to a symbolic form of violence. Zizek states that the causes of violence may not be obvious and may not be located at the site of the difficulty, but embedded within the system and indeed be virtually invisible to participants, 'much like the dark matter of physics' (Zizek, 2008) (p.2).

In order to penetrate the 'dark matter' further, I would now need to turn to linguists such as Barthes and Saussure to help me organise ideas, formulate questions and to make links at a theoretical and explanatory level as described by Fairclough (1992) (Charmaz, 2006).

CHAPTER 4. Encounters with theory-seeing things differently

This chapter aims to build onto and develop the theoretical perspective arrived at in the previous chapter. In that chapter an interpretative perspective was reached in that the teaching of EAL, views about languages spoken by children, the curriculum and assessment system including the SEN system all work together in relation to constructions of bilingual children perceived within data from the teacher interviews. Active theorising, (Charmaz,2006:135) informed by my experience of teaching, the school setting, my reading and my reflection led to an overarching theory or interpretation of the interview data. This interpretation saw a dynamic configuration suspended over gaps and spaces within the teacher discourses relevant to those aspects of language and culture that distinguish bilingual children from non-bilingual children.

This idea of gaps and absence of aspects that one might expect to be present needed further consideration and analysis. The analysis of the discourses of teachers was first undertaken using grounded theory and from this developed a poststructural lens. Grounded theory informed the stages of data analysis to allow an emergence of theory and an openness to ideas. Poststructuralism underpinned a view that saw language and discourse itself as constructive of the social world that was depicted in the above perspective. It was apparent from this that the professional language that teachers and professionals use and participate within circulates around the wider social order. The discourses of teachers were seen as a leading component in the membership of a social institution that both extends and constrains the individual and which is underpinned by the values of societies and participants.

Through my attendance at conferences on qualitative research and in discussions with supervisors, I had seen how fresh insights may be gained through using social theory to explore and think through data. It enabled researchers to study social worlds using ideas of people acclaimed as original thinkers and who connect with traditions of thought that reach back into the history of philosophy. In accord with a grounded theory perspective I sought theorists with ideas that would fit or be commensurate with the perspective already attained through analysis. I had not decided on these theorists in advance of the analysis.

This was in order for it to maintain the connection with the data that was grounded within the social context under study. The grounding of the data in discussions around bilingual children led to my choice of theorists who also had social equality central to their thinking, in order to examine issues of equality that are pertinent to examination of the values underpinning the discourses.

Ricoeur(2006) was chosen because being a translator himself, he espoused a philosophical view that integrates the social and pragmatic aspects of language to help to envision how language works in relation to intercultural understanding. This is examined both to seek insights in connection with the data relating to practice of teaching bilingual children espoused by the discourses as well as to examine alternatives that are more respectful and equitable.

Although educational research is probably more familiar with Rancière's criticism of hierarchy in 'The ignorant school master', (Rancière, 1991) his philosophy of aesthetics (Rancière, 2004) was found to be pertinent in examining how bilingual children are perceived within the educational institution. It provides a model of society with historical dimensions that links perceptions of difference with social hierarchy. Thinking through the ideas in this work aims to afford insights into how social hierarchy affects the teaching of bilingual children and the children themselves.

To explore further implications of this in the wider society, I draw on the philosophy of Badiou 2007 and his conception of *the excluded part*. Following that I examine a different aspect of his work relevant to *the encounter* (2012), whereby I consider how teachers may *encounter* their bilingual children in a philosophical sense. The concept of the *encounter* with bilingual children is a theme of this thesis since relationships between children and teachers are arguably central to education.

The choice of these three European poststructural thinkers further reflected my positioning of teachers including myself within the mainstream population that is represented by a white monolingual educational tradition. It is intended as critique from within. The use of theory however affords the possibility to use imagination and an opportunity to realize the affective dimensions of the enquiry.

The intention in this chapter therefore is to revisit the data explored in the previous chapter to add a further theoretical dimension. It is hoped that viewing the data within wider philosophical perspectives, will support insights in to relations of power that support values underpinning the teaching of bilingual children and reveal hidden positions and situations as advised by Charmaz (2006: 135). It also aims to explore possibilities for change.

Encounters with theory

In this section I look at a theoretical understanding of the *encounter*, which is the theme of this thesis. Badiou uses *love* as his metaphor for *encounter*, (Badiou, 2012) but encounters are diverse; they embody chance, an attitude of openness in the pursuit of possibility and shared construction. Choice and declaration are required for fruition to occur. An encounter is not subject to rationality, and minimum engagement to it renders the encounter a mere experience. Alternatively, there is the possibility of the transformation of existence itself. This can happen through encounters with people, poetry, books or philosophy. Ideas and theories about society have always held a fascination for me and have offered encounters that have changed my understandings, my viewpoint and myself. It is hoped, therefore, that the encounters with theory in this chapter help to transform understandings of the data.

Encounters with post-colonialist perspectives have afforded me an opportunity to view the world from the perspectives of the children and parents I have worked with. This would not represent the perspective of the research, which was what could be seen as a 'white' problem, (Ahmed, 2004) as I also am embedded in the cultural history of this community. Too often we 'white' researchers look to address the perceived difficulty through our gaze on the 'other', so this research seeks to turn the gaze within, to examine perspectives of white professionals, including my own. Due to the issues arising from the previous data being in connection with the western European construction of the 'other', the choice of French theorists who have considered such engagement is considered pertinent. This is in the contexts of aesthetics and politics in the case of Rancière, and hermeneutics and ethics as regards Ricoeur. It is my aim to encounter and to apply the thinking of both of these in connection with educational context, in the anticipation that they will take me beyond the point I would get to of my own volition.

Education as Translation?

Looking further now at the 'dark matter' (Zizek, 2011:43) and attempting to penetrate those unseen spaces within the data, I propose to look at the work of Ricoeur on translation (Ricoeur, 2006) and to consider *translation* as a metaphor and conceptual model. This is to aid the professional and monolingual understandings of the learning and understanding of English that the pupil undergoes, as well as to gain insights into the work that teachers do and raise awareness of possibilities.

Ricoeur, according to the translator Kearney (Kearney, 2006), investigates the linguistic paradigm, the ontological paradigm and the ethics of translation. The linguistic paradigm is how words relate to meanings within and between languages. In his essay, 'The Paradigm of Translation', Ricoeur (2006:11) considers the model of translation as a model for hermeneutics or communication both within and between languages. Ricoeur takes the position that to speak is already to translate meanings. Like the translation of a text, this requires a need to bring together an author (or, as I propose, the teacher and his/her curriculum) and a reader (or audience of the pupil and community). Translation needs to be continually worked at, as it is a labour of both memory and mourning. There is a tension as the translator checks the impulse to reduce the otherness of the other. There is sorrow that equivalence of meaning is not so exact that the perfect translation can be found, and some aspects have to be left behind Ricoeur (2006:8). This is due to the fact that the same words have different significations depending on context and cultural understandings. Ricoeur asserts the 'impossibility of mechanically reproducing sense and reference.' To understand is to translate, and he also notes that: 'It is texts, not sentences, not words that our texts try to translate'. Texts, in turn, are part of cultural groups through which different visions of the world are expressed.' Ricoeur notes also that these are 'visions which are in secret or open competition' (Ricoeur, 2006:31). He notes the immense influence of Luther in his translation of the Bible on national and cultural identity. Kearney highlights that this was an encounter with the *other* outside the nation, and thus the transformational and disruptive power of *translation* is highlighted.

The ontological paradigm then, is how the self of one language relates to the self of another, and that the encounter with the other cannot be avoided if there is to be an equivalence (not exactitude) of translation. Equivalence is compromised if the other is minimized. Indeed, 'the best path to selfhood is through otherness' (Ricoeur, 2006: xviii).

After this journey, the solitude of the self becomes plural in encompassing the other. In that every subject is 'a tapestry of stories heard and told', the self is enlarged and gains from the understandings afforded by diversity. The desire to translate can come from curiosity about the strange, but can be motivated by fear or threat to linguistic identity. Ricoeur adds 'the foreigner has always been disturbing.'

The ethics of translation, according to Kearney's introduction, requires the necessity to see 'our language put on the strangers' clothes' and to invite the stranger to 'step into the fabric of our own speech' (Ricoeur, 2006: xvii). This concept of linguistic hospitality (Ricoeur, 2006:23) is the act of inhabiting the word of the other paralleled by the act of receiving the word of the other into one's own.

From this it would seem that the very act of *translation* would constitute an encounter in the sense of Badiou. Questions arising from this depth of philosophical understanding of a linguistic, ontological and ethical requirement would imply that understanding is a two-way process and requires asking of the data:

- What linguistic paradigms and understandings are at work in the school? Is it the construction of equivalence and understanding of the text in that 'It is texts, not sentences, not words that our texts try to translate'? Or is there an alternative understanding?
- Since translation is engagement and relation of self to other, how do schools and teachers engage with children and the other to support construction of equivalence?
- How do schools and teachers behave ethically in the support of linguistic hospitality inhabiting the word of the other and receiving the word of the other into one's own?
- How am I as researcher reading these texts?

Teachers and children encounter each other, and the nature of this encounter is of interest. It seems reasonable for me to assume that the bilingual children are working themselves to translate and mediate between home and school to develop understandings, and that teachers also have a role to play as translators and mediators themselves. The use of this metaphor may therefore be expected to gain a perspective on the work that may not

otherwise be obtained. For each question posed, I have selected a short piece of discourse from the previous chapter that appears representative of school discourse.

What linguistic paradigms are at work in the school? Is it the construction of understanding like the assertion of Ricoeur: 'It is texts, not sentences, not words that our texts try to translate' or is there an alternative understanding?

Ms D..... so we will start with what the children know, so we will assume they know nothing and then they will give us any ideas and then we'll introduce vocabulary that they'll hear. At the moment we're doing superheroes and this morning in my class they will hear that superheroes are strong, confident, and successful...and these will be written on the literacy board. (Interview data: 63)

The construction of meaning is undoubtedly going on here, but one wonders whether the vocabulary approach serves to avoid the network of cultural understandings, and seems to leave the children alone to make sense of this. In languages, the words and syntax do not serve as vehicle for the same cultural legacies or connotations. One wonders how or whether appropriation or inner construction of equivalence is taking place here by children, recalling from the data the lack of conscious use of available bilingual support to help explore home understandings bilingually. From this it is easy to understand how the curriculum experiences of home and school become separated. The school seems content to assume a prior absence of knowledge in the children, which would perhaps imply a behaviouristic view of language rather than awareness of deeper understandings.

In consideration of the data from the previous chapter, it was considered that the language of teaching was mainly implicit, as opposed to being the conscious and distinct work or labour suggested by Ricoeur. Language learning was subordinate to ensuring access to a generic external curriculum, which, in a strong communicative language approach mentioned in the previous section, would be that participation with scaffolding strategies would be sufficient to develop curriculum English. This communicative approach, however, does not require engagement with the different texts, significations and cultural understandings of the *other* language.

All staff noted the language used by bilingual children as being of non-Standard English, and this focus was also seen to be on words and sentences rather than texts. As Mr C, reports, '.....a girl this morning wrote I feeled instead of I felt...and she just didn't know, bright girl, didn't have a clue about that....' (Interview data: 68)

It is to be noted that there is a new national spelling, grammar and phonic curriculum and assessment which has replaced text level writing tests, shifting focus from communication at text level. Furthermore, the discourse seemed to imply a preference for parental support in English rather than the home language:

Ms F. ...'A little girl with Down's - we've discovered that her knowledge of her home language is also of around a two year old and her parents speak their own language at home and we've asked them to try and speak a little more English' (Interview data: 95).

These latter understandings, expressed in a context where SEN is identified, are not reflective of a translation process that parents might be expected to engage in, using both languages to explore or supply a range of significations. Furthermore, this process could be seen usefully employed in schools to enable the child access to both languages. Current research on bilingualism and common underlying proficiency that can be worked on in both languages is available to mainstream, SEN and EAL staff. One would wonder why this was not being applied.

How do schools and teachers engage with the other of the other to support construction of equivalence?

The construction of equivalence, in order to get beyond superficial meanings, requires those involved to see things from the perspectives of one another.

Mr C. ... When they do watch news at home they might know more about what's happening in Syria, but the current affairs and language that comes out of that and general knowledge isn't there (Interview data: 81).

The discrepancy between the different home and school understandings appear to be expressed here, highlighting the importance of community knowledge and understanding in the interpretation of topics. Perspectives and concerns of those from teacher backgrounds are likely to differ from communities with transnational perspectives. The sanitized perspectives of past wars won by Britain as an imperialist colonial power are deemed rather safer areas for curriculum topic than current conflicts materially affecting the lived experiences of children.

As in the translation of a text, however, one could perhaps expect a construction of equivalent understandings to arise from exploration of home and curriculum experiences from other points of view. Such understandings would support deeper views of multiculturalism than that depicted by Troyna (1987) as being in operation. Although this does not appear to be the case within this discourse, the possibility that schools and individual teachers can interpret it in this way would make one seek to understand why this would not occur.

How do schools and teachers support linguistic hospitality in inhabiting the word of the other and receiving the word of the other into one's own?

Ms A. I think we correct all the time, and there is no excuse and I think that we have had conversations over the last couple of years em... as a staff about whether we are right to make these corrections but think the consensus here and in my view there is no excuse to let things slip. I think we should be as correct and as specific as we can in the classroom and maintain those high expectations all the time (Interview data: 69).

Under the metaphor of *translation* as depicted by Ricoeur, the school outlook does appear to be *inhospitable* from the discourse above. Absolute separation between home and school language appears to be required. There appears to be a fundamental inequity here in that while children are expected to learn in or inhabit a very formal version of English, the school is not expected to learn or speak the word of the other. Furthermore, from discourses generally, the receipt of the word of the parental *other* into one's own tongue appeared to be dismissed as being incorrect, evidencing an inability to support children.

Overall, judging the efforts of the school against the 'good' translation conceptualized by Ricoeur, its effort appears to fall short on linguistic, ontological and ethical grounds.

Ricoeur talks about various kinds of resistance (Ricoeur, 2006:4). There could be a presumption that translation is impossible, but Ricoeur points out that the widespread occurrence of translation renders this viewpoint unfounded. Engagement with the *other* language might be due to avoidance of a view that sees one's own language as one amongst others, and ultimately to see itself as foreign. This would be linked to national identity. This may entail a forgetting that one's own language is not abstract and universal, but has its own particular histories and connotations. In the erasing of our understanding of this, we may turn all those who are foreign into the abstract version of 'language's stateless persons, exiles who would have given up asylum afforded by a language of reception' (Ricoeur,2006:10). Might it be that children are not as supported and welcomed as they could be, due to this lack of understanding? Might they feel a lack of belonging? Language or content teaching appear to be viewed by the school as a teaching of the target curriculum discourse without reference to the language and cultural understandings of the home, or to the histories and understandings of English.

It is to be noted that, from a historical perspective, other considerations were 'at work' in previous systems of support for bilingual children:

Ms F.... We used to have teachers provided by the Local Authority but we have our own teachers now, which is better really (Interview data: 61).

Being myself a party to that former provision, I would argue that the role could be more easily seen as that of a translator and mediator of understandings between home and school. In consideration of why this aspect was dismantled, I am drawn to the explanation of various visions of the world that Ricoeur refers to as being seen as in competition, that of the 'other' being seen as a threat or being viewed prejudicially, and so marginalized. From a purely materialist point of view, however, understanding and translation may be merely deemed unnecessary or inefficient. I arrive at this idea from the very substantial strand of curriculum theory that sees education as being subordinate to the perspectives of the market. This points to the predominance of a skills-based curriculum and the need

of capital for a compliant workforce that is ascertained under a regime of testing and accountability. Under this view, understandings between communities may be seen as being reduced to transactions as parent and teacher values are judged by their contribution to test scores.

Professional terms like EAL and SEN have different significations depending on context and cultural understandings. As the focus has gone from two languages and cultures to one, it is seen here to have acquired new meanings and understandings as it is translated into mainstream contexts. From the discourse analysis of this study, the significations of EAL as a focus on the surface features of language is based on language separation ideas, as compared with the social aspects of linguistic and cultural *translation*.

The terms notably invisible in the professional discourses were that of bilingualism and multilingualism. These terms are increasingly prominent amongst educational academics in sociolinguistics (Hornberger and McKay, 2010), psychology, (Cummins, 2008, Bialystok, 2010, Cline and Shamsi, 2000) and ethnography (Conteh, 2007, Edwards, 2009, Blackledge and Creese, 2010b). Blackledge and Creese see in complementary schools spaces where children can use both languages and integrate both their cultures. It is significant that researchers perceive the spaces where children integrate or syncretize their plurality of cultural backgrounds as being outside the classroom.

Could the concept of *translation* and the awareness of this among staff and schools inform the teaching inside the classroom of language and curriculum? The concept of *translation* opens up possibilities, as well as resistances that need to be overcome, and there needs to be the will to translate. Ricoeur (2006:30) points to our natural curiosity. Merchants, travellers, ambassadors and spies were the earliest translators. Does education not need to effectively understand, deal, engage, interact, encounter, listen, survey and watch the children within school and community context? Why does the institutional will appear to be otherwise? I will therefore turn to Rancière to see whether further insights can be gained.

How am I, as researcher, reading these texts?

As a researcher, I reflect on my dual or binary persona as both disinterested researcher and interested and partisan professional. I consider how one without professional experience of the context could have access to the nuances of the discourses and be able to relate

them to these and other theories and texts? I also reflect in accord with critical theory (Brown, 2005) that I am not reading to negate but to reappraise; not to set one absolute against another but to see things differently. Other professionals would, of course, see differently, and so I would need to constantly strive not only to document my viewpoint but also to go beyond my own perspective. I hope the latter is to some extent fulfilled by the nature of the encounter with theorists as depicted by Badiou (Badiou, 2012) in my adoption of openness, the subjection to chance, the willingness to engage and follow possibilities and thoughts previously not considered.

In the encounter with Ricoeur, we find an ethical requirement for peace, harmony and understanding in the world. This is a blueprint that schools and institutions arguably need to answer to. Is the ethical ideal of translation a depth of communication between school and bilingual or any child not an imperative for meaningful education to occur? If so, why does it not happen? This we can carry forward to support our thinking as we now turn to an encounter with Rancière for insights into the structural aspects of equality.

The Distribution of the Sensible

In my encounter with Rancière's idea of the 'Distribution of the Sensible' I will identify aspects that I consider supportive of thinking about the issues above identified. The thoughts and resumé that follow are my brief interpretation, and the aim is not to fully represent Rancière's thoughts but to employ the ideas to think about the data differently. The 'Distribution of the Sensible' is defined as:

'The implicit law governing the sensible order that parcels out places and forms of participation in a common world by first establishing the modes of perception within which these are inscribed.' (Rancière, 2004:85).

This links the politics of who can and cannot have a share in the distribution of what is common to the community to sensory experiences and perceptions, and how the control of one can influence the other. The sharing is at once a unity and a division, since some are included and some excluded.

The main idea is that inequality is political and integral to the social order that permeates social practice in various areas such as art or aesthetics, but this idea could also be usefully employed in thinking about education. It might be illuminating to say that Rancière sees equality as a given, and unremarkable unless pursued actively. To explain this idea of equality, it is helpful to refer to his metaphor that conceptualises that land does not inherently belong to anyone. It is presumed as shared or in common usage until someone makes a claim of ownership. In the contest lies politics and active struggle over distribution. It is in the enabling of active struggle through making inequality visible that I see this research.

The meaning of 'the sensible' is 'that which is visible and audible within a particular political regime'. Rancière is interested in 'aesthetic acts as configurations that create new modes of sense perception and induce novel forms of political subjectivity' (Rancière, 2004:9). This link between such seemingly independent spheres as art and politics can be seen to serve as a model for exploration of language diversity in education that might provide new insights. Of particular interest is:

'The notion of forms of visibility and how a regime can be based on the in determination of identities and the de-legitimisation of forms of speech' (Rancière, 2004:12).

Here, sense perception is seen as a part of social and political practice that works to the advantage and disadvantage of people and groups. 'That art and art forms inscribe sense of community in visibility, choral movement and split reality on stage' (Rancière, 2004: 14).

Individuals, communities and schools employ art forms and choral movement in daily practice. It occurs to me that in schools we do these things daily without realising this.

'Modernity and the aesthetic regime espouse the power of a form of thought foreign to itself identical to something not produced.' (Rancière, 2004:32) In my interpretation, there are dangers implied here when applying this principle, such as to the abstraction of specific pedagogies from research traditions within education. While having the visible gloss of coherence, these pedagogies or curricula may well be incongruent.

In abstract art Rancière sees a modernist tendency towards an elevation of purity that divorces thinking from tradition. This rejection of the constraints of tradition is liberating with regards to freedom of thought. However, it is dangerous in that the unforeseen consequences of the extrication of that thought from ethics might lead to such terrible events as the Holocaust. Aesthetic objects are seen as being extricated from ordinary connections, yet having intrinsic power. If Art, in fact, is reflective of and perpetuates a contemporary form of social thinking, this will be evident throughout the social structure and characteristic of aspects of modern thought. This tendency for 'rupture with context' may also therefore be a propensity of the perceptions around schooling, curriculum, language and social relations in society generally.

The 'indifferent democracy of writing as it is symbolised by the novel and its readership,' (Rancière, 2004:18) brings to our attention that the reader of a text or recipient of education is anonymous, part of a mass audience that has neither voice nor subjectivity. Within equality therefore there is inequality, and within access a lack of access; within a context, the lack of context. This occurs in spheres outside of art, within art and ad infinitum. Ricoeur is full of paradoxes, and I am inclined with (Sayers, 2015) to view his concept of 'Le Partage du Sensible' or the division or sharing of the *sensible* as being potentially 'one of his most fruitful concepts' for education. This is because schools as institutions have been historically linked to the distribution of life chances in the outcomes of assessments and public examination. They can also be seen in daily rituals, as having in common with the arts 'bodily positions and movements, functions of speech and the parcelling out of the visible and invisible.' (Rancière 2004:25)

The paradoxes of equality are what Rancière refers to as the Janus face looking both ways, and a way of viewing the binary thinking that makes claims for different groups and underpins the professional language of this research. Rather than deconstruction, Rancière aims to look laterally at the possibilities afforded, as I hope to realise as well.

Specific questions in relation to my research would seek to explore:

- Who lays claim to what, and how is it contested?
- Who and what are visible and invisible, audible and inaudible? How does this work, and to whose advantage?
- The role of abstraction in the aesthetic regime applied to education

- What counts as knowledge and who determines this?
- What are the effects of visibility, choral movement and split reality on stage?
- Who and what determine time and space. How is it done and what is the effect of this?
- How is the social order maintained?

To examine these questions and gain perceptions that penetrate the data, I found the crime fiction story 'The City and the City,' by China Mieville, discussed by Lewis, (Lewis, 2013) most useful. In the story, the populations of two cities with different names, languages, hierarchies and cultures live side-by-side and are taught to unsee each other, and so perceptual differences are highlighted. However, they do gain glimpses of each other and demonstrate awareness of each other's manners and speech. This story inspired the development of a playscript.

Play script scenario-'The Child and the child'

The purposes of the play script are to attempt to present the data in a novel, insightful and persuasive way. This needed to be commensurate with the development of a poststructuralist position which embodies a recognition of the permeable nature of the boundaries between fact and fiction, since life can be perceived to be a narrative or a story. Badley, (2015) suggests that a performative approach to writing is experiential, embodying the experience of the writer and so is a form of social criticism. The aim was also to put over ideas found within the data of a difficult, *invisible* and *sensible* nature. Therefore the play script was used in recognition that narrative devices are often more effective in putting over ideas that are not straightforward. Furthermore it may support the imagination of the reader as well as of the author, in reflection on the data. The school setting is a familiar place to teachers, but it is necessary to see this in a different, new and unfamiliar way.

Within this thesis I use Rancière's ideas (Rancière, 2004) to discover insights into how children are seen and heard. He himself shows how Greek plays, traditional art forms and modern novels depicted social order and social change, to populations. Therefore it

seemed appropriate to use the data of discourses as well as my notes, within a playscript to in support of my argument.

The play script was indeed a playful construction, a fabrication of my own, using the fabric of teacher interview and my own observations. It was woven to embody the various aspects of the data that helped to construct the view of the child and to emphasise the barriers, gaps and spaces that appeared to me to permeate the data.

The gap between home and school was emphasised using Latin names for those enacting the professional roles of the institution, and Urdu for the children. This also placed both as strangers, so that the author and reader can look upon it as outsiders. But as even Latin is more familiar to us, we can see the divide between the two. As we know the Latin has ecclesiastical, historic, ceremonial and even militaristic connotations, we may perceive the daily ceremony of school. The researcher, myself, is the one character who is in every scene viewing the silent speech of the walls about language, attainment, and cultures, watching, questioning and listening to the staff and children who combine to perform the daily, routine invisibility of the bilingualism of children.

The result is yet shocking to me. How could I do this? A joke in bad taste surely and yet there is no malice intended. Am I to blame for what I see? Are the teachers to blame in what they must perform? I expect not. Ethically I would defend this as not intending blame, on the contrary. Can this situation be changed, performed differently? I think so, but the reader must judge for themselves.

I will revisit some of the data in chapter 3 from this sensory perspective. The actual words are in italics, and the rest is my own narrative commentary. My scenario is entitled *The Child and the child*.

(All translation was undertaken online by your monolingual researcher to investigate the effects of translation-accuracy in use and cannot be guaranteed.)

The Child and the child. (A Parody)

Cast:

School

Doctorem (s) Doctorii (pl) - teacher(s)

Schola filii - children,

Schola- school,

Anglicus-English

Inquisitorem –researcher and narrator

Domi - home.

Community

Maan (f) Baap (m) - parent:

Bachchay – children

School-Madrassa

Ghar - home.

*Scene 1: Inside the **Schola Anglicus** staff office.*

Inquisitorem: What then do you Doctorem see of the Other world, out of Schola, the school context of official language? What glimpses did you gain prior to the unseeing?

Doctorem: *(to inquisitorem)* Although my placement schools were very different. They were in leafy Cheshire. So coming here was a bit of a culture shock in every sense, really. So over the years it has twofold changed - so I think we were getting a lot of, some first generation children from mostly same villages in Pakistan-it's fairly ghettoized around here- and then the minority of Bangladeshi children and a few middle African children, so that Central African sort of populace and some white Irish origin children and now we find that we are getting a broader spread from my experience.

Inquisitorem: *(Aside)* The view then of the Doctorem in connection with the children's Ghar has the feel of every sense with the signification here. The visual image of the school of Ghar community is not leafy, the Bachchay mainly non- white from remote villages and dark continents. There is a feel in the discourse of a division of the sensible here, of the remoteness of the Doctorem who travel into the city to teach in the area, of an invisible wall they need to pass through. Anglicus is the language of the Schola. It is the native language of the Doctorii and their Domi.

Inquisitorem: (to Doctorii) But what are the languages of the Ghar and Madrassa?

Doctorii: Some have a home language and speak English. Often one person who just speaks home language but father bilingual.....Some speak Urdu, some come from Bangladesh but because they don't ever speak in the class I don't know.

Inquisitorem: What then is the Doctorii view of parents, the Maan and Baap?

Doctorem: There is still a little bit of a riftbecause she was at the back of the classroom not necessarily knowing what was going on- so it was very difficult indeed really..... is a sort of timidness...

Inquisitorem: *(aside) I know the Schola is very concerned, as there is no time for more work with the Ghar. If they don't get results the Doctorii will be disgraced!* If the Maan and Baap can't speak Anglicus how can they help children get their results?

Doctorii: We are trying to address this with parent classes so children speak more English at home. And we run parent classes, English classes for parents to speak English.

Inquisitorem: I see, does this help?

Doctorem: They don't feel they can help in reading anymore and feel unable to offer that support so as a school we try to help them but I still think the perception of parents is that that's our role that's our job.

Inquisitorem: So unfortunately even Maan who can speak English don't feel confident with the school vocabulary for older children. How can they become more confident?

Doctorii: We ask them to try to speak a little more English. We think it is so important to get those kids in, nine' til half three speaking English and immersing themselves in the language. A lot of kids you find them almost apologising for their parents...'my mum hasn't got much English' It's not just one or two parents it's a lot of parents not confident in English..

Inquisitorem: *(aside) So, the Schola thinks there is a lack of English and is giving priority to providing nursery places:* How do you think Maan feel about this?

Doctorem: Parents' perception is that school teaches children to talk so actually they don't have anything really apart from very, very basic knowledge of main nouns. Some children come to school with no language at all!

Inquisitorem: *(Aside) The Headteacher reports that Maan and Baap are afraid to speak in any language. If they speak Anglicus it might be wrong. If they speak in Ghar language it might affect their Anglicus.*

(To Doctorem) What strategies do you use to teach the Anglicus as an additional language?

Doctorem: I don't think of the children as EAL, because they can access the school, they can access the classroom-It just comes naturally.

Inquisitorem: Oh there are no strategies?

Doctorem: Children learning a second language here need to be immersed in that language and spoken to and they need visual cues as well. There is also quite a lot of tense work we have to teach...a girl this morning wrote I feel ed instead of I felt...and she just didn't know, bright girl, didn't have a clue about that....whereas I have a 5 year old son at home and he would (...use the correct tense)

Inquisitorem: Your own schola filum at domi is amazing. How do you manage when they do not speak the standard Anglicus?

Doctorem: I think we correct all the time and there is no excuse. The new national curriculum is very prescribed... and its very back to old school in terms of this is a modal verb. It almost teaches English as a foreign language anyway...em ...We almost teach every single child English in a very mechanical way now...as well as assessing it as well. Show me you know how to use an embedded clause by getting it in your story then I can tick a box....

Inquisitorem: Why do you have to do this clerical task of ticking boxes?

Doctorem: The pressure we teachers are under is massively ...far too much ...even marking books because that's what people see rather than making amazing resources. The amount of pressure we put on our kids, the amount of testing we ram down their necks, the curriculum, this is a model verb...etc.

Inquisitorem: *(To audience-walking around the stage as if walking around school, pointing.)* Walking around the Schola images and displays were the same as any Schola in the country, mainly relevant to the skills based curriculum. Bachchay wore Schola uniformis from Doctorem Domi. Ghar cultural artefacts were not however visible.

Doctorem: I mean walking around school you'll see we don't have very many signs in dual language or however many languages we'd need and I think if you walked around school when the children weren't here you wouldn't necessarily appreciate the languages that our children have access to.

Inquisitorem: *(To audience)* There is a large display on a particular country rising in power, with a school focus on the international. The countries of the children's Ghaa are not visible.

There is a standard 'Welcome' poster in a range of languages-a form of 'silent speech' (Rancièrè 2004: 5) with no living language other than Anglicus visible or audible elsewhere in the classroom. Signs 'Literacy' and 'Numeracy' written in Urdu over displays, seen but unseen again, extinguished by their present absence and their impossibility for use. Some Doctorem are uneasy however.

Doctorem: There is a massive distinction between home and school. ..that's not just because of language but behaviour and how they behave at mosque, they see that life as separate which is a shame, but you know its two very different sides, especially religion....we do try to embrace it, we do language days...

Inquisitorem: *(Aside)* What do they do to language at language days I wonder, if they only know Anglicus?

(To doctorem) What about children with SEN? What happens then and what about the Ghaa language?

Doctorem: I think it changes your expectation of a child. They came in and did an assessment.....She was eleven and scored as six and a half years old in both languages.

Inquisitorem: It is clearly important here for perceptual retraining, to have Them in to advise whether you need to see the Ghaa language and so useful now that the Schola does not need to see it. Of course. I realise the linguistic context is not relevant to special need, it is an abstraction that the child with a special need has to be absolved from altogether.

Doctorem: Educational psychologists have always sort of issued me with reports and that does not mean as much to me.....

Inquisitorem: You do not understand Them either... I don't think we are meant to otherwise we wouldn't need them. What about Maan and Baap then, how are they involved?

Doctorem: I don't think they understand it a lot of the time...but ultimately they need to appreciate if the child needs support then they need to recognise that it does need to happen.

Inquisitorem: Of course. *(Aside) I wondered why a child would need support if the curriculum was for everybody.*

Inquisitorem: *(A soliloquy addressed to the audience.)* We are having a whole school assembly! Ah rapture! The rhythms, the straight rows of Bachchay seated on the floor with their Doctorem seated decorously at the sides of the large rectangular space. The balloons with themes of 'I can do it' at the front. 'You can really do it, as I did', said the Orator again and again making me think that these Bachchay must be very humble if they need such exhortations. The *caste* of non-teaching staff sitting between the Doctorem might be from Ghaa or bilingual being from a non-white ethnic group. Of course you can never guess, I should not even think. The rules are that colour should not be seen so I must unsee. Dhom music played and we all walked out like in Ecclesia, except for my class of observation....

Scene 2. In the classroom

Inquisitorem: *(To audience)* As I was waiting for the class to come in, two Bachchay came in first and joined a latecomer next to me in the book area. They were excitedly whispering to him and I overheard one say the Doctorem had shouted:

Doctorem: The white boy. He's, not, a, white, boy, he's a BOY.

Inquisitorem: *(Aside) The Doctorem here would be policing the boundaries between visible colour difference. To the Scolem the rules are that colour does not matter. I noticed the only two white children in the class, were seated together because:*

Doctorem: They're good for each other.

Inquisitorem: *(Aside, to audience)* As this was visible to me, I saw that Doctoreii can perhaps see and unsee again. To some social groups colour does matter and we Doctoreii and Inquisitorem ourselves do use and talk about data, ethnicity and colour. After listening to a class homily from their Doctorem explaining to the children, evidently to the surprise of

many that they were all British, I wonder what would need to happen to make them feel that way?

I hear in their talk, not the high dialect of Anglicus, nor the traditional speech of the loci dialecto, but an Exterius Lingus of Anglicus from the Ghaa. In selecting the word exterius, I could have used alienus, or hospitus with different connotations making me realise the variety of ways of saying the same thing and meaning differently, but notice that the exterius must no longer be exterius since it must be now be a new dialect of Mancuria and so interius? How can we make it feel this way?

The End

I will finish now in my part-parody/part-documentary of The Child and the child, where children live in two very separate contexts but share one inner-city neighbourhood. They are taught when and where to 'see' each other (who are themselves one and the same person) and learn to un-see when they catch glimpses. Would it be an advantage to those who wish to discriminate invisibly and by stealth?

I will now consider the above questions based on the concept of the distribution of the sensible, where the above parody or configuration suggests answers to most of these.

Who and what are visible and invisible, audible and inaudible? How does this work and to whose advantage?

In the above, the language of Ghar is glimpsed but unseen and unknown to the school. The 'Janus face', what they do see at the border of the partition of the sensible, is the lack of Anglicus. Bachchay, however, will see and know both sides of this partition, and the suspicions and deficits attributed to each side from the other. They inhabit an in-between space possibly unseen by both sides.

The worldview depicted to children above is from the monolingual and monocultural perspectives of the white English. The world in English, by the English, is that which is seen and heard, looking from the English public space of school out at the inter-national. Schools think they are reaching out to the children, seeing 'their' place, when the entire time the children are intra-national. Occasional language days from this point-of-view can be seen as supplementing a fundamental absence of home language, which may contribute to the

continuing embarrassment felt at speaking home language and a disempowerment of community as parents fear using their power of language. It is hoped that increased awareness of the significance of the rift could sustain endeavours against this. From Rancière's model, the school can be seen as representing 'the multitude' or *Ochlos*, which is the community obsessed with its own unification at the expense of excluding the demos (Rancière, 2004:88).

Insights from Ricoeur add to our understanding of what is lost when the audibility of children and community is rendered invisible or inaudible. This loss affects depth of meaning and understanding of curriculum, relationships between people as themselves beyond economic or assessment value and a sharing rather than imposition in relation to school curriculum. From the perspective of Ricoeur and the metaphor of *translation*, it affects the very depth and quality of communication between the very different communities linguistically, culturally and socially.

Who lays claim to what and how is it contested?

The claim for an elite version of English that delegitimises the forms of language in use by large sections of the population comes from the educational regime, and is reproduced unquestioningly, presumably due to nationalist and identity reasons of the *Ochlos*. This effectively renders the minority population without a voice, while seemingly serving to benefit the elite. There is no contest apparent, except from the children themselves as they unconsciously speak in their own local dialect of English. Drawing from the philosophy of translation allows us to conceptualise that this is both a construction and reconstruction, with children requiring space and understanding for these.

The claim or implication that EAL or the learning of elite English is a problem or that there is a SEN is done to either decry groups of children in the case of many media, or to demand resources that would mean perhaps seeming to privilege certain groups of children, professionals and aspects of school organisation. Wider tolerance of language or learning variation may obviate the need for such claims, as each repetition of the claim of need is seen to secure the partition of the *sensible* into a potentially *inhospitable* configuration that appears to cast a shadow over the learning or linguistic abilities of children and their communities. Terms like EAL and SEN identify children, and we must be wary, Rancière warns, for particularity is potentially a tool of repression and control. However, denial of

the claim similarly leaves the particularities of learning or context of children unrepresented and invisible in education.

Both SEN and EAL arose from different histories to initially separate and exclude children, and now purport to include them. The same terms and concepts are employed, however, to signify practices that appear fundamentally ambivalent. There is a logical paradox in identification without difference, since the mere fact of defining something differentiates it. There is also a paradox in that the tendency to remove from class, to give an intervention or to make additional provision for that is arguably contradictory. There is no time and space within the classroom or outside of it since children cannot be in two places at once and cannot learn the language and content of the curriculum both similarly and differently, while being required to do this at the uniform pace. The latter would place inconsistency within the system or aesthetic regime itself, with the need for accommodation for more content, time and space. Both SEN and EAL are related to the hierarchy of the *sensible* in disappearing and reappearing to fill in the gaps when the rules or norms for continual progress are broken. It does not matter that the home language and context of the bilingual child have to disappear. SEN and EAL may be seen as the collateral damage to uphold the appearance of universal progress; exceptions that prove the rule, a tautology, a Child and child, as they are fabricated to meet the needs of the system.

The role of abstraction and context in learning

The ethical, representative and aesthetic regimes represent stages of historical development of art to Rancière. For example, in ancient Greece, the alleged birthplace of democracy, art (particularly the stage) was used to educate the population. Later art is seen to represent the concerns of the wealthy and powerful, and to be replicas of the original. Latterly, the forms found the aesthetic in everyday people and objects, and in the modern age have become abstract, rather than accurate, replications of phenomena. These regimes coexist, and Rancière associates the modern age with an increase in abstraction with both positive and negative implications for creativity and freedom.

Applying this to an educational context, rote learning is not in fashion, despite current government exhortation, and this replicative aspect of the representative regime does not seem to be much in evidence. The use of popular culture for teaching, however, is an example of the aesthetic regime of art, based on egalitarian ideas that challenge the orthodoxy of high art depicted by Rancière as the representative regime of art. One idea,

the use of superheroes, is to make the work accessible, which it may do to those learners familiar with the concept. Of the two elements of the modernist regime, creativity 'for itself' and abstraction, it is the latter currently seen to be prominent.

From the above parody of 'The Child and the child', it can be seen that English is increasingly taught as an abstract skill, meaning that most children's dialects of English are visible at a superficial word and sentence level.

In the school, the EAL coordinator ran 'inference training' for children as an intervention, as 'sometimes they lack comprehension too'. This sees comprehension as an inference skill that is abstract from context, culture, language and vocabulary. In terms of understandings from Ricoeur, (2006) comprehension cannot be detached from cultural context.

The abstraction of education itself, in particular assessment, is to be noted as it is meant to be impartial to the context, as if it has become 'foreign to itself', (Rancière, 2004:32) or outside the social system. It is, of course, part of and partial to the distribution of the sensible, in favour of the people or social stratum from which it arises. Interestingly, it has been noted that many politicians from both main political parties come from schools outside the public system, and yet are meant to represent those within. The abstraction of the curriculum and language in the curriculum I would argue therefore is likely to obscure learning, except for those familiar with the linguistic and cultural contexts of the curriculum. As abstraction is therefore seen to be more prominent in school life, where creativity of cultural synthesis is not recognised. In media, art, music and other contexts the creativity of hybridity appears to be considerably more evident in the merger of cultural forms. This could occur, but does not, in creative writing. Therefore, possibilities that available are yet to be realised.

How is time and space determined, who is it determined by and to what effect?

It is evident from the data and that for a good *translation* there needs to be time and space made available. It would appear from the data that a hierarchy of school staff determine time and space. However, from references to the restrictions of government curriculum, OFSTED expectations for progress and the expectations of parents and governors, these decisions derive from within a framework that combine to enact the division of the *sensible* in relation to time and space. While staff determines the precise locations and timings, the sharing of these dimensions is effectively determined by school priorities that largely need

to coincide with national ones. This also works within a framework of legislation around SEN and language that effectively prohibits the use of community language by not mentioning it at all, leaving no time or space for it. This framework has to be accepted and plausible, and school practice is undoubtedly generally endorsed as it is acknowledged that 'parents are supportive'. Some resistances were cited, however, as being offset by a governor from the community, in relation to individual parental concerns mainly over progress, but also about curriculum inclusion of a range of religions and the staging of a nativity play in the school.

A key determiner of time and space is the assessment system that also needs to be accepted or legitimated by social and political consensus, but which is a site of potential contestation. It is perhaps helpful to see that, historically, employment was determined by contacts, bribery or other informal practices perceived in the present Western social context as unfair. Only relatively recently in democratic history was it determined by public examination with concepts of meritocracy that, however constituted, are arguably more efficient from an economic perspective. This too is subjective, but there is a need to maintain a visibility of impartiality. The concept of public examination or, in its present form, national testing, has been extended for accountability and control by government beyond that of school leaving ages, and appears to permeate the educational system. As life chances are seen or thought to be dependent on high stakes testing commencing in the early school years, the impact of assessment is probably hard to overestimate. Accountability of the school and the performance of children are so close that it is possible to consider whether the value of the school and teachers themselves is synonymous with that accorded to their children.

Probably due to life chances appearing to depend on national testing and the belief in a hierarchy of ability that has been internalised by the population, everyone practices the system, from parents to teachers, even though cynicism is evident within the school discourse. Any hierarchical system is going to entail failure through the nature of hierarchy, with inequality further built-in as assessments are going to favour those living within the language and cultural contexts of the privileged. For Rancière, hierarchy is the basis of the division of the sensible, and making this visible may support the contest of it.

The system of assessment is depicted as abstract and skills-based, rather than capitalising on the creativity inherent in modernity and the aesthetic regime. It allows little time and

space for contextual support for learning, slower learning, deeper language learning, understanding of concepts, understandings of one's home community and language in connection with the mainstream or other and a range of behavioural and social values. While there is space for the individual interpretation of schools and teachers, these do not necessarily and are perhaps unlikely to reflect perspectives of the catchment area, since everything else serves to obscure this aspect. The school community is a subsection of the public space and social order that is seen to favour efficiency over community. This lack of time and space is seen by Rancière (2004) to effectively exclude people from democracy. Could alliance be sought with other social groups concerning understandings around creativity that would be resistant to this deployment of time and space?

What counts as knowledge and who is this determined by?

As considered previously, the curriculum that counts as knowledge is fabricated by the government and further developed and interpreted by private profit-making published schemes of work. That which is so important as a potential carrier or translator of deep understanding, cultural values, worldview and a view of society is not therefore subject to democratic processes involving teachers, researchers, pupils and community. Under Ricoeur's depiction of a good translation, the neglect of cultural understandings may be seen as a partial translation, partial knowledge, being unfaithful and even betraying to the reader. (Ricoeur, 2004:28) Here school is depicted as enacting a one-way curriculum without this realisation. While the government advises that teachers have freedom, I would also question whether they have sufficient time or curriculum space under the assessment regime. The assessment regime establishes the hierarchy of what counts, and the lack of value placed on community language and practices of children send messages about public and individual worth. Understanding this should cause a re-evaluation as to what counts in society, and what needs to change to bring this about.

How do visibility, choral movement and split reality on stage operate?

Since Rancière sees the aesthetic as being within the social order, this draws our attention to the theatrical aspects of schooling. The historical developments in visual representation coexist in a given order. The stage in Plato's time was used to educate the citizenry, and we can see the school public performance of website, display, newsletter, assembly, songs, teaching and assessment doing just that; educating parents and children around school values, showing who and what is visible and invisible in the political order.

Assembly is the place where children can visibly perceive that people looking like themselves and from their communities are teaching assistants having lower status in the public space. School staff perceptions are that the community is well represented just by employing the local community. This is to be commended, as not all schools make this effort. However, the community understandings of these people, particularly their languages, are visible as serving access to predetermined school knowledge rather than being a part of it. Children are told that the thing that counts most is their national curriculum levels in English and Mathematics. These are also made visible in sets and stage of hierarchical classroom groupings, where they can look down at colleagues below and look up to those above to gauge the value of self and others.

As well as in assembly and classroom organisation, I suggest the representative regime is also evident in activities and displays being a part of the reproduction of knowledge and skills chosen as valuable by the political elite. The aesthetic regime or modernism is less evident as creativity in current education, but more visible as the abstraction of skills, displayed on walls as value of skills over content. In practice, this means the value not of what was said but how it was spoken or written, drawing more attention to minor inaccuracy of student language. Thus, engagement with arguably more important issues is diverted.

How is the social order maintained?

Rancière refers to the force that establishes borders between what is visible and speakable as 'the police order'. (Rancière, 2004:89) Teachers police boundaries all of the time, through curriculum, assessment, correction and in the course of normal duties.

Teachers police assessment through pupil progress meetings where children are confirmed as having SEN or EAL, an important boundary showing that indicators of lower ability are prioritised over indicators of lower language. Where there is uncertainty in this respect, advice is sought outside of the school on assessment and remediation, since categories of SEN are determined by specialist psychological assessment. While the specialist is not knowledgeable about school assessment or contexts, the teachers are largely not knowledgeable about SEN categories or assessment. Rancière discusses the poetics of knowledge that enable us to see psychological knowledge being above educational knowledge in the hierarchy of knowledge, having the status of scientific discourse and making it impossible for 'the demos', or parents, to challenge where the judgement works

to the detriment of the child. This places the outside specialist also as part of the police order, with an important role in maintaining the order.

Correction polices the rules, but schools and government curriculum determine the rules. The rule of the English curriculum and the control of time and space is arguably seen to prevent teachers from engaging with their diverse children and contexts in any meaningful way.

To summarise to this point, the social order of school is a configuration upheld by the control of the sensible environment, determining what is perceived by children and staff and excluding some groups. Children arguably may perceive that the auditory and written language and dialect of their parents and homes does not equate to the social order of school, and the actual sensory experience of language use is not readily provided for in the current school configuration. The understanding of the languages and cultures of the 'other' does not appear part of teacher remit or of school life, and children are left potentially in an interstitial space with no adult support for intra-national understandings.

The Excluded Part

From the disparate ideas at the start of this section and through my encounters with theory, I have sought to open myself to new understandings and configurations that have been afforded, to think laterally and dimensionally in the weaving and texturing of possibilities through the sensory journey with Rancière. In conjunction with Ricoeur, this opens possibilities while showing us qualitatively what is missing in communication with the 'other' on many different levels. Extending the notion of Badiou's *Encounter* (Badiou, 2012), not only in connection with the researcher's encounter with theory but with essentially the way school may be seen to educate. This education occurs in such a way as to avoid the *encounter* with their community in the lack of engagement depicted. The implications of this for children are likely to be a fragmentation of experience, a loss in depth of understanding and the continued sense that home community will be a parallel world for many. It is in turning from the encounter and looking further into Badiou and his ideas of 'The Event' that I encountered further ideas that resonated with my experience.

According to Robinson's (2014) explanation of Badiou, the dominant ideology, or, according Rancière, the current aesthetic regime, excludes and makes *invisible* some

people but not others (Robinson, 2014). This is further understood through the concept of 'the excluded part', which Badiou insists has no recognised identity. Using this concept we can see that bilingual pupils do have an educational identity, that of EAL. However, there are other elements of the bilingual child; notably, the first language, not represented in education. This enables us to see that lack of recognition perceived at the beginning of the chapter, and may be seen as coming from leaving all other contextual aspects of home language and culture behind. As well as being an incomplete identity, it can also be seen to be a marginalised identity, where the lack of English implies deficiency. Robinson counters Badiou, pointing out that many marginalised groups have recognition in labels to exclude and suppress the part. However, it could be argued that misrecognition or partial recognition is not the recognition that may 'eventually' be reached as a result of a change in political order. In our situation, this could be seen as the terms SEN and EAL themselves as helping to keep the situation intact without real change or accommodation. Using the data we are able to identify the excluded part, encountering aspects of theory that are aiming to help recognise it. Furthermore, we are able to see how the children's backgrounds and contexts continue to be excluded in consideration of children labelled as SEN and EAL, as each has an unseen part.

Badiou draws attention to the need for a reconfiguration of the social system in order to affect social change, and Robinson (2014) cites the London insurrection of 2011 as falling under the grammar of Badiou. In Education, this arguably resulted in the focus for funding on children to be on free school meals and away from EAL, and was seen as resulting in staff cuts in the school under study. This would not be the reconfiguration required by Badiou. It does, however, illustrate the link between political struggle and education, as change in education may be seen to come from events outside education. The excluded part may be not managed well enough, to be too invisible, to control it. Where may be the *eventual site* of resistance, where the minority communities are driven to undertake the excluded part denied in a public setting? Indeed, it is undertaken in faith communities, faith schools and supplementary schools, where Mr C reports that 'they see that life as separate which is a shame, but you know its two very different sides, especially religion....' (Interview data: 81). Some faith schools have been subject to media and official concern over British values and terrorism. This has led to the teaching of British values in school, which, again under the division of the *sensible* depicted in this chapter, is likely to be ineffective with the fundamental structure being intact. It could be argued then that communities need to

meaningfully *see* and encounter each other in the school and in other public spaces, to facilitate integration of *the excluded part*.

With this insight into hierarchy, it is necessary to reconsider this 'successful' school that exceeds the national average in maths, spelling and grammar. Remember that this will place this minority above the average socioeconomically disadvantaged child. In other research, including (Willis, 1977) cited in (Apple, 1995), we see that white disadvantaged children may be seen to have developed cultural behavioural resistances to education through historic subordination under the economic system. This may be counterproductive to their educational progress, but serves the hierarchical system. The bilingual children, conversely, are in a separate societal enclave; they are compliant within the system, and there is a family structure and community network that seemingly values the education system, withstands economic hardship and generally ensures the children are attaining. An alternative interpretation may see the anti-authoritarian attitudes of the peer group as being significant (Dance, 2002). It is possible that the bilingual home and community mediate the peer group influence more effectively than other social groups. Furthermore, strong communities may also mediate the potential negative effects of the views of the majority society on language and culture. Whatever the reason, the results here suggest that while these urban bilingual children reached national averages, not as many exceed them, particularly in reading comprehension and writing. As we can expect this to contribute to impairment of progression of bilingual children to elite positions, the dominant regime and hegemony has safeguarded its position, for the time being, within possibly an unstable hierarchy. The system arguably needs a consensus to be stable, the inequity within it being inherently unstable. Some groups, although deemed invisible by the current regime, will be seen to be different and doing better than others. Therefore, efforts to resist the system could focus on the making visible of this inequity. Indeed, the current focus on children having free school meals is probably such an attempt. It does, however, perpetuate the system that gives rise to the inequity, addressing neither the socioeconomic aspects nor the relations between groups.

Critical Reflection

In times of crisis and I refer to the aesthetic as well as the economic, for what are the cartoons of Charlie Hebdo and others but the ethical regime of art versus the aesthetic

regime? In current times we are reminded of the current need for the concept of translation advocated by Ricoeur in the mediation of these understandings. The analysis of Rancière (2004) applied to education has shown that the divisions of ideas and cultural understandings permeate throughout the auditory and visible sensory experiences of schooling. That children learn not to see and hear languages, cultures and meanings but learn to 'turn the other cheek' means that we educate all children to undertake the very epitome of the inhospitable act which must surely be the antithesis to any meaningful interpretation of British values. Much more is needed than language days and token multiculturalism. How can we navigate between the views of others if we do not see or hear them, with the lack of engagement built into the very fabric of school life?

Rancière has helped us to add to and go beyond the analysis of divisions of economic value of Marx and Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1991). He has added to the concepts of symbolic violence that show how resources and cultural capital of home are discarded at school. He has shown how the lack of value is translated into cultural blindness, by its own terms a form of cultural disability, a selective hearing and seeing that is contrary to the interests of the *Demos*, but determined by a configuration that privileges the select *Ochlos*. In this way, internal divisions are viewed not simply as Labour in dialectical conflict with Capital, but in how Labour is deceived and blinded by Capital, as well as being rendered incoherent or mute in the process. Foucault has shown us the operation of norms and how these are manipulated, but Rancière adds to our understanding to help us to penetrate the unseen nature of the area between and outside of the norms and partitions. In the emphasis on the sensible, he has enabled us to perceive how colour is simultaneously visible and invisible and so has assisted in the understandings of the perpetuation of racial division and whiteness. He shows how the voice and experiences of an entire community is silenced within the school confines. He helps us to draw our attention to the political and aesthetic nature of any community practice that we may encounter (Lave and Wenger, 1991). His view is as optimistic as it is illuminating, however, as equality does not need to wait for dialectical overthrow, but can be the prize of individual political struggle. It is now up to schools and their communities. From my encounter with Badiou, I explored further the nature and implications of the *excluded part* to explore resistance to recognition outside the confines of school. Ricoeur (2006) has led me to question understandings of communication and the need for communities to engage with each other in meaningful encounter. He adds to postcolonial theory with a kind of mediation that is easily compatible

with the understandings of world ethical viewpoints. Can it coexist with the amorality of neoliberalism? These are dark times indeed, (Brown, 2005) if we are configured into an eternity of parallel worlds with both our inter and intra-national neighbours. The struggle must commence (Brown, 2005: loc 4).

Bringing it all together

New understandings in education are needed. Encounters with the data in relation to theory provide alternative perspectives on language teaching and learning with insights into how schools could more effectively 'encounter' their diverse communities. The partition of the sensible may seemingly bring into effect an efficient workforce, but without regard for the contextual needs of a diverse society, rather than the gain of a few, that inequity may lead to disillusion with the social order by other sections of society. Could it also be that the official indifference to social context will give rise to political struggle as 'the child' who is unseen, will come to realise that, however well they progress, without knowledge or understanding he or she will not become 'The Child' with the full contextual understanding to ensure that comfortable and hospitable visual and auditory perception of full societal belonging? Issues of equity therefore need to be constantly worked for in every generation in order to counter new inequities, and this will direct my further consideration and be the focus for the next and concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 5. What has been learned?

In this chapter I will review the learning experienced through previous chapters, working with data while exploring emerging themes using theory and engagement with the research process. I will then consider key points leading onto the significance of this learning for others and myself.

As an EAL professional practising for nearly three decades in schools and higher education, I sought to gain an understanding of some of the anomalies or encounters that I have not been able to make sense of within the frames of reference experienced at the time or prior to commencement of this study. Among these were monolingual and bilingual students who felt uncertain about mixing with each other, and bi- or multilingual student teachers feeling unable to use their home languages in school. There was also an apparent exclusion of bilingualism within the social construction of special needs, and a lack of curriculum space and time for EAL or bi- and multilingualism at all stages of the education process for teachers and learners. I also perceived a lack of purpose or direction with regards to the teaching of bilingual learners, and a marginalisation of the role for professionals working in this area. My research seeks to go beyond how to teach bilingual learners more effectively in accord with narrow curriculum aims and to reappraise what the way forward might be after making inequality visible. I do not intend to formulate definitive answers for these issues, but rather to seek insights that will anticipate alternatives. This project has enabled my assemblage and visualisation of a theoretical configuration of societal control that has enabled me to locate the language and practices of EAL, bilingualism and SEN in dynamic historical and political context. This has facilitated my ability to take apart the components and to stage a reconfiguration as a basis for new thinking, and to stage an encounter with professional discourse that has facilitated a critical analysis.

Encounters with data

The data presented in Chapter 3 was from teacher interviews about their practices, views and strategies around EAL, bilingualism, curriculum and SEN. Encounters with the data enabled me to see the way discourses construed bilingual children in curriculum and as language learners. Initially, I saw a school where the majority of learners were successful

in national curriculum tests. The teachers were largely experienced and confident with their pedagogy and parents were generally supportive. I sought to understand their viewpoints and seek themes and patterns through the application of reading, as well as my own experiences and reflection.

A key point of learning is that most of the bilingual pupils depicted in the study can and do succeed within the current narrow skills-focused curriculum. The demographics of the school portray a large majority of bilingual children, apparently from a fairly long-established and stable Punjabi or Urdu-speaking community. That the school was successful in attaining national norms in literacy and exceeding them in numeracy appears to concur with national statistics on attainment and ethnicity.

That children would not be expected to *exceed* national norms in literacy, however, could engender reflection as to whether national expectations were too low. It would also prompt thought as to whether strategies for bilingual children to find their voice as well as to learn through a second language could be expected. The implications of success within the curriculum would be that concerns for equality and justice would entail looking deeper into the issue of bilingual pupils in terms other than those of efficiency and attainment, as, on the surface, there initially appeared to be no problem. A further point of learning was that of a dominating curriculum that made me consider whether the concentration on strategies so that 'they can access the classroom' (Interview data, Ms F: 61), did obviate and control a range of other possible language teaching pedagogies and bodies of knowledge outside of the curriculum. It also detracted from a focus on the holistic view of the child in linguistic and cultural context.

The situation depicted a time of transition in the UK government, from the Labour party-initiated primary national strategy to the Coalition-initiated new national curriculum. This entailed a move from a communicative genre and text usage-based approach to language teaching to one with a focus on discrete sentence and word level skills, for all learners in the mainstream.

Nevertheless, while most bilingual children maintained attainment within this new curriculum, perceptions around EAL development were to some extent negatively portrayed. It would appear that previous training around EAL, as well as current national grammar tests, had heightened awareness of children's use of language and influenced

teacher perceptions of EAL language use, particularly with older learners. This appeared to represent a challenge, requiring surveillance and correction as discourses around EAL focus on the standard form of English 'to be as correct and as specific as we can.' (Interview data, Ms A: 69).

Furthermore, the data suggested the privileging of a particular version of English and an emphasis on correctness and norms appeared to depreciate both the versions of English used by children and the languages spoken at home. This, in turn, appears to affect the confidence of parents to support as 'there is a sort of timidness among parents', (Interview data, Ms A: 77) and this might be expected to affect the confidence of children and their identities as language users and participants in the wider national community.

The minority of children below national norms appeared to be either arrivals new to English from a wide range of countries or those categorised as SEN. With the former, teaching strategies were largely implicit, encompassing those within teachers' repertoires such as visuals and vocabulary. That there was no identified approach or language curriculum mentioned except that of immersion appears to suggest a gap in provision or understanding.

Bilingual children attracting a category of SEN were seen by teachers as not making expected progress within monolingual norms. The children were potentially subjected to assessment and pedagogical procedures currently under critique for both monolingual and multilingual children. Identification as SEN may also, in effect, remove a child from EAL status in the decision as to 'which children are on the SEN register and which ones are EAL' (Interview data, Mr C: 88). Pedagogy can be based on deterministic views of both ability and language, and incompatible with many notions of EAL and even inclusive teaching pedagogy.

My encounters with data raised more questions than they answered. As an EAL professional familiar with pedagogy in a range of issues and understandings from research and practice around language teaching and bilingualism, I became aware that this wider range of understanding was not available to, or used by, teachers and parents at the school. Furthermore, such understandings could not readily be employed within an assessment system where a school and staff felt that their survival depended on performance in test scores. Beneath a veneer of success, teachers and parents saw the attrition of home language and cultural esteem as the inevitable cost of progress. The conditions for success

to operate appear to represent a considerable sacrifice, as in research and literature it is generally acknowledged that language is important for identity, esteem and affiliation (Rampton, 1990).

A behaviouristic view of language, culture and ability permeated the discourses on EAL, SEN and bilingualism. This left gaps in knowledge and understandings, the invisibility of language and culture of communities in classrooms and a lack of audibility of home language. These gaps lead to the emergence of an underlying theme of something missing, an invisibility and a sense of something not being quite right.

In summary, the teachers talking about the terms relevant to EAL and SEN in relation to their practice demonstrated ontological assumptions about the social construction of reality that could be related to historical and current policy concerns, such as the link between language separation ideas and nationalism (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b). Educators are active participants in the interpretation and realisation of curricula and ideology, and pedagogy is thus created and enacted. In undertaking this research, I reflect that I, too, am part of this process and am seeking to discover why and how bilingual children become *invisible* and *inaudible* within current professional discourse.

Encounters with emergent themes

The themes that emerged from my research were found to concern what was missing, rather than what was there. These threads underpinned teacher discourses on curriculum, EAL and SEN and necessitated my critical reflection as to the focus and undertaking of the research.

The following themes were considered: a) understandings about the omission of bilingualism in learning and language learning, b) what was represented in the curriculum and how was it represented and c) the difference and overlap between SEN and EAL categories.

The main point of learning was that children were not referred to, or spoken about, as bilingual learners, whereas discourses did use and relate to the terms EAL and SEN. The understanding of the term bilingual learner appeared to signify a lack of English, rather than the advantages and richness of home languages and cultures depicted in much recent

research and writing (Blackledge and Creese, 2010b, Conteh, 2012, Wallace, 2011). It is not that teachers were unaware of language and community, as indeed they were, but rather I found that the teachers considering teaching the curriculum their prime concern. Perceptions of learners therefore seemed to be in relation to how well individuals performed in assessments based on the curriculum. The focus was neither on bi- or multilingual language learning nor how children related to learning linguistically and culturally. The focus appeared to be the topics and concerns that were based on national curriculum and purchased schemes of work.

Although bilingual staff members were mentioned, their bilingualism was not indicated as having a specific role in learning, but rather it was incidental to generic duties. Children were not generally encouraged to use their first language, so language separation views of language learning were depicted.

The curriculum would seem an obvious place to envision linguistic and cultural understandings, but was limited in this respect. The national curriculum might be seen to claim legitimacy by virtue of being impartial and abstract, but the consequent decrease in local relevance served to promote invisibility of local concerns. We have seen some fleeting awareness and resistance to the curriculum by the teachers, as Mr C. complains:

The National Curriculum is so English, the new history curriculum...and we spent years and years and years going away from that...learning about things more relevant to them...helping them to understand their heritage through history, not what William the Conqueror does (Interview data: 82).

As well as demonstrating a decrease in curriculum time and space, could I perhaps see how the teacher talking in third person plural represents the relation between staff and pupils? Might a gap be detected between 'we' and 'them', and a question concerning how children and community are represented by teacher interpretation of 'their' heritage? Curricula are always interpreted by schools and staff, and are not always enacted as intended. As well as curriculum time and space, it could be that children and community could require representation, and that teachers may need to learn from their communities to avoid stereotypical or reified concepts. Children are in danger of not being heard and seen from

both curriculum and teachers. Generalising from this shows that teachers are very powerful and capable of control in enhancing the spaces of visibility and invisibility.

From the discourses, as well as in display and observation, there are spaces for such visibility. Like many, if not most, other schools, this one teaches on a range of religions in their religious education lessons, supplements the curriculum with links to a school overseas, has language days, celebrates Eid and a range of cultures, translates messages for parents, provide interpreters etc.

The ways aspects around bilingualism are addressed appear to embody characteristics of multiculturalism, a disputed concept. It does, however, afford some aspect of linguistic and cultural presence in the public space. Many, including myself, would argue for the extension of multiculturalism, as a space of respect and mutual understanding, (Modood, 2005, Yegenoglu, 2012) as well as for a tool to guard against dangers for control and cultural essentialism.

EAL and SEN were both familiar curriculum concepts in the teacher discourses that do not now appear to necessitate or embody understandings of bilingual language development. The SEN assessment of first language did not appear to involve an understanding of how languages of the targeted individual evolved in social context, but was apparently used to ascertain whether the child can demonstrate monolingual age-appropriate ability in any of his or her languages. When they could not, that was the last time the home language was involved in the SEN process, and so was a part that was missing. Similarly, the overlapping area of EAL and SEN seemed not to be conceptualised, and these categories appeared to be viewed as mutually exclusive. If EAL was equated with learning and progress, SEN was not, and so, logically, we can see how they appear to exclude each other. Where teacher D. said:

But special needs children their lack of understanding might be in a different way to a child who is bilingual...so by explaining one word they might understand, whereas the special needs child may not be able to understand the concept (Interview data, Ms D: 94).

Here the teacher is saying what professionals (including myself) have said to distinguish between the two, but I have been able to reflect on the gross oversimplification of the complexity, such that the reverse may often be the case.

The subsequent pedagogical focus on words or sentences, abstracted from a focus on spoken or written texts, represents the converse of a meaningful approach to languages and culture. The opportunity for enabling all children to make progress by drawing on all of their language and cultural resources would therefore be suggested. SEN and EAL are seen to be historical social constructs created and evolving as a way of perceiving and categorising children by different people with different concerns without reference to each other, and so they are invisible and appear mutually exclusive to each other. The first language assessment may be viewed as a process of exclusion, with bilingual aspects of the child being excluded therein, bringing to mind notions of parallel monolingualism (Heller 2001).

The themes arising, therefore, were a lack of the visibility and audibility of languages and cultures, leading to further potential gaps and omissions in the education of all children. This lack of visibility of bilingualism within a largely monocultural and monolingual curriculum was rather perturbing, as it represented the omission of the crucial area that was central to my study. How could something be studied that was not there? How could teachers not see or hear them? Was I a practitioner of an invisible pedagogy? Could this explain the disappearance of my teaching courses about bilingual learners? Was I also invisible? Further examination, however, revealed that the interviews did indeed take place, and, in seeing how the professional field appeared to teachers, I found that I needed to further decentre myself from the situation and look to theory for further explanation. In the effort to look divergently at the situation and reposition myself, I would therefore seek to encounter myself, within theory, very differently.

Encounters with theory

Encounters with theory have taken me beyond the issues of pedagogy, attainment and other aspects of professional concern to the questioning of assumptions and underlying ethics. To interpret the data, I drew on my own experiences as practitioner and employed a wide range of reading and selected theoretical understandings of the world that, in my

view, were close to the themes that emerged. I considered the political views of Rancière (2004), Badiou (2007) and Ricoeur (2006) to add to and supplement other viewpoints. These thinkers have not generally been employed in an EAL context, but I would argue that they bring new perspectives to the field with the concepts such as *sensible* and *translation*. The concepts of Rancière, in relation to politics of aesthetics and sensory perception, appeared particularly relevant to explain the *invisibility* of concepts around bi- and multilingualism. The concepts of Badiou add to this with the notion of the excluded part, and the philosophy of Ricoeur is suggestive of mediation between positions. Through theory, I have gained a unique perspective on the political nature of the world and how this shapes the perceptions of individuals.

Rancière enabled my use of the data in a reconstruction of a sensory world, where the consensus of power within any particular regime resides with the *Ochlos*. The *Ochlos* represents the multitude of people obsessed with its own unification at the expense of the *demos* (Rancière, 2006: 88). Conversely, the *Demos* are those not represented in the division of the *sensible*. In examining what is and what is not included in the workings of a school with a very high number of multilingual children, and in relation to teacher discourse about EAL, Bilingualism and SEN, this has supported insights into the relations of power that affects the 'massive distinction between home and school' (interview data: Mr C: 69). While bilingual and bicultural aspects of children were glimpsed in corridors and classroom corners, they were largely *invisible* in the curriculum and the major concerns of school life. Their home languages were *inaudible*, and their endeavours at learning their additional language or in the use of their local dialect of English were understood by unfavourable comparison with the standard variety of English. These perceptions of the use of English appeared to underpin teaching approaches in the curriculum, as well as relations with parents and their confidence to support children. The division between school and home language seemed to depict the latter as irrelevant and, by implication, possibly damaging. Thus, a hierarchy of languages was upheld, which may serve to demonstrate that the people who count in school are visibly white, monolingual and English speaking. This hierarchy appears to be upheld by curriculum, ritual and a potentially precarious consensus resulting in a silencing of the voices of children and community.

An integral part of the regime was seen to be the assessment system, with national curriculum levels on display in every classroom and every child knowing their own and their

peer's position on the ladder, including their 'next steps.' Assessment would be seen to be part of the police order (Rancière 2006: 89), which addresses the borders between the visible and invisible, the sayable and unsayable. Power trickles down through teachers, children and parents who are all *subjected*, judged and evaluated against national criteria. From this perspective, it can be seen that sociocultural and multilingual aspects are seen as barriers to learning in policy and practice, and are, in effect, distanced from the learning process.

This viewpoint was to affect a shift in my thinking in how schools operate, and a growing awareness of an excluded part in the sense conveyed by the philosophy of Badiou (Badiou, 2007). The excluded part is that part of the undifferentiated multitude that is there, unseen or misrepresented by the *count as one*, or, for Rancière, the *Ochlos*. Extending the notion of Badiou's encounter, it was possible to see how the school may be seen to educate in such a way as to avoid an encounter with their community in the lack of engagement with the bilingual aspects of children. I have also argued that bilingual children have only partial or distorted visibility. The terms EAL and SEN, as well as children's bilingualism and other abilities and contexts, have given rise to this, representing the excluded part. Artiles and Ortiz (2002) use the concept of 'safe spaces', showing that terms like SEN or EAL save or protect norms of the society ideal in their disempowerment of some pupils (Artiles and Ortiz, 2002). Thus, a complex consensus emerges, the visible parties seen to include government, schools, teachers, parents and children. I, too, as an educator, would be seen to be party to this consensus, and this appears to represent the *Ochlos* and is an act of power perpetuated on the part of the school and state.

The result appears to be the curriculum choice of pedagogy embodying behaviouristic and nationalistic positions, rather than sociocultural views of language and learning. Such beliefs are seen to serve subordinating ideologies, and can be endemic in the education system, resistant to change. The principle of language separation and the associated ideology, as well as deterministic views of ability, are both involved with regard to bilingual children in the assessment and pedagogy of SEN. These are embodied in curriculum and assessment, reinforcing the assumptions that the only languages and cultures worth teaching are those of the *Ochlos*. The implications of this for children are likely to be a fragmentation of experience, a loss in depth of understanding and that the home community will continue to be a parallel world for many. Badiou (Badiou, 2007)

furthermore warns that the excluded part may seek expression outside of the public space and moved my thinking as to whether problems of disaffection and displacement may serve to fuel allegiances beyond or against the *Ochlos*.

To appreciate the importance of languages to others would require empathy, a conceptualisation and an understanding on the part of school that did not seem to pertain to the data and which would help to comprise the *excluded part* discussed by Badiou. The qualities of empathy are, however, part of the human condition, and are a form of sensory visibility closely related to aesthetic appreciation that have been shown to be politically manipulated in a division of the sensible that ignores language and community. How can this empathy be restored or inserted into our school consciousness?

For schools to employ empathy as regards additional language learning would require a mutual understanding, which Ricoeur (2006) affords us through the expanded concept of *translation*. A good translation (or good teaching) is a linguistic encounter between different visions of the world. Ontologically, it is how the self of one language relates to the self of the other, as mediated by school and teacher and ethically inhabiting the words of each other without resistance. Briefly, it can be seen through the teacher discourse and educational discourse generally that the school encounter with learners is a presentation of a predominantly western European vision. This vision dominates the self of the other, and presents as a resistance by the host community to the use of the languages and dialects of the school communities, disguised through multiculturalism as nominal acceptance. Through the analysis of the political and sensory aspects of power, I have suggested that we have seen that the dominance of one language and culture above others and the belief in the apparent need to separate languages in learning underpins beliefs of participants in the educational system. This serves to shape, reinforce and marginalise perceptions of individuals who are not subjected to experiences that may allow them to see otherwise. Ricoeur's concept of *translation* (Ricoeur, 2004) suggests an alternative to a seemingly impossible position, and I have suggested as an alternative concept in the analysis of policy, practice, critique of language and curriculum policy. The ideas of Rancière, Badiou and Ricoeur work together to support this understanding of data, and have formed a part of the research process.

Encounters with the research process

Learning from encounters with the research process has derived from engagement with data, themes and theory. At each stage I have sought to consider not just what I know, but how I know it, and also to question my assumptions. Aspects that I found challenging were: obtaining interviews with teachers; obtaining perspectives on bilingual children; relevance of school demographic factors; designing appropriate research tools; my own professional relationship to participants; and maintaining contact with the data during analysis and interpretation by using theory.

My attempts to interview teachers during their busy schedules were not initially successful. Fortunately, the head teacher took an interest and intervened to timetable a schedule of interviews with middle leaders while substitutes took their classes. I supplemented this with observation notes from my research diary, which were used to supplement discourses.

The focus was to be on bilingual pupils and the overlapping area of SEN and EAL. During the interviews, however, I realised that the teacher discourses did not depict either bilingual pupils or the overlapping area of SEN and EAL. The interviews did elicit a range of interesting data about their teaching of pupils, and I settled on teacher perspectives as a focus.

From research in higher education on bilingual students, I realised that any 'problem' for bilingual children or young people and their communities could be understood by looking at the construction of the social reality that defined them. It became clear that teachers had the ideal perspective to view the workings of this, and to understand the educational system with regards to the positioning of bilingual children. Foucault (1991) sees power as an all-pervasive system that stretches into all areas of life, in institutions, individuals and in knowledge itself; certainly the workings of any system could be viewed from any aspect of an institution (Rabinow, 1991), and this proved to be the case.

The particular circumstances of the school do not make it representative, but this type of research does not claim to be representative, but rather explanatory. That another school with less diversity in an area of economic advantage may have answered differently is not in doubt. In the North West of England, where low attainment is an issue, the central pressures on schools from government has been relentless and certainly affected the discourses, as children's progress was seen to be an overriding concern. That this school has a very high percentage of bilingual children places it in a minority, and most likely heightens school awareness of responsibilities for the teaching of English, bringing to the

fore issues of linguistic and cultural separation. Key learning here is that the choice of school is not the issue in a study of bilingual children, but how these factors are interpreted and understood most likely is. These pressures are accommodated within the research approach, and it serves to strengthen rather than detract from a dynamic understanding.

I also reflected on whether the interview questions were limiting, and whether I had obtained viewpoints that were distorted and confined. The interviews elicited a very abstract view that may well have been caused by the interview situation. Probing questions around culture may have brought forward a more rounded view of the efforts of teachers. I do reflect that cultural understandings would still appear as outside their central remit of adherence to the curriculum, and the research tools did elicit very rich data.

It was a possibility that an EAL professional would attract a different response to some other professional, as subjects might try to tell the questioner what they want to hear. If the data is interpreted as what they thought an EAL professional might want to hear, it is also reflective of the discourse understood around EAL. Nevertheless, the teachers portrayed a professional discourse that I felt was authentic and recognisable, and that related fundamentally to their practice, allowing me to create a dynamic conceptual model of power relations.

To interpret the data, as well as drawing on my own experiences as practitioner, I employed a wide range of reading and selected theoretical understandings of the world that was close to the themes that emerged, considering the political views of Rancière (2004), Ricoeur (2006) and others to supplement other viewpoints. These thinkers have not been employed in an EAL context, and I would argue they bring new perspectives to the field in the concepts of *sensible*, *hospitality* and *translation*. These were identified through the need to explore gaps in policy and practice emerging from the data. The concepts of the relation of politics to aesthetics and sensory perception appeared particularly relevant to explain the invisibility of concepts around bi- and multilingualism.

The depiction of the data from the interviews using hypothetical conceptual models is a recognised part of the research procedure of data analysis (Mohr and Rawlings, 2012). Žižek uses films and novels, as he claims they are reflective of societal ideology (Žižek, 2011). In an attempt to gain a view of the ideology at work, the model of Rancière's aesthetic regime (Rancière 2004) was used to create a scenario, 'The Child and the child'. This draws attention not only to the sensory invisibility of non-mainstream languages,

cultures and concerns, but also the lack of audibility in the public space of school. It also assists in envisioning how aesthetic display and ritual supports the making of subjects. Care was taken to maintain contact with the data while formulating possible explanations.

Key learning about the research process recognizes that interpretation can only be partial, and transparency is required. An approach that is flexible and systematic, involving grounded theory, discourse analysis and interpretation entailing use of theory has been shown to support the development of sophisticated understandings of consensus and difference.

Navigation of consensus and difference

The exclusionary nature of the consensus, while appearing to secure the status quo in the school system, may be counterproductive in adaptation to a changing world. Further integration, I would argue, will not come about by the presence of minorities in schools, but requires deliberate effort. It can most effectively be undertaken by working within the system at the divisions. This is assisted through professional understandings, and the concept of *translation* brings new direction to the work.

The learning elicited through the research process seems to show that differences from monocultural and monolingual norms are virtually excluded in the public spaces of the education system. While this appears to be a neutral approach, it can be seen to be partisan and political in the imposition of monolingual and monocultural understandings of curriculum and language learning. We have also seen the operation of a potentially unstable hierarchy depicted, where bilingual populations may succeed in relation to lower socioeconomic groups, yet may not challenge the success of elite groups. According to research performed in USA, identified minorities are not only vulnerable when they underachieve but are also subject to controlling discourses of model pupils when they do well (Lowe, 2015). Relations between groups are therefore very important, whether they are underachieving or not. From the analysis of the excluded part of Badiou (2007), we see that inequitable distribution may serve to fuel dissent where populations do not understand each other. The failure to meaningfully see and encounter each other in the public space of school, where children are as strangers to each other, may mean that integration of those parts excluded may not be effected. Social acceptance, as well as

academic success, is required within a broader and more socially inclusive curriculum. The argument, therefore, is that this will entail a more adaptive system conducive to success in a national, as well as global, environment.

While it might seem desirable to eliminate the structures uncovered by the research, we cannot realistically do this. As Mouffe advises, 'any order is always the expression of a particular configuration of power relations' (Mouffe 2013:loc 148). In these circumstances, professionals need to be empowered to work within situations while being empowered to effect critical analysis. In accord with Rancière (2004), I see my research as the enabling of an active struggle through making inequality *visible*, bringing purpose and direction to our roles as educators. If we do not see the web of discourses and underlying hegemonic power, then we will be perpetuating this consensus without realising it, rendering ourselves unable to formulate dissent. From Spivak and postcolonial theory (Spivak and Harasym, 1990), cited in (De Kock, 1992), we learn that the middle ground, not that on either side, affords the position to both dwell in and critique the structure of the educational system. Mouffe considers conflict to be an essential part of pluralist democracy, and that consensus will always be a 'conflictual consensus' (Mouffe, 2013). We are the vehicles of power that Foucault sees as productive, and it is in our agency to make a difference. Work with difference is on the *partition*, or at the binary opposition in the depiction of pupils as either bilingual or EAL with their different significations. Similarly, with SEN or EAL and the underpinning curriculum and assessment, supports need to sustain and control the officially defined concepts. Bringing understandings of bilingualism to both conceptualisations would support the merging between the two sides.

Working between the binaries means reconfiguring the *visible*, the representation of the holistic aspects of children, for them to see and be seen in cultural and linguistic context. Teachers and educators can and do engage with difference. They do not need a congealing homogenous sameness; they can view children differently, exploring children's bilingualism, helping choose texts to be relevant, from home and from community. Educators can connect with the research and be influenced by internal critiques and traditions of good practice. They should know better than governments and officials about children and parents. They need to have the remit to ensure that an *encounter* with children and schools is rich, an encounter of worlds of difference to be welcomed. Such work is best represented, and gains added depth, through the concepts of *translation* and

the *encounter*. The philosophy of Ricoeur is a whole language approach par excellence. It combines the linguistic features of texts with cultural worlds that afford the analysis of data, and a critique of practice that is also suggestive. Living with the times *and* learning to resist them is a condition for being mediator. Being in the middle ground, the area we share with the marginalised, is always imminent and promises experimentation and change. Like the Lutheran bible, the actual text from one world would and could only influence another when they were prepared to receive it, and so we are in the position for preparing the ground of change. Are we ready yet?

The way forward - *translation* of curriculum, pedagogy and professional practice

Democratic purposes would seek language and cultural inclusion in the public space, rather than marginalisation and control at the periphery. Through the above analysis of the political and sensory aspects of power, I have suggested that we have seen that the dominance of one language and culture above others, and the belief in the apparent need to separate languages in learning, underpins beliefs of participants in the educational system. This serves to shape, reinforce and marginalise perceptions of individuals who are not subjected to experiences that may allow them to see otherwise. Ricoeur's (2006) concept of *translation* suggests an alternative to a seemingly impossible position. A translator moves between the peripheries of different linguistic worlds to construct a comparison that serves as a bridge of understanding. I have suggested a work of *translation* as an alternative concept and metaphor in the analysis of policy and practice, and as critique of language and curriculum policies abstracted from lived contexts.

The lack of concern for bilingual aspects of children by the *Ochlos*, reflected in policy, has meant there is no coherent or explicit approach for bilingual language learners in the curriculum. The operation of language separation ideas involves a largely monolingual range of understandings. This is a serious charge against educational institutions that purport to aim for equality. A coherent approach that takes in the holistic needs of all learners would investigate the application of Ricoeur's (2006) approach in school. In particular, a *translation* approach would challenge how children and teachers encounter each other's contexts, engage with each other and know and understand each other's views and languages.

The challenge to linguistic separation paradigms comes through understanding each community's texts.

It is texts, not sentences, not words, that our texts try to translate. And texts in turn are part of the cultural groups through which different visions of the world are expressed (Ricoeur, 2006: 29).

This points to the constructive nature of language by individuals in social and cultural contexts. This amounts to a challenge of policy, such as with the English national curriculum's focus on words, sentences and skills, rather than the meaningful dialogue and understanding of worldviews and self-expression of texts, as embodied in the *translation* approach. Following this approach, school knowledge and literature would draw from a range of authentic texts, literature and resources. This is feasible and advocated in communicative and functional linguistic approaches (Halliday, 1973) advocated for bilingual learners (Corson, 2000). However, in the challenge to language separation ideas, approaches involving the relation to children's own linguistic and cultural understandings would need to be employed.

The challenge to ontological paradigms is how we, as researchers, schools and teachers, can engage with children to support engagement with the self to other. There is a need to know and understand each other's views, which may encompass speakers from local mosques addressing assemblies, children's stories based on Quran and rational discussion over the wearing of headscarves. This would require a dynamic, supportive curriculum that was reflective of local and national diversity beyond the limits of a traditional multicultural approach. Indeed 'the best path to selfhood is through otherness' (Ricoeur, 2004: xviii). After this journey, the solitude of the self becomes plural, encompassing the other. In that every subject is 'a tapestry of stories heard and told' (Ricoeur, 2006: xix), the self is enlarged and gains from the understandings afforded by diversity. Curricula are seen as political (Popkewitz, 2009), determining both the creation of knowledge and access to it, and have been shown by many to be undemocratic and abstracted from both formal and informal knowledge, debate and understandings. This puts into question the relevance of education for populations as well as the nature of knowledge and how it is conveyed to whom.

Additionally, Biesta (2009) advises that the purpose of education should not be decided by assessment.

In our discussions about the purpose of education we need to distinguish between the ways in which education can contribute to qualification, to socialisation and to subjectification (Biesta, 2009:33).

Biesta also notes that the purposes of education overlap and affect each other, and can conflict. These composite aspects need to enter discussion around education (Biesta, 2009). My research offers a perspective on how the purposes interrelate as regards bilingual children.

The challenge to ethical paradigms is in support of *linguistic* hospitality inhabiting the word of the other and receiving the word of the other into one's own. The ethics of translation, according to Kearney's introduction (Ricoeur, 2006: xvii), requires the necessity to see 'our language put on the stranger's clothes' and to invite the stranger to 'step into the fabric of our own speech'. The implications of this is to bring the stranger into the public space as he/she is, with their lived cultural experiences. Moreover, this is intra-national and international communication, and includes all societal groupings. This would normalise and change that public space, and we would become different as a result, knowing ourselves through each other and becoming stronger for it. An example of the realisation of this would be the extension of community language teaching within schools, as well as of the modern foreign language.

From this it would seem productive dialogue, meaningful voice and mutual expression, which should surely comprise the very aims of education, are the very act of *translation* as a wider concept. As stated previously, this would constitute a true encounter in the sense of Badiou (Badiou, 2012). Questions arising from this depth of philosophical understanding of a linguistic, ontological and ethical requirement would imply that understanding is dialogic, a two way process, and the goal of professionals and researchers could support bringing this about.

Responsible and democratic curriculum practice would indeed help to bring this about. To do this would require the involvement of a wide range of local and national participants, including researchers, academics, practitioners, educators, parents and children, to inform government, rather than allowing a narrow representation of interests to influence policy. Such practice would be efficient and inclusive of national and international understandings in the modern world.

For example, with regard to theory, using the model of 'Community of practice theory' (Lave and Wenger, 1991), Barron has highlighted that many bilingual children are placed in a position of peripheral participation (Barron, 2007). It has been suggested that the space of peripheral participation could be developed for a sympathetic understanding of the language learner in school, in connection with new arrivals learning English (Bligh, 2014). A *translation* approach, however, emphasises the space, not just as one of induction to a community, but of induction of the school community, which is transformational. Therefore, the *translation* model emphasises the mutuality required in a space for socialisation of children in social and cultural context with each other.

A priority for research and practice would be how, philosophically speaking, to *translate* home and social contexts of all children in the school space, through narrative, curriculum topics, links with complementary school, local languages classes or multilingual pedagogy and translanguaging (Garcia and Kleyn, 2013). The specifics of realising this is suggested, but likely outside the scope of this research, glimpsed in the work of the many researchers and educationalists who focus on children in their home, community and school contexts. Multilingualism in learning would contextualise the learning of English in compliment and not in replacement of other valued repertoires. Fears would need to be addressed among educators regarding the use of home languages in classrooms, and etiquette of mutual respect devised. English language teaching would seek participatory practices that challenged orthodoxies. Language learning would be recognised as a creative process of self-expression. Self-expression and dialogue would ensure bicultural identities are supported, and the creativity of hybridity within the mainstream could address the shortage of bilingual and bicultural children's authors that could help to translate children's learning experiences. Such a space would be open to, and involve the sharing of, contexts of all children, in line with the respectful ethos of the translation approach, to share international and intranational understandings.

The research originally purported to explore the overlapping areas of EAL and SEN, and found the invisibility of bilingualism in both conceptualisations. The implications extend this space of *translation* to all children. To do this will require professionals and researchers translating between concepts to challenge behaviouristic views of language in assessments and practice, and to seek wider understandings of ability within education. As well as challenging monolingual empirical assessment, the foregrounding of linguistic and cultural understandings within both assessment and pedagogy of bilingual pupils, and indeed all pupils with and without SEN categorisation, would mediate between SEN and EAL binaries and promote a depth of knowledge about child in cultural context. As discussed above, a wider curriculum would have an educational aim to focus on what children can do, and not on deficit alone, in portrayal of positive views of children and staff to each other.

As this research has investigated the operation of power through the educational institution, future research into the views of parents and children from positions outside of the *Ochlos* would be seen as a counterpart to this study, in order to reveal partition as viewed from the *other* side, as it is realised that the view of this study is partial as are the interpretations of the results.

Concepts of *translation*, therefore, have profound implications for policy, practice and research, and involvement of all parties would be crucial to a participatory approach.

Overview

From the engagement with the discourses of teachers, through themes of *invisibility* and *inaudibility*, we see educational structures as politically configured, subject to continual change. This opens up new possibilities for those of us working to expand public spaces for bilingual understandings, as well as new challenges. We may never be complacent when navigating new terrain.

I suggest that much of the work proposed is already what many schools and professionals are doing or are trying to do, and will continue to do under whatever political regime. Indeed, bilingual teaching assistants and EAL specialists may constitute the trace of former approaches that still attempt to do this. I hope this thesis will contribute to the illumination of our pathways, and give direction to the egalitarian and ethical basis of our approach.

Taking the political understandings of theorists such as Ricoeur, Rancière and Badiou has meant that I have encountered myself as an EAL professional from various dimensions, including both as an EAL teacher and as a teacher of bilingual learners. The EAL teacher seeks to enhance proficiency in English and curriculum while being aware of the danger of furthering understandings of deficit and disempowerment. The teacher of bilingual children, however, seeks mutual cultural understandings while being in danger of promoting a marginalising multiculturalism.

The EAL approach embodies the most serious charge, and one that we need to take seriously in view of recent policy initiatives that focus solely on deficit in the English language learner in a curriculum where bilingual learners are invisible. There are alternative views of language learning that view children as creative language learners, and the approaches of educationalists must embody these alternative understandings. As well as employing bilingual strategies for language learning, a challenge to the marginalising effects of the curriculum also needs to be mounted.

In considering questions of policy and professionalism, I have encountered myself and others under a curriculum that makes much existing work at translation *invisible* and *inaudible*, and therefore not understood as relevant within an efficiency discourse. We must find ways to convince others of the relevance of this, by engagement with parents and the community to whom it is already relevant. In order to exert pressure for change, we must advise and inform about the wider research on the benefits of bilingualism. I have attempted to portray a depth needed in language policy in order to enable bilingual learners to exceed narrow margins of efficiency in skills. I have also begun to understand how the regime may divide and marginalise those of us who work at the partition of the *sensible*, a position from which we may be making a political challenge. Criticism of existing policy may be seen as utopian, but as Brown (2005:2) advises, we cannot ethically compromise the future in service of the apparently more expedient choices of the present. He also notes that criticism is never, yet always, timely (Brown, 2005). Being critical is seen to be a rereading of the past, and also a reaffirmation (Brown 2005:15). It aims, as I have done, to render previous interpretations differently.

The concept of translation both affirms previous understandings of language and renders them differently. Professionals are all *translators*, and to translate is to 'serve two masters', as Ricoeur depicts (Ricoeur 2004:22). In recognition of this difficult role, and with the

guidance of the egalitarian principles of the role as translator and mediator, I hope that I and other educators and researchers from a range of cultural communities will be encouraged to continue to reflect on how we can negotiate that difficult divide in search of meaningful encounters with bilingual children, which is the theme of this thesis.

As I have shown, Badiou uses *love* as his metaphor for *the encounter* (Badiou, 2012), but encounters are diverse; they embody chance, an attitude of openness in the pursuit of possibility and shared construction. An encounter is not subject to rationality, and minimum engagement to it renders the encounter a mere experience. Alternatively, there is the possibility of the transformation of existence itself. This can happen through encounters with people, poetry, books and philosophy. My choice to encounter bilingual children in my professional life has offered opportunities that have changed my understandings, my viewpoint and myself in the process. It is hoped, therefore, that encounters within this thesis contribute to the encouragement of the transformation of educational understanding.



CONCLUSIONS

In this final section, I seek to review my encounters with the bilingual child as constructed through the discourses of teachers, literature and theory. I wish to specify what I have attempted to accomplish in this thesis, showing how my questions and thinking have changed and how I have arrived at new and original perspectives with professional implications for pedagogy.

I reflect that at the outset, I considered this research as a kind of puzzle or mystery that attempted to explore the issues facing bilingual children in education today. This entailed the encounter with diverse views of bilingual children. As we have seen in my chapter on theory and the depiction of my parody or scenario, 'The Child and the child', social insights are sometimes gained from nonfiction genres. If we draw an analogy with this thesis and the genre of an adventure or mystery novel, we may find that they both are comprised of delving beneath the seemingly normal daily life. They piece together information, increase in tension and suspicion, and contain a denouement, like a conclusion, where everything is unravelled!

The normality consisted of achieving pupils within a successful school, operating national policies as any other school might do, in an area with an established minority ethnic population. It was a school similar to many I have worked in, following the same histories and traditions and interpreting these according to local context and staff individuality. Delving below the surface however, my exploration of teacher discourses about their bilingual children discovered a configuration of assimilation within the public space of school. While accommodation was made for local languages and cultures in curriculum, this appeared to contain and control these aspects, and to exclude rather than incorporate them. Success seemed to depend on the attainment of a fixed version of English, which seemed in turn to depend on the loss of the home language. Any child persisting in experiencing a lack of success disappeared into a mysterious special needs category. The questions had changed, from what were teachers' understandings to how and why teachers constructed their ideas about bilingual children? The conceptualisations around bilingual children appeared to involve a range of influences.

Was there something inherent within the teachers' roles that caused them to avert their perceptions from looking further into their children's linguistic and cultural traditions? Or

did they bring, from their own communities, non-egalitarian attitudes towards linguistic separation, with the preference for Standard English? They may have then perpetuated these attitudes within the school system. Was it the indifference of an endemic and controlling assessment system, and the value of results for their own sake? As we have seen throughout, this was just one factor. Could it be that policy responses that did not see bilingualism and ethnicity as a factor in attainment, and which underestimated or disregarded the effect on societal attitudes? Certainly, within the national curriculum, the bilingual child was not destined to be a part. Aspects relevant to bilingual children virtually disappeared from policy view, with the focus on the link between English language and attainment. Such a diminished and partial view was depicted in the virtual absence of any discourse about bilingualism, and the term EAL came to represent the deviation of children's English from a fixed curriculum standard.

It is probably sufficient to say that all of these factors played their part to bring about a situation that is at best inequitable and disrespectful, and at worst a form of institutional racism. The potential for damage to social relations is immense, as children daily go to school and leave without ever encountering and navigating each other's languages, beliefs, values and cultures. It is this that appears to affect the ultimate disappearance of bilingualism in education. While in the mystery novel one antagonist is usually found for the alleged occurrence, here we see a combination of factors working together, evading identification due to a lack of *visibility* and *audibility*.

There is, however, no heroic protagonist or predetermined quest. That fiction represents myself with my own creation, aiming to address the multidimensional role of the research practitioner who is embedded in the context and yet tries to stand apart in order to gain a different perspective while also striving for a further reflexive dimension. This realisation needs to occur in order that I might position and reposition myself. That I evaluate the configuration negatively places me in a particular position that needs to be recognised. That others would not see it as being unfavourable must also be understood.

Supported with the thinking of Rancière (2004), Badiou, (2007) and Ricoeur (2006), I strived for further understanding, and as a result of this have changed with regard to my political, ontological and ethical understandings. Firstly, I have arrived at a more nuanced understanding of political and social influences in education, seeing the relation of policy in the shaping of practice to exclude bilingual learners, their languages and informed

understandings of their ways of learning. Furthermore, my views about knowledge have changed, as I see how knowledge within education is politically and socially determined, to the exclusion of understandings and research around bilingualism. Through Rancière we can see how this is perpetuated through that which is *sensible* within the daily routine and performance of school, where some things are seen and heard, and not others. I was able to enquire into the effects of this depiction on participants and to raise ethical questions as to whether this is important or not. It was possible to see the situation from different perspectives, and to ask how the groups are seeing, hearing and communicating with each other.

In my quest as researcher, I stood apart to view the societal division of that which is *sensible* around language and culture. I identified the representations of the *Ochlos*, the majority, and the *Demos*, or unrepresented aspects. From Badiou (2007) we can see further how inequity is hidden or distorted in the depiction of deficits of language, bilingualism being an excluded part. I used philosophical understandings to gain a distance, and to view myself as others may position me. Like a modern Scrooge, I followed the phantom's gaze into the past, present and yet to come. There I found, to my dismay, how my own professional role within the *Ochlos* may work to exclude bilingual children, as entwined as any other professional in this restrictive configuration.

I therefore needed to find a way out of this uncomfortable position. How can a practitioner remain in this situation and yet work to include that which is excluded, in order to attain a more equitable position? Fortunately, Ricoeur (2006) helped me to understand and articulate the importance of the lack of respect afforded, previously unseen, from a monolingual perspective. Perhaps the lack of sensitivity helped to explain how and why this was not *visible* or noticed by the *Ochlos*. Additionally, from Ricoeur's experiences of translation I found that a resonance with a range of understandings around language that was, metaphorically speaking, a *translation* of understandings and *hospitality* towards languages, and is both desirable and possible. It is a way to mediate between the *Ochlos* and *Demos*, and to encounter the bilingual child in a more democratic manner. This has new and original implications for pedagogy.

This research has afforded understandings of bilingualism and EAL, as originating within a historical attempt by local contexts and policy to realise social equity. The EAL and bilingual professional in education may be part of a countervailing response to the social division

and institutional racism in school and society. I see myself within this response, and consider that there is a continuing role for educators, professional organizations and researchers. This will only be true if we are able to reconnect with the range of pedagogy to represent what appears to be excluded, which is the democratic participation of bilingual children and parents.

This resonates with South's advice that 'the visibility of EAL as a field of education is closely linked to the visibility of bilingual children' (NALDIC 1999:3). I would argue that in the prevailing concepts around EAL, in policy and practice as depicted by the teacher discourses, there is only a partial, distorted reflection of the capabilities of bilingual children. Within the significations of the EAL concept policy we see a view of English that is not in accord with current pedagogical understandings and debates, and is arguably not representing the wider interests of bilingual learners. Awareness of this brings a change in perspective that has wider implications for pedagogy and practice.

EAL language teaching pedagogy without an embedded strategy for appreciating the home or local languages is seen in this view as likely to be disempowering, even within a mainstream context. Qualification and exam results are seen as a part of the inequality, and working with these aspects alone is perpetuating that inequality.

Pedagogy and assessment would need to question their own purposes, and envisage how individuals are depicted to others. Would they empower a particular individual or groups or depict them as a problem? Would the assessment or pedagogy be better directed at the school or at teacher practice? Does the individual need further and additional surveillance, or is it drawing welcome attention to previously hidden aspects? How does it contribute to equity? In the evaluation of current pedagogy, therefore, I would suggest that we ask whether how we know and respect children embodies principles of *translation* and *hospitality*. Working with ideas and understandings between children from diverse cultural domains to know each other is engaging with change.

What are the implications professionally? The implications are that representing bilingual pupils means representing as full a view as possible. It is not about abstract language teaching, although this could be a part within a visible whole. It is not about attainment in an unequal system, although this also may be a part. It is about keeping the holistic visible, the maintenance of the open space and an awareness of the influences that try to close it. An open space should include and translate different visions and understandings of the

world around children, policy and pedagogy, to ensure a dynamic and responsive pedagogy.

Education must surely be the application of the art of *translation*, the mediation of policy, pedagogy and curriculum. Teaching is a kind of professional listening, a type of understanding. The deterministic nature of societal structure may seem formidable; this was ever so. It is no more oppressive for making this visible. Equality does not come easily, and the struggle needs to be planned and researched. Fortunately, it is within the agency of every educator to discover, affirm and value identities within their setting, and to encounter their children in a holistic way. The next step I envision is to apply and exemplify the *translation*. This means that it is not knowledge alone that we teach, but to convey a critical understanding as to the purpose of the knowledge and its application in an ethical context.

Overall, the study depicts the political dimensions of work within an undemocratic system, and warns against reliance on knowledge or pedagogy that aims solely for bilingual children to succeed within this system. This addition is important in order to strive to make the educational system more responsive and representative in a time of widening inequality and global tension. In an international context, it warns that the current competitive educational focus on skills does not address the pressing need for the lead by governments for linguistically equitable and *hospitable* schooling in the face of unprecedented movement of peoples.

In my introduction to this study I understood that education, society and my own professional identity were intricately linked to views about bilingual pupils. I had perhaps, like other educationalists, been tempted to accept policy attainment-related definitions of bilingual learners, while being unable to reconcile these with the gaps and omissions that were difficult to define. I came to realise not only that knowledge and understandings counted or officially recognised in education are contested areas, but also that the very existence of a contest is an opportunity that must be engaged in by professionals. The fuller understanding gained during the research was therefore not to be the solving of a mystery, but rather the beginning of a new endeavour. This journey of exploration is for students, teachers and educators to re-encounter their bilingual children in relation to their schools and classrooms. A new professional identity is imagined within the mediation of linguistic and cultural understandings, the facilitation of creativity in language learning and

space for the creation of bilingual and bicultural identity, and an encounter with alternative visions of the world.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A-Assignment on Intervention

Countering 'indifference' in education to community languages: An intervention involving student teachers using bilingual strategies in the primary classroom

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The context is my professional role as teacher educator in a northern university. Formally an English as an Additional Language (EAL) specialist teacher and Local Authority advisor, I now run an optional course in year three of the four year BA Primary Education course for student teachers who are seeking to develop further their knowledge and understanding around issues connected with EAL and diversity. The first year of the course involved around 30 students, in groups of three or four, jointly delivering a lesson to classes in schools situated in an inner city area with a diverse population. Their brief was for the lesson to be inclusive of strategies relevant to pupils developing EAL; the course involving preparation for and reflection upon this. The aim of this intervention is to incorporate recent pedagogy around bilingualism into the course. This is aimed at raising the profile of bi or multilingualism within the public space of education and to increase teacher professionalism in this aspect. The terms bilingualism and multilingualism are used interchangeably.

The first aim is to explore previous research and literature about good practice within education around bilingualism and EAL, as well as that on the nature of interventions within social and educational contexts. Then the intention is to outline my small scale action research project and critique the methodology employed. Following that I will examine and interpret the findings in accord with literature and the thinking of relevant theorists. Finally I will examine implications for my own future practice and relevance to the wider field.

Education, bilingualism, EAL and the wider context

The intervention builds on previous research and literature within education around professionalism, intervention, bilingualism and EAL, but first it is necessary to examine the political context.

This is a time of globalisation where power is less and less accountable to specific nation states and hence to people affected by that power. As Klein explains (Klein 2007), powerful

right wing groups have found that countries and institutions weakened by natural shocks such as tsunami or tornado, make rich pickings for entrepreneurs. When Hodgkinson (Hodgkinson 1997) predicted the end of neoliberalism in education, he could not have been further from the truth. We now have a government that has instigated the shock of economic depression and dismantled large sections of the public sector fuelling unemployment, whilst appearing to protect the gain of the highest earning in the population. A docile population is lulled into security by a neoliberal press who divert readers into thinking that their neighbours or even our EEC neighbouring states now have less chance of scrounging tax payers' money. Prime Minister Cameron continues to win opinion polls (Clark 2011) and the free market continues to unroll in education, in the unravelling of local accountability and the fragmentising of the school system. What then is the outlook for diversity issues in education, which have no obvious material value, such as equality among languages, inclusion for community groups and race equality?

Since the level of equality in a society is an indicator of health and wellbeing (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009), it is an ethical duty to promote it, and while the political battle has stalled for the moment, elements in society such as reporters, researchers and educators, continue with the precarious job in the balancing of liberty and equality within institutional spaces (Schostak and Schostak 2010).

It is within this space that the literature and rationale for my intervention is to be located. Language is intricately associated with power and is contested territory in many ways. Edwards points to the colonial legacy of a hierarchy of languages which inevitably ensures the dominance of English, followed by European languages, with the languages of most of the migrants to the UK being at the bottom of the hierarchy (Edwards 2009). It appears from the responses to a recent news article (Muir 2011), that hatred for languages than English is currently vibrant. Two respondents report being told; "Don't f*** talk your f*** language here" and thus revealing speakers of languages other than English being the subject of public verbal abuse. Could the apparent indifference shown to languages other than English in the public space that includes education actually encourage a section of the populace to make up its mind in such an adverse manner?

Furthermore many writers (Conteh 2003; Leung 2005; Creese and Blackledge 2010) point to the fact that the monolingualism and monolingualising tendencies endemic in English education and society are deleterious not only to language equality but to intercultural

understanding and an outward looking viewpoint that could be construed as vital for a global economy and global understanding. In addition, as more and more people in England come from families where a range of languages are spoken, monolingualism can be seen as the myth it is, and that it demands the marginalisation of languages other than the dominant one (Joseph 2006). In this case apparent passive indifference can be construed as an active political assault.

In as much as language and identity are inextricably intertwined, monolingualism in education can be seen as an affront to heritage languages. Indeed Lo Bianco explains that in the link of national identity and the state to a language, heritage languages can even be construed as subversive (Lo Bianco 2009). However he states that the “narrative” of monolingualism is threatened locally, from devolutionary tendencies, from the Council of Europe as well as by globalisation, migration and vestiges of colonialism. Whilst neoliberals cling to monolingualism for efficiency, this is challenged by growing scientific research evidence as to bilingual students outperforming monolingual students in education (Cummins 1995; Bialystok 2010).

Issues for schools

What does this mean at school and classroom level for children? Well it can mean that a child’s languages and identities are either valued, ignored or considered a nuisance or that their negotiations of relations with other language and cultural groups are supported or not. This goes beyond the technicalities and linguistic features of any particular language to the fabric of a modern democratic society, and is crucial to any programme of teacher education.

In addition, the value of the home language for learning and the curriculum is not evident in classroom displays. As I walked around a school with a head teacher of one of the schools party to the intervention who was keen to maximise the benefits of having more than one language spoken by many of the children, it was apparent that whilst some classrooms manifested displays including the modern foreign language (MFL), the scripts of the community languages were not apparent anywhere except in corridors for communication with parents and multicultural presentation.

The purpose of the intervention therefore was for students to work with the home language as part of a lesson to see how this apparent imbalance could be addressed.

The nature of interventions within social and educational contexts.

Interventions can be based on different models. One based on a performative model as outlined in Ball, would be top down, take a positivist stance and look to the improvement of targets. (Ball 2003) In a previous national strategies intervention in which I was involved, due to the employment of a rationalist model, intervention was only deemed necessary if the students developing EAL were academically deficient. This entailed their having lower than general population average national curriculum levels and the intervention was only judged effective if attainment was raised. In the context of the university a performative intervention programme for EAL may be currently based on student survey outcomes such as student satisfaction or whether students felt prepared to teach pupils with EAL, whatever they define this to be.

An alternative model would be a transformative critical or reflective model, such as critical theory, post colonial or poststructural theory. These are aimed at involving the views of all participants and recognising the complexities involved within the human relationships that comprise the structures in society, with a view to perhaps attaining an equality that is not about sameness, but more about worth or respect.

Action research, case study or interview can serve either model and this depends on the underlying paradigms, political or ethical stance of the researcher. The rigour of the research stands on the systematic approach, transparency, reflective stance, and scholarship appropriate to the task.

Outline of action research, critique and methodology.

Whilst Bordieu and Foucault can be seen to provide valuable insights into the position of minorities from an economic and institutional viewpoint, these are from a Western European perspective and position ethnic minority groups with those of social class. I therefore decided to look to post colonial literature for a theory that might more specifically relate to the viewpoint of the communities in a northern city in particular, and looked at the critical theory of Homi Bhabha. Specifically Bhabha, (Rutherford 1990) (Bhabha 1994) suggests that the experiences of families migrating to a country are such that they no longer belong to the socially constructed idea of the country of origin, which is defined by the inhabitants left behind, which is the first space. Neither can they fully belong to their new country, which is the second space which is also defined by the views

of present inhabitants and traditions. There is a need to create a third space of belonging and in doing this a hybridized identity is formed, which is potentially creative and dynamic. This third space, as I interpret it, is a space to assist interpretation of the experiences of the bilingual pupils and bilingual student teachers in that it reflects history, agency and emergent identity. The theory also sees culture not as fixed but as a social construction that is fluid and changing as individuals negotiate different circumstances.

The intervention can be categorised into the stealth architecture approach of concepts, practice, resources and outcomes (Schostak 1999). The conceptual base of the intervention was intended to provide opportunity for a third space for the pupils and students, where the home language could be used and valued, with the anticipation that this would be a more equal experience.

A major consideration for practice was that around one third of the students opting for the course were from minority groups other than white British and were bilingual themselves, speaking some of the community languages. It would be anticipated that the third space may provide a fairer outcome for them, as well as the pupils. Therefore it was anticipated the intervention would be inclusive of the language skills of the students. In previous years it was noted that students did not mix well, with bilingual students mainly choosing to work together, and white or monolingual students choosing to work together.

Therefore students were allocated rather than being allowed to choose freely, to nine groups of three or four students, which included at least one student who was a community language speaker. These groups were to plan and teach in six different ethnically diverse inner city schools. The aim was to teach a lesson inclusive for bilingual pupils who were developing EAL, based on integrated language and content learning. In previous years the lessons the monolingual students planned had shown very few features relevant to a bilingual and bicultural population and it was anticipated the bilingual students may support the development of linguistic and cultural aspects. The aspect relevant to the intervention therefore was a stipulation to include community languages somewhere in the lesson. This was preceded by a taught input provided by myself at the university on research on bilingualism and bilingual teaching strategies in accord with the advice in a NALDIC Working paper 9, (NALDIC 2009), as well as workshops to aid students to plan. In the democratic spirit of narrowing the gap between researcher and researched (Noffke and

Somekh 2011), I explained that the group were part of my research but also were researchers themselves, trying to find out what worked and what did not.

The chief resource therefore, apart from the taught element, was the space and time for each group in school to visit the school on two occasions, once to meet the class, obtain information on pupils' languages, backgrounds and attainment, and secondly to produce a lesson involving strategies based on EAL theory, including bilingual strategies, the focus of this intervention.

The intervention was clearly intended to be qualitative in view of the numbers involved and the nature of the aims. It was undertaken at a particularly busy time and necessarily had to fit in with the teaching. Outcomes were measured by student's initial reflections and a questionnaire (Appendix A), which was devised to try to capture some of students' experiences. My own records of groupings, schools and topics also were used. On a practical note, the students' assignments on the topic were not completed at that point, so data was incomplete. As the research continued I realised that following the lesson, in depth interviews would have been useful. There was however no time for this.

In addition to notes, a research diary was kept for observations during planning workshops and reflective discussion with groups, as social objects can be known by their effects and the effects are observable (Bhaskar 1989). As Bhaskar advises, social research can never be predictive but can be explanatory to help understand the complex social relations. Whilst using theory as a guide, I did not impose structures on the data but sought for themes and patterns emerging.

This was research into my own practice for the purpose not only of an academic assignment but for the purpose of course development. In some sense it may be considered a "cure" to deficits in the course, as described by Schostak and I am reminded that action research and reflective practice can be a vehicle for the professional's adaptation to circumstances, rather than the changing of the circumstances themselves (Schostak 1999). Furthermore, reading Schostak I would anticipate some response or antipathy as the research is critical of an existing system as well as a need to be aware of and deconstruct my own participation in prevailing narratives of society. Therefore this research is intricately connected with my own professionalism.

Findings and interpretation

At the beginning of the term students had reflected on what they thought teaching of EAL entailed and at this stage children’s first languages were not mentioned. From this lack of awareness, the main findings from the questionnaire and small group feedback to the whole group were that the majority of students and pupils now considered recognition of the first language very important.

Also, most of the previous year’s students had not taken up the suggestion to teach using languages as well as English but now all of them had planned to and most of them carried it out. The questionnaires showed that despite some small difficulties, most were now extremely positive about the use of languages other than English in lessons: “Engagement of all children”, “building confidence of children”, “enhanced relationships with children” were amongst comments. This I took to represent support for identity and esteem as well as bridge building between home and school experiences which is echoed in literature (Conteh 2007; Moje et al. 2004). Further comments were a new realisation and “Did not know the importance of bilingualism”, and greater confidence; “felt more confident after,” among both monolingual and bilingual students.

Table 1 below depicts use of languages in the lesson.

Table 1. Chart to show purpose and use of languages other than English in lesson

	Group A			Group B			Group C		
Language Category	Language	Spoken by	Purpose and audience	Language	Spoken by	Purpose and audience	Language	Spoken by	Purpose and audience
Community Urdu-blue, Arabic-red, Polish-green	Urdu	Not spoken	PE Vocab. labels All children	Various Urdu Polish	English L1 speaker English L1 student	Greetings-All children Science Vocab. label Urdu L1 child	Various Arabic	English L1 and L2 students&teacher Arabic L1 student& children	Greetings All children Vocab. labels

					Bengali L1 speaker & child	Science report to one Polish L1 child	Urdu	Urdu L1 student & children	Science Explanation Some children Science Explanation Some children
Modern Foreign French-mauve German-gold	French German	All English L1 students/ children Bilingual student/ children one	Instructor PE all all						

One difference is that group A used mainly the MFL, having no community language speaker amongst them. I had tried to ensure students with community languages worked with those who did not and found students resistance to this. This course was their option, a form of democratic space. I also had no resources for expenses and students had to arrange to get to schools and so students moved groups for this purpose. In the end, four of the nine groups contained no speakers of community languages, and five groups did. Whilst this was an improvement on the previous year, traditional groupings of language and ethnicity were being perpetuated.

The summary of each group's activities are as follows in ascending order of number of community language speakers in the group:

Notes 12.12.11. Group A with one student speaker of German, had a lesson in a Y4 class that the teacher and they considered successful in teaching mathematical spatial language in PE. Their use of the school's MFL which was French and German was not only successful in teaching tricky aspects of language for learners of EAL, but used meta linguistic awareness and links between languages to enhance learning. Bilingual signs in Urdu were also made evident around the room, but were not referred to in the lesson.

Action research is ongoing. This group or the wider group might be prompted to reflect on how to better exploit community languages and how to counteract the forces that promote inequality among languages. However they may come to a different conclusion.

Group B had one community language speaker in their group. They opened their science lesson on wildlife, the Barn Owl, with greetings in a range of languages. The student who spoke Bengali chose not to use her language but to prepare some excellent materials in Polish for the newly arrived learner. The lesson went well from an English language aspect but one of the students who did not speak a community language attempted to use the vocabulary she had prepared in Urdu with children, who did not respond. She considered that while bilingual staff used the first language in the class sometimes with children, native English speakers did not. Therefore the child was not used to English speakers using their home language.

The group might reflect together on who needed to encounter the Polish language and how to empower a speaker who does not get a response to using the community language.

Group C, with the most number of bilingual and community language speakers in the group, had a lesson in a Y3 class that the teacher and they considered effective on teaching language and scientific content of composting. They included greetings and multilingual labels to reflect the community languages in the classroom and planned for all children to greet each other using each others' languages. In addition the Urdu and Arabic speakers used dialogic talk in the second language to support deeper explanation and understanding. The class teacher, who was herself the EAL school coordinator, thought they should have made more use of the multilingual

signs, but the students felt this was due to lack of time. They felt that she did not notice the depth of discussion in the community language.

Sharing their opinions with the class teacher would be useful as there may be an issue as to the visibility of use of home language to a monolingual teacher. Also, the multilingual signs represented academic vocabulary to raise the status of the community languages and should have been in vigorous use.

Whilst strategies used by the class of students only amounted to at the most discussion, reading a book bilingually or comparison of languages, to at the least topic vocabulary, labels and greetings, a range of languages reflecting children's experiences were used in the classroom. Although far away from a plurilingual ideal in education, I was satisfied that despite the limitations of a single lesson the students had gone some way towards implementing a bilingual pedagogy as outlined in the NALDIC working paper (NALDIC 2009). The students as well as the teachers in the classrooms have had an experience upon which to reflect. From little acorns oaks do grow and there is the opportunity for students to continue to build and reflect on this, perhaps after reflection upon this article.

The drawbacks for the research are that the third space which I was creating was considerably protected. Only schools that were sympathetic to my aims were chosen for the students to work in. In the "real" world studies find that many headteachers and teachers are antagonistic to the use of community languages (Mehmedbegovic 2008), with a lack of understanding about bilingualism. However my intervention was aimed at countering a lack of understanding among emergent professionals and hopefully would feed back into the system.

Through concentrating on EAL and bilingual strategies, students did find it difficult to deliver content in the time. The rushed nature of my contact with the schools and class teachers are symptomatic of the pressure and lack of time in school. Spaces for optimum development of both EAL and community languages at present are only squeezed in, due to a low priority for such issues under the neoliberal target driven system that fails to find efficiency residing in equality issues. Therefore there is no time and neither is there space for bilingualism.

Soja examines how notions of time, space and society are constructed together (Soja 1996). As mentioned previously, in one of the schools home languages are viewed mainly outside

the classroom or in discrete spaces and this marginalisation reflects the dominance of a standard language, the deficit of the use solely for those who might need it or for multiculturalism. This is to to exoticise (Said 1978) or make superficial (Troyna 1994). However in agreement with Modood (Modood 2005); these spaces are a start from which to add to and develop into a full part of the curriculum rather than as a final space to rest. Said and Troyna are viewing the children from the second space, how children are seen and positioned by the white group. From the viewpoint of the child swamped by the second space of education, Barron found with his nursery children, as myself and the students found through the responses of children, that children love their home cultures and languages to be used in lessons, for themselves and their identities. However it is necessary to move further. To do this in a way that is commensurate with equal status needs conscious development. This exploration how to use a plurality of languages spoken in the classroom is a start. In addition, the fact that there are schools and head teachers sympathetic and open for development is encouraging.

The messy bit and critical reflection

The sections above I would be prepared to share with students and schools and feel it would prompt open discussion on equality issues. Research however into issues around inclusion is seldom if ever painless for participants and researchers, and in accord with Cook, I will here discuss the more difficult aspects (Cook 2008).

As I attempted to ensure community language speakers were represented in groups, I found myself drawn into the sensitivities around assumptions around languages as I reaped the consequences of failing to establish beforehand who spoke which languages. This attracted a complaint that I had assumed a colleague was bilingual presumably on the basis of external characteristics.

Diary entry 8.10.11. I twice tried to rearrange this group to include a student speaking a community language. Each time they rearranged themselves back to be together, saying they would use their MFL.

However, how do you tell people that you want them to include a minority language speaker because you want to ensure that hybrid or democratic space features people who are linguistically disempowered, without categorising people present as having a language of lower status? I wanted people to exchange languages, to empower each other. Would

the group or individuals want to power share? I suppose this is akin to positive discrimination which may not be acceptable at a local level and I would need to reflect on this further. Especially as it is simply manipulating surface factors rather than affecting the deeper structural causal factors.

As Bhaskar points out (Bhaskar 1989), people do not intend directly to reproduce existing social relationships but it is the unintended consequence and necessary condition for activity. Change however will depend on people choosing not to reproduce the structures. They did not necessarily intend this outcome but needed to understand it and I had failed to facilitate this.

On reflection a democratic approach to teaching would be for them to more explicitly examine the research and issues and decide whether or not they wanted to work with other language groups themselves. Here again time was the issue as decisions about groups had to be made in the first sessions and deeper understandings take time.

I became aware of the binary opposition of bilingual and monolingual and as I began to realise that students in the university after the second year are developing their primary teaching MFL identities, I considered that this was something upon which to build, perhaps to avoid this binary as most students I later found were confident to teach a MFL usually French, and in total the group spoke 12 languages. Perhaps the antipathy was partially due to my lack of recognition of their skills. Who actually wants to be considered monolingual if bilingualism is being privileged?

Striving for change entailed the use of terms like monolingual and bilingual which embody socially constructed meanings. This may well serve to perpetuate existing divisions rather than overcome them.

A realisation that the issues were not really about the observed social facts of language became evident. It is of course about the structures underlying this of the inequality of human relations. Some of the most valuable but perhaps uncomfortable aspects had been with groups working together.

Group C also had avoided conflict and created equilibrium in the hybrid space that I was trying to create. Although they had two community language speakers and one other, all were from ethnic minorities and they lived near the school and were already familiar with

diversity. Therefore use of languages and ease with each other was evident. Their grouping and social relationships were therefore influenced by socioeconomic factors.

Group B was the one group that manifested most elements of hybrid synthesis.

Diary entry 12.12.11. J. reported her lesson on the Barn Owl which went well. She felt however that the other student could have used her community language rather than Polish, as some of the children spoke Bengali J. reflected that it was useful for her, working with people from different cultural groups as she had come from a very white school. She was keen to learn. She wanted to know more, to do the right thing. She sometimes felt rude and ignorant because she did not know what to do or say, how to act with students from other backgrounds.

For this student, the opportunity for this reflection opens up the possibility that she may not always perpetuate this difference, but seek to find out how to work in diverse situations. She reflects on her relations with other students with a view to changing them and showed a preparedness to use a child's community languages, despite difficulties encountered. This reflection I interpret as a positive outcome of the hybrid space. Another interesting thing is that the student in the group (as well as one of the other students in another group) who spoke a community language chose not to use her own language with the children and as yet I have not the reason for this. Was it due to discomfort, or an awareness of equality in that each student was trying to use an unfamiliar language? An opportunity for interview would have been useful.

Implications for my own future practice and relevance to the wider field.

So, how to evaluate the intervention? In a rationalist way, would the practices I have described and tried to implement be measured easily against pupils' attainment targets? Well, probably not. Was the experience for students so comfortable that they would all feel positive in their course evaluations? No, working in a hybrid space is not a comfortable experience. So, would pupils feel more equipped to teach EAL and so improve National Student Survey ratings? Well actually, probably not, because in widening the field out from the notion of a learner of English being somehow deficient in one language to being a member of a wider group or groups of translingual or transnational families and in

considering relations of the various groups in society and intercultural understanding, it reveals to students the defects of their schools, the curriculum and of an educational system that does not give time, space or resources to the matter. How do you prepare students for that?

This is what however university is for, to open students' imagination to what can happen "otherwise," and that this is a part of professional development. For future working, I will continue with action research in some form to further explore the issues, linking with professionals at all levels of education who are choosing to challenge existing practices. However with economic circumstances reducing the length of the degree course it is unlikely that the time and space will remain.

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Appendix 1.

Questionnaire

Name.....

Bilingual Strategies

1 Did you have any difficulties:

Using bilingual strategies? Y/N

Finding a translation ? Y/N

Pronunciation? Y/N

Making it part of an activity Y/N

Ideas for using the language? Y/N

Making it purposeful? Y/N

Embarrassment? Y/N

Teacher not supportive Y/N

Other (specify) Y/N

Comment below

Did children respond positively? Y/N

Comment below

What are the advantages/disadvantages using bilingual strategies do you think?

If you are bilingual did you use your first language?Y/N

What are the advantages/disadvantages using bilingual strategies do you think?

Would you use them again in the future? Y/N

Would you use your first language again? Y/N

English as an Additional language EAL

How have your views changed since you started the course?

Before	After

Comments

Appendix B- Assignment on methodology

Researching English as an Additional Language (EAL) in education: Which way to turn?

Judith Flynn (2012) –Faculty of Education, MMU

This paper will investigate how the field of English as an Additional Language (EAL) might be best researched by a practitioner in my position as a professional involved in teacher education. I will draw on a selection of research done by some other researchers and educational practitioners in the field and methodology employed. In particular I will examine ethnography as a basis for comparison with action research and my own research as a practitioner. Key features of action research methodology will be examined and evaluated by drawing upon examples from my own practice. Finally methods suitable for my own use as a practitioner researcher will be ascertained. The paper will attempt to address issues concerning the logic behind methodology at ontological (what can be known?) and epistemological (what is and how can we know it?) (Jones, 2011) levels. It will also include practical and ethical concerns.

Firstly I need to clarify what I consider the field of EAL is in relation to my professional role as teacher educator. The term EAL is a socially constructed term that whilst initially devised to draw attention to the additionality of the acquisition of English, is continually used by policymakers, practitioners and even student teachers to indicate a lack of proficiency in English. The potential for stigma is evident and is clearly felt by bilingual student teachers themselves, as they comment, in an unpublished ESRI funded narrative study (Flynn, 2011a) on the lack of understanding of EAL by monolingual students. One student retorted 'English is just another language I know.' In conjunction with other long term policy developments in education such as the back grounding of multiculturalism and anti racism as concerns, EAL also serves as virtually the only focus for the educational response to the increasing diversity of the school population. The message is clear; diversity is only to be perceived where surveillance of population norms using measures of accountability such as national testing, reveal a performance deficit.

Much research for the DFES feeds into this view. A report (Cameron, 2003) by Lynne Cameron scrutinised national exam scripts at GCSE and Key stages, for comparison of errors of Standard English made by bilingual and monolingual children. This found a greater number and different type of errors of grammar amongst bilingual compared to

monolingual pupils at the same test level. This research can be understood as using a positivist paradigm that errors of grammar are quantifiable facts that correlate with bilingual pupils and therefore bilingual pupils demonstrate a deficiency of English when compared with monolinguals. This positivist paradigm sees language learning as an internal psychological and context free process, and second language education is historically grounded in a positivist tradition (Johnson, 2006).

The more recent turn to a socio cultural view takes the epistemological stance that people develop through participation within communities and knowledge and learning can only be understood in the social context (Johnson, 2006). This view would not accept the existence of objective facts around language and would interrogate to discover how they were socially constructed or manufactured. This would entail the deconstruction of the term standard English as being one dialect (Edwards, 2009) and also the idea that normally developing bilingual pupils are somehow abnormal (Garcia et al., 2006). Whilst also seeking a similar deconstruction, the observable fact of the social construction would be accepted by critical theorists, but they would additionally seek to transform or change this version of reality (Bhaskar, 1989).

The inadequacy of such a narrow positivist response to diversity is challenged by researchers in the field of language and education (Conteh, 2003)(Creese and Blackledge, 2010), (Edwards, 2009). Mirroring the poststructuralist positioning of western educational literacy as one of multiliteracies (Street, 1984) there is a consensus as to a view of language and languages away from a narrow and potentially counterproductive monolingual view to one where English is seen as one among many languages. Instead of a focus on the lack of English, there is a focus on the way children make sense of their home and school worlds; how they use their 'funds of knowledge'(Moll et al., 1992) . There is a realisation that languages and language choices are largely influenced by political concerns particularly nationalism and how the elite perceive the role of language homogeneity contributing to a homogenous state (Edwards, 2009). In a situation of rising diversity, language rights must surely be an issue. At present parents largely acquiesce in the low value accorded to the home language and the resultant attrition to the first language accorded by educational institutions (Baker, 2006). In a range of studies over a range of countries (Bialystok, 2010), bilingualism is implicated in cognitive benefits and of increased attention and flexibility of thought.

Clearly different types of research are undertaken by different groups for different purposes. Policymakers' interests clearly focus on deviance to national norms, which lead to "Narrowing the gaps" and school improvement focuses, while researchers' own interests and experiences of working with children and communities tending towards the wider understanding and acceptance of difference as a normal state.

Such a broader understanding of this and also of multilingualism has largely been the result of ethnographic research, and it is this methodology that I will mainly focus on to serve as comparison with the methodology behind action research exemplified in my own unpublished attempts at action research carried out to develop a bilingual pedagogy in ITE (Flynn, 2011,b).

Ethnography historically derives from an anthropological tradition in which the observer is also a participant. It is easy to see how an educational researcher or specialist teacher could take this role as they are already a part of the educational context with access to insider knowledge but with an observational role that leads to an outsider perspective.

What then is the ontology of ethnography? Whilst traditionally having allegiance to positivist and naturalist traditions, more recently the idea that it is possible for the observer to be objective and obtain objective truth has been rejected (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995), (Maclure, 2003a). It may have traditionally claimed advocacy for a particular group, and is an appealing choice for a researcher into what is best for bilingual children and families. As Gregory states:

'Ethnography in education speaks up for those who are 'just ordinary.' By making visible the lives of people whose stories are not told, it gives a voice to all of us who are 'nothing special.'(p. 1X)(Gregory, 2005)

The researcher however, much like the missionaries in the anthropological past, could become a part of the surveillance and need to recognise the political implications of such research and of their own position and viewpoint (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Hammersley believes this can be attained through reflexivity. However the nature of the truth claimed is affected and becomes closer to the interpretative tradition, whereby truth is relative to the context.

In ethnography interpretation will be in line with relevant theorists, but theory will be incidental not central to the research process, and would not form a part of the design.

The committed ethnographic researcher will devote themselves to systematic keeping of research diaries, tape transcripts, observations in the service of seeking and representing the viewpoint of all participants, the children, parents and teachers. The methods are common to qualitative research, but emphasis on many methods, not focussing on one particular type or structure of interviews, narratives, case etc., except for the purpose of adding detail or triangulation, the latter of which is itself a suspect engineering term (Maclure, 2003a). Ethnography claims to be a methodology in itself (Gregory, 2005). Commitment to the researched is evidenced in the recorded subjective experiences (Conteh et al., 2005) of four ethnographers researching language, culture, literacy and identity. They claim to a unique position to see the construction of learner identities in recording of and interpretation of the minutae of classroom life.

Observations have been termed 'emic', in attempting to adopt the perspective of those researched, rather than 'etic', from the observers' culture. (Schieffelin and Cochran-Smith 1984). In order however to gain a critical perspective beyond the experiences of the individuals, Jean Conteh in (Gregory, 2005) found it necessary to use what was termed a multilevel approach and adopted an additional alternative approaches of critical discourse analysis.

Therefore the picture that emerges from this study of research is that the researcher should not be constrained by a method. In order to gain or create new knowledge, there is a necessity for continual adaptation and innovation to change and influence the traditions of the methodologies used. Hammersley and Atkinson (1995) note that there is a tendency for ethnographic research to be rich in description but not with any obvious links to action (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). A particular instance would be where bilingual children (Conteh, 2007) tended to stay in the lower class ability groups to which they were originally ascribed. When a child improved, the success was attributed by teachers to the teacher's efforts, when the child did not progress, it was seen as something to do with the home or language. This was compared with the views of a teacher in a community school, who attributed success to the child's own efforts. The response in the mainstream school can be seen as a result of the distortion of a performative education system (Ball, 2003). The research clearly has a political character which cannot be overlooked. Gerwitz and Crib (

2006) stated that ethnographic research should be concerned with not only understanding the world but applying its findings to bring about change.

In the additional use of critical discourse analysis, Conteh's research is brought to a transformative level but without involving a requirement for action in that context. However dissemination has brought about change. Building on her own reputation she has gained the ear of policy makers and has proceeded to influence the former Training and Development Agency (TDA) in producing an initiative for ITT, of which MMU is a part. This involves the training of teachers to more effectively teach children with EAL, or in the terms of ethnographers bilingual or multilingual children. It is to this project I will later refer as my own work as a practitioner researcher link to it.

Having created a context relevant to my field of interest I now wish to discuss a small scale action research carried out by myself and where and how an interventionist practitioner approach might be developed.

The action research involved giving students a remit to include the children's home language in a lesson that students were planning to deliver as part of their EAL specialism course. The reason was that the use of the home language was inclusive for reasons of identity and affect, as well as communication. It built on the aforementioned literature and research and was an effort to bring action to bring about change. In this aspect, I can view this as being supplementary to and additional to the previous research done by ethnographers and others, that is using secondary sources in an attempt to put theory into practice in a direct way.

Whereas ethnographers start with a vague concern or as Gregory reports, a feeling of anger (Conteh et al., 2005), it may be usual in action research to start with an issue or a problem. Immediately the dangers of association with neoliberal agendas can be seen with the potential for close alliance with 'school improvement' agendas linked to performative targets. This would particularly be the case with a technical approach to education (Carr and Kemmis, 1986), with a view of teachers as operatives and education an applied science.

I had already formulated through reading and experience the issue of the invisibility of children's home language in education. All researchers, including action research practitioners would be similarly advised not to take issues and circumstances at face value, but to seek the wider view to avoid a technical approach. The wider context is anticipated

in the stealth approach (Schostak, 1999) and concept of practice architectures (Kemmis, 2009) which draws on critical realist theory which is employed at the outset of the research. This encourages the researcher to anticipate unintended consequences and to take into account an alignment of concepts, procedures, resources and outcomes. For example in my research a change in language use may entail a change to wider socio political views of languages, entailing a change in time and resources allocated and cultural habits of thought.

The aim of ethnography would be to contribute to new knowledge and understanding and would look to identify a gap in the field of study, perhaps in schools and classrooms with bilingual children. In the case of action research, the contribution to a general pool of knowledge would be incidental to the issue at hand, which would be the addressing of the issue, or devising an intervention or way of changing the status quo, and then further transforming our knowledge. Ethnography would aim to understand in detail a specified lived culture at a given time from the viewpoint of participants, certainly not to be changing it simultaneously. In a teacher role, the practitioner of action research would be influencing students to change their thinking, in my case about bilingualism and studying the effects of an implementation of a change in practice. Therefore an interpretative approach alone would not be appropriate (Cain, 2007). However whilst the dynamism of action research is evident there may be a danger that the participant does not fully understand the ecology of the environment where the operation occurs.

The intervention of my own research entailed students incorporating the first language of children into the lessons they planned. The ecology of the classroom was anticipated so structural resistance to novel language use by schools was not encountered. However the ecology of monolingual students working in groups with bilingual peers was not fully accounted for and more time was needed to be spent for student reflection. A practical concern would be the need for time for the practitioner to operate, while delivering a prescribed curriculum and operating under current educational circumstances. This is noted by Cain (Cain, 2007) as a key feature specifically of action research done by teachers in classrooms but time and reflection would not be incompatible with action research methodology in itself, which actually may elicit the time required depending on the involvement of those in power.

Inasmuch as my change avoided a confrontation with current practice in school, the impact was reduced. Given that the possibility of using community languages was however explored and undertaken in practice and, impact could be maximised by dissemination to other students, schools, institutions and practitioners. Therefore as with all research, writing up the action research and publication of it may in itself promote change. In particular one practical consideration would be which journals, magazines or practitioner networks would more readily be available to practitioners. Therefore as action research may be more relevant to issues and action in school, this would appear to cast ethnography as being useful background information but possibly of having less direct practical relevance. It indicates what should be done but not how.

Whilst the promotion of change would be the aim, Cain reports that some would say that action research studies, in particular classroom based ones are not publishable because they are not generalizable (Cain, 2007) . However, there are numerous reasons why they are publishable, including the stimulus to promote reflexion of practitioners and indicate possibilities for action. Whilst the prime purpose may be change, new knowledge may be generated as regards teaching approaches and resources that are grounded in the daily practice of teaching and although not generalizable in a positivist sense may well be applicable by teachers to new contexts. This I found when recently presenting at a Teacher Education Advancement Network conference (TEAN, 2012) on MMU's efforts at promoting EAL within the institution. This is the link to my previous point regarding dissemination. The declarative and propositional knowledge understood around bilingualism gained from the ethnographic research was welcomed, but the practical application needed to undertake change of this in similar circumstances was complementary to this and well received by practitioners needing to know how.

Cain also asserts that action research is neither positivist, interpretative or critical (Cain, 2007), but he claims that like ethnography, action research has its own methodologies or epistemologies. A failure to recognise this leads teachers to employ inappropriate methodologies like random sampling or use of control groups, which are problematic for small scale research.

In my research I found that 26 out of the 28 students reported that the children's responses to the use of the first language were positive. The numbers involved or sample employed were not statistically significant in any positivist sense. To examine children's

response would have necessitated not more statistical data but further qualitative research techniques such as interview, observation to obtain a richer view.

It does not mean that the action researcher who is a teacher may not use understandings from positivist research (hopefully in a critical or at least reflexive manner). Research questions in action research are usually framed or even need to be framed to allow researchers to get to the inner meanings of participants rather than test variables: to connect with participants rather than follow a rigid format.

Cain also rejects critical methodology as part of teacher action research, whereas I considered it had a central role in research design and implementation in the employment of post colonial theory. Cain however stipulates that his ideas are only relevant to the situation of teachers in classrooms, and I use them here to support the challenge to the 'outmoded binary' (Maclure, 2003b) of proper research and practitioner enquiry. Clearly inexperienced researcher/practitioners could gain from collaboration with those having more experience to bring different dimensions to research design.

Research design of ethnography is wide ranging and open ended, but of necessity, action research may be somewhat guided by underlying theories, presuppositions, beliefs and values, which of course must be made explicit. My research was part of my foray into issues around EAL or bilingualism in education. In previous unpublished research into the stories of bilingual student teachers about their educational experiences (Flynn, 2012a), I had employed post colonial theory as I found it relevant and useful in interpreting my findings. A section from my paper is as follows:

Whilst Bordieu and Foucault can be seen to provide valuable insights into the position of minorities from an economic and institutional viewpoint, these are from a Western European perspective and position ethnic minority groups with those of social class. I therefore decided to look to post colonial literature for theory that might more specifically relate to the viewpoint of this particular group and looked at the critical theory of Homi Bhabha. Specifically Bhabha, (Rutherford, 1990) (Bhabha, 1994) suggests that the experiences of families migrating to a country are such that they no longer belong to the socially constructed idea of the country of origin, which is defined by the inhabitants left behind which is the first space. Neither can they fully belong to their new country, a second space which is

also defined by the views of present inhabitants and traditions. There is a need to create a third space of belonging and in doing this a hybridized identity is formed, which is potentially creative and dynamic. This third space, as I interpret it, is a space to assist interpretation of the experiences of the bilingual students in that it reflects history, agency and emergent identity. The theory also encompasses the professional spaces they are destined to occupy and sees culture not as fixed but as a social construction that is fluid and changing as individuals negotiate different circumstances.

This interpretation helps me to see how an educational approach to EAL or bilingualism can be understood, in that generally education occupies the second space and proves resistant to change. I see my role as a researcher and practitioner to work to help bridge the divide between first and second spaces within education, and that is to work within a hybrid space. In music and food a recent survey showed the population to be positive about the hybridity and diversity. However this is not the case with language and other aspects. Students often experience a great deal of dissonance within this space, and well may pupils. This concept of spaces enables the researcher practitioner to look at multiple viewpoints of participants, and usefully employ post structural non essentialist ideas about culture and change. Therefore critical theory was at least in mind at the outset of the action research, and needed to have more directly influence the design. The use of Bhabha as a central concept in an overall approach is not to say other theories of power, etc. are not of vital importance. In fact I see theory as central in making meaning in my work, and perhaps need to be more conscious of this. My approach would perhaps contrast to the approach embodied by (Gregory, 2005), where theory is incidental in the use of educational ethnography.

According to Heron and Reason our knowledge of the world or ontology is shaped by interaction with it, and this emphasises the participatory aspect of it. (Heron and Reason, 1997). Therefore, Gain (Cain, 2007) recognises the teacher's participation in a complex web of shared meanings and endorses a participatory paradigm. Thus an interpretative paradigm, such as employed by the ethnographer, is rejected. The action researcher is an insider not an outsider, a participant not an observer. However, all teachers need to stand back and reflect as part of the role, and different stages in the research may surely permit even if it does not necessitate of the interpretative role.

Action research in education involves work with participants and therefore a distinctive aspect is collaboration. In order to understand children's and students' responses to use of other languages, of necessity the responses and reflections on this were included as data. This collaboration has much to do with power relations, and as the teacher, researcher may always be structured into by societal norms into a leading or authoritative role, this can be subject to interrogation in creating a more democratic space where participants may be empowered. In the democratic spirit of narrowing the gap between researcher and researched (Noffke and Somekh, 2011), It was explained that the group were part of my research and also were researchers themselves, trying to find out what worked and what did not. However I found it necessary for me be more conscious of the political and ethical significance of equality in the undertaking of the research, in valuing the language identities of all participants.

Equality can be understood in different ways but using the concept of 'egaliberte' from Balibar (Schostak, 1999) highlights that the hallmark of a democratic society needs to be the attainment of equality to assure freedom for all. This is where neoliberal ideals of freedom can be seen as dominating the values of the market, curtailing the freedom of those with fewer economic resources. In the context of what I am beginning to perceive as an EAL/bilingual binary, a democracy may need to change an education system that has traditionally privileged one dialect of English, culture, class and identity over others, to be fair and inclusive. This does not aim at replacing one dominant group with another and must attain something for all.

However, what is economically preferable under unjust structures is not necessarily for the wider good. In education, policies and curriculum may conflict with teacher values or student needs. Therefore action research needs to reflect on whether there is a conflict in values. In particular Noffke highlights the conflict between preparing children for an internationally competitive labour market rather than for the building of socially and economically just global societies (Noffke, 2009). Therefore it is clear that the research should be framed in the wider context.

If action research is about improvement of social practice and participation in a web of meanings, values, politics as well as pedagogies, then this needs to be reflected in the methods used for the cyclical process of planning, action, observation and reflection

outlined by Lewin (Lewin, 2011) . It was necessary to sift through the data (research notes, questionnaires, interviews, transcripts etc.) to gain an overall picture and to find patterns. It was necessary to be open to what the data was telling me rather than me seeking to find my pre existing ideas in it as I could not expect to gain multiple perspectives or new knowledge otherwise. It was possible to identify three of the nine groups that seemed to exemplify three typical ways of working together with other students and with the children bilingually. The three different approaches were as follows: Firstly there was a minimalist one where the group chose not work with bilingual peers and did not appear to be committed to working bilingually; secondly an in between approach with significant commitment to bilingual strategies but with some tensions between group members; thirdly, a more relaxed team working with each other and first language use employed throughout.

To dig for deeper understandings, it was necessary to speak directly to students to understand how they negotiated with each other, and what barriers there were to working with languages other than English. Corbin (Corbin and Strauss, 2008) suggests that the richest data is usually as a result of unstructured interviews, and indeed I found this was the case when in the action research, participants came to talk about their experiences. Questionnaires were designed that did allow for reflection but this needed to be continually reflected in the research design to ensure unstructured opportunities were maximised. It was at this time I realised some of the tensions for students in what I now realise can be seen as working in the hybrid space of mixed cultural groups. This space can be uncomfortable for monolingual as well as for the bilingual trainees. This was evidenced in an extract from an unpublished paper (Flynn, 2012b):

Diary entry 12.12.11. J. reported her lesson on the Barn Owl which went well. She felt however that the other student could have used her community language rather than Polish, as some of the children spoke Bengali... J. reflected that it was useful for her, working with people from different cultural groups as she had come from a very white school. She was keen to learn. She wanted to know more, to do the right thing. She sometimes felt rude and ignorant because she did not know what to do or say, how to act with students from other backgrounds.

In conclusion, at the outset this paper determined to understand the difference between research approaches in the field of EAL and decide on which approach would be preferable. In the event, within different research traditions I find both positivist and interpretative leanings, and the difference at the margins is that of emphasis on core aspects rather than a clear divide. There is however a strong tradition within action research for criticality with the additional advantage of the centrality of putting theory into practice. In addition the focus is on the development of professionalism with the aim of assisting reflexivity 'to live a 'philosophical' life' and be a form of meta-practice around practice (Kemmis 2010). Action research reflects the knowledge and understandings that the participants bring to it, as well as changing those understandings. It can lead to practitioners effecting a change in conditions and circumstances, and can and does reflect a range of paradigms and different levels of knowledge. My experience suggests that action research in a critical mode would be employed to good effect in working with student teachers and teachers in classrooms and schools. It is necessary to understand more effectively how to develop situated inclusive practices for minorities that also take into account the wider field and further the promotion of 'egaliberte' and the greater good.

5,279 words including references

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Appendix C. Example of classroom observation notes written up.

Morning session (before break). Weds 14th May 2014, Class 5

(Researcher as participant observer.) In classroom, waiting for children to enter, displays, the arrangement of spelling, day books on the tables, from the words coming from children's mouths on displays and her TA. Well organised, sufficient but not overladen walls, reflecting home/school balance? High profile of speaking and listening (from curriculum) shown by conventions and words on the wall, as well as children reporting drama experiences. Also lists of connectives, adverbs, fronting of adverbs as per the new curriculum. Following of previous national curriculum and children self-levelling with criteria on the walls. Routines of reading time are followed by children on their initial entry. I look at spelling books. There are regular spellings not phonetically based, why no spelling rationale apparent? Polite, well-regulated children who had internalised turn taking. Praised by her TA. Why then was F singled out for a potentially destabilising experience in SEN assessment?

I am working with a group including a child, F, under psychologist and SLCN assessment for SEN. A TA who I knew from another school came in and introduced herself, before leaving. There was another adult who introduced herself as a German student supporting voluntarily I, another child identified as SEN. Waiting for the class I looked through F's spelling test book. I looked to see the types of error: 5/10- although was one error 15/20 contine/counting 6/11 persant/ percent desrastious, pesterlence, environment: 16/21 straght, thier, quite, stength, probaly. The spellings were clearly supportive of topic work and not word families, spelling patterns, etc. I wondered if F would find the results discouraging as I seem to recall that pupils need to work at 8/10 success rate.

Does he do phonic work? It looks as if he had not benefitted from focused work on phonics. quite/quiet. Is he hearing the difference? What does he sound like? Will he have an accent, pronounce his words correctly? Missed out 'r' in strength. Does not map words on sounds correctly in longer words? Can he remember longer words?

I looked at F's day (writing) book, which had entries since September, but not as many as the title implied. Around a dozen entries? F's day book was interesting: Born 2003 in local

hospital. English is his first language but he 'speak a time Urdu too?' This expression is unusual. Does it reflect what he hears at home and/or in the playground? At the weekend he said went 'to Iceland and buy the main stuff like milk, sugar, toasts, ice cream and fruits.' Could non-standard English like this be from his environmental input and is it different to other children?

In the 'day' book, from the beginning of the year, we learn about his aspirations. Maths is his highest grade he reports in the journal. He wants all his work to be Y 4. So he knows where he is in relation to age expectations and knows where he wants to go. There is a display of level 2,3,4 literacy levels on the wall so that children will be able to see how to progress. This is considered good practice. Does it make children anxious, is he anxious about progress?

The children came in quietly bringing a reading book in with them, reading quietly. I noticed F. He diligently was reading 'The Silver Sword'. Could this be the child referred to me as having possible SEN? How was this judgement made? Is he reading at age appropriate level? Maybe his difficulty was with writing. The reading record was signed, not able to find comments. Surely he would be directed to an easier one if he could not read it. I made a note that I would need to hear how he would approach his reading.

Not wishing to focus on one child I looked at each child's book. S. shows his book and says it is good and 'look the page is small.' I took this to mean that there were few pictures, small print size. That it was suitable to the age group, that he felt satisfied at this visible level of reading ability. Had this directed F's choice also?

The teacher interrupts the class, saying 'In your morning books, write which part of your trip you really enjoyed yesterday.' F put up his hand, more than many, as questions were asked, but he was not chosen. S. his partner was. 'Which part of the trip did you enjoy' said the teacher. S. said 'we looked at the print works.' So, did he have that much confidence or why did I expect less? F with his table gets on with his work. He is right handed, S. is left. S. is much livelier, chattier. F. A bit lethargic, head on desk.

F asked me how to spell Museum. He has written Muesem. He talks before he writes: 'First hang our coats and bags. Then we went to the warehouse. The adverbs of time here appear to have been drilled. Was there a reliance on this drilled structure? This is a comprehensive chronological recount, not just the part enjoyed, which is what the teacher had asked for.

Did he not understand or did he need to start from the beginning? I wondered if they were in ability groups. S. explained that this was the group they came to morning and afternoon unless they went to literacy or numeracy groups. F wrote half as much as S, but looking around, his length of writing was probably average. Children read out work and others commented what they liked. 'It was tall as bean sprouts' 'use of words like irritated'.



Faculty of Education,

Wilmslow Road

Didsbury

Manchester

16th September 2014

Dear Class teacher/ Middle leader

I am currently undertaking a research project/assignment to investigate:

Professional Encounters: An exploration of how children's language repertoires and cultures are relevant to provision in school for bilingual children who may have special educational needs (SEN).

I would value your input and would like to invite you to take part in interview and discussion during the research between September 2014 and January 2015

I would also ask you to consider granting me permission to use audio recording for the interview/ observations.

Before you decide if you would like to take part in this research, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the attached information sheet carefully and discuss it with others if you wish.

Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Thank you for your time and co-operation.

Yours sincerely

(Judith Flynn)
Information Sheet

Study title: Professional Encounters: An exploration of how children's language repertoires and cultures are relevant to provision in school for bilingual children who may have special educational needs.

The purpose of the study is to investigate: The various factors involved in provision for children who are bilingual including those who may have a learning need.

Why have I been asked to take part?

You have been invited to take part because you are a professional involved in the education of children with SEN/English as an additional language (EAL).

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not you take part. If you do decide to take part, you will be given an information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you do decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will I have to do?

If you agree to take part in the study you will be invited to take part in an interview/questionnaire/discussion which will take less than one hour. During this time you will be asked about your perspectives of what the issues are for children with EAL and SEN. Thereafter following classroom observation of children, discussion as to needs, information etc. as appropriate.

Will my name appear in any written reports of this study?

All information that is collected about you during the course of the study will be kept strictly confidential. Any information about you which leaves the Manchester Metropolitan University will have your name removed so that you cannot be recognised. When the results of the research are published direct quotes from the interviews may be used. These will all be anonymised.

What will happen to the data generated?

Each interview/questionnaire will be recorded in word document format and analysed to draw out themes and issues. All paper documents will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, computer records will be password protected.

I would like to audio record. Data will be included in the data analysis and small sections may also be used to illustrate project findings for assignments/dissertation/other (e.g., seminars and online). If you would prefer not to be recorded you can indicate this on the consent form. The material will be used only for the purposes of this research dissertation/assignment and it will be stored in a secure locked cabinet in accordance with the Data Protection Act. Please note that, in a small number of cases, I may wish to include video clips or still images in publications or conference presentations, but I would only do so after informing you of this. If you would like to take part in the research please read and complete the attached consent form. Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Yours sincerely

Judith Flynn

Consent Form

Title of project: An exploration of how children’s language repertoires and cultures are relevant to provision in school for bilingual children who may have special educational needs.

Researcher: Judith Flynn

I have read the research information sheet and I am aware of the purpose of this research study. I am willing to be part of this study and have been given the researcher’s contact details if I need any further information.

My signature confirms that I have decided to participate having read and understood the information given and had an opportunity to ask questions.

Igive my permission for my data to be used as part of this study and understand that I can withdraw at any time and my data will be destroyed.

Signature..... Date.....

Direct quotes

Igive my permission for extended direct quotes from my interview to be used as part of this study.

Signature..... Date.....

Audio recording

Igive my permission for my interview to be audio recorded and used as part of this study.

Signature..... Date.....

I have explained the nature of the study to the subject and in my opinion the subject is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent to participate.

Researcher.....Judith Flynn..... Date: September/October 2014

Appendix E- Semi structured interview

Professional Encounters: An exploration of how children's language repertoires and cultures are relevant to provision in school for bilingual children who may have special educational needs.

Questions	Prompts	Notes
<p>Introduction</p> <p>Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research.</p> <p>As you know I have worked in a number of schools and at MMU. How long have you been at this school? What did you do previously?</p> <p>I am going to ask you about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the makeup of your class • about bilingual issues • about SEN issues • Bilingualism and SEN 		
<p>The new class</p> <p>How is your new class? Tell me about the makeup of the class as</p>	<p>How many are bi or multilingual? What languages?</p>	

regards the different children?	How many on SA and SA+?	
<p>Bilingualism knowledge and understandings</p> <p>What do you understand by bilingualism? How does this contribute to or affect learning?</p> <p>Are there any examples from your experiences?</p>	<p>Might it affect:</p> <p>Spoken language,</p> <p>Reading</p> <p>Writing?</p> <p>How do children develop the language to cooperate/socialise?</p> <p>How do children develop the language of the curriculum?</p>	
<p>Different schools have different contexts and teachers adapt teaching for these.</p> <p>Tell me about your teaching approach and curriculum for bilingual children</p>	<p>What provision do you make for the bilingual context of the children?</p> <p>What is the role of the home languages?</p> <p>How do you understand the role of parent and community?</p> <p>What provision for the sociocultural context?</p>	
<p>Bilingualism-Decisions as to language needs of bilingual children</p> <p>How do you decide if a child if a child is not understanding/able to access the language of the classroom?</p>	<p>Why might a child not understand the language of the classroom?</p>	

	<p>How are children different in their language learning?</p> <p>How do children learn their additional language(s)?</p> <p>How do you know what you know? (training, experience, other?)</p>	
<p>Bilingual staff</p> <p>Tell me how you have worked with bilingual staff.</p>		
<p>Issues for monolingual children.</p> <p>We have discussed the needs of the bilingual children. How about the monolingual children? What are the issues for them?</p>	<p>In current or previous schools?</p> <p>Any different needs?</p> <p>Language and cultural needs?</p>	
<p>Issues for teacher</p> <p>The research is about the overlapping area Bilingualism and SEN. The bilingual children who also have SEN. What are your thoughts about these children?</p> <p>What issues are there for you?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Issues past/future, (prompt identification- Have you ever had difficulty distinguishing bilingual language learning needs from SEN?) 	

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication with parents • Spoken language 	
<p>What is the response of children to being SA, SA+?</p> <p>What is the response of parents?</p>	<p>How do you group children? How do they feel about grouping, extra provision.</p> <p>How do you think parents feel, understand?</p>	
<p>Outside professionals</p> <p>Tell me how you use advice from outside professionals, Ed. Psych, SLCN, etc.</p> <p>Other professionals, provisions in school including bilingual staff</p>	<p>SLCN, Ed psych, SENCO, EAL etc</p> <p>What experiences have you had, what did you do?</p> <p>Use materials/interventions suggested.</p>	
<p>How does/may having a SEN and being bilingual affect learning?</p> <p>How does it affect teaching?</p>	<p>Consider:</p> <p>Spoken language, (L1 or 2)</p> <p>Reading</p> <p>Writing</p> <p>Curriculum content?</p> <p>Can you refer to any specific instances?</p> <p>Do you do anything different for</p>	

	<p>monolingual as compared to bilingual children with SEN?</p> <p>Bilingual support?</p>	
<p><i>What would you change if you could?</i></p> <p>Is there anything you thought I would ask you or anything else you would like to say?</p>		

Appendix F. Example pages of interview transcripts: Teachers Ms A and Ms F

Appendix F (a)-Interview transcript Ms A (Approx 2xpages, beginning of interview)

R. Thank you very much for agreeing to the interview. You have read the leaflet? I have worked as a class teacher, a school coordinator, I've worked at MMU. Perhaps you could tell me a bit about you.

Ms. A. Yes so I have been in this school for 10 years and it was the first school that I worked in.

R. Yes.

Ms. A. Although my placement schools were very different. They were in leafy Cheshire. So... coming here em was a bit of a culture shock in every sense really.

R .Yes

Ms. A .And I am very happy to say that I have enjoyed it and we have had a lot of difference in terms of cohort as I have worked here and also in terms of policy because our entire senior leadership team has changed and it has really made it feel like I have worked for two different schools.

R. Oh I see, how long did you say again?

Ms.A. About 10 years and the senior leadership team were completely revamped about six or seven years ago.

R. Right, mmm.

R. So it has changed.....

Ms.A. Absolutely yes

R. How has it changed over the years?

Ms.A. So over the years it has twofold changed that the cohort that we take in has changed (yes) so I think we found we were getting a lot of , some first generation children er from mostly from the same villages in Pakistan- It's fairly ghettoised around here-and then the minority of Bangladeshi children and a few middle African children, so that central African sort of populace and some white Irish origin children (mm) and now we find that we are getting a broader spread from my experience (mm)so we still have the Pakistani (mm) families but now we are getting third, fourth generation (mm) actually of children of children who came here so that is interesting. (mm)So Bangladeshi but now we are getting some Eastern European—a minority of- Eastern European children who are coming in (mm) and fewer white children -Caucasian - European children.

R. Oh fantastic

Ms.A. Yeh

R. So what about your new class. What are the differences and ranges within your new class?

Ms.A. It has been gradual only this year it is stark. I have not got any of them who is a native British speaker but all of them I would say are NASSEA steps 6 or 7 and I still think in the NASSEA steps even though we are not asked to record them (Do you then) they have a very good vocabulary but there are some nuances or idioms that they are not familiar with or the range of words for one noun they haven't got that range-but it is certainly easier than it used to be(yes) when you used to have to stop and explain an awful lot of (yes) sentences but yeh i've got mostly Urdu speakers-I think I've got mostly 22 in my class, I've got 5 Bangladeshi children who speak Bengali but the majority of the majority of the class mostly speak English which is their home language anyway but just slip into their other language with older relatives or different occasions but generally at home they just speak English and one girl who speaks Romanian and Italian- because that is the route she has taken to get here-as well as English.

R. Oh right so quite a range

Ms.A. Yes quite a range, quite a mix, yeh, yeh.

R. So what about I was thinking about special educational needs and school action, school action plus? Have you got any?

Ms.A. No not this year and also school action and school action plus have stopped now so we don't have those (no) but even last year I think one of them was taken off, one of my current class members was taken off last year (yes)so currently I don't have anyone (no)however I think it is a really interesting issue because the parameters are so narrow there are a lot of children who would benefit from a lot of the techniques you would use for school action or action plus children(yes) even though they are not particularly registered anywhere. But no I haven't got any on the SEN register this year (no) which is interesting.

R. No right. So is that to do with the.....

A. It's just this cohort it is low SEN in this year group. Last year we had a lot of SEN with a broad range of needs but this year we just don't have so many but yes.

R.Ok so this sounds very interesting so what about bilingualism and your knowledge and understandings of this. Have you had training?

A. Less so now although we have over the years. Last year we maybe had about two insets about it. When I started teaching there was something called the Urban teaching centre so I used some of its materials. For me bilingualism means someone who is

fluent in two languages and I think some of our children while they are fluent in English sometimes lack some words within their home language so..if you.. the higher up the school you get (mm) the more specific you get into subjects(yes) and that subject specific language is lacking in their home language and their non English language and I think that is the perception of their families that English is their school language in which English is the language of teaching and therefore it does not quite keep up. There are comparable words for test tube or beaker or whatever it is but I think that partly it is due to them feeling that English has superiority over the language in school.

Appendix F (b)-Interview transcript Ms F (2xpages, mid interview)

R What about the language to cooperate and socialise?

Ms. F. A lot know each other at home. Some revert to home language in play.

R. Do children use the first language in school?

Ms F. We encourage the children to speak English at school but if they want to vocalise something or explain something I have an Urdu speaking TA so I wouldn't discourage them speaking in home language to explain something to her and to each other to translate share if it means they can get their ideas across and their ideas are going to be valued then that's fine if they want to, but we work with English as much as possible but we don't discourage...

R what about parents and community?

Ms. F...really, really lovely community at Urbanvale. Parents who we have taught and older siblings saying that we have always tried to do as much parent based involvement as possible and some parents will come to everything and others will really needsome encouragement em and in the past we have put on our interactive learning site and some letters in home language, just to encourage parents

R How do you know when children are not understanding?

Ms.F. I had a class a couple of years ago where I had ten new arrivals at the start of the year, and 3 or 4 were international new arrivals and it really did make us reconsider the classroom.A lot more photographs and symbols... Independence and access as well. And for parents to be able to access the classroom. It's also a new environment for those coming from another school, so labels, pictures. Sign language as well. Toilet symbols for the new child'

R. How do you work with bilingual TA?

Ms.F. In 13 years I have always had a bilingual TA, for 6 years and Urdu speaker and 7 years an Arabic speaker. And now I have an Urdu speaker. It is not the case in all classrooms but beneficial. Little interventions in Y1 to be honest targeted at children with EAL and who also have special needs to try and eek out what they know. So it is really interesting if a child is doing something from the alphabet for the teaching assistant actually to say to me they can do this in home language or are at the same level in home language as they are in English,.. which helps us work out what the needs of that child is whether it's going to be a learning need or whether it's going to be a language need.

R. What about monolingual children?

Ms. F, I think that some of our children are monolingual because they are a third generation Asian child born in this country and with very Westernised parents, /yes/and I've got some children coming through maybe who are aware of home language-grandma and grandad speak it but they don't actually know any ↑and they might just start doing it in Y1 when they start going to Mosque as part of their culture but we do have some children who have just English.

R and have you got any issues? What are your issues?

Ms. F. ...I think it's the same for all of the children..I think it's just working out what their needs are as I said sometimes we have these assistants who help us work it out whether it is an SEN issue or an EAL issue/yes/with children who just speak English it is generally going to be a learning issue its whether they do not get support from home or whether they generally er have a little bit of learning delay and need some support. R' So thinking about the difficulties for you in connection with those childrenare there difficulties in distinguishing whether it is a language or as you say a language or a learning difficulty or would we say a language and a learning difficulty?

Ms. F. I think some of the little assessments that we've got really help so for reading week we have a benchmarking assessment and so we listen to a child read to test to a certain level and we ask some questions about it and you can assess whether their answers are appropriate and when they show comprehension and that is quite interesting to see if a child can actually answer a question in a sentence or whether it is a one word answer. The same with phonics we have a really similar phonics assessment to find out what the children know and in Maths we start of at this stage of year one... can we count, can we write numbers- all at the same level and we can see the ones who are flying and those who have a special need and who need challenging... so it is not always my low ability learners ..who are special needs, sometimes ..I have a little boy this year whose.. Extremely bright and I would class him as a child who needs intervention ,because he needs to be taught at his level/yeh/so it's not just..

R so are you saying here you there is a sort of difficulty in the class of meeting this wide range?

Ms. F Always a wide range em there is never an average class when you get them at the same level there is always a massive range , yes, My little girl with Downs who is

working at a mental age of 24 months then I have a little boy at the same age who is working at maybe 7 to 8 years/yes/

R and the little girl with Downs has English as an Additional language? Ms F.Yes

R So you see these two aspects residing in one child. Does the er learning difficulty have an effect on the language? Or does the language difficulty have an effect on the learning difficulty?

Ms.F. I think the little girl, she's been assessed in home language and English and I think it is equal. So we've discovered that her knowledge of her home language is also of around a 2 year old and her parents speak their own language at home and we've asked them to try and speak a little bit more English but the beauty of that little girl is that she's got siblings who we happened to have taught 12 years ago and who are very Westernised speak English and can help her with school work and reading and things like that and encourage parents to also support in English and things like that as well./yeh, yeh/We do find that we sometimes rely on older siblings to support children in EAL families/yeh/ Yeh (R. can you tell me more about that?) Or if I'm aware that someone has a sister in Y 6 and am aware of that child I don't want to put pressure on the other children but at the same time I might say when you do your homework will you listen to your sister read for 5 minutes? And they want to help so they usually say yes I'll do that, I'll make sure that I'll do that. Involving the older children is a really good way../yes I do too/

R. So .. what is the response of children to being school action?

Ms.F. I don't think in year one they are really aware circles, gruffalos, etc

R. How do you group children?

Ms.F. Five groups for literacy, numeracy and guided reading and they are based on their foundation stage profiles so it's very much a moving document they can change every couple of weeks to twice a year if we think that they are being challenged.

R. How do parents understand this?

Ms. F. The majority are very supportive and know that they need to help with reading and homework em and we occasionally get and parents generally find ...

Appendix G: Comparison teachers' discourses about EAL

6.10.	Y6 Ms A	Y4 Mr B	Y5 Mr C	Y3 Ms D	Y2 Ms E	Y1 Ms F
2014 About (learning) EAL	<p>I think here they learn language through us and modelling but we are the minority so inevitably they learn most from peers and siblings and I think that is when we have phrases like 'closing of the light' and 'I done sick' that they hear other children using it and therefore it is self correcting and you think that is the right way to speak if you are a child immersed in that culture. So you don't notice it.</p> <p>E; yes and you correct it obviously as a teacher but they are exposed to it.</p>	<p>Although it (EAL)is detrimental on paper(syntax) it is very rich and I can work with that... It can also be a Manc. thing..a nice melting pot. We are always conscious of it..it is just bad habits really.</p> <p>Reiteration, repetition, just great modelling... seeing it used in real life. (new arrivals)Not necessarily put in lower group. ..All the other children said he doesn't speak English and so cast him out before...</p> <p>Humour transcends languages.</p>	<p>We used to hide behind being an EAL school but not any more. There is also quite a lot of tense work we have to teach...a girl this morning wrote I feel ed instead of I felt...and she just didn't know, bright girl didn't have a clue that.. can slip between the two and just pick it up at an amazing speed. It means immersion really, just throw them in because if you sit them at the back of the room with headphones on ..the new national curriculum is -almost teaches English as a foreign language anyway..em ...We almost teach every single child English in a very</p>	<p>...start lessons with the vocabulary you will be using...not assuming they already know... don't have the correct models at home because their parents may not have very good English...it's vital that they hear the correct models in school. Curriculum based vocabulary around the room. Success criteria on the language of the lesson.</p> <p>Children learning a second language here need to be immersed in that language and spoken to and they need visual cues as well</p>	<p>If I had a child with no English, I would have no idea where to start...Most of them speak English fairly well.</p> <p>Sometimes it can affect their comprehension. Some of the words at my last school I maybe would expect children to know, here they don't, so it takes longer to go over things and have lots of visuals in the class and explain what things mean - might be like this in a lot of schools as well but I don't think it will be as much maybe. Because at home if they are not speaking English then it is not being reinforced at home.</p>	<p>A little bit of training, it's all I've known.I don't think I think of the children as EAL because they can access the school, they can access the classroom With EAL their vocabulary not as sophisticated as those who just speak English. We are aware. Lampshade... a case of access and meaning.I had a class a couple of years ago where I had ten new arrivals at the start of the year, and 3 or 4 were international new arrivals and it really did make us reconsider the classroom. A lot more photographs and symbols.. independent and access as well. And for</p>

			mechanical way now..	to support them.		parents to be able to access the classroom.
What is happening here?	Modelling Example Us Peers Sibling Incorrect Immersed exposed	Detrimenta l Rich Bad habits Nice melting pot Repetition reiteration	Didn't know tense Pick up Amazing speed Immersion New NC Almost EFL Very mechanical	Lesson vocabulary Parents not good models English Curriculum vocabulary Language criteria Immersed Visual cues support	Affect comprehension Take longer Words Visuals Explain Things mean Home not reinforced	EAL like not EAL but not as sophisticated access and meaning language of curriculum and classroom. photographs symbols
1.How is language learning constructed? 2.View of child's developing EAL?	One correct English needs to be exposed to? Incorrect	Habit needing repetition Contradictory. Bad habit perhaps perceived under curriculum or nice in informal or personal view.	Immersion Same as L1 devt? A speedy process Incorrect,	Immersion To do with curriculum Some specific vocab cues needed to support Influenced by parents who are not correct models	Affect comprehension meaning Longer taken Explain Reinforcement of English missing from home affects this. EAL needing time.	EAL is about curriculum access and meaning Not as sophisticated
Ideas	Evidence personal and professional (new and old curriculum) understandings. Strategies are from a range of perspectives, largely implicit, involve modelling and repetition rather than creativity, no use for home language, indeed home seen as lacking ability to support. Language teaching judged, taught(words), modelled, explained, in the service of teaching the curriculum.					

	<p>Different teachers have different strategies and understandings. Between them, quite a lot of strategies, Q. What else would we expect? Is it reasonable to expect more? How do we evaluate this?</p>
<p>Hypotheses , drawing on observations and data.</p>	<p>Q. Do the findings of these strategies show a conscious policy or strategy? What are the implications for learners?</p> <p>For the hypothesis of only partial approach : Not much training, low profile EAL teacher, no language policy, OFSTED only mentions groupwork and bilingual support to explain things, purpose of strategies are to teach curriculum, conflation L1 and L2 learning, strategies implicit .</p> <p>Against, that it is a conscious policy: strategies evident in use (observations), teachers conscious of the need for their use, engagement with curriculum is (in literature) a communicative language strategy in itself.</p> <p>Observational data (May/June) confirms a teacher perceiving more time needed in curriculum for difficult topic of time traveller, and a lot of teacher and peer modelling needed for writing. Also difficulties in sentence structure were reported as <i>'you model desired words and sentences but they still come out wrong'</i>. This is literacy only. Language consciousness not so much evident in Maths. That a child I was working with might have difficulty with maths language was not anticipated within the work that I saw provided.</p>
<p>Further questions, Reading and thinking</p>	<p>-Is English language teaching a priority? Apparently not, it is woven in, but not detailed or consistent. (information from notes, observations, interviews)</p> <p>-Is language understood in detail, in a linguistic or developmental way? No, understandings appear to come from the curriculum. (See talk about SEN, literature on language development)</p> <p>-what other possibilities are there? Seek wider reading on language teaching</p> <p>-How does home language and culture feature in language learning? (Interviews: Occasional ad hoc use of bilingual support. Observations: acknowledgement in signs around classroom, but not normally taken into account.</p> <p>-Does this matter if children are attaining well in the curriculum? Seek information through reading about wider implications.</p> <p>Potential theme: teaching and development of EAL partial/undeveloped</p> <p>Seek further data: meeting/interview with EAL coordinator and discussion headteacher.</p> <p>See interview EAL coordinator: Key points. EAL is mainstreamed, teachers responsible, staff experienced, some training in past, EAL coordinator willing to advise. Mainly does reading interventions and organises English classes and showing new arrivals and parents around school. Most classes have TA support with staff experienced with EAL children. Have tried to get children to use L1 but</p>

	<p>the school have found that they do not want to. Nor do parents, who are keen for them to learn English.</p> <p>See discussions Headteacher: Key points: Staff experienced, value of bilingualism. Parents say they are afraid to use home language and English at home. Lack of resources for staff, reduced pupil premium means less in class support in near future.</p>
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Appendix H: Notes made from school website

At Urbanvale, we give our pupils excellent, challenging and enjoyable opportunities to gain the skills they need to achieve success in life. Our pupils relish challenges, want to learn about the world and are confident in their own abilities. Our staff grasp every opportunity to learn themselves and improve their own effectiveness. We are inspired by the world of education and we have a passion for providing the very best deal for our pupils and their parents. We promise to ensure that for our pupils, their days at Urbanvale will have a positive and lasting impact on the rest of their lives.

We all live by our motto about enjoyment, opportunity and achievement and we look forward to working with you in the best interests of all of our children.

The school ethos has the theme of love and working together.

School policies

Assessment policy, including statutory assessments (Phonics screening, Y2 SAT and Y6 SAT), other summative assessment (Benchmarking for reading twice yearly. Grammar, punctuation and spelling every half term. Science at the end of each unit as well as end of year Assessments in years 3,4 and 5, using published optional tests- as Quality assurance to moderate and validate teacher judgements. Teacher daily formative assessment. SEND support for those 'working below their year group.' 'P-scales are used to assess children with significant educational needs who are unable to access the National Curriculum.' 'NASSEA steps are used to assess children new to English who cannot access the National curriculum.'

Attendance policy 'Extended leave will not be given, except in exceptional circumstances.'

The 'multifaith nature of British society' is acknowledged, with religious observance sometimes requiring authorised absence.

Some accommodation/negotiation for traveller absence based on Education 1944 act, reflecting presence of traveller pupils in the school.

Notes: Policies are less lenient than previously about extended leave than they were historically. The 2002 OFSTED notes: 'About 25 per cent of pupils join and leave the school during the year, and a significant number of them are taken on long holidays in their family's country of origin during the school year.'

Equal Opportunities policy

In accord with school ethos of enjoyment, opportunity and achievement in a diverse school

It states staff set targets in accord with potential and provide appropriate support, minimise effect of socioeconomic deprivation, plan curriculum in accord with age ability, gender, ethnicity, background and prevent discrimination on basis of gender or ethnicity.

SEN Policy. This identified staff, SENCO and the school identification, monitoring and review procedures. Staff development was indicated and need for parental consultation and involvement at every stage. This emphasised the schools connection with the LA and the need to put children and parents in touch with the local offer of SEN provision by the LA.

Curriculum information. This includes yearly information as regards curriculum topics e.g. Literacy Y5 Time travel, Y1 Superheroes. **News.** This is in relation to the curriculum also a staff visit to China.

Parents-Factual information is available about timetable, the school day, uniform, sports activities, assessment, letters about choir, SAT's meeting, School trip, coffee morning, school events such as book fair, ESOL classes.

Latest OFSTED -extracts

-The school is much larger than the average sized primary school. The very large majority of pupils are from minority ethnic backgrounds, mainly of Bangladeshi and Pakistani heritage, and speak English as an additional language.

- Most children enter the Nursery and Reception classes at a very early stage of learning to speak English as an additional language.

- The above average proportion of pupils that join the school at other than the usual times, often at an early stage of learning to speak English as an additional language and with below average levels of attainment, can impact significantly on the levels of attainment reported in national tests.

- New arrivals are welcomed and helped to settle quickly into the school community and, given their often lower starting points, they achieve well.

-Teachers provide many opportunities for pupils to work in different groups in order to effectively develop pupils' language skills. This is particularly helpful for pupils that speak English as an additional language, and especially those who join the school at other than the usual time and who are new to English. Pupils are also well supported by teaching assistants, some of whom explain things in both pupils' home language and English.

-Urbanvale is a cohesive and inclusive school with a strong sense of community. A key feature of its success is the way in which pupils from different backgrounds work and play happily together. Parents said that the school is very welcoming. They have a high regard for the way the school cares for their children. Pupils really enjoy coming to school and feel very safe.

- A key feature of lessons is the way that pupils engage in their learning; they are really eager to learn and answer questions enthusiastically. Pupils work very well together to discuss ideas and support one another, particularly when new pupils join the school. This makes a strong contribution to their own and others learning, especially those new to speaking English as an additional language.

- A wide range of rich and memorable visits, visitors and experiences extend pupils' learning beyond the classroom. For example, during the inspection, Nursery children, helped by many of their parents, made a visit to the museum as part of their studies. Pupils' spiritual, moral, social and cultural development is promoted well. Opportunities to learn Mandarin and have brass and string instrument lessons further enrich pupils' social and cultural development.

Performance tables

Percentage achieving Level 4 or above in reading, writing and maths	2012	2013	2014
School	same	same	above
LA	73%	75%	79%
England - All Schools	75%	75%	78%

Subject level results

Percentage achieving Level 5 or above	31%	34%	54%
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Notes: Pupil scores are higher than in previous years. The school normally is around local and national averages. This is better than the historical attainment of the 2002 OFSTED that reported 'Standards of attainment are generally below national averages and expectations, but most pupils achieve well considering their language difficulties and their attainment on entry.'

Previous OFSTED reports

I looked at these to gain a historical perspective. The earliest OFSTED observes a good multi-cultural approach. It refers to the historic support of the LA. 'There are well-trained staff to give good support to pupils at all stages of English language development. Procedures are thorough and the local education authority's staff are appropriately involved.'

The Ofsted of a few years ago noted: 'the difficulties many face with learning English as an additional language has a detrimental impact on the school's overall standards, which are below those expected nationally.'

Furthermore a hierarchical management structure was being implemented. 'A new management structure has been drawn up, but this is yet to be fully implemented. Provision for those learning English as an additional language is particularly effective, enabling these pupils to gain confidence from an early age and to make good gains in their learning. Staff who have responsibilities for different groups of pupils work extremely closely with many outside agencies. This ensures successful identification and action to meet the needs of pupils with learning difficulties and/or disabilities and the very large number at an early stage of learning English.'

Appendix I : Comparison teachers' perceived contexts

	Y6 Mrs A	Y4 Mr B	Y5 Mr C	Y3 Ms D.	Y2 Ms E	Y1 Ms F
Perceived contexts.. Tell me about yourself, your background	<p>I have been in this school for 10 years and it was the first school that I worked in.</p> <p>Although my placement schools were very different. They were in leafy Cheshire. So... coming here was a bit of a culture shock in every sense really. so I think we found we were getting a lot of , some first generati</p>	<p>Yeh well my mum's first language is not English. She is a refugee from... I was teased quite a lot. That has formed how I work with kids, I always look for identity and to promote self-confidenc e....So I did 7 years in A which was a much tougher cohort and we had parents with alcohol and drug problems and also we had lovely, lovely parents. and it is my second year here.</p>	<p>I've been teaching for twelve years I've been here for eleven of those years. My first year was in A. an inner city, we're inner city here of course. Mainly white er working class school but there were quite a few nationalities you don't see here, Chinese. (interruption child coming in) – a lot of children I taught I now see picking up their little brothers and sisters and are going to University and working. There are children who struggle working independentl y. One is a new arrival but she's made such phenomenal</p>	<p>I've been at this school for 5 years and then previousl y I worked at W...I was there four years and then the year before that I was in a primary in M. so with working here and at W. I have had a lot of experien ce of children with EAL and SEN and children with different cultures, backgrounds and lots of different things. We've got a</p>	<p>Ehm well I qualified in 2009 and worked at a school Where there was only one child with EAL in my class. It was a school that was made up pretty much of English speaking children, there was only one child in my class who spoke another language, I think it was Mandarin she spoke at home/mm/ I was there for four years –I started here last year. I have completed a year here now. I really like it. It is really different to where I went before.. If I had a child</p>	<p>I've been here for 13 years and it's always been teaching EAL.</p> <p>This year, I was interventi on teacher last year but this year I've gone back into class... The majority of the children in the class are from Pakistani or Bengali origin. I don't think I've had any specific training.</p> <p>R. So what do you understand about bilingualis m?</p> <p>The majority of the children I have taught</p>

	<p>on children er from mostly from the same villages in Pakistan- It's fairly ghettoise d around here /mm/ and now we find that we are getting a broader spread.</p>	<p>The parents are very supportive ..</p>	<p>progress she learns so quickly.</p>	<p>range of special needs including health needs em and also other special needs in terms of learning.</p>	<p>with no English I would have no idea where to start. I did my research on EAL, I went down to Tower Hamlets in London, it was similar to this- It was quite a change from that one to where everyone was White British.</p>	<p>have a home language and speak English. So em we have a mixture of families... EAL families but majority English. Our children are amazing, so many have to translate what they want to say.</p>
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