

Saying more than you realise about 'EAL': discourses of educators about
children who speak languages beyond English

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Abstract

This thesis investigates attitudes expressed by UK primary school educators towards children institutionally classified as English as an Additional Language ('EAL') in mainstream schools, an underexplored area. A Critical Discourse Analytical approach is adopted and Martin and White's (2005) APPRAISAL framework utilised for investigating discourses of attitudes is adopted to analyse the research interviews of fifteen participants drawn from six suburban schools in northern England. These participants include head teachers and deputies, EAL co-ordinators, an SEN co-ordinator, a Family Liaison Manager, class teachers, Bilingual Learning Assistants, and Higher Level Teaching Assistants. Their discourses of judgement are analysed in conjunction with Bourdieu's theory of practice constructs (1977) in order to explore the entrenched linguistic and societal ideologies within them.

Findings suggest that judgements of linguistic and social *capital* made by participants reveal aspects of their *habitus*, the series of dispositions guiding their behaviours and attitudes, while also showing that attitudes to language are often conflated with attitudes to other social identities. A monolingual ideology is engrained amongst educators, with (Standard) English uncontested in its dominance in education; discourses that expose the power of teachers in controlling what is seen as the *legitimate* language of the school.

There are many contradictions present in participants' discourses around the value of bi/multi-lingualism and home language maintenance. Analysis of attitudinal discourse highlights the importance of school leadership for the creation of a positive school climate in working with children who speak languages beyond English.

The significance of this work includes filling a research gap regarding studies on teachers' attitudes and the contribution of a more positive designation for the children at the heart of this study. Recommendations for consciousness- and awareness-raising professional development are made. Observations are made regarding APPRAISAL for analysis for researchers using the framework, only recently applied to research interview data.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

Teachers' attitudes towards working with children who bring a range of languages and diverse backgrounds into schools have only rarely been investigated, despite there being a consensus that those attitudes are of vital importance in shaping the children's own attitudes and realising maximum potential. This scarcity of research has been particularly true in the UK educational context, and studies elsewhere have predominantly not concentrated on what teachers actually say as they discuss and explore their attitudes to the complex range of issues inherent in the current context of increasingly diverse schools.

In this thesis, I explore the ways in which school managers, primary school teachers, and learning and teaching assistants (henceforth referred to as 'primary school educators') talk about their experiences working with children in UK primary mainstream schools who have been identified (or 'constructed', as Ainscow, Conteh, Dyson & Gallanaugh, 2007 would argue) as speaking English as an Additional Language (EAL) within the education system context.

The objective of the study is to offer a critical analysis of the participants' discourse itself, considering the ways in which these professionals evaluate both their own and others' experiences and knowledge, through the lens of the APPRAISAL framework of analysis. Such attitudinal discourse will reveal embedded ideologies about policies and practice related to the support for 'EAL' children and about facilitating the maintenance and development of their full potential linguistic repertoires.

1.1 Introduction

Research has shown that teachers' attitudes affect their practice and behaviour in the classroom (Borg, 2008; Nesper, 1987). Albert Bandura's social cognitive theory posits that a child's educational environment influences their aspirations as well as emotional state, and can increase or diminish the sense of the individual's own self-efficacy through the "social persuasions" they are provided with (1986, p.400). As a key figure in these children's educational lives, the attitudes and opinions held and expressed by teachers about the linguistic and cultural backgrounds of their class will also be, to a large extent, formative for the children in developing their own attitudes, both positive and negative, towards their own cultural and linguistic heritage (Conteh & Brock, 2011; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011; Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). Children learn better when they feel good about themselves as Jane Elliott's famed and filmed study in the 1960s reported (cited in DES, 2006). Ricento and Hornberger (1996) note that teachers' ideologies also impact on children as teachers implement particular and individualised language policies for the classroom. This

means that educators' attitudes towards facilitating the use of home languages are important (Rueda & García, 1996) as are their attitudes towards developing adequate dialogue with specialist language teaching professionals (Creese, 2002; Love & Arkoudis, 2006). Relationships between teacher and parent, school and home are also extremely important in the development of the child's sense of self, security, self-esteem and achievement (Agbo, 2007; Connor & McCartney, 2007; Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011; Hanafin & Lynch, 2002).

This study was undertaken with the purpose of exploring the expressed attitudes of primary school educators working in suburban primary schools in northern England towards 'EAL' children, parents, other teachers, and themselves. Linguistic choices made by the participants can tell us something about both overtly and implicitly expressed ideological stances. This is revealed by analysing those attitudinal discourses co-constructed between the participants and the researcher in research interviews through a critical discourse analysis lens. Societal and political discourses about immigration, bilingualism and languages other than English shape the individual discourses of teaching professionals and the practices of particular people and institutions in turn.

The methodology adopted was situated within a socio-constructivist paradigm, acknowledging and being interested in the co-construction of meaning within the interview between researcher and participant. The participants were fifteen primary school educators drawn from six suburban schools across the north of England. The schools selected were ideal because of the range in the extent of experience with children who are categorised as using English as an Additional Language on the part of the schools *and* of the participants. The participants brought a range of experience and hold varying levels of seniority within the schools, with the voices and opinions of head teachers and other managerial staff, class teachers, auxiliary staff, and learning and teaching assistants all represented.

This chapter continues with a statement of the problem to be addressed in this study. Given its importance for our understanding of how participants' expectations, attitudes and ideologies around working with 'EAL' children have been fostered, an overview of the context and background to the issues that are important for the study will then be offered. Following this overview, there will be a discussion on contested terminology and key definitions that are pertinent to this work. Building on this contextualisation is a statement of the purpose of the study and the research questions that stem from that. Consideration will then be given to the research approach, and the researcher's perspective before the chapter closes with statements concerning the significance of the study and an overall summary.

1.2 Statement of the problem

This study is set within a context of significant pressure on teachers to provide 'support' to many different kind of students (Reeves, 2006; Renzulli, 2005; Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

Teachers are required to adapt their teaching regularly to suit the whims of governmentally-led policy shifts (National Union of Teachers, n.d.), to ensure their pupils attain highly in league tables (Perryman, Ball, Maguire, & Braun, 2011), and, increasingly, to appease parents (Wilson & Piebalga, 2008). Class teachers remain the front-line for the children in their care, especially in primary school, where the relationship is with one key teacher each academic year. The attitudes towards working with 'EAL' children that those teachers hold and express will be transmitted to children, both explicitly and implicitly, and shape the children's perceptions of their growing linguistic repertoire (Cummins, 2000, 2009). It has been claimed that teachers' positive attitudes are one of the principal factors in the creation of a supportive environment for 'EAL' children (Chen, 2007). Parents' and children's attitudes, whilst also of great importance, are outside of the scope of the study, but are discussed extensively elsewhere (Coady, 2001; Kemppainen, Ferrin, Ward, Carol, & Hite, 2004; Lao, 2004; Martínez, Perez, & Fernandez, 2013; Mills, 2001; Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey, 2008; Oladejo, 2006; Park & Sarkar, 2007; Zhang & Slaughter-Defoe, 2009, *inter alia*).

However, a classroom teacher or school manager does not live in a vacuum with their attitudes only being born out of and driven by their own personal lived experiences, learned classroom practice, and training. It is also relevant to reflect on what it is that influences the strength of opinions, the way that are expressed as attitudes, and the very beliefs held. The way we linguistically explore new thinking, pass on ingrained ways of thinking, and discuss controversial topics are all of some import here. Furthermore, it is important to consider speakers' communicative needs to demonstrate solidarity, affiliation, or disaffiliation with the perceived or articulated views of our interlocutors. Institutional perspectives and pressures, along with local communities' particular needs, and a powerful media and often-divisive political discourse also become embedded in educators' personal discourses (Van Dijk, 2013).

Studies concerning teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism in schools, multilingual children, and their languages, have predominantly been conducted in North America (Byrnes, Kiger & Manning, 1997; Flores, 2001; Flores & Smith, 2009; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004; Karathanos, 2009; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Youngs & Youngs, 2001) with other more isolated studies occurring in France (Helot & Young, 2002), Ireland (Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey, 2008), Greece (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011), Finland (Nielikäinen, 2014), and Australia (French, 2017).

In the UK context, however, there has been an extremely limited focus on the attitudes of mainstream primary teachers towards the increasing population of children who speak languages beyond English in their professional settings. Research interests regarding multilingual children have been pursued in considering the English as an Additional Language (EAL) educational policies (Harris, Leung, & Rampton, 2001), dynamics in secondary education (Creese, 2004a), understanding the role of complementary schools

(Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006), the nature of provision of support (Cable, Leung, & Vasquez, n.d.; Franson, 1999), the role of bilingual teachers and support (Conteh, 2007), and considering particular pedagogical strategies (Al-Azami, Kenner, Ruby, & Gregory, 2010; Fitzpatrick, 1987; Kenner, 2010) amongst other important topics by a growing and passionate group of researchers. The lack of research on attitudes may be due to the influences of a negative political climate around issues pertaining to multilingualism in the country, as well as a possible sense of futility about the likelihood of societal change. Flynn (2013), in an isolated paper reporting on a project to consider primary school teachers' perspectives on and attitudes to working with children with languages beyond English, describes current research in this particular area as 'scarce'. Studies that have been conducted around teachers' attitudes in the UK are predominantly focused on inclusion only insofar as special educational needs and disability are concerned (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; Boer, Pijl, & Minnaert, 2016; Campbell, Gilmore, & Cuskelly, 2003).

The studies that *have* been undertaken on attitudes towards multilingualism, multilingual children and languages other than English (LOTE) have largely focused on describing those attitudes in terms of a binary positive or negative standpoint. Byrnes et al. (1997) and Youngs & Youngs (2001) noted this limitation and focused their attention on surveys to capture predictors of attitudes in order to offer an explanation of the attitudes described. However, the majority of attitudinal studies have been undertaken using a survey format or with only a limited qualitative focus, which means that there has, to date, been a scarcity of work discussing the linguistic choices that teachers make in constructing attitudes in their own discourse. This study seeks to fill that gap. Without increasing our understanding of the discourses of teachers in these educational contexts, we will continue to be unaware of the extent to which ingrained and unhelpful ideologies prevail in UK primary schools. This will leave us unable to challenge privileged societal viewpoints, which perpetuate the maintenance of power in the hands of a limited number of people and the lack of opportunity for children who do not come from this position of privilege. This study will afford the chance to challenge outmoded ideologies from the bottom-up by focusing on the discourses of those key figures in children's lives – educators.

1.3 Context and background

In this section, I will situate the current study within the historical and contemporary educational context within which its participants are working. For a more detailed history of language education policies and practice in the UK from the 1950s up to the mid 1990s, see Leung (2016), Rassool (1997) or Costley (2014). It is useful to consider that the historical context of the education of 'EAL' children in the UK (and beyond) still informs current policy and practice.

Segregated beginnings

Children who speak languages other than English have long had a presence in UK classrooms. Of course, the UK has a number of indigenous languages that have vied for attention alongside the dominant language, English, in most cases for many hundreds of years, with a greater or lesser degree of success. In the UK, users of indigenous languages (including Welsh, Irish and Scots Gaelic, and British Sign Language) tend to be more geographically bound (apart from those who use British Sign Language) and these languages were not in evidence in the schools that form the data set for this study.

The most established and stable communities of people with home languages other than English are settled in the country as a result of government-sanctioned and encouraged post-war immigration. This period brought significant numbers of migrant workers to the UK from Commonwealth areas such as Pakistan, India and the Caribbean, as well as refugees from Eastern Europe and East Africa, although it may be that numbers were limited by the British government far more than most historians commonly suggest (Spencer, 1997). Despite the official approval for this movement of peoples, the reaction to this from educationalists in the UK was somewhat *ad hoc*; Mohan, Leung, & Davison (2001) described the situation as seeming as if local authorities had been taken by surprise. There was a widespread, strongly-held belief that children who did not speak English should not be put straight into the mainstream classroom and during the 1950s and 1960s, ESL (English as a Second Language) units (or induction centres, as they were sometimes known) were set up in many cities to get the children up to an appropriate standard to be able to cope in the mainstream classroom. The funding for these units was embedded in Section 11 of the Local Government Act of 1966. However, this provision also meant that those children did not adequately access the mainstream curriculum whilst also being segregated for educational purposes from the rest of the children of the same age within the local community until they had demonstrated a strong enough transition to English to cope and access the curriculum adequately alongside other children.

Concerns over this curricular and social separation led to a re-formulation of the provision, and in the Bullock report, the first and last pluralist governmental report (Tollefson, 1991), published in the mid 1970s, this subsequently oft-cited statement was made:

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 though school and home represent two separate and different cultures, which have to be kept firmly apart.

(DES, 1975, p. 286)

However, it was the following governmental report (DES, 1985) authored by Swann, on language development, this time with the focus clearly on language minority students and the opportunities available to them, that set the tone for the continuing and on-going

monolingual approach found in UK schools, along with the Calderdale report on Racial Equality in 1986.

The Swann report, published as political power was becoming increasingly centralised (Tollefson, 1991), dismissed the notion that languages other than English could and should be part of mainstream UK education, adopting an assimilative perspective, which could be said to have been attempting to avoid discrimination and segregation, as the committee itself claimed. The report states:

First, any linguistic and cultural disadvantage that minorities were suffering should be overcome, e.g. through the teaching of English as a second language. Second, all children, minority and majority, should be encouraged to respect the richness of minority cultures. Third and most consequentially for the teaching of languages other than English, there should be no ethnic segregation within the public schooling system.

(DES, 1985, p. 406-7)

The recognition that racism existed within the educational system did not lead the committee to recommend changes to institutional organisation or power, as we can see above. The focus was solely on improving education content and teachers' attitudes towards diversity (Tollefson, 1991). This was because racism was defined as "mistaken impressions or inaccurate, hearsay evidence" (DES, 1985, p. 13) and therefore the blame was laid to rest with the teachers' ignorance, not with the institutions themselves, which were situated in discourse terms as being outside of society (Tollefson, 1991) and, therefore, could not be held responsible for any of the structural inequalities inherent in society (Modood & May, 2001).

The terms of the Swann report were clear: children were to be best supported within the mainstream classroom in an inclusive environment, through teaching models such as the later developed and more recently revived Partnership Teaching (Bourne & McPake, 1991), which involves the pairing of and co-teaching between a subject teacher and a specialist English teacher in the mainstream classroom. There were numerous critics of the report, particularly focused around the removal of the support for home languages in mainstream schools, and the refusal to acknowledge research on the links between success in the first language and success in the second (McKay, 1993). The subsequent devolution of Section 11 funding to head teachers of schools and away from the Local Education Authority after the 1988 Education Reform Act only caused further problems for children with languages other than English. The LEAs were no longer able to provide a free service for multilingual children and schools were increasingly under pressure to spend their limited budgets on other services.

So it can be seen that the focus on Education for All, the desire to avoid segregation, and the relegation of home languages to the minority language communities, negated any of the pluralist rhetoric of the report itself, and turned the Bullock report's recommendations

around. This move away from pluralism was furthered by the Kingman report, which held Standard English to be the ideal model for education, as “it is the language ‘we’ have in common” (DES, 1988, p. 14), clearly alienating many speakers of regional varieties of English as a home language as well as those using languages beyond English. The primacy of Standard English was to influence the setting of Standards in the National Curriculum and, therefore, educational policy to this day.

Changing times

Since the early 1990s the UK, along with many other developed countries, has experienced dramatic demographic, social, and educational change, which means that this on-going model of an English-only mainstream classroom has been, and continues to be, a challenge for many children and adults. The National Association of Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) was, in fact, established in 1992 by EAL teachers and academics as a response to this challenge and the lack of centralised support being provided to tackle it and has since become one of the lynchpins of discussion, now conducting and disseminating research, and lobbying on EAL issues in the UK.

The advent of the National Curriculum in the 1990s, the devolution of funding to schools (Harris et al., 2001), and the de-skilling of peripatetic teachers (Creese, 2002), along with the advent of extensive use of teaching assistant (TA) support (Blatchford, Bassett, Brown, & Webster, 2009; Wardman, 2012b) have all had an impact on ‘EAL’ teaching and pedagogical development. In addition, globalisation along with the (in some cases related) changes in immigration patterns, following various international conflicts as well as further European Union integration, and political adjustments following September 11, 2001, have further significantly changed the landscape in which practitioners are operating.

We now live in an era defined for many individuals and communities to a great extent by what Vertovec has famously referred to as ‘super-diversity’, although he subsequently expressed surprise at the range of interpretations of this concept that have been made and the extent to which the concept has been used internationally and in ways he had not intended (Vertovec, 2014). He acknowledges that this is related to researchers continuing to use “old maps to orientate ourselves” in these changing times (Beck, 2011, cited in Vertovec, 2014). He originally referred to it as a:

condition [which] is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade.

(2007, p. 1024)

This interplay of variables has had a marked impact on teaching practice, as well as on discourses around immigration, diversity, and social inclusion. Pupils in UK primary

classrooms now typically come from an increasingly wide range of backgrounds, including but not limited to:

- Newly arrived refugees from war-torn countries;
- Newly arrived immigrants from Eastern Europe, whose parents are seeking work in the UK, and some of whom are highly mobile;
- Newly arrived transient immigrants of a high social class, owing to (for example) parents studying or working in Higher Education in the UK;
- Pupils who have been in the UK for a number of years and attained fluency in English;
- Pupils who are second or third generation British, but whose English and home language may both potentially be limited owing to a lack of modelling during acquisition and extensive use of English in the home;
- Pupils who are fourth generation British and who would classify themselves as English speakers, masking some of the difficulties that can crop up for them, particularly in accessing and using academic discourse.

There are many other possible permutations, of course, but even without listing them all, it is clear to see that the mainstream class teacher has a demanding task to be aware of the disparate needs of all of the above, including combinations thereof. Coelho (1994) discusses at length some of the factors that new arrivals and their families will, in all likelihood, have to face, including separation from family, the potential trauma of the refugee experience, environmental factors (getting used to urban living or seeing snow for the first time, for example), and cultural isolation. This is perhaps especially relevant for Chinese new arrivals, who are often more widely spread than other communities. Another pertinent issue includes the experience of being 'reclassified' as a member of a minority group, perhaps after belonging to a very different social stratum in the country of origin (Warfa et al., 2012), which can also lead to experiencing poverty (perhaps for the first time). Shifts of power in the family with children holding greater power than would usually be the case due to greater expertise in language or other skills (Cline & Crafter, 2014), parental involvement and the culture of the school, proficiency in English, and previous educational experience (for example, children in Poland begin formal schooling only at eight years old) also all play a part in the shift to a new environment. Class teachers also have to take into account the myriad other challenges of whole-class teaching, including the effect of socio-economic status on pupils' performance (Reay, 2006), gifted and talented children (Renzulli, 2005), special educational needs (Avramidis & Norwich, 2002), and the increasing media-driven worries around the attainment of white, working-class boys (Gillborn & Kirton, 2000).

Additionally, those class teachers often find themselves having to work strategies out for themselves. With mainstreaming came a decentralisation of EAL that caused the de-skilling of the work force, due in part to a lack of promotion and progression opportunities as well as the nature of the classroom interactions themselves, for example the status issues of

specialist teachers working alongside classroom teachers in partnership (Creese, 2002). With the devolution of funding to schools, came an individualistic approach born out of the incapacity to discuss best practice and share resources with those experiencing some of the same issues in the classroom. Multilingual projects such as that conducted in Bradford (Fitzpatrick, 1987) were locally popular and nationally lauded, but were not rolled out in an effective manner, meaning that the majority of teachers remained (and, in some locations, to some extent, remain) isolated in their dealings with children with EAL.

More recently

With the radical changes in classroom make-up that followed the accession of the previous Eastern Europe bloc countries, described as the “largest peacetime migration in our history” (Finch & Goodhart, 2010, p.6), many teachers who had never had this experience before were faced with helping emergent bilingual children. Migrant workers had begun to settle in cities and towns that had hitherto been seen as entirely English speaking, whether this was, in fact, true or not, but the fact remains that the EAL population in many classrooms increased dramatically in the first ten years of the new millennium. Policies such as that of the ‘dispersal’ of asylum seekers to non-choice locations around the UK, active since the year 2000 (Stewart, 2012) have also led to an increase in the number of urban areas’ authorities and service providers learning to deal with the results of immigration.

Head teachers were now responsible for managing their budgets to best meet the needs of the children in their schools. Although local authority provision was still available under the ring-fenced Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) formula-calculated funding (which replaced Section 11 funding in 1999), schools were forced to offer this provision only to those children who most urgently needed it. Children under a certain level of proficiency were entitled to some hours of one-to-one teaching by an EAL specialist teacher or Higher Level Teaching Assistant. As mentioned earlier, Creese (2002) discusses how EAL specialist teachers found it difficult to be in the classroom alongside the class teacher, under the Partnership Teaching model mentioned above. Additionally, the model was often difficult to implement because of time constraints and curriculum, as well as linguistic and pastoral demands. Specialist teachers reported feeling like Teaching Assistants, whispering to the children at the back (or worse, the front) of the classroom, and talked about how low in status they were made to feel. This caused a resurgence in withdrawal of individuals and small groups from the classroom, largely against government guidelines and researchers’ advice (Franson, 1999). Baker (2011) talks of the potential social stigma attached to withdrawal from the classroom although in more recent times, small group and individual work has become more prevalent for all the pupils so it is less noticeable now if children are taken to one side for ‘help’ with English (Hallam, Ireson, & Davies, 2013).

In some areas of the country, EAL specialist teachers and teaching assistants provided at local authority level have been multilingual themselves and have been able to provide home language tuition for children alongside scaffolding the more familiar requirements of the transition to English. But multilingual provision has remained the exception rather than the rule and the lack of multilingual teachers (either from the local authority or within a school) has been bemoaned by a number of researchers (Creese, 2004b; McEachron & Bhatti, 2005) as well as by the national inspectorate (Ofsted, 2002).

Local Authority provision remained strong in some areas of the country but the withdrawal of ring-fenced EMAG funding in 2011 caused consternation amongst EAL practitioners and researchers. The funding was mainstreamed into what the Department of Education referred to as the Direct Schools Grant and devolved directly to schools (although local schools forums could make an executive decision to allow the Local Authority to retain some of that funding for regional provision), unless the allocation was so small as to be inefficient, in which case it was retained by the Local Authority. Schools are not accountable for their decisions in spending this funding, and heads can make their own decisions regarding what formulae to use in the calculation of which children classify as EAL, which has caused concern for some in the profession (NASUWT, 2012). Schools and teachers have been relying heavily on EAL specialist teachers from Local Authorities (Jones, 2011; Wardman, 2012b) and current cuts are now badly affecting these services so class teachers increasingly need to be equipped to deal with EAL without this service.

Schools are also increasingly being forced to focus on achievement, as defined by success in the national tests (de Wolf & Janssens, 2007), which naturally leads to a stronger push on transition to English, since it is the language of examinations. Standard Assessment Tests are taken in the UK at the end of Key Stages 1 and 2 (at age 7 and 11), while General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) is taken at age 16, and A2 and A-level examinations are those taken beyond compulsory education, usually between the ages of 16 and 18. With school league tables relying heavily on data from tests and exams, it is not surprising that some criteria had to be put in place to allow for New Arrivals' lack of linguistic ability to take SATs, for example, with a clause stating that children who have been in the country for less than two years are not required to be entered for the SATs in primary schools. Although this is, of course, likely to be a relief to teachers, children and their parents, there can be unintended consequences. Anecdotally, teachers focused on good results in the SATs have been heard to comment that it feels as if there is less compulsion to work closely with the new arrival, meaning that this concession to not have to take the test could actually contribute to a slowing down of the child's potential progress, both linguistically and academically. Even as low down the school as the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS), changes in 2012 to the assessment of children focusing on 'school readiness' are having a detrimental effect on young emergent multilingual children (NALDIC, 2011), as they are being assessed against the

same criteria as 'native' speakers of English. Although there is talk in the governmental reports and consultation documents about teachers 'provid[ing] opportunities to develop and use the child's home language in play and learning, supporting their language development at home' (Revised EYFS, cited in NALDIC, 2011), they are vague about the requirements. The removal of any significant reference to EAL from the Ofsted inspectorate guidelines in September 2015 will also move the focus of school managers away from feeling obliged to meet certain benchmarks in relation to multilingual and emergent multilingual children.

The National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) has, since its inception in 1992, gained both a charitable status and a strong reputation for lobbying government on EAL issues while encouraging academic research and the sharing of best practice, but faces a constant challenge to remain financially viable, relying on donations and membership fees from increasingly hard-up teachers and academics. For many years, the Chair of NALDIC was often a lone voice nationally on EAL issues, but more recent interventions and involvement in the subject, particularly since 2010, from the likes of the British Council and the Bell Foundation may herald a new dawn of institutions such as these trying to solve the issues in collaboration whilst the *laissez-faire* approach of recent government administrations persists. A shift to a grass-roots focus in the wake of the closure of many local authority language support providers has led to an increase in schools and academies working together in hubs to share best practice.

Impact of the past

The history and development of English language and curriculum support for 'EAL' children in the UK mainstream education system will continue to have an effect on teachers' attitudes and practice, in that approaches, policies, and the ideologies behind them get embedded in institutions and individual teachers. Change can be slow and research can take time to disseminate and filter into individual schools. Recent population changes within mainstream UK schools, due to increased and changing patterns of immigration, and changes to the support structures for mainstream classroom teachers, as a result of 'austerity' cuts, continue to challenge teaching staff as they find themselves having to adapt their professional practice. This challenge to teachers is unlikely to be diminished in the years ahead and so discovering more about the attitudes held by teachers and managers in the throes of these changes is useful in order to raise awareness and potentially assist others in understanding the roots of the attitudes and ideologies held, and to challenge them, if necessary. This is particularly true in the face of further changes that have occurred since the data collection period of this study, including general elections confirming a mandate for the Conservative party, and a referendum resulting in the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union, scheduled to be finalised in March 2019, both of which have had an impact on the discourses surrounding the issues at hand in this thesis.

1.4 Terminological tussles

Terminology, and its use and misuse, can underlie negative attitudes and undermine positive attitudes (Ainscow et al., 2007). As such, it is crucial that these terminological distinctions are made at the beginning of any study of this sort. They are particularly relevant for this study due to its focus on the implications of our linguistic choices in communicating our attitudes and illuminating the ideological stances we take. Therefore, I will consider some of these issues in some depth here, since we have hitherto in this chapter been using some terms that require challenging or at least defining unambiguously for the purposes of this thesis. Terms to be discussed in particular include 'EAL', which I have been using adopting scare quotes so far within this chapter to indicate its contested status, which will be considered along with the numerous other acronyms that are prevalent in the field of educational linguistics and TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages), often varying only slightly in nuance. However, acronyms and terms are often affiliated to certain groups of people through geographical location, educational stage, or age, and can therefore lead to researchers simply adopting the term with which they are most familiar, while ignoring the similarities between the disciplines of applied linguistics, TESOL, and mainstream teaching, and, in many cases, the overlap - a fact highlighted by Mallows (2012) and discussed by Carder (2009). Following this discussion, the concepts of bi/multi/ pluri-lingual adopted to describe both individuals and societies, all well-used in the research literature, will be discussed before we turn to a consideration of the on-going debate on how to describe the actual non-dominant languages used in our diverse society. This will lead to the proposal of a new term to describe both such languages and the people who speak them that may be of value in addressing some of the contestations against the existing terms.

Having completed a discussion on these matters, other key terms will be defined for the purposes of this thesis. They include the concepts of 'discourse', 'ideology', and a necessary discussion on how to conceive the notions of 'positive' and 'negative' in the context of a study about attitudes.

Acronyms

Mallows (2012) was primarily concerned with the distinction between EAL (English as an Additional Language) and ESOL (English to Speakers of Other Languages), within the UK context, where 'ESOL' classes are aimed at those over the age of sixteen and 'EAL' is used to describe children within the mainstream education system. Any pupil who is thought to speak a first (home) language that is not English is designated as EAL. As a press briefing from the Education Endowment Foundation, in conjunction with the Bell Foundation (Cornwell, 2015), states, the current definition of 'EAL' covers an extremely wide range of pupils, including 'balanced' multilingual children who are fluent in English and new migrants who may not speak English at all and may also not be literate in their first language. However,

this is the definition that is used to determine funding, which is problematic due to their being no indication of proficiency within it. This report (Cornwell, 2015) posited that the use of the EAL 'flag' is a poor basis on which to base funding decisions and that other factors should be adopted that are more relevant.

Distinctions on a global scale are also confusing and unhelpful (Carder, 2009), but discussions of these distinctions can highlight attitudinal points of interest, as with LEP (Limited English Proficiency), which was the term used, until recently, in the USA instead of EAL. This is now being phased out in favour of ELL (English Language Learner) but both of these terms buy into a deficit model stance, perpetuating the notion that there are "apparent deficiencies in these children's development" (Genesee, 1994, p.1). 'ESL' (English as a Second Language) describes a specific program in the USA but in Australia it equates more to the classification of EAL, despite its potential for inaccuracy in that children are sometimes users of three or four languages. Remaining in Australia, the adult equivalent to ESOL classes is the AMEP (Australian Migrant Education Programme). Although it is useful to be aware of these distinctions, or blurring of distinctions, for the sake of this study I will tend to uphold the use of the UK-centric term, 'EAL', when used in literature, unless I am directly citing from elsewhere in the world, when I will use the term adopted by the authors.

The key issue, however, is, as García, Kleifgen, and Falchi (2008, p. 6) point out, using these acronyms at all "signals the omission of an idea that is critical to the discussion of equity in the teaching of these children", which is that of their emerging bi- (or multi-)lingualism and any acknowledgement of what an achievement this is. Over time, it is to be hoped that a more cohesive approach to acronyms could be adopted, to avoid the unhelpful labelling and categorisation of learners whilst assuring the on-going support of those who need it, and to allow for a more useful sharing of research and best practice between academics and practitioners. The difficulty is always in attempting to be accurate in the description of the particular individual or group, but positive, or at least neutral, in the connotation of the term itself. For these reasons, I here propose a term that is not currently in use – that of the notion of an individual as a speaker of languages *beyond* English (LBE) – noting that this denotation does not imply any particular number of languages but also avoids deficit model thinking through a positive focus on the languages that those children speak rather than simply *not* speaking English. The use of the word 'beyond' could also be said to capture a desired shift within the currently perceived hierarchy of languages, with the other languages here being seen as, at the very least, equal to English.

Defining what kind of -lingual

Children who speak *languages beyond English* and the settings in which they live and learn can be referred to as bilingual (balanced or not), emergent bilingual, multilingual, or plurilingual. As García (2011) discusses, our present conceptualisations of bilingualism stem

from the seminal work of Lambert and his colleagues in Canada in the 1970s, in which bilingualism can be expressed as being subtractive or additive (Lambert, 1975). Many researchers avoid the use of the term 'bilingual' altogether because in some definitions there is a focus on a characteristic which may not apply to all students, that of balance between the two languages (Mehmedbegovic, 2009). However, many more use 'bilingual' with varying definitions and overlaps between that and the other terms referred to above. Bloomfield's definition of "native-like control of two languages" (1933, p. 56) has certainly been pivotal in shaping society's ideas around bilingualism as being about balance and proficiency. However, 'native-like' and similar terms denoting proficiency have never been clearly defined, and have, furthermore, been problematised as unhelpful in our increasingly globally mobile society (Rampton, 1990), while others define bilingualism much more broadly on a continuum from Bloomfield's limiting definition above to that of Haugen who defined bilingualism as fluency in one language while having the capacity to "produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language" (1953, p. 7). Grosjean (1982) usefully refers to the difference between bilinguals who use two languages in everyday life and those who are 'dormant bilinguals', who retain linguistic knowledge in the second language but do not have the chance to use this language on a daily basis. Butler and Hakuta's definition is perhaps the most pragmatic version, describing

individuals or groups of people who obtain communicative skills, with various degrees of proficiency, in oral and/or written forms, in order to interact with speakers of one or more languages in a given society.

(2006, p. 115).

The definition developed by practitioners and researchers working in Tower Hamlets offers a similar breadth in describing people who

live in two languages, who have access to, or need to use, two or more languages at home and at school. It does not mean that they have fluency in both languages or that they are competent and literate in both languages.

(Hall 2001, p. 5, cited in Conteh & Brock, 2011)

Those EAL children who have not yet gained sufficient communicative skills to interact effectively could be defined as 'emergent' or 'emerging' bilinguals (García et al., 2008). 'Bilingual' is frequently used in place of 'multilingual', and *vice versa*, and although some researchers prefer the specificity of 'trilingual', and 'quadrilingual' others suggest it is simpler just to describe how many languages a multilingual speaks rather than labour over the specific term (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009).

García (2011) and García and Li Wei (2014) further problematise the concept of bilingualism by describing in more detail what individuals who have some command of more than one language actually do when communicating with others who share similar repertoires. They

refer to this as dynamic bilingualism and equate it the European concept of plurilingualism, in which languages are no longer seen as autonomous systems. Furthermore, seeing languages as monolithic constructs is related to the ‘One nation, one language’ ideology that feeds into much of the public and professional discourses on language use (Pennycook, 2009). Althusser’s (1972) concept of interpellation is used by García and Li Wei (2014) to demonstrate how individuals are ‘hailed’ by social institutions that enforce and constrain individuals into adopting monolingual practices, which perpetuates the traditional viewpoint of multiple language systems in cognition.

For the purposes of this study, however, I will generally adopt the term I proposed earlier of ‘speakers of languages beyond English’ throughout this thesis.

Describing the language(s) beyond English

There have been extensive discussions on another term important for this study; that of the word used to describe the language beyond English to which emergent multilingual children have an allegiance. In the language teaching, learning and acquisition world, researchers have traditionally referred to the *first language* or *L1*. This is, of course, problematic as soon as there are multiple languages regularly used in the home because the child in this circumstance is likely to become bilingual simultaneously and it would therefore be difficult for the child to say which was first language. Jill Bourne (2002) highlights this explicitly in her paper for the National Literacy Strategy document in which she contests the use of ‘first’ language and adopts ‘home’ language instead, whilst the rest of the governmental guidance document (DfES, 2002) continues to use ‘first’, even when introducing her paper as an appendix. Furthermore, if the *L1* is to be immediately set in context against an *L2* of English, then additional languages spoken may be missing from the equation. So, counting the languages is not going to allow for a simple one-size-fits-all uncontroversial term. This has caused policy-makers and researchers the world over to invest significant time in finding alternatives.

These have ranged from ethnic, immigrant, ancestral, non-official, the traditional mother-tongue, heritage, aboriginal, autochthonous, (ex-)colonial, community, critical, diasporic, endoglossic, foreign, geopolitical, indigenous, language other than English, local, migrant, minority, refugee, regional, strategic and home (Bale, 2010) to the Canadian and French *langues d’origine*, with Helot and Young (2002, p. 97) noting the implication that “everyone should speak French even if ‘originally’ another language was part of the person’s life”. Amongst this impressively extensive list of terms, which includes terms for which we may feel we have very specific use (like indigenous) are those prevalent in UK academic, media and governmental discourses: minority, heritage, and community and, increasingly, migrant. All of these terms above can be critiqued.

Ethnic or *immigrant languages* both draw on associations with other characteristics, which may be hard to define and which have too close an association with race. Although drawing a closer link between language and ethnic culture may be wise in certain circumstances (Mehmedbegovic, 2009), neither are useful terms as labels for an already disenfranchised group.

Ancestral could be seen almost as a more extreme version of 'heritage', both implying that the language is barely living, and that it is something that belongs in the past. Both terms do suggest a certain importance and gravitas attached to the language and, therefore, perhaps, to the people who speak it, perhaps even romanticising its use somewhat (Bale, 2010). However, the terms also suggest that they may not actually be useful for the speaker in their everyday life, which may not be a good message for a child reluctant to engage with their home language to hear.

The term *non-official*, like the phrase *lesser-known* from the Nuffield Inquiry (2000) is inherently dismissive of the worth of the language. The language is probably an official language of a country, state or province somewhere in the world, but the use of this term plays into the language hierarchy structure that Mehmedbegovic (2009) discusses.

Mother-tongue was widely used, in the UK and elsewhere, until the early 1990s but a focus on terminological accuracy and concern about connotations have led to it falling out of favour as a term. The obvious points to make are about the influence of the father and grandparents on the child's developing linguistic world, as well as the fact that simultaneous bilinguals may well not have just one dominant language.

Minority language is a term that, whilst still being extensively adopted, is problematic in suggesting that there are only a small number of speakers of the particular language, additionally highlighting the relative value of languages in the UK. In an increasingly globalised world, with a more mobile population, this term is not useful in that it refers to a particular language only as it is perceived within a fairly small geographical area. Some researchers adopt it strategically to make a direct link with the notion of ethnic minorities (Mehmedbegovic, 2009, p. 22). I would prefer not to use the term for that very reason, as I do not consider that the two should be linked, in part because of the prevalent, oft-contradictory, societal discourse on language, race, ethnicity and immigration, as discussed by Leung, Harris and Rampton (1997).

Although the term *community language* implies positively that the language is used in many shared social and cultural contexts, it can be criticised for the implications that such sharing is inherent amongst groups who share linguistic and cultural backgrounds, and to some it may, once again, highlight the power and hegemony of English by the slightly parochial or belittling connotation that could be read into the term.

Cummins and Danesi (1990) and Bourne (2001) amongst others, have indicated that *home language* may be the better term to adopt and it is the term that is starting to be seen more widely in research literature. However, there remains an issue even with that term because of the strong correlation with domain. Can a 'home' language belong in a 'school' environment? What should it be called if English is now principally used in the home environment (for example within families who have been settled in a diaspora for two or three generations) and the *home language* has, in reality, become the language belonging to the grandparents' generation?

Even when the children of immigrants or the later generations are being dealt with positively rather than being demonised, the terminology can still imply a deficit model, both in and outside of the school. Within this very chapter and within many of the policy documents regarding EAL, the term 'support' is used without contestation (Bourne 2001; Conteh 2006, 2007; Martin-Jones and Saxena 1995, 1996, 2003, cited in Ainscow et al., 2007). As I have said elsewhere (Wardman, 2012a), talking about 'supporting' EAL pupils "implies sympathy or pity", and can suggest teachers working with multilingual children are simply dealing with "a temporary state related to getting over an injury or illness" (p. 15), the implication being that the 'support' is no longer needed once 'enough' English has been learned. Carder (2009) posits that 'support' is not what bilingual children need, but rather it is a 'programme' that may avoid social stigma at school.

Whilst these tussles with terminology are important for a study based around an analysis and focus on discourse, and it is important to acknowledge the power of terms discussed above in perpetuating ideologies around language learners, educational discourses, individuals and groups, it is also important that we retain a pragmatic approach and consider the value of using any of the above terms, subject to a suitable explicit technical definition, and grounded in good reasoning, for research and writing purposes. In noting what the term 'support' can imply to some scholars, I highlight how important linguistic choices are with regards to these issues. In our discourse, we make choices between possible phrases, varying lexis and grammatical construction possibilities, often at an almost subconscious level as we speak (Halliday, 1994) so it is of interest to consider the choices made by participants in this study in their conversation with another educational professional about matters pertaining to children in their care who speak languages beyond English.

Defining 'discourse', 'ideology' and 'attitude'

As one of the key figures in the social movement in research that Critical Discourse Studies comprises, Van Dijk's (2013) unpacking of the concepts of 'discourse', 'ideology', and 'attitude' is highly relevant for this study, and this section relies largely on his critical discussions, whilst acknowledging that a wide range of other, often complementary, attempts to define the terms exist.

Discourses are social practices. The term can be used to describe both a simple, single example of an individual's utterance or written text, but it also contains the sense of those utterances and texts belonging to a wider social structure, and always building on and being influenced by others' utterances that have gone before (Bakhtin, 1981). Martin and Rose (2007, cited in Duff, 2010) described discourse as "meaning beyond the clause [...] the social as it is constructed through texts, [...] the constitutive role of meanings in social life" (p. 1). Fairclough (2005, p. 3) acknowledges the difficulty of using the term 'texts' in the broad sense of all semiotic productions adopted in most Critical Discourse Studies research, describing it as "not really felicitous" but claiming that it is difficult to find an alternative and preferable term.

Ideologies are forms of social cognition. Unlike personal beliefs, ideologies are "socially shared belief systems" (Van Dijk, 2013, p. 177), which are expressed and implemented through discursive (and other) practices. Van Dijk (2013, p. 177) makes the distinction between 'knowledge' and 'ideology', noting that they are both shared belief systems but that knowledge is 'taken for granted' as it has been considered "justified within epistemic communities" on the basis of "specific knowledge criteria". Ideologies are only taken for granted by the particular social group that holds the shared belief, so they are subject to attack and dismissal from other groups who hold beliefs based on different norms and values.

Van Dijk acknowledges the issue of a theoretical dispute between the notions of 'ideology' and 'attitude'. He suggests that "in everyday life, ideologies tend to be experienced and applied at this more specific level of ideologically based attitudes" (2013, p. 179). For the purposes of this study, I am drawn to the suggestion of these separate ideological attitudes being seen as a part of, influenced and organised by, a broader 'umbrella' ideology. The ideology itself remains stable, but the attitudes can be fluidly applied by individuals, who pick up certain ideological attitudes before others and may even not always be aware of the overriding abstract ideology behind the ideological attitude set that they hold and share with others in their social group. This allows for the contradictions in attitudes that are derived as a result of personal cognition and personal lived experiences creating "variable mental models" (Van Dijk, 2013, p. 180).

Boer et al. (2016) note that many studies regarding attitudes fail to define the term at all. For their meta-study on teachers' attitudes, they adopt the broad definition offered by Gall, Borg and Gall (1996, p. 273) of "an individual's viewpoint or disposition towards a particular 'object' (a person, a thing, an idea, etc.)", which is eminently appropriate for this study. Contradictions in attitudes, and the study thereof, can be understood more fully when we consider a tripartite model for research, a number of varieties of which have been posited by social psychologists (Spooncer, 1992; Schiffman & Kanuk, 2004, cited in Jain, 2014) comprising an affective, a behavioural and a cognitive element. It is possible to hold positive

attitudes in one area and negative in other aspects at the same time. However, defining precisely what we might mean as 'positive' and 'negative' proves distinctly more challenging, and few researchers make an attempt to consider why 'strong' is considered positive and 'weak' negative, for example; why 'happy' is positive and 'sad' is negative. These stances seem inherently ideological and potentially culturally bound, but form an assumed basis for almost all research in attitude exploration, including this one, since it also adopts an existing framework of analysis that adopts a binary, cline and continuum model.

We now turn to a discussion of the goals of this current study.

1.5 Statement of Main Aim and Research Questions

This study addressed an over-arching **research question**:

How do primary school educators express attitudes about working with children who speak languages beyond English and their families from northern English primary schools?

Because of the exploratory nature of the analysis of discourse, there was a desire to avoid predicting in advance what the key themes might be and so it was decided that an over-arching research question would be the most ideal option, allowing for the most salient expressions of attitudes and beliefs to emerge from the research interviews for discussion in the findings chapters.

Research sub-questions were designed to help narrow the focus and clarify what is meant by 'working with' for the purposes of the study:

- a) *What are the discourses of participants regarding children with languages beyond English and their families, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*
- b) *What are the discourses of participants regarding the languages beyond English used in their local communities, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*
- c) *What are the discourses of participants regarding their schools' practices and policies for working with children with languages beyond English, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*

The over-arching research question allows for an exploration not only of the *nature* of the attitudes expressed but also for a focus on the *linguistic* choices made, without dictating a focus on or hypothesising about the themes or ideologies that might be uncovered through the analysis process.

1.6 Research approach

Following the granting of University of York ethics approval for the project, the project began with a preliminary study in order to ascertain the optimal focus for the main study, and, following a period of reflection, to help define the scope for the main study. Over the period of both preliminary and main studies (around two-and-a-half years from start to finish), 35 individuals were met with in 32 separate research interviews (see Appendix 1 for preliminary study participants and table 3 in section 4.3.1 for more on the main study participants). These individual participants included school managers, class teachers, EAL coordinators, bilingual learning assistants, teaching assistants and those taking on other roles in and beyond seven schools across the north of England.

A collection of unstructured interviews with fifteen participants from the main study forms the primary source of data for the study. In addition, preliminary semi-structured interview data, field notes, informal observations, supplied institutional paperwork and wider national guidelines and guidance documents play a key role in triangulating and corroborating analysis of the primary data set, and are therefore also important in addressing the research question and sub-questions. The study, therefore, is a largely qualitative, although some numerical data analysis was undertaken to aid visualisation of the patterns and key themes that emerged from the data. Coding of the interview data was undertaken using the APPRAISAL analytical framework (Martin & White, 2005) within a Critical Discourse Analytical approach, (discussed in greater depth in Chapter 3) to allow for a systematic and explicit focus on the linguistic choices made by participants in discussing their views or expressing particular type of attitudes, as well as the ability to be able to discuss broad themes.

Various strategies were employed to ensure the accuracy of the transcription and analysis. They included peer review of transcriptions, participant-checks of transcripts, inter-rater reliability tests conducted with colleagues familiar with the APPRAISAL framework, and peer review of findings and discussion at various intervals during the study period. For more detail on these strategies, see Chapter 4.

1.7 The researcher

I have become increasingly concerned with issues pertaining to the teaching of and support for multilingual and emergent multilingual children in UK primary schools since conducting earlier research on classroom interactions with emergent multilingual children (Wardman, 2012a). As a UK academic in the Applied Linguistics discipline focused on learning and teaching around the stigmatising of varieties of English other than Standard English, an understanding of the experiences of children overcoming the educational hurdles ahead of them, and of the support available to them to do so, is important to me. As a linguist with a strong social justice interest experiencing a growing sense of unease about modern neo-

liberal policies and practices and the rise of populism, studies of this nature seem ever more important in order to expose the entrenched ideologies and power structures in our globalised society. Understanding and being fascinated by the potential for considering how particular ideological discourses are perpetuated through talk, and how potentially awkward issues are discussed, led me to the focus of the current study.

1.8 Significance

Original contributions to the research field that this study offers include the proposal of a new term (*languages beyond English*) to describe the languages spoken by EAL/ multilingual children that I contend affords a more appropriate and positive outlook, as discussed above. Further contributions to the field are offered through addressing the gap caused by the fact that teachers' opinions on this specific topic have only rarely been sought in the UK, and that in attitudinal studies to date, teachers' own voices and discourses have not usually been heard because typically, studies of this nature have tended to use a pre-set range of options to gauge and rate attitudes. The developmental opportunity that the research tool of the interview offered is also to be seen as a contribution, in that participants took the chance to explore their thinking on this topic in a way that could contribute to their professional and personal development. The adoption of the APPRAISAL framework of analysis (cf. Martin & White, 2005) to research interviews, which has only infrequently been undertaken to date, is also valuable, as is the drawing together of Critical Discourse Analysis with Bourdieu's theory of practice (in Chapter 3) to better understand how JUDGEMENTS in APPRAISAL can highlight entrenched ideologies. Further contributions include implications for practice and for professional development, which revolve around awareness-raising for teachers. Educators are potentially powerful agents for ideological change in society, something that can be considered as becoming increasingly important since the beginning of this study, due to the various political events that have occurred in the intervening time, such as the changes to government administration, coupled with the results of the referendum on European Union membership and recent terror attacks on UK soil.

1.9 Summary

In this introduction, I have highlighted the scarcity of research pertaining to gaining an understanding of teachers' attitudes towards children who speak languages beyond English and their families, and particularly those based around the actual discourses of those managers, teachers, and support staff responsible for these potentially vulnerable pupils. I have discussed the background to the current study, by considering the historical context that the participants in the study work in, and the acknowledged role of the researcher within this study. I noted at some length the debates around discourse and terms regarding this

particular demographic in the education context, demonstrating the importance of discourse with regards to the embedding and perpetuating of ideologies around language and culture.

Chapter 2 of this thesis introduces and discusses studies that have been conducted in a range of fields pertaining to the varying discourses that surround children who speak languages beyond English, along with literature in Chapter 3 covering some of the more conceptual aspects of work of this nature, in order to situate the study in its appropriate context. Chapter 4 will present the methodological aspects of the study, introducing participants and discussing the research design. In Chapter 5, numerical data are presented from the initial analysis adopting the APPRAISAL framework and patterns of ATTITUDES in terms of JUDGEMENT are highlighted for continued exploration in Chapters 6 and 7, in which a qualitative analysis of salient excerpts allows for key findings to emerge. These key findings are summarised and conclusions drawn in Chapter 8, where recommendations are then made for researchers and practitioners.

2 Review of Literature

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to investigate how primary school educators express attitudes relating to working with children who speak languages beyond English, and their families. In Chapter 1, there was discussion about how important teachers' attitudes and subsequent related behaviour is for the children in their care. A review of studies highlighting teachers' attitudes on working with multilingual children, their sense of preparedness and agency in managing their practice will therefore, of course, be particularly pertinent in this chapter. However, research to date has not tended to foreground the actual discourse of teachers around these issues. Children are dependent on their teachers, and other staff in their schools, for fostering, amongst other things, a sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1986), strong self-esteem (Cummins, 2000) a growth mindset (Dweck, 1999), the development of personality and improved academic performance (Ulug, Ozden & Eryilmaz, 2011) and for mediating much of the effect of the societal discourses surrounding the child (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). A child who speaks a language or languages beyond English is surrounded by a wealth of discourses that have and will have both direct and indirect impacts on them, and many of these can be mitigated or compounded by the child-teacher relationship.

This chapter will review some of the key literature pertaining to some of the most pertinent discourses that are relevant for a child who speaks languages beyond English growing up and being educated in the mainstream in the UK in the early 21st century. These include studies around discourses about language in schools and society, about English and about other languages, focusing particularly on the perceived worth of multilingualism. Studies about discourses about the speakers of languages beyond English, considering the impact of the intersection of varied linguistic and non-linguistic identities, will also be discussed in this section. Research about educational structures will then be reviewed since entrenched ideologies and existing attitudes about inclusive education, pedagogical practices, policy decisions, and school leadership structures have a strong bearing on the child who speaks languages beyond English.

Following a review of literature related to these key discourse areas over the remainder of this chapter, a conceptual theoretical framework for exploring the discourse of teachers, learning and teaching assistant, and school managers around the emergent multilingual or multilingual child will be introduced in the next chapter.

2.2 Approach to reviewing the literature

This literature review remained on-going during the data collection, analysis and synthesis stages of the study. In order to develop this focused literature review, a number of information sources were utilised including books, periodicals, doctoral theses, professional journals, online resources, and governmental guidance documents and reports, as well as other commissioned research reports. These were accessed in a variety of ways, including through university library databases, Google Scholar, and online repositories.

Although there was a focus on relatively recent research (i.e. from the last twenty years), there was no absolute time delineation decided for inclusion of sources in the review as it was considered that an arbitrary decision such as this may have meant that seminal or other relevant work, including that around the historical development of this field as an area of research, may have been missed.

A matrix (cf. Webster & Watson, 2002) for working with retrieved resources was developed using Microsoft Excel, in order that key aspects of the various literatures could be more easily filtered, sorted and synthesised. We now turn to a presentation of that synthesis of academic and other relevant literature related to the pertinent discourses introduced above.

2.3 Discourses about languages and their speakers

This section concerns itself with offering a synthesis of literature regarding discourses about and attitudes towards languages (both English and other languages) present in UK schools will be presented. The uncontested position of Standard English in education and broader UK society will be discussed, as well as the secondary role of other varieties and languages. Research literature that captures attitudes and discourses about the nature and value of being multi-lingual will be explored, including a consideration of the processes of additive multilingualism and language shift and attrition. A review of research concerning discourses on relevant issues relating to the intersection between or intertwining of discourses around languages and other social and personal identities will then be presented. Explorations around such diverse topics as societal discourses on immigration, ethnicity and socio-economic status will be made alongside discussions of identity politics and political correctness, due to their importance in understanding discursive practices. This synthesis has been constructed adopting the matrix approach introduced above.

Discourses about the role of ('standard') English

This section of the synthesis focuses on a discussion of the position of English (particularly its 'standard' variety) in education and broader UK society, and the acknowledgement of only a secondary role for other English varieties and languages beyond English (McDonald, 2014). In this section, we also consider the prevailing *monoglossic* viewpoint of language

categorisation, as distinct and separate codes (Fránquiz & Ortiz, 2014; Menken, 2009; Pennycook, 2009).

The dominance of English in the UK is largely seen to be a matter of ‘common-sense’, with English being considered as the *de facto* official language. It is the language of government (in England, at least), of the media (Tinsley & Board, 2012), of assessment (Flynn, 2015b), *ergo* it is seen to be obvious that it should be the language of education and society in general. The notion of ‘common sense’ is one that contains “ideological elements and assumptions” and “is fundamentally contradictory” (Fairclough, 2015, p.13). It can be considered as “popular, easily-available knowledge [which] works intuitively, without forethought or reflection” (Hall & O’Shea, 2013, cited in Fairclough, 2015). In this case, this ‘common sense’ perspective stems from a pervading *monolingual habitus* as conceptualised and described by Gogolin (1997), which leads to a lens through which English is assumed to be primary in all settings. All other languages are inferior, despite their continued and obvious presence in the classroom, if only in the minds of the children within it, although also often in more visible and audible ways, with or without the teachers’ awareness and authorisation (French, 2017; Sharples, 2017).

Despite significant research on notions of more hybrid ways of looking at language use (Canagarajah, 2012; Creese, 2008; García & Li Wei, 2014) and much discussion amongst scholars of a change in societal ways of thinking about multilingualism (Conteh & Meier, 2014; May, 2014), the kind of affirmative action seen in projects building on the European Cultural Foundation 2000 declaration entitled ‘Moving away from a monolingual habitus’ in the rest of Europe (Helot & Young, 2002) has not been taken up in the UK. Conversely, the educational focus on children who speak languages beyond English has, in fact, waned since the publication of the last of the governmental guidance documents for EAL in 2009, and the removal of the EMAG funding in 2011 (Arnot et al., 2014), followed by the removal of most references to ‘EAL’ from the inspectorate documents for schools in 2015.

Working with children who speak languages beyond English can, and has been, approached in different ways. The deficit model, seeing the linguistic and cultural differences presented by children in the classroom as inherently problematic, is one (Tollefson, 1991). This model leads teaching staff to perceive these children as creating more work, as holding back other children and as likely to achieve at a lower level (Chen, 2007). The children’s other languages will be perceived as holding less value than the dominant language of the education system, English in our case (Lee & Norton, 2009). These ways of thinking are part of an assimilationist cultural model, leading to a transitional approach to the language teaching of children.

The linguistic developmental process for pre-school or early years children in a second language situation has been observed to follow a fairly clear pattern and to involve a lesser or

greater period of time in the following phases of continuing to use their dominant language or being quiet. Children go through a non-verbal stage (which is not to be classified a 'silent' period, as communication still occurs) and, finally, communicate through telegraphic speech, as the child starts to pick up second language (Tabors & Snow, 1994). Research findings have repeatedly shown that using the more dominant (first or home) language does not delay the acquisition of English (Cummins, 1992) but rather, that it actually supports it (Thomas & Collier, 1997).

Cummins (1984) famously proposed a conceptual model for distinguishing between the type of language needed for conversation and that needed for more conceptual thinking: BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency). This well-known quadrant model is now regularly adopted by teachers and trainers of teachers both to facilitate understanding of the language learning process and to provide a strategic model for helping children to progress (McDonald, 2014). However, it also continues to be used to perpetuate the transition-based assimilationist approach to language in the classroom, confirming the high status of English within it.

BICS and CALP also serves to increase the status of a particular type of English, that of the academic genre. This stratification of genre and reification of certain varieties of English (and, of course, other dominant languages elsewhere in the world) is also very prevalent in societal discourses around language use in education (Flynn, 2015b; Harris et al., 2001; Heller, 1996). Decontextualised and literary forms, and convergent forms of a 'standard' variety continue to be the expected norm in classrooms, within and well beyond the UK (Hornberger, 2002). Children are judged for producing what are seen as non-standard forms in the school environment (Cummins, 2009; Piller, 2011), and this means that monolingual English speaking children are regularly included in these judgements too (Snell, 2013), often because the intersecting socio-economic identity comes into play, as we shall see discussed in section 2.3.4.

However, questions over what counts as 'good' language and even what counts as a 'language' and what is the difference between that and a 'dialect' at all are of interest in exploring discourses about attitudes and folk beliefs on language (Corson, 1997; Preston, 1994). This is particularly pertinent with respect to recent scholarly discussions focusing on greater hybridity in language use, considered to be related to globalisation and growing trans-national populations (Canagarajah, 2012). A focus on individual particular languages is problematic within the context of superdiversity (Duarte & Gogolin, 2013). Research on translanguaging, and linguistic repertoires associated with greater global mobility and complexity in migration patterns mean that distinctions between languages based on a monolingual mindset are less than useful (Duarte & Gogolin, 2013)

These discussions and the subsequent greater use of terms such as ‘translanguaging’ (Creese, 2008; García & Li Wei, 2014; Hornberger & Link, 2012) have had a significant impact on the research field. However, whilst these advanced multilingual competences may be utilised and valued in a number of schools by students (French, 2017; Sharples, 2017), and occasionally supported by pedagogical practices (Al-Azami et al., 2010; García & Kleyn, 2016), Ricento (2013) notes that there is more evidence that these practices of hybridity in language use are seen as different, and even abnormal or uneducated, by the majority of monolingual English speakers.

However, even in societies where languages are seen as hybrid forms and the clear distinctions between them as individual named codes have been challenged and broken down (Blommaert, 2003), it is clear that certain codes still operate within a clear linguistic hierarchy of registers, dialects and discourses, which confer linguistic capital (a concept to be discussed further in the following chapter) on certain individuals over others (Canagarajah, 2002). Within the UK and other countries with a dominant language, it can be seen from the above that any language other than the standard form of that language is hierarchically organised underneath it in terms of prestige and linguistic and social capital affordances (Priven, 2008). We now turn to research regarding discourses around languages beyond English.

Discourses about languages beyond English

The UK is not alone in adopting a *monolingual habitus* stance and so work by Helot and Young (2002) in France, as well as Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou (2011) in Greece, for example, can offer a useful mirror for researchers, as they too battle with the linguistic hierarchy implicitly in place that prevents children from having full access to their home languages, which they term ‘migrant’ or ‘minority’ languages. More than twenty years ago, Padilla, Amado et al. (1991) in a study commissioned by the American Psychological Association, found English-only provision to be inherently racist, perpetuating as it does a continuation of the monolingual *habitus* and feeding the on-going ideology of western superiority. They discussed at length some of the myriad problems associated with it, considering social psychological issues, educational questions, assessment problems, and access to health services.

The notion of a hierarchy of languages is of interest here, in that it has been observed, in multiple locations globally, that immigrant languages maintain a lowly status against the elite languages still now, as if there is something inherently poorer about the languages themselves (de Bres, 2016; Creese et al., 2006; Priven, 2008). Parents’ views are important to take into account, as the status of the dominant language means that they often prefer their children to have to speak English over their home language, particularly in school (Arnot et al., 2014). Recently, research has begun to focus on tackling some of the issues stemming from these language hierarchy ideologies, with Conteh and Riasat (2014) talking of using

family trees to demonstrate the richness of Asian languages, thereby intending to dismiss children's anxieties that their home language is somehow intrinsically more impoverished than English.

Research on home/ heritage language policies in the USA increased following the terrorist attacks of September 11th 2001 (Bale, 2010), indicating a sense of a strong connection between home language use and issues of national security, with the focus seeming to be on the ability to gain intelligence. Wiley suggests, however, that this pitting of home languages into the battle against terrorism represents a "crisis of monolingualist ideology" (2007, p. 255, in Bale, 2010) and Scollon (2004) believes that this clash of state and privileging of monolingualism against social power in terms of practicing multilingualism and hybrid language competences is paradoxical.

Whilst the tone may not be so strident in the UK to date, it is possible to offer a critique of government documentation around privileging English in the assumptions behind phrases such as 'the language' to mean 'English', for example (Primary National Strategies, 2009). This echoes the rhetoric in the French context with Helot & Young (2002, p. 98), pointing to documentation talking of children who 'cannot speak' meaning not being able to speak French. Home languages are sometimes discouraged or their use actively punished in various settings globally (Karathanos, 2009). When they are allowed, it has been observed that it is generally for the purposes of children helping each other to develop their English language skills, or for cultural use, with children more generally being "disempowered" in their language choice (McDonald, 2014, p. 102).

Politically, languages beyond English are really felt to belong in the 'home' communities, as we can see in this recent statement:

The Government recognises the benefits that derive from the maintenance of ethnic minority linguistic and cultural traditions, but believes the main responsibility for maintaining mother tongue rests with the ethnic minority community themselves. We believe that English should be the medium of instruction in schools.

(Overington, 2012, p. 5)

However, alongside this clearly important role for the parent of an emergent multilingual child (discourses around which will be discussed later in this chapter), the "safe house" (Pratt, 1991, p. 39, in García, 2011) or "safe space" (Conteh & Brock, 2011) of the complementary school (for more on this system in the UK see Blackledge et al., 2008; Conteh, 2007; Creese, 2008; Creese, Bhatt, Bhojani, & Martin, 2006) are also generally felt to be taking the brunt of heritage/ community language teaching whilst the mainstream schools and teachers within them often don't feel it is their responsibility (Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Flores & Smith, 2009; Lee & Oxelson, 2006). The National Association for Language Development In the Curriculum (NALDIC) have commented that it is disappointing that "at a time when the

government is championing local flexibility, they have already set their faces firmly against bilingual education which in other English speaking countries has been proven to be the most effective educational programme for the long term success of bilingual pupils" (NALDIC, 2011). Schools with greater prevalence of multilingualism, or a more limited range of languages within the school population, may adopt more home languages in the school, but it may often be for social and pragmatic reasons rather than being pedagogically or ideologically driven (Bourne, 2001; Dillon, 2010; Safford & Kelly, 2010).

There has, however, been a revival of interest in approaches to working with home languages (Anderson, 2008; Creese et al, 2006) with mother-tongue complementary schools, as mentioned above, and discussions of bilingual education such as that provided for Welsh and Scottish Gaelic students, as well as for within the context of the free school movement (New Schools Network, 2012). As Anderson (2008) notes, this is clearly potentially possible in some locales in the UK but in many areas, the sheer diversity of languages prohibits it from being a rational suggestion. This situation is mirrored in other similar contexts, for example in the American Mid-West, where recent increases in the population of English Language Learners have had an impact (Karathanos, 2009)

The research cited above on the nature of bi- and multilingualism clearly suggests that it is not appropriate for teachers to expect a pupil to ignore parts of their repertoire and to "demand exclusive use of the target language" and that a more flexible approach is required (Anderson, 2008, p. 82). Emergent multilingual children can "access English with greater confidence" (Conteh & Brock, 2011, p. 355) if allowed to use their home language in school and it can raise their status with other pupils as they are no longer looked on as needing help but having this additional ability.

Ofsted regularly comment on the need for multicultural awareness in primary schools, and has negatively reported on schools that do not make efforts in this regard, as well as observing the power and potential of using home languages in the classroom (Ofsted, 2009). The Department for Education is keen to use the rhetoric of multiculturalism in the curriculum and guidance documents yet its key language strategy and curriculum documents make minimal reference to the importance of supporting home languages (Primary National Strategies, 2009). A key way of allowing for this in all its richness and avoiding simply giving a nod to the "rhetoric of inclusivity" (Barwell, 2005, p. 318) is being missed in many schools, through the underlying assumption of monolingualism (Anderson, 2008; Gogolin, 1997) and a surprising undervaluing of the linguistic (and other) resources that learners bring with them into school (Cummins & Danesi, 1990). Anderson noted that "there have been few signs of a genuine desire to engage with ways in which the skills of children from bilingual/bicultural backgrounds can be fostered in the home, in mainstream schools and in wider society" (2008, p.80).

By seeing emergent bilingual children as participants who bring linguistic and cultural resources with them into the classroom and really working with and utilising *a priori* knowledge it has been posited that both multilingual and monolingual children would gain a far deeper educational experience that would benefit all, linguistically, socially and cognitively (Cummins, 1996; Genesee, 1994). Children with different home languages and cultures frequently have a broader range of experience, which needs to be brought out at school rather than being reigned in. It has been observed that “far from being impoverished, deficient or merely different, the out-of-school experiences of second language children are immensely rich and complex. As a result they acquire rich funds of knowledge that they bring to school” (Genesee, 1994, p. 7). These ‘funds of knowledge’ (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) continue to be considered to be immensely valuable and suppressing them to try to minimise the differences between language minority and language majority children is wasteful as there is a risk of losing the breadth and depth of knowledge and experience that these individuals bring with them (Skutnabb-Kangas & Cummins, 1988).

Discourses about being multilingual

This section of the synthesis of literature focuses on understandings about being multilingual, and the value attached to it in societal discourse. The processes of and discourses around the social realities of language shift and attrition will also be considered.

Negative attitudes to bilingualism held by individuals and present in the wider societal discourse can often be traced back to an out-dated understanding of and uninformed opinions about both the nature of bilingualism (Karathanos, 2009) and the perceived dangers of working with two or more languages in the brain such as the folk-linguistic concept of a ‘full brain’ which slows down cognition, otherwise known as the *limited-capacity container* model (Padilla et al., 1991). These myths are also perpetuated by the *monolingual habitus* typical of many Western nations, particularly Anglophone countries and, notably, the UK, which has led to the growth and maintenance of ideologies around assimilation (Baker, 2011; Gravelle, 2005; Shin, 2013). Negative perceptions of bilingualism often stem from having a monolingual viewpoint on the functioning in two or more languages (Cummins, 2000; Grosjean, 1982). Code-switching and translanguaging can be seen as ‘confusion’ (Helot & Young, 2002) when viewed with this mindset, and therefore as problematic, educationally and socially.

Awareness of the individual cognitive benefits of multilingualism is now fairly widespread in the mainstream, in part because of extensive media coverage on the topic secured in 2011, when Bialystok’s work on the bilingual advantage briefly came into the limelight. Her work in demonstrating the heightening of the ‘executive control function’, a stronger meta-linguistic awareness, and a delay of around four years in the onset of Alzheimer’s disease amongst bilinguals has garnered much positive media attention (Bialystok, Craik, Green, & Gollan,

2009; Wodniecka, Craik, Luo, & Bialystok, 2010). Multilingual people do not operate with two or more languages as discrete elements but use the full range of their linguistic repertoires when appropriate and allowed for (Anderson, 2008; Canagarajah, 2012; García, 2011). There is now a much greater understanding amongst scholars of the processes involved in mixing languages and its importance in identity formation (Anderson, 2008; Creese, 2008; Rampton, 1995). But it has also been observed in the classroom that working bilingually can also have an effect on children's behaviour, making them more accepting of difference and of others' needs (Conteh & Brock, 2011) and that using children's strongest language can help school and individual outcomes too (Ofsted, 2009).

Despite the clear evidence found in those studies of the individual bilingual advantage and the broader bilingual asset for the country, it seems not to have been extended to applying to the children of migrants to the UK. Although, positive rhetoric towards multilingualism can now be observed in government documents and local authority language policy as reported in Conteh (2007) this is not always making languages beyond English more acceptable in the classroom itself.

Children's other languages are seen and constructed as a 'rich resource' and an 'asset' in National Curriculum documents (Conteh & Brock, 2011) and claimed as required for the future prosperity of the country's economy (Nuffield Foundation, 2000), but we can see through the synthesis of the various discourses about languages other than English and their treatment in society, and education specifically, that this rhetoric does not really reflect social reality. The social reality is that language shift and attrition remains a permanent issue for many families. The survival or otherwise of a particular non-dominant language in a particular locale is considered to be dependent on the attitudes of the youth due to inherit that language (Letsholo, 2009). Maintenance of the home language can, therefore, be seen as important, as both an individual and as a member of a community. Mills's (2001) work with third generation Asian children in the West Midlands region of the UK is valuable in offering perspectives on being bilingual, likely to be echoed amongst children of similar backgrounds. She discovered that children reported feeling that their Asian languages were important to them, due to the multiple identities that they afforded, but conflicted in that their sense of ability in those languages was limited. Parents' pleasure that their children adapt quickly linguistically in the socially-demanding arena of the playground is often then challenged by concern at the home language attrition that often follows (Kim & Starks, 2010; Priven, 2008).

Language attrition (the individual loss of a language) is distinguished from the language loss from a family or linguistic community over a period of generations that is also recorded as common in migrant communities (Parameshwaran, 2014). For the purposes of this study, we do not need to understand the processes of language attrition or language shift in detail but the discourses around protecting against attrition and shift are revealing about the value

attached to languages beyond English, both economically (Priven, 2008) and socially (Mills, 2001). The economic value of a particular language in danger of attrition or loss reflects the language hierarchy issues raised earlier in this section, and also relates to questions of the socio-economic status traditionally associated with particular migrant communities. This leads us to a section that evaluates the relevant literature pertaining to discourses that highlight the intertwined nature of linguistic identity and other identities.

Discourses on intersecting identities and the impact of discourse

This section of the synthesis of literature focuses on discourses around modern social realities such as immigration, and intersecting identities, such as ethnicity and socio-economic status. This will inform later discussion about how ideologies around these questions become unintentionally foregrounded, often in discourses of marginalisation (Leung et al., 1997; Modood & May, 2001), when these factors are intertwined in discourses through which attitudes to language are being expressed. Crenshaw says “identity politics takes place at the site where categories intersect” (1991, p. 1299). Her coined term ‘intersectionality’ demands for a focus on the “need to account for multiple grounds of identity when considering how the social world is constructed” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1245).

Some of the most widespread and virulent ‘moral panics’ (Cohen, 1972) of modern times have revolved around issues to do with immigration and education (Cameron, 1995), with both children and their migrant parents, and teachers being used as scapegoats in the media discourse (Finch & Goodhart, 2010). It is certainly the case that many residents in the UK at this point in the twenty-first century “[...] may regard immigration as a benefit to the immigrant only – an altruistic gesture of goodwill towards those unfortunate enough to have been born as citizens of less developed societies, a humanitarian rescue of the victims of war and persecution, or a privilege to be jealously guarded and grudgingly dispensed.” (Coelho, 1994, p. 301).

Given that this study is focused on the discourse of teachers and acknowledging the influences on this of societal discourse as peddled through media and government rhetoric (Achugar & Otei, 2009; Van Dijk, 2008b), we need to consider the significant and normalising effect that lexical choices have had and continue to have on society’s attitudes and understanding of immigration. Many terms that are loosely and commonly used in public and media discourse, such as those describing a ‘flood’, ‘wave’, or ‘influx’ of immigrants have fed into the sense that “the host society is in danger of being overwhelmed by newcomers” (Coelho, 1994, p. 301-302). These terms form such a normalised part of the way that the processes and effects of immigration are discussed that many researchers use these expressions too as they have simply become part of the standard lexis (see the use of ‘influx’ in Dillon, 2010; Mistry & Sood, 2011; Puzio, Keyes, Cole, & Jimenez, 2013 amongst many others, for example).

Nielikäinen (2014) notes that her study of teachers' attitudes suggested that attitudes to immigration affected attitudes and behaviour towards individual language minority students. Other effects of a negative and hegemonic rhetoric in which the popular consciousness and ideology of the elites permeates (Gramsci 1971, cited in Crenshaw, 1988) regarding immigration can be seen in the reactions to the school census of 2016 in the UK. Schools were requested to collect data about the birthplace of the children in their schools. Reaction in the mainstream media and within the teaching and parenting groups in local communities and nationally was strong, and overwhelmingly sceptical, with worries expressed about what was seen to be a potential way to get information that could be used against vulnerable members of society, as can be seen in the transcripts of the House of Lords debate on the matter that was called (Hansard, 2016).

The statistical data collection mentioned above was considered to be an example for some of what has been termed structural racism (Crozier, 2000, cited in Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011) or 'business-as-usual racism' (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) elsewhere. It has been claimed that it remains important to think about racialising discourses (Bradley, 2016) and to be aware that "the importance of racist attitudes and practices among the white population as a whole tends to be underplayed" (Bradley, 2016, p. 166).

Whilst modern genetic science rejects the concept of race as a taxonomical notion as invalid, within sociology some argue that it is an ideological construct (Miles, 1989, cited in Bradley, 2016) since others have pointed out that all social categorisation relies on and creates constructs. It is therefore sometimes still considered worthwhile to discuss alongside the concept of ethnicity since the effects of the way people interact with this construct are very real (Bradley, 2016). Cashmore and Troyna (1983, cited in Bradley, 2016) see ethnicity as freely adopted and proclaimed as a mode of being whereas race is a stigmatised identity and a mode of oppression forced on other people (Modood, 1992).

Discourses around immigration and settled migrant communities have, more recently, also taken on an additional racialised aspect owing to worries about radicalisation in the wake of the attacks in the USA of September 11 2001, which manifest in talk of "the enemy within" (Mattsson, Hammarén & Odenbring, 2016, p. 252). It has been observed that it is Asian Muslim youths, and particularly boys, who are considered to be at greater risk, due to way that racialised discourses play heavily on codes of masculinity (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2013, cited in Mattsson et al., 2016). Mattsson et al.'s (2016) study concerned itself with the discourses in the Radicalisation Awareness Network Collection (RANC) related to the prevention of radicalisation, which they noted remained an undefined term in the documentation, despite being seen as the "root cause of terrorism" (Mattsson et al., 2016, p. 261). The somewhat confused and depersonalising discourses prevalent in the RANC, which is intended to assist educators (along with social workers and other "practitioners") working

with youths that are at 'risk' of radicalisation, have been criticised for their lack of focus on the lived experiences of youths, as they focus instead on controlling potentially radicalised detached individuals who have been perceived as separate from society. Mattsson et al. (2016) express concern that this move towards an expectation that educators should take actions to control potentially dangerous pupils will have ramifications for trust building between teachers and pupils.

In educational settings, there is a strong anti-racism rhetoric now present, through initiatives such as the Stephen Lawrence Education Award and Standard (The Stephen Lawrence Charitable Trust, 2017) and Show Racism the Red Card (2017). Following the Equality Act (Her Majesty's Government, 2010) all incidents of racism must be reported by staff to management and monitored. However, as Coles (2008, p. 90, cited in Statham, 2008) observes, "one person's racist incident is another's inconvenient break time squabble, not serious enough to warrant the additional paperwork". The positive intentions behind designing learning materials to enhance cultural awareness amongst monocultural Finnish children were noted, but a subsequent study (Layne & Alemanji, 2015) to consider the discourses inherent in those materials showed a strong sense of Othering (de Beauvoir, 2007) language and the normative nature of Whiteness.

These notions are particularly useful in a study focusing on discourse. Layne and Alemanji (2015) discuss the discourse in these learning materials from the perspective of considering the imperial stereotypes, which they found were present throughout. Hall (2006) posits that the notion of 'The West and the Rest' is the most prevalent notion of Othering in this post-colonial era, and it can be seen in much of the Eurocentric discourse (Carby, 1975) and acknowledged as naturally very present in the educational space without explicit attempts to tackle this (DCSF, 2007a). Othering (de Beauvoir, 2007) in discourse is perhaps most clearly seen through the use of pronouns that separate the speaker from a group or another individual. The use of 'us' and 'them' to create an in-group/ out-group distinction (Higgins, 2007; Reynolds et al., 2000; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) has been adopted in research by many scholars (Conteh, 2003; Van Dijk, 2008a; Wodak, 2011).

However, the very notion of ethnicity has been seen as problematic by some theorists who state that this gives too much credence to cultural aspects, which can then be pathologised and blamed for low achievement (Bradley, 2016). Mac an Ghail (1988) attacks this focus on ethnicity with regards to under achievement of black children in schools, observing that whilst it may be material differences that matter the most, 'cultural deprivation' and communication difficulties are the aspects that get blamed for poor educational outcomes. Through his reference to material differences, Mac an Ghail (1988) highlights the intersectionality that is inherent in discourses around topics relating to race, ethnicity and socio-economic status. This notion of material differences refers to economic capital and

socio-economic status, which are concepts that are highly intertwined with multilingualism, and need to be disaggregated or acknowledged when considering the education and achievement of children who speak languages beyond English.

The concentration of certain linguistic communities in socially deprived areas of the UK has had a tendency to lead to below-average exam results for the children of Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Turkish and Black Caribbean ethnicity (Ofsted, 2002). Research has regularly shown that socio-economic status is a determining factor in educational development and attainment (Bourdieu, 1984; Gillborn & Mirza, 2000), although the use of Free School Meals status as the principal proxy for socio-economic status is strongly contested (Hobbs & Vignoles, 2007) because of the range of complex and dynamic the variables involved (Cummins, 2014). The interactions of parents with schools has also been shown to be associated with outcomes for children and it is has been suggested that many teachers think parents from ethnic minority backgrounds (particularly Bangladeshi and Pakistani) do not know how the UK education system works well enough, which leads to them being labelled as 'hard to reach' (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011; Tzanakis, 2011) or "not interested" (Huss-Keeler, 1997), which is then often blamed, in part at least, for subsequent below-average educational outcomes. Goodall and Vorhaus (2011) say that, on the other hand, middle class parents have supportive networks and use the vocabulary of the teachers, seeming to draw on Norton and Toohey's (2011) point that standard English is inextricably linked to Whiteness in the public perception. Reay (1998, cited in Blackledge, 2001) develops the concept of a 'gendered *habitus*' in which the work of women was naturally seen to involve communication with the children's schools, something which first generation minority culture women were finding marginalising, due in part to their unfamiliarity with the schooling system.

The association of middle class status with whiteness can be seen as potentially problematic in some circumstances. White working class parents, along with the Bangladeshi parents discussed by Blackledge (2001), are those highlighted in Brooker's research (2003, cited in Conteh & Brock, 2011) as being in conflict with the school because of a seeming inability to access the curriculum and to understand pedagogical choices being made by teachers. Whilst some minority ethnic groups continue to dominate the bottom end of exam tables, researchers have begun to comment on increasingly more positive examination outcomes for non-white pupils (Wilson & Piebalga, 2008) and there has been increasing concern over the performance of white working class boys, to the extent that this is now considered to be a 'moral panic' with an undertone of denying race as an issue in educational achievement that has concerned researchers and activists alike (Gillborn & Kirton, 2000).

Reay (2006, p. 288) argues that social class does need further consideration as a "powerful and vital aspect of both learner and wider social identities", seeming to draw here on the intersectional nature of social identities. She noted the complete absence of socio-economic

status as a concept in governmental discourse, in which speeches made by the Secretary for State for Education did not explicitly mention the terms 'social class' or 'working class', despite there seeming to be an increased awareness of a decline in social mobility (Reay, 2006). The increasing marginalisation of the white, working classes is discussed by Reay, Williams, Crozier and Jamieson (2007, p. 1047) in commenting on what they describe as the "troubling" situation in which some black and ethnic minority children are being used symbolically to put a distance between the white middle class and white working classes. These more 'aspirational' families are seen as the something akin to an Asian *petit bourgeoisie* (Srinivasan, 1995) in a society in which a disproportionate number of young people who are managing to climb the social ladder are from ethnic minority backgrounds (Platt, 2005; Ridge, 2005, cited in Reay et al., 2007).

We will return to the issue of the social capital of these varying groupings and their subsequent acceptance or distancing by the privileged white middle classes in the following chapter. Before this, we move back to the school environment, to review empirical research that considers the role of school leadership and the discourses of teachers on the pertinent matters of inclusion for children who speak languages beyond English.

2.4 Educational structures, attitudes and ideologies

In this section, a synthesis of research studies on educational structures will be presented, including a focus on school leadership and a historical overview of inclusion practices. A discussion of studies pertaining to teachers' attitudes towards inclusion will follow, particularly with regards to children who speak languages beyond English. Finally, the notion of power in education will be considered, which will create a link into the next chapter, which presents the theoretical and conceptual framework. The synthesis of literature within each section has been constructed adopting the matrix approach introduced above.

School leadership

There is a general consensus in reviews of research literature on schools and school policy over the last twenty years that the effectiveness of a school is defined principally by the outcomes of its pupils in nationally devised assessments (Blair, 2002; Flynn, 2013), despite this narrow definition of success being viewed negatively by many researchers and leaders (Mulford, 2004). This leads to a tendency to characterise children into various categories (including EAL, as well as SEN, Ethnic Minority groupings, Gifted and Talented, Free School Meals, high and low ability) for the purposes of providing interventions to raise attainments, a tendency which is problematised in some reviews of the literature (Ainscow, Conteh, Dyson & Gallanaugh, 2007). However, the tendency to focus on the perceived shortcomings of the pupils and their local communities for underachievement (Blair, 2002) does not take into account the critical importance of good leadership (Blair & Bourne, 1998, cited in Kotler,

Wegerif, & Levoi, 2001; Cummins, 2000), so this section will focus on studies that consider what this might look like for schools undergoing demographic change like those in this study. The organisational structure of the school is important for understanding teachers' attitudes towards multiculturalism, since leaders are paramount in the creation of (or denial of) a pluralist environment (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002). Ofsted (2009, p. 10) notes, in their review of twenty 'outstanding' schools, that there can be "no denying the pivotal role of the head teacher in creating the ethos of the school and exercising strong pedagogical leadership" even if, or perhaps especially if, those leaders give credit to other members of the staff team, as Ofsted noted occurred in published examples of good practice.

Traditionally, the research literature on school leadership has been predicated on the strong, authoritarian leader being likely to be the most effective in most teaching contexts (Blase & Anderson, 1995, cited in Blair, 2002). However, the notion of the more 'democratic' leader, exercising power 'with' and not 'over' colleagues began to gain traction in the 1990s (Grace, 1995, cited in Blair, 2002). Blair's study (2002) aimed to reconcile these two opposing models of leadership, along with the concept of the 'transformative' leader (Beare et al., 1997, cited in Blair, 2002) and question their value in a context of increasingly multi-ethnic school environments. Blair's research was focused on schools that had a ethnic minority population of more than 10%, but in the context of a focus on greater personalisation in education (Hargreaves, 2004) and of the demographic changes being experienced in most UK schools (Census, 2011; Flynn, 2013), it is reasonable to extend the desire for good leadership to all schools that are now managing more diverse populations than ever before (Vertovec, 2007).

Whilst we never hear the individual voices from the interviews conducted with staff and parents in the schools from Blair's (2002) study, because transcripts are not offered, and neither is the analysis approach clarified, the discussion of the findings suggests a number of important issues for leadership in the modern UK context. The results confirm that school leadership is complex and challenging, but point to the notion of the 'radical transformative' leader as being the most likely to lead to an anti-racist and inclusive environment. A focus on collaborative and diffused leadership is important (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2005), particularly in light of the observation that teachers react to mandated change more negatively than change they perceive as self-initiated (Hargreaves, 2004). Leaders should set and maintain high expectations for pupils, and should not rest on their laurels and earlier successes (Blair, 2002). Effective school leadership means that equality of opportunity isn't just a question of policies on paper for the benefit of school inspectors (Blair, 2002). Whilst the concept of the 'strong' leader in terms of authoritarianism is no longer considered to be the ideal in educational circles, strength may be needed to hold onto a vision, in the face of opposition to innovative and inclusive practices on occasions (Blair, 2002), and in firmly dealing with any instances of prejudice and discrimination (Page & Whitting, 2007).

Earl et al. (2003, cited in Flynn, 2013) note that leaders are also expected to be competent in embedding reform programmes, such as the National Literacy Strategy, into the school curriculum, which is a not insignificant task, requiring a multitude of skills. Hargreaves (2004) discusses the negative impact on teachers that the period of large-scale educational reform that began in the 1990s and included the development of the NLS. Within these highly stressful changing contexts, managers can act as a buffer against some of these external pressures (Mulford, 2004) and offer powerful messages to staff in relation to developing inclusive school policies and a positive school ethos (Ludhra & Jones, 2008). These can enhance the chances for successful and effective practices with children who speak languages beyond English. Taking responsibility and making school-level decisions for these children is important for the school leadership teams, as the literature shows that many classroom teachers are frustrated by the trend towards localised practices (Costley & Leung, 2014) and classroom-level decision making (Mackinney & Rios-Aguilar, 2012), which can lead to a localised sense of reinventing the wheel (Wardman, 2012b). However, conferring a sense of professional autonomy on class teachers is also vital both for teacher retention and for good classroom practice (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2005; Mulford, 2004), so good leaders are perhaps required to develop a nuanced ability to balance these potential contradictions.

Being able to balance these contradictions and to understand the needs of the staff and children within a school population requires a certain level of capacity. Without this, Murakami (2008) points out that school leaders cannot fulfil the expectations that are inherent and assumed in the devolution of funding to schools for children who speak languages beyond English. With that sense of balance in place, the role of the head teacher has been seen to be a crucial “lynch pin” (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2005, p. 46) in securing a truly inclusive environment for children who speak languages beyond English, and for the positive ethos and professional happiness of the staff in the school (Shaheen, 2014; Sood & Mistry, 2011), whilst the role of other staff in being good leaders within the school environment is also well documented (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2005; Mulford, 2004).

We now move away from discussions of leadership to another key issue related to educational structures around children who speak languages beyond English: the prevailing discourses around the inclusion agenda.

Inclusivity in education

The history of inclusive education in the UK is relevant for this study in that it highlights the importance of considering prevailing discourses about difference in society and how they are and have been managed in an educational context.

A move towards inclusivity in education began from the late 1970s and continued into the 1980s. It involved changes in terminology around children with specific needs, which for a time in the 1990s included children with disabilities, learning difficulties and languages

beyond English under the umbrella term of 'special educational needs (Boer, Pijl & Minnaert, 2016). However, the term 'inclusion' is taken to mean a reference to different groups of children depending on the intended audience of the report in question. For example, Rafferty, Boettcher, and Griffin (2001, cited in Boer et al., 2016) described it as being focused entirely on ensuring children with disabilities into the mainstream classroom. Ofsted (2000, cited in Ainscow et al., 2007) offer a far broader definition which extends to children from different groups within a school, including groups with different first languages, ethnicity, cultural, gender, special educational needs (SEN) gifted and talented, 'looked after' children, young carers and those at risk of disaffection for whatever reason. In the two largest and most researched of these groupings, inclusion of SEN and EAL has involved the process of mainstreaming (Ainscow et al., 2007; Franson, 1999), whereby children with all of these needs are taught together in one age-appropriate classroom setting, under the control of the class teacher, rather than the separate special schools of previous years (see Leung, 2016 for a history of the developments over time related to children who speak languages beyond English).

Because teachers have been seen as the key people in implementing inclusive education and making it work (Ainscow et al., 2007), several studies have sought to understand the attitudes of mainstream teachers towards inclusive education (Boer et al., 2016). A number of these studies suggested that teachers overall hold positive attitudes towards inclusivity in education (Avramidis, Bayliss, & Burden, 2000; Avramidis & Norwich, 2002; Boer et al., 2016). However, other studies point to the notion that "teachers seem to endorse inclusive education in general, but do not like to be involved when it concerns their own teaching practice" (Boer, Pijl, & Minnaert, 2016, p.333), with some expressing serious reservations about the pragmatic and practical issues involved. Overall, following a meta-analysis of 26 journal papers (from a potential 63) concerning inclusion of children with SEN, Boer et al., 2016) concluded that the picture is one of negativity towards both mainstreaming and inclusion.

Discourses of deficit and a focus on keeping up with the curriculum over the individual needs of pupils and teacher-pupil interactions both form part of this negativity (Ashton, 2016). Whilst the analysis showed that teachers' attitudes towards inclusion of children with disabilities is related to the severity of that disability, there are other reasons for the negative attitudes found overall (Boer et al., 2016). They include teaching experience (whereby teachers with less experience are more positive), experience with SEN (whereby teachers with more experience in dealing with SEN display more positive attitudes). Long term, specialist training also makes a positive difference to attitudes (Campbell, Gilmore & Cuskelly, 2003), although other variables need to be considered, such as self-selection for training (Boer et al., 2016).

Whilst there is now a consensus about the dangers of conflating support for SEN with bilingual support, such instances are still common in practice (Martin, 2009). However, the impact of the personal and professional attributes and variables mentioned above on teachers' attitudes towards inclusion of Special Educational Needs will also be of use in this current study, for comparative purposes. We now turn to a consideration of the smaller cohort of studies pertaining to teachers' attitudes towards children who speak languages beyond English in the mainstream classroom.

Attitudes towards working with children who speak languages beyond English in the UK

Studies delving into teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism and the impact of a growing population of children who speak languages beyond English in the UK classroom have been extremely limited in the UK context. It could be said that there is a gap in the UK related to multilingual and multilingual children because it is an inescapable part of teaching in a diverse society, therefore the worth of consultation and research with practitioners about their attitudes and opinions might be questioned.

Perhaps it is also because, in the UK, EAL has not been a 'subject' since the inclusion strategy commenced with mainstreaming in the 1980s (Franson, 1999) whereas elsewhere, particularly in the USA, bilingual education and dual language education models still exist in which teachers' attitudes have been captured (Byrnes, et al., 1997; García-Nevarez, Stafford & Arias, 2005; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004; Karathanos, 2009; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Reeves, 2006; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). However, SEN is also not a discrete subject and the challenges for teachers are arguably more complicated than for those working with certain SEN, due in part to the intersection of other ideologies with attitudes towards languages and language use. It may in fact also be that the (generally negative) societal discourse around immigration and societal multilingualism, compounded by concerns over political correctness (Gillborn, 2008), has limited opportunities for research into teachers' attitudes in the UK.

Attitudes of teachers and schools towards pupils from "non-English speaking homes" are considered to have become more negative in the years following the initial moves to inclusive practice. These pupils were increasingly seen as a threat to a schools' reputation once National Curriculum tests, league tables and parental choice for schooling were all in place (Harris, Leung, & Rampton, 2001.p. 35). Conteh (2007; Conteh & Brock, 2011) sought to understand attitudes towards working in potentially multilingual settings in the UK context through interviews, but the focus was explicitly on bilingual teachers, which remain rare in mainstream settings in the country (Creese, 2004; McEachron & Bhatti, 2005) and cannot always be found to be utilising their bilingualism in any case, as Bourne (2001) observed. Whilst the tags for Bourne's (2001) important paper on how discourses and teachers' routine practices inhibit the pedagogic use of languages beyond English include 'teacher attitudes',

the paper itself does not repeat the notion of ‘attitudes’ again. The discourses problematised are principally the more top-down discourses of entrenched pedagogical practice and policy, although some of these have become increasingly rhetorically pluralist, if not a little “evangelical” (Bourne, 2001, p. 251), about the benefits of multilingualism and the importance of the home language in later years (DCSF, 2007a; DfES, 2007; Primary National Strategies, 2009). Bourne’s work continued and continues to have an impact on the rhetoric regarding bilingual strategies in the classroom, following the adoption of her review of home language use in the classroom in the National Literacy Strategy guidance on supporting EAL children (DfES, 2002).

Many issues continue to prevent the use of home languages in the classroom, however, and the attitudes of the teaching staff towards the notion are key. Fear of teachers’ own embarrassment at not understanding pupils, or at their own linguistic prowess, and fear and worry about children being ‘off task’ (Karathanos, 2009; Wardman, Bell, & Sharp, 2012), lack of resources for working multilingually and lack of training on bilingual strategies (Bourne, 2001) prevent teachers from allowing home languages into their classrooms, despite numerous small-scale projects both recent and more historical, demonstrating their worth (Al-Azami et al., 2010; Conteh, 2007; Fitzpatrick, 1987; Kenner, 2000). Overall, despite some of these projects and studies demonstrating some transformative results for the children and teachers taking part, they have been restricted to isolated pockets.

Attitudes towards home languages in the classroom are revealing of broader ideological standpoints, but it is also important to uncover teachers’ attitudes to working with children who speak languages beyond English in UK schools more generally, since the changing populations of schools are challenging the notion that diverse classrooms are purely an inner-city school issue (Flynn, 2013). Flynn’s study (2013) was unusual in both its explicit focus on teachers’ perspectives and for its contexts of smaller rural and small-town schools in one county in southern England, which had experienced a rapid rise in the population of Polish children between 2004 and 2009. Her interviews with eight teachers sought to uncover attitudes towards their own practice in the face of this changing demographic. Flynn (2013) adopted a grounded approach utilising Bourdieu’s theory of practice (1977) constructs (see section 2.6.3 for a discussion of how these constructs are to be deployed in this study) to analyse the data set. Through this analysis, she observed that teachers’ attitudes towards their own practice seemed to be governed by policy and controlled by institutions, suggesting an assimilation of the entrenchment of curricula focus and an embedding of the language and social ideologies behind discourses and policy decisions.

Flynn (2013) found that, beyond the concerns over funding that were expressed by all of the school leaders, class teachers in her study reported a different experience depending on the age group that they were teaching, with the teachers based in Key Stage 2 more testing

focused and the Early Years teachers more focused on discussing children's happiness. This seemed to lead to a difference in the participants' self-confidence with regards to what they needed to know about working with the changing population in their school, although confidence was experienced very differently by different people. In some cases, lack of knowledge caused a lack of confidence; in others it was the gain in knowledge that caused worry about being able to provide the support needed for children. This highlights the individual nature of this type of study, as the comparative case study approach allowed for a closer focus on those individual experiences.

Flynn's study highlighted that teachers are focused on trying to offer children who speak languages beyond English the same opportunities as their monolingual peers although as she says, "wanting to 'do the right thing' is not the same as knowing how to do the right thing or even being in a position to do the right thing" (Flynn, 2013, p. 238). As we will see in the following section, most research in this area has found that teachers are rhetorically supportive of working with children who speak languages beyond English, but in practice find it more challenging, which is very reminiscent of the earlier discussion (in section 2.5.2) of the overall conclusions of Boer et al. (2016) in their meta-review of attitudes towards inclusion of children with disabilities in the mainstream.

Attitudes towards working with children who speak languages beyond English beyond the UK

Internationally, there is a greater variety of empirical work on teachers' attitudes towards the wide-ranging themes relating to working with children who speak languages beyond English the majority dominant language of the UK. However, the multifaceted nature of this topic means that studies have a wide range of different focus points, including capturing attitudes towards multiculturalism, bilingualism and language diversity in education, around home languages and their maintenance, and on classroom practice and preparedness to work with the changing demographic in schools. Empirical studies on all of these related areas are considered below. A number of studies focus on ascertaining teachers' attitudes through observation of their classroom practices and discourses (Garza & Crawford, 2005; Gogolin, 1997; Heller, 1996; Helot & Young, 2002) but our focus here is on those studies that explicitly require the participants to express their attitudes. Whilst it has been acknowledged elsewhere that the research literature available regarding principally monolingual English teachers in the mainstream is extremely scarce (Karathanos, 2009), a broader range of studies than that will be considered in this section.

Most of the studies to be discussed in this section of the literature review are survey-based largely quantitative projects, apart from that of Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011), which used semi-structured interviews to focus on the views and attitudes of pre-school and early primary teachers.

Therefore, for the purpose of ease in comparison and for a sense of the scope of the work, the number and nature of respondents in the principal studies referred to throughout this section, has been compiled in the table below.

Author(s)	Type(s) of school	Number of respondents
Byrnes, et al., (1997)	not stated	191
Flores & Smith (2009)	K-12 (secondary)	564
Horenczyk & Tatar (2002)	Primary and secondary	442
Karabenick & Clemens (2004)	Elementary/ Middle/ High	729
Nielikäinen (2014)	Primary	181
Smith (2004)	Primary and secondary	395
Youngs & Youngs (2001)	Junior High/Middle	143
Karathanos (2009)	Elementary/ High	327
Dillon (2010)	Junior Infants (first yr of school)	99 (+mixed methods)
Lee & Oxelson (2006)	Elementary/ Middle/ High	69 (+10 interviews)
Pulinx, Van Avermaet, & Agirdag (2015)	Secondary	775
Kearney (2014)	Post-primary	66 (+10 interviews)

Table 1: Key empirical studies on attitudes to language diversity

Attitudes towards the broader societal concepts of multiculturalism and language diversity in education systems have been evaluated by a number of researchers from countries as diverse as Israel (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002), Greece (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011), New Zealand (Smith, 2004), Finland (Nielikäinen, 2014), Ireland (Kearney, 2014), and the USA (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Flores & Smith, 2009; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). These studies afford a view of the challenges presented to teachers in modern societies, in which multiculturalism is held up as “an ideal” (Lippi-Green, 1994, p. 190) and where rhetoric about valuing and respecting language diversity is rife (Bourne, 2001).

Byrnes et al. (1997) may be the oldest study in this set pertaining to attitudes towards language diversity, but many of the issues remain and the findings are not dissimilar to the other more recent studies cited here. They found that attitudes differ across the US states, with Arizona being significantly more positive attitudinally, perhaps due to Spanish being a more familiar language, and because of greater local investment in this area that has led on diversity matters.

Flores and Smith’s (2009) study is partly based on Byrnes et al. (1997), although it is worth noting that they do not reference Youngs and Youngs (2001) in their paper, despite the fact that study also built upon Byrnes et al. (1997). They developed four constructs through which to analyse their survey data that sought to address some of the failings around causality that existed in the earlier work. Those constructs are: (a) Rights and Privileges (similar to the notion of right or resource that will be discussed later in this section), (b)

Aesthetic Caring (a moral ethic of care towards all students versus a more depersonalised approach), (c) Exclusionary/Assimilationist (attitudes towards the extent to which transition to the dominant language is encouraged or forced), and (d) Responsibility/Culpability (how much teachers feel the failure of the student, academically or linguistically, is to be attributed to them).

Flores and Smith (2009) note that their findings suggest that a sense of the ideal teacher for language minority students may be somewhat more illusive than had been hoped as the attitudes are influenced by multiple factors that are difficult to tease apart. Whilst it can be observed that the key findings of Byrnes et al. (1997) and others (Youngs & Youngs, 2001) that frequent and diverse interactions with diverse students improve attitudes, that formal training is associated with positive attitudes, and that earning a graduate degree also linked to positive attitudes are repeated in other studies, the causal connections are harder to establish. More on these teacher characteristics considered important for positive attitudes will be discussed in relation to this study's participants in Chapter 5.

In common with Karabenick and Clemens (2004) as well as Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011), one of Nielikäinen's (2014) key findings was that, overall, teachers were positive about multiculturalism and language diversity. Her findings also suggested that holding negative attitudes towards immigration seemed to correlate with finding working with multicultural populations harder, as mentioned earlier in section 2.4.1. This echoes Kearney's (2014) findings that, although teachers were broadly supportive of the notion of including new arrivals into the mainstream, this was undermined by great concern over the practicalities of doing so. A deficit in linguistic ability emerged as the principal driver of negative attitudes towards the newly arrived pupils. Results from other studies suggest that experience with multicultural students made no difference to teachers' attitudes about multiculturalism, which contradicted earlier studies (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). More broadly, the discussion of the effects of teaching experience (either with or without diverse student populations) is contradictory in the research, with Karathanos (2009) making the observation that it seemed to increase positivity in elementary schools but not in secondary institutions.

Whilst earlier research also suggested that long-term exposure to multicultural environments improved attitudes towards language minority students (Youngs & Youngs, 2001), Flores and Smith (2009) considered other variables to be more pertinent. Being from an ethnic minority background was found to be a feature in positive attitude expression towards language minority students, as was having experienced training in diversity issues, and some degree of proficiency in another language students (Flores & Smith, 2009), which supports García-Nevarez et al.'s (2005) finding that bilingual-certified teachers were more supportive of English Language Learners.

Questions about attitudes towards home languages in schools and beliefs about the teachers' and schools' roles in home language maintenance have also been addressed by a range of empirical studies, which take as their starting point the notion that "negative teacher attitudes toward ELL's native languages may produce teacher behavior that can lead to, or at least sustain, teachers having negative attitudes toward the students themselves, which in turn affects their achievement" (García-Nevarez, Stafford & Arias, 2005, p. 296). Monolingual teachers often believe that only bilingual teachers can work effectively with bilingual children using their home languages (Bourne, 2001), and a monolingual mindset can lead to a lack of trust in pupils (Pulinx et al., 2015), but other studies have shown that, simply by treating the home language as a resource rather than a problem, positive effects are created for the students (Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Young, 2014).

As we saw with attitudes to multiculturalism and language diversity, respondents were generally rhetorically very positive about home languages and the importance of their maintenance (Dillon, 2010; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). However, lack of awareness of resources (Dillon, 2010) and lack of training provision (Dillon, 2010; Lee & Oxelson, 2006) means that, in reality, the researchers observed little home language integration into schools (Dillon, 2010; Lee & Oxelson, 2006), although there were notable exceptions to this (French, 2017). Ambivalence and contradictory attitudes abound due in part to perpetuated linguistic myths around the dangers of first language use (Flores & Smith, 2009; Karathanos, 2009), and in further part by the very contrast between the positive rhetoric of multiculturalism and the more negative discourses around language use in the classroom (McDonald, 2014), and these contradictions can lead to entrenched ideologies being maintained in teachers' discourse and survey responses. The assimilationist attitudes observed by Flores and Smith (2009), for example, are also seen as prevalent amongst participants in Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou's (2011) interview-led study, where assimilation of minority language students occurs due to what they describe as an underlying ideology of "one language for all – equality for all" (2011, p. 598). The teachers in this study (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011) also indicated that they ultimately held parents responsible for children's bilingual development, which echoes previous studies (Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Lee & Oxelson, 2006), and resonates with the sense of absolution of culpability for student failure felt on the part of some teachers seen elsewhere (Flores & Smith, 2009).

Myths about the nature of living in two or more languages can be seen in many of the findings, including Karabenick and Clemens's (2004) observation that over half of their respondents felt that use of a language beyond English in the home interfered with their learning of the dominant language, despite a majority of respondents believing that it was possible to be equally proficient in two languages. This sense of contradictory attitudes and a lack of awareness of the role of the home language in children's language and academic development, also noted by others (Flores & Smith, 2009; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011;

Lee & Oxelson, 2006), led to these groups of researchers (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004; Lee & Oxelson, 2006) to propose professional development that incorporates second language acquisition theory.

Many researchers have pointed to a sense of lack of preparedness on the part of mainstream teachers (Burriss & Burriss, 2004; Godley, Sweetland, Wheeler, Minnici, & Carpenter, 2006; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004, cited in Flores & Smith, 2009) to teach ELLs (English Language Learners), and professional training is acknowledged as vital for raising confidence levels and positivity in attitudes (Coady, Harper, & Jong, 2011; Mhathúna & Hill, 2007). Flores and Smith's (2009) recommendations for professional training were largely based around increasing exposure to diversity, and other researchers advised gaining strategies for classroom practice (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Dillon, 2010; Karathanos, 2009) whilst Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou's (2011) second suggestion for training was one based in a desire for the teaching profession to become active agents in challenging some of the entrenched ideologies surrounding issues to do with language minority students. Other scholars insist on the graduate nature of this training provision as key (Karathanos, 2009; Youngs & Youngs, 2001) while some stress the importance of a grass-roots approach to change and training (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011; Pulinx et al., 2015). Therefore, it can be seen that the different foci of research has a significant impact on the nature of the implications of each of the studies.

It can be observed that almost all of the studies cited above are principally quantitative in orientation, adopting relatively similar frameworks and questioning techniques, with only occasional attempts to provide something more qualitative alongside, although Pulinx et al. (2015) observe that the reverse may be the case in some contexts globally. In the studies from America, this survey work has generally been undertaken with teachers of K-8 and K-12 students, which equates to middle and secondary school aged children in the UK context. The majority of the studies discussed above have also been undertaken in urban or inner-city environments. It has also been acknowledged that most studies have focused on the descriptive 'what' – what attitudes are expressed, captured through surveys for the most part and focusing on a binary positive v. negative attitudes, with limited exploration of the nuances of some of the survey items in the discussion sections. Some work has filled the gap regarding the 'why' considering predictors for positive attitudes, including training, age, gender, and exposure to multiculturalism and multilingualism (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Flores & Smith, 2009; Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

There is, therefore, a need for research in the UK that addresses teachers' attitudes situated in the particular type of diversity found in the UK primary classroom and that seeks to address the 'how' of attitudinal expression, and the discourses of individuals who are on the 'front-line' with regards to multilingual children in the UK. We will work on the reasonable

assumption that the predictors of attitudes proposed by some of the researchers above (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Youngs & Youngs, 2001) for those trained and working in the same profession are likely to be similar and so could be applied to any group of participants as a starting point. However, we will also acknowledge that there is considerable variability among individual teachers with regards to their attitudes (French, 2017; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004) to the extent that a survey approach could and should only ever offer part of the story.

To determine the best way to study *how* individual teachers talk about attitudes, we should turn to qualitative models of research, since surveys adopting Likert scale answers and (open-ended but highly structured) written responses do not enable the researcher to make observations about how attitudes are either explicitly or implicitly expressed in more free conversation. A focus on these more individualised discourses also arguably enables a more critical focus on the discourses of power within the educational context. We now turn to a focus on the literature regarding the more abstract notion of power in schools, which then leads us towards the Conceptual and Theoretical Framework of the following chapter.

Power in schools

Teachers can be positioned as filters of the discourses of the wider world for the child, and the relationships teachers maintain with other figures close to the child are therefore of significant importance. With that understanding, we can reconsider the importance of the discourse of the teachers themselves and the attitudes that they hold. Teachers have the power to mitigate some of the worst excesses of modern day discourse on some of the topics discussed above. However, this is dependent on those individuals being aware of their own attitudes and of the ideologies that they subscribe to. Most of us are so surrounded by and often embedded in ideologies about language, immigration, and education that we would not necessarily question our assumptions about languages (for example, hierarchies, notions of correctness, appropriate pragmatic use, etc.) or realise that a particular way of expressing ourselves stems from an ideologically driven root.

Throughout the previous sections of this chapter, we have explored a variety of discourses that are pertinent to the relationship between a teacher and an emergent multilingual child. The child has been conceived here as being at the centre with the discourses surrounding them, and the teacher's role, therefore, could be seen as a mediator of these discourses. Through their choices to reject or perpetuate certain discourses, they have a power to protect the child from or expose them to some of the harm that certain discourses might cause. In the same way, their choices could lead to positive action, improving the life chances of potentially disadvantaged children. Therefore, the quality of the teacher-child relationship is considered to be pivotal for the on-going academic and personal achievement and development of the child (O'Connor & McCartney, 2007; Pianta, 1999), and the relationships of schools with

parents are reported to be a key aspect in developing a strong teacher-child bond. Home experiences are vital for learning (Genesee, Nicoladis, & Paradis, 1995; Helot & Young, 2002) and should not be ignored by schools or by individual educators. Ignoring them leads to what Conteh and Brock, 2011 describe as 'dissonance' between home and school (2011, p.350) and the formation of barriers to learning.

Therefore, the decision to focus on discourse in this thesis is key. People can express attitudes that are socially desirable, particularly when directly asked about them, or when responding to given phrases by ticking an 'agree' or 'disagree' box, but a focus on their more natural talk reveal underlying assumptions and presuppositions stemming from socially-created ideologies. So much is achieved in face-to-face communication that is hard to capture through other means, as De Fina makes clear here:

Human communication is about exchanging information, getting things done, expressing feelings and emotions - but it is also, crucially, about conveying to one another what kind of people we are; which geographical, ethnic, social communities we belong to; where we stand in relation to ethical and moral questions; or where our loyalties are in political terms.

(2011, p. 263)

2.5 Summary

This review of the literature has focused on conceptualising the prominent discourses surrounding children who speak languages beyond English. The importance of the teacher as one of the principal mediators of the societal discourses that children are exposed to was acknowledged, and the importance of their own attitudes towards children who speak languages beyond English was discussed. It became clear through a review of the research literature that gaps in knowledge pertaining to the attitudes of teachers towards multilingual children prohibited us from forming an awareness of the discourse of teachers themselves on the pertinent themes for the children who speak languages beyond English in the UK context. A research study focused on how teachers talk about these children and their languages is therefore overdue.

The issues that run through the discourses discussed earlier in this chapter include issues of identity, of institutional language, the impact of the mass media on societal ideologies, issues around immigration and everyday racism, and attitudes towards disadvantaged groups of people. These are all frequently tackled by socially-minded researchers through a Critical Discourse Analytical (CDA) approach (Fairclough, 2015; Van Dijk, 2008a; Wodak, 2002). Furthermore, we noted the importance of the perception of privilege in a monolingual *habitus*, and the processes by which some families of children who speak languages beyond English experience disenfranchisement and marginalisation through lack of what has been

termed linguistic and social *capital* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1991). Finally, we acknowledge that to be able to consider teachers' discourses in a detailed enough manner, we need to be able to draw on analytical tools that afford the chance to systematically note expressions of attitude. The aim of the following chapter is to draw these three strands together into a Conceptual and Theoretical Framework to facilitate the exploration of the research questions of this study.

3 Conceptual and theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce the conceptual theoretical framework, which was designed for this study to facilitate an exploration of the discourses of primary school educators. This conceptual and theoretical framework draws upon an analytical approach (Critical Discourse Analysis) suited to this type of social justice focused research endeavour along with a theoretical framework (Bourdieu's theory of practice) that acknowledges the participants as being entrenched in a particular social and professional context that shapes their practices and discourses, and a systematic analytical tool (APPRAISAL) ideally matched to the aim of investigating attitudes in discourse.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is rooted in Critical Theory and the rise of poststructuralism and critical linguistics. The works of Foucault, Marx, Gramsci and Bakhtin are key in the development of the field, which saw a move away from the essentialist nature of structuralist thinking as espoused by Ferdinand de Saussure, and towards an appreciation of language as being inseparable from its context (Bakhtin, 1981, cited in Maftoon & Shakouri, 2012) and a view that language both shapes reality and is shaped by reality. Critical linguistics is sometimes seen as synonymous with critical discourse studies and is concerned with relationships between language use and society and therefore is well aligned with Halliday's (1978) functional model of language and the idea that the grammatical system is closely linked to the social and personal needs of the language user in a given communicative event.

In the analysis of discourse therefore, "notions of ideology, power, hierarchy and gender together with sociological variables are all seen as relevant for an interpretation or explanation of text" (Wodak, 2002, p. 6). Realities including the performance of and creation of individual and group identities which are also ripe for interpretation, including uncovering how situational, social and individual identity work is being performed (Zimmerman, 1998). Fairclough (2010) reviews the concepts of indexicality, positionality, stylisation, and categorisation as fundamental to identity work as performed by speakers and writers and these are also important in interpretation of texts from a critical perspective.

Studies adopting CDA in the context of educational research have covered a wide range of issues. These include studies on classroom talk from different perspectives: teachers' interactions with each other in a co-teaching situation, which were found to privilege 'keeping up' with the curriculum and therefore disadvantaging certain groups of students (Ashton, 2016); teachers' talk in science teaching situations, which has also typically led to failure of certain types of student to perform well in this discipline (Hanrahan, 2006), and

teachers' power in classroom talk (Maftoon & Shakouri, 2012). Other studies have focused on tackling issues of perceptions of disability (Kang, 2009), attitudes expressed in online conversations towards LGBT literature (Schieble, 2012), the construction of the ideal learner (Oughton, 2007) and teacher identities (Thomas, 2005) in education curriculum policy documents curriculum documents.

To date, there have been three principal approaches to CDA, which, whilst they differ in emphasis from each other, still strive towards similar socially-minded aspirational goals and are not particularly at methodological odds with each other. The principal exponents of these three approaches are Fairclough with his *discourse as social practice* stance, Van Dijk adopting a *socio-cognitive* approach and Wodak taking an interdisciplinary *socio-historical* position.

Fairclough's view that language is a part of society, not that there is a separate relationship between them, leads to the text (termed the "micro level") being construed as forming a social practice (the "macro level"), through the discursive practices (the "meso level") of the participants involved (see figure 1 below). Within the text itself, whether written or spoken, there are potentially a number of implicit embedded assumptions, which are worth exploring in order to discuss the connection between ideology, power and their reproduction through discourse. Those explorations can include noting presuppositions (tacit assumptions behind a statement or argument), logical implications (relationships drawn between two or more statements suggesting a logical connection), and entailments (similarly related to the connection between statements but predicated on the truth of the first statement logically leading to the subsequent statements also being true). Furthermore, in examining discursive practices, intertextuality is important for Fairclough, which entails observing when a speaker or writer brings other voices into the text, thereby forming a dialogue between the author and other voices.

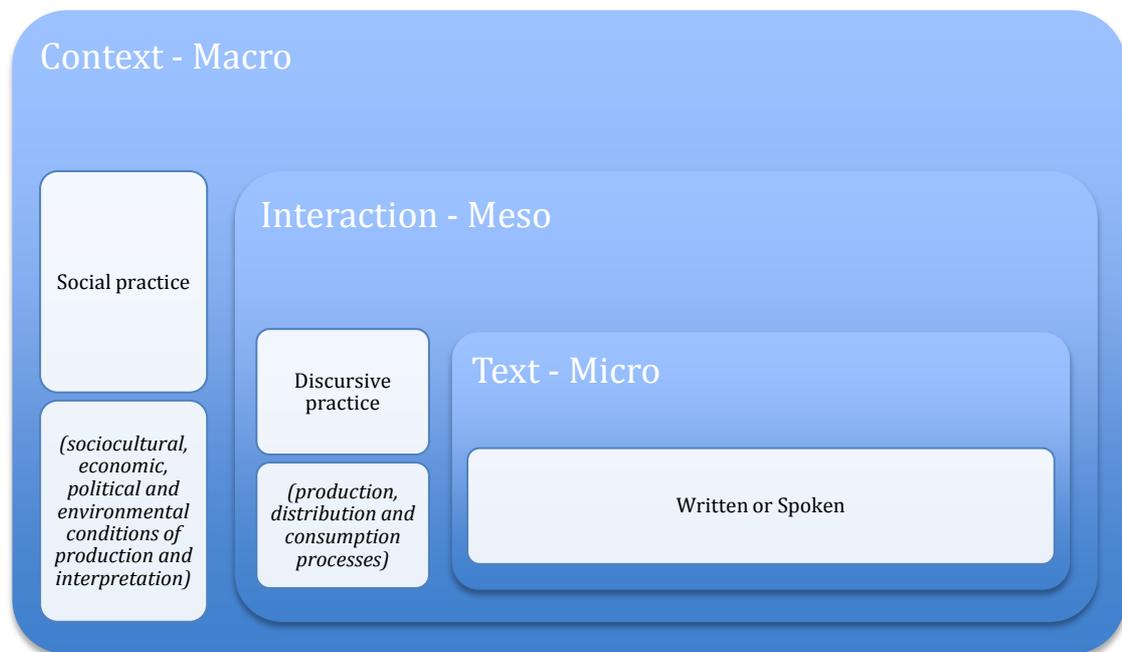


Figure 1: Fairclough's framework for CDA

Van Dijk is less convinced by the direct link of society with discourse. He feels that “social structures are observed, experienced, interpreted and represented by social members [...] as part of their everyday interaction or communication” (Van Dijk, 2008, p.16) and that this entails personal and social cognition mediating between society and discourse. Discourse (a speech event or text), society (context) and cognition (personal beliefs, goals and values) are therefore the points of the triangle model that Van Dijk adopts, that we shall revisit later in this chapter.

However, Van Dijk goes on to postulate that this triangle is not really sufficient to fully understand and analyse discursive practices, with the two further dimensions of history and culture being fundamental in critical discourse studies (the term he prefers to use due to the fact that CDA is *not* actually an analytical framework). This connects with Wodak's claim (2002) that societal problems are too complex to be dealt with from one perspective alone. It also echoes with Bakhtin's (1981, cited in Maftoon & Shakouri, 2012) view that texts relate to each other and that voices from other texts are reflected. This notion explains how ideologies are perpetuated through discourse and also enhances and is strongly connected with Fairclough's concept of intertextuality, as mentioned above.

These approaches to critical discourse analysis differ mainly in their emphasis - Fairclough on the linguistic, Van Dijk on the cognitive and Wodak on the interdisciplinary - but they are not mutually exclusive. Taking the linguistic stance of *discourse of social practice*, for example, one can attempt to ensure that enough note is taken of the socio-historical context with the social practice and that the cognitive element of the connection between language and society is noted when relevant. In combination with other complementary theoretical stances, this contextualising of discursive practices may become even stronger. One such theoretical

stance is offered by Bourdieu, and we turn now to an exploration of his theory of practice, with the intention of demonstrating its value for this study, through evaluating previous and related studies which operate with it as a conceptual base.

3.3 Bourdieu's theory of practice

Bourdieu is considered to have been the most prominent sociologist of the latter half of the twentieth century and remained active in the struggle against neo-liberal tendencies of western governments until his death in 2002 (Weininger, 2005). Whilst he was predominantly considered to be a class theorist (Bourdieu, 1984), his interest in the breadth of identities that feed into our understanding of class structures allows for a more rounded exploration of inequalities in education.

The notions that are of use to us during this study are drawn from Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and are known as *field*, *habitus*, *doxa*, and *capital*. Whilst many researchers have used these inter-related constructs separately in research, perhaps particularly the highly useful notions of *habitus* and *capital*, Bourdieu himself suggested that they should not be seen in isolation from each other (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, cited in Flynn, 2013). The 'practice' in Bourdieu's theory of practice refers to the product of the series of expectations belonging to a particular arena, the *field*.

For the purposes of this study, we can consider the *field* to mean the mainstream education system of the UK. However, we can also reflect on the differences inherent between those working in that broad *field* and may wish to tighten the application of the moniker to, for example, teachers working with a particular Key Stage, as there will be differing expectations of practice and "rules of the game" (Flynn, 2013, p. 227) between Key Stages, as well as geographical locations and type of school. So, we can see that "fields may rest within fields" (Flynn, 2013, p. 227).

The construct of *habitus* has been applied well beyond Bourdieu's original intentions, and particularly effectively in an extension that is very relevant to this study, that of the monolingual *habitus* proposed by Gogolin (1994, as cited in Gogolin, 1997). At its heart, it is to be seen as a socially constituted system of dispositions (Weininger, 2005). Socialised norms and tendencies influence our behaviours and thought processes, often unconsciously, and condition our perceptions of events (Bourdieu, 1984) although it is not to be conceived of as a fixed state, since new experiences are integrated into an existing *habitus* (Gogolin, 2002).

Doxa refers to the interaction between *habitus* and *field*, which produces a set of assumptions that dictate behaviours and beliefs that come to be seen as normal and natural and therefore remain uncontested (Flynn, 2013). In the education field, for example, the notion of accepted classroom interactions and ritualised, authorised forms of language use in that space are relevant for our understanding of *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1991). The uncontested belief in the

classroom is that the teacher has been given the authority and power to command the space and control language use within it.

The last of the four constructs is that of *capital*, which can be cultural, economic, social or linguistic. *Capital* can be accumulated and transferred across the different forms, for example by exchanging growing economic *capital* (money) to attain greater cultural *capital* by choosing to attend the theatre rather than the cinema (Bourdieu, 1984). *Capital* is often seen in analytical terms to refer to what people know and this betrays a mindset or *habitus*, as Flynn (2015b) discovered, and they are therefore useful constructs to work with concurrently, as we will see later, particularly in Chapter 6. Linguistic *capital* is gained through what is seen as appropriate use of the *legitimate* language of the community, which means that it is really formed through the processes of transmission of cultural capital, as the *legitimate* language tends to be that used by the more privileged members of society (Bourdieu, 1991). This *legitimate* language will often be described as ‘*the language*’ and imposed on the whole of the language community as the only appropriate code (Bourdieu, 1991). Any member of that community falling short of attaining its particular idiosyncrasies will suffer a linguistic (and cultural) capital net loss.

Bourdieu’s constructs from his theory of practice have been variously and increasingly applied in educational research, as they are considered to be “valuable interpretative instruments” (Flynn, 2015a, p. 20). Flynn’s work with teachers was discussed in the previous chapter, noting the very potent effect of the *habitus* of the education *field* on teachers’ perspectives on working with bilingual children (2013, 2015a, 2015b). Blackledge’s (2001) study of the *capital* of Bangladeshi mothers and their interactions with British schools. Reay (1998, cited in Blackledge, 2001) has also discussed the importance of cultural *capital* for parents, as well as acknowledging the importance of cultural *capital* within the school walls themselves (Reay, 2006), noting the uncontested nature of middle class dominance in the system. Elsewhere, however, the construct of cultural *capital* failed to adequately explain inequalities in the system, although Tzanakis continued to recommend its use as a “heuristic and analytical useful concept” (2011, p. 85).

With this usefulness in mind, adopting a Bourdieuan focus on the *doxa* and the *habitus* of a particular *field* seems to allow for and afford a re-conceptualisation of the contextual factors that Van Dijk considered to be missing from his triangle model of Critical Discourse Analysis, mentioned in section 3.2 and also referenced in the introduction to this thesis. The dimensions of history and culture posited by Van Dijk to be required for a full understanding of context can equally be understood as forming part of the *habitus* of a particular *field*. We can also see the social power of the discursive practice as conferring or denying *capital* through attitude expressions, as well as other devices. This conceptualisation of the models working together can be seen in figure 2 below.

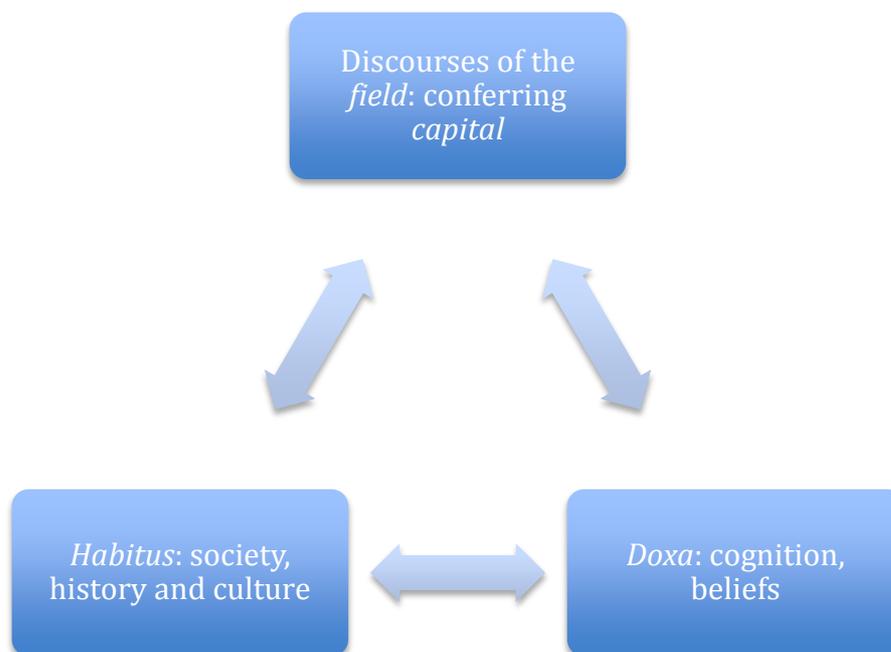


Figure 2: Conceptual framework incorporating Van Dijk's CDA and Bourdieu's Theory of Practice

Noting that the endowment (or otherwise) of *capital* happens and is perpetuated through discourse, we can now consider the linguistic processes involved. In section 3.1, we noted that Halliday's (1978) functional model of language allowed for a critical focus on language choice, and that it was therefore well suited to adopting for a critical discourse study. With that aim in mind, we will now explore further his theory of language with the intention of underpinning the connection between Critical Discourse Analysis, Bourdieu's theory of practice, and the analytical framework chosen for this study.

3.4 Underpinning theory: Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic Functional Linguistics is a theory of language that orients to the view of language being a complex social semiotic system (Halliday, 1994), and relies on an ontology that we can only understand how language works if we consider the cultural and situational contexts in which it is used, seeing it as a social resource for 'getting things done'. It developed from earlier work by Firth on the relationship between language systems and linguistic structure by making the notion of *choice* central to our understanding of how we use language and make meaning. So, language is seen as a system and the choices that are available to us can be mapped in an abstract *system network*. Halliday's primary focus concerned how language is organised to convey meaning, while seeing meaning as the "product of the relationship between the system and its environment" (Halliday, 1985, p.10). This highlights the importance of context once again. He claimed that, whenever language is being used, three *metafunctions* (modes of meaning) are relevant: the *ideational* (related to referring to categories of experience), the *interpersonal*, and a third that draws the first two together, the *textual*.

SFL is most associated with the concept of the *lexicogrammar* (Teich, 1999) with its grammatical rank scale, from the clause (the upper bound of the system) to the morpheme. However, as we have seen above, SFL's orientation to choice and meaning-making being based in context means that the context is linguistically relevant and so there has to be a way within the system to relate it to the linguistic resources. This is done through a process of stratification, with the semantic stratum seen as an *interlevel* that mediates between context and form (Teich, 1999). It is this discourse semantics interlevel that the APPRAISAL framework is designed to interrogate. Strata in SFL are set up as per the table 3 below:

SUBSTANCE	(interlevel)	FORM	(interlevel)	CONTEXT
Sounds	Phonology	Grammar	Semantics	Situation

Table 2: SFL strata

In SFL, the categories of a lower stratum are said to realise the categories of a higher stratum, so a speaker's grammatical choice releases the potential for a certain semantic action to occur. Halliday uses the term *trinocular* (2014) to refer to the fact that the lexicogrammar is seen within the frame of 'looking up' to the semantics and 'looking down' to the physical realisation of phonetics or the written form.

This is all relevant to us here because it is clear that SFL is predicated on the idea that context is key and that our understandings of what we mean and intend to say are co-constructed. SFL acknowledges that importance of conscious and unconscious choices that we make whilst we speak, which is why it is interesting to focus both on the *what* of what we say and the *how*. SFL allows us to see how choices made in the semantic domain regarding evaluation and appraisal (expressing attitudes), which are the focus of this current study, are predicated on the smaller linguistic choices made at the lexicogrammatical level.

Adopting any analytical framework entails engaging with the underlying assumptions and presuppositions inherent in the model. The proponents and users of SFL see language as a semiotic resource for people to use to express meanings in context. These kinds of linear models, involving systems, subsystems, clines and categories can be found in all fields of study. As Bailey acknowledges:

classification is arguably one of the most central and generic of all our conceptual exercises. It is the foundation not only for conceptualization, language, and speech, but also for mathematics, statistics, and data analysis in general. Without classification, there could be no advanced conceptualization, reasoning, language, data analysis or, for that matter, social science research.

(1994, p. 1)

Dividing practices (Foucault, 1982) dominate much of the educational discourse in the UK and the rest of the Western world. With generally good intentions, children are divided and labelled from an early age; meeting expectations or not, SEN or not, EAL or not, Gifted and

Talented or not. Seeking to work in a field advocating for a group that may be disadvantaged could be seen as laudable but could also be seen to be perpetuating these discourses of power.

The current study aims to study how people make linguistic choices when expressing attitudes about this particular (and at times, controversial) topic and to consider not only the actual attitudes expressed and what this means for our understanding of teachers' knowledge, experiences (*capital*) and beliefs (*doxa*), but also of the various contexts (*fields*) they are operating in as they do so, each of which have their own established modes of practice and *habitus*.

We now turn to a discussion of how APPRAISAL analysis has grown from SFL in order to further establish the theoretical underpinnings of the current study.

3.5 APPRAISAL analysis framework

Background

The APPRAISAL framework is an extension to the theories of SFL, which has traditionally looked at discourse semantics from a grammatical orientation, as we have just seen. It is from SFL that APPRAISAL gets its characteristic small caps to delineate for the reader the moments when a particular term is being used in the technical sense, working within the analysis, rather than using the terms as in common parlance. I shall adopt the same device for the remainder of this thesis (apart from within coded excerpts themselves) in order to make that distinction clear.

Within SFL, the clause rank systems MOOD and MODALITY, which deal with the *interpersonal* metafunction are grammatical systems and do not adequately allow for an exploration of the semantics of evaluation. The purpose of the framework is to develop and build on the *interpersonal* metafunction by further attending to language and choices that fall under the headings of 'affect', 'modality' and terms including 'intensification' or 'vague language' (Martin & White, 2005). Acknowledging a gap in the SFL framework, a complementary perspective focused around evaluative lexis began to develop in the 1990s. The grammatical systems acted as a starting point for explorations of system-based discourse models exploring various aspects of communication and meaning making, evaluating and appraising being among them (Martin, 2000).

APPRAISAL has been defined as a social constructivist approach to analysing evaluative language by examining the "semantic resources used to negotiate emotions, judgements, and valuations, alongside resources for amplifying and engaging with these evaluations" (Martin, 2000, p. 145). In APPRAISAL terms, this negotiation can be analysed under the ATTITUDE category, with amplification of expressed evaluations being dealt with by the attendant

GRADUATION subsystem, and sourcing of attitudes and positioning covered by the ENGAGEMENT system. A simple model of this framework with its three interacting domains can be seen in figure 3 below (a more nuanced description with data examples can be found in the following chapter concerning the methodology of this study).

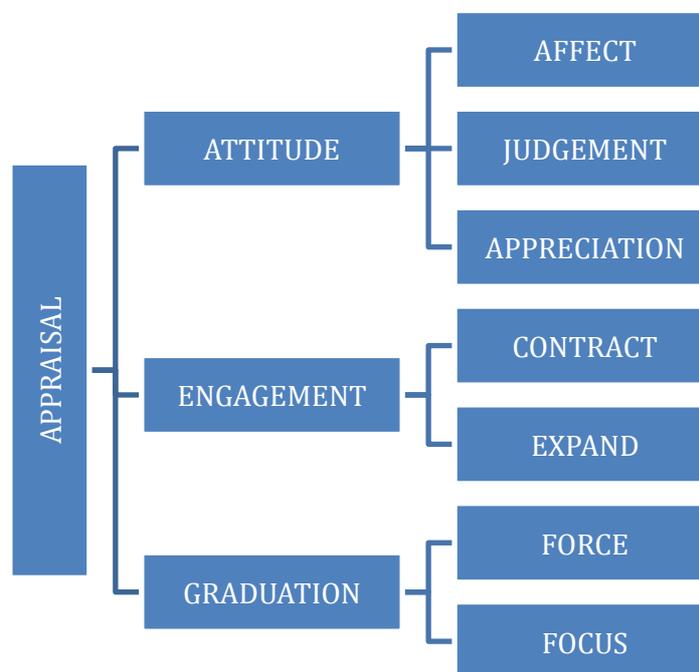


Figure 3: A simple model of the APPRAISAL framework

The early development of APPRAISAL analysis stemmed from work in Sydney schools and workplaces on literacy, caused by an interest on the part of these scholars in the role of evaluation in narrative genre, drawing on earlier work by Labov (Martin, 2000). However, attention soon moved on from this limited domain and the focus turned to developing the system to offer a “comprehensive map of appraisal resources that we could deploy systematically in discourse analysis” (Martin, 2000, p. 148) so as to better understand the interplay of interpersonal meaning and social relations. Earlier models were very much works in progress, with additional categories and subsystems being added as the framework was used across ever wider domains. For example, in Martin’s work from 1992 and 1996 (Martin, 2000), JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION had not yet been distinguished from AFFECT. JUDGEMENT arose out of work on media discourse in 1994 (Iedema et al, 1994, cited in Martin, 2000) and the development of the APPRECIATION subsystem had its roots in linguistic explorations in the creative arts (White, 1997, cited in Martin, 2003). The original proponents of APPRAISAL remain keen to point out its evolving, holistic nature and encourage researchers to employ the framework with a view to enhancing it (Martin, 2000) as a systematic application to written and spoken texts in any register or genre. Researchers utilising APPRAISAL are therefore mindful during the process of their analysis of how the framework should and could be enhanced. Bednarek (2009), for example, proposes a new sub category

of ATTITUDE, COVERT AFFECT following her work and various other refinements and observations are reviewed by Ngo and Unsworth (2015).

Affordances

The expression of an attitude, when closely examined, is clearly not a straightforward matter of an individual 'describing' their world and perhaps a particular situation. APPRAISAL is an intersubjective and interpersonal process, in that those doing the appraising tend to be doing so with an "impetus to share attitude with others" (Sarangi, 2003, p. 315). This is usually undertaken to gain solidarity or, rather less often, to demonstrate disaffiliation, with either the real (in the case of face to face communication) or imagined (sometimes the case in writing) interlocutor (Martin, 2000).

APPRAISAL can shed light on tensions between attitudes at a personal and institutional level and between opinion and action. These tensions can sometimes be realised in observing contradictions in what individuals say within the same conversation, but can also be observed through double coding. Double coding is actively encouraged within APPRAISAL, and is extremely useful in qualitative research. Many content-oriented and thematic approaches to analysis demand that the researcher creates and then applies strict categories with boundaries that are then seen to be clear and unfuzzy. In reality, dialogue and the expression of attitudes are rarely so clear cut so that trying to fit qualitative interview data into such boxes is not a trivial task for many researchers. APPRAISAL allows researchers to fully embrace the 'messiness' of real talk, whilst retaining a systematicity of approach. In this study, double coding will be displayed when relevant although presentation of single coding of excerpts should not necessarily be interpreted as suggesting that there is solely one valid interpretation possible for the particular excerpt under consideration.

Systematically coding within an APPRAISAL framework can also allow for the presentation of some useful numerical data in that broad patterns of positive, negative and neutral attitudinal expressions can be captured and considered as way of noting principal themes for further exploration. As Morrish and Sauntson (2007) note, one would not wish to over-analyse what may be fairly rudimentary statistics, due in part to the double coding mentioned above, but also due to the fact that, in essence, this is a qualitative analytical tool, which places positive and negative evaluations on a sliding scale or cline rather than as polar opposites. However, observing patterns can be (at least initially) useful to the researcher and the reader in capturing visually the key themes. This ability to loosely quantify findings using the APPRAISAL framework for a quick glance at overall trends in evaluation within a given data set is also used to good effect by Achugar (2009) and Wu (2013).

This analytical framework is being used increasingly for considering spoken language, with Eggins & Slade (1997) and Precht (2003) using it to analyse casual conversation, Achugar (2009) working with it in analysing classroom interaction of bilingual teachers and their

students, and Love and Arkoudis (2006) adopting it for their analysis of professional discussions between teachers. More recent work has co-opted the framework for research interview and media interview analysis (Caldwell, 2009; Sauntson, 2007), and so it is ripe for further use, evaluation and proposed development in this regard (Hadidi & Mohammadbagheri-Parvin, 2015).

3.6 Summary

In this thesis, I will take a *critical discourse analytical* stance in order to best deal with some of the issues regarding ideologies, identity, agency and power that will arise during an investigation of how educators in UK primary schools express attitudes relating to working with children who speak languages beyond English. Conceptualising this study through a CDA lens additionally informed by Bourdieu's theory of practice, and adopting a systematic tool for discourse analysis, will afford me the chance to consider the discourses of teachers against a framework that acknowledges the influence of their ingrained dispositions, which have been intimately shaped by individuals' life experiences and cultural backgrounds. These conceptual models form the basis for the methodology of this discourse-based study. We now turn to the next chapter in which the research study design, collection and analysis approaches and tools for this study are introduced and explained.

4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The literature review of Chapter 2 allowed for the observation to be made that studies regarding teachers' attitudes to topics pertaining to the education of children who speak languages beyond English have focused particularly on either a simple description of those attitudes or on attempts to explain why teachers hold those attitudes. This chapter describes the methodological approach to the current study, which aims, in contrast to earlier work (Byrnes, 2005; Flores & Smith, 2009; Karathanos, 2009; Lee & Oxelson, 2006; Youngs & Youngs, 2001, *inter alia*), to uncover more about *how* educators express those attitudes, thus requiring a focus on the actual discourse of the participants which necessitates a more qualitative discursive approach to the study employing a systematic linguistic framework of analysis.

This chapter describes the design of the study, and comprises a discussion of the rationale for the research approach, ethical considerations, the research participants and contexts, the role of the researcher, data collection methods, the approach to transcription, and an introduction to the formal analytical frameworks used. It also contains a section on trustworthiness, and an acknowledgement of the limitations of the study.

This study was undertaken with an understanding that personally-held attitudes, in conjunction with prevailing societal conditions and ideologies, will influence educators' own practice, the ethos of the school, and the teacher-child relationship, which has in turn been shown to have an impact on the educational and linguistic outcomes for multilingual children, in terms of academic achievement, self-esteem and language attrition (Connor & McCartney, 2007; Flores, 2001; Karabenick & Clemens, 2004; Youngs & Youngs, 2001). It is widely believed that:

Teachers' beliefs, practices and attitudes are important for understanding and improving educational processes. They are closely linked to teachers' strategies for coping with challenges in their daily professional life and to their general well-being, and they shape students' learning environment and influence student motivation and achievement.

(OECD, 2009, p. 89)

In order to facilitate this investigation to be as open-ended as possible and without making predictions about the type of attitudes and beliefs that might be expected, or the ideologies that underpin them, this study addressed one over-arching research question, and three further sub-questions, which were introduced earlier. The over-arching question was:

How do primary school educators express attitudes about children who speak languages beyond English and their families from northern English primary schools?

The research sub-questions were:

- a) *What are the discourses of participants regarding children with languages beyond English and their families, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*
- b) *What are the discourses of participants regarding the languages beyond English used in their local communities, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*
- c) *What are the discourses of participants regarding their schools' practices and policies for working with children with languages beyond English, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*

4.2 Rationale for the research approach

This study adopts a multiple instrumental case study approach. A instrumental case study is one in which a particular case is studied in order to consider a wider issue, while a multiple instrumental case study widens the scope to cover a number of individuals or contexts (Punch & Oancea, 2014). A case study approach is ideal for exploring a contemporary real-life phenomenon from which it is difficult to separate context (Yin, 2009), which is very much the case for the socio-politically involved field of education for children who speak languages beyond English. Although the intention of such case studies is not to be able to generalise findings, the inclusion of a broad range of settings and individuals' experiences and opinions in this study should render the forthcoming analysis and discussion pertinent and informative for the reader (Chapelle & Duff, 2003).

The focus on the spoken attitudinal language of primary school educators lead to a decision to concentrate primarily on one main set of data - that of one set of very open-ended research interviews. Preliminary research interviews with school managers, teachers, bilingual learning assistants, and teaching assistants, research interviews with local authority staff and an Initial Teacher Education lecturer, my own field notes and observational notes, documentary evidence provided by the school, and a range of relevant governmental reports and curriculum documentation provided important additional data to corroborate or contradict the analysis of what participants shared with me in our conversations,. However, they did not directly contribute to addressing the research questions. Rather this auxiliary data provided evidence of the importance of the contexts in which the teachers and children in their care are operating whilst allowing for a better understanding of some of the attitudes explicitly and implicitly expressed.

Overall, the research study was intended to be inductive in aiming to "explore a field" (David & Sutton, 2011, p. 27) that is currently underexplored in the UK context. Raising awareness of precisely *how* attitudes towards these issues are expressed is important in that it takes us

beyond current pedagogical attitudinal studies, which tend to adopt a survey type research to design to capture whether attitudes are favourable, neutral or negative, as we saw in Chapter 2. Conducting a critical discourse analysis of interview data allows the nuance of how attitudinal language is being used by participants to be captured, with the understanding that individual identities and institutional realities about how languages beyond English and their speakers are perceived are constructed *through* language (Foucault, 1982). My decision to utilise research interviews as the mode of data collection and a largely qualitative approach to data analysis afforded me the opportunity to make linguistic observations that may not be able to be uncovered in some of the more traditionally quantitative approaches. As Silverman (2013) puts it, “there are areas of social reality which [...] statistics cannot measure” (p. 97), attitudes being one of them. Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain (2009) point out that attitudes are “constructed in interaction through negotiation with interactants, in specific circumstances and with specific interactional intentions” (p. 217), although ideologies, presuppositions and assumptions brought into the interactional situation through linguistic choices made can allow glimpses of participants’ ingrained attitudes on a particular topic too. Adopting research interviews as the key research instrument allow for the elicitation of attitudes in the participants’ own voices, without the prescription of the Likert scale-type questioning found in most surveys, which can flavour even the open-ended responses often found at the end of these survey tools. Further benefits are also found in the ability for the researcher to be able to be reactive in the interview, adapting to what the interviewee’s needs seem to be at the time (Mann, 2016).

Other data collection methods involving spoken language that would have uncovered attitude expression include narrative research and life-history interviews, but a narrow focus on these choices would have constrained the interaction and would not necessarily have offered further insights on the research questions. There are numerous examples of both narrative and life-history in the research interviews as they stand, as a result of them being a natural way to construct conversation and share experiences and knowledge. Being open to the potential for narrative data enables the researcher to potentially uncover something of the participants’ constructions of self and their projected identities. Leaving space for moments of storytelling in semi-structured interviews, for example, can reveal implicit internalised world-views (Baynham, 2011a; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) by allowing for the exploration of themes and new ideas. However, there would have been no benefit in constraining participants to perform solely within the frame of story-telling or autobiographical talk.

Everyone interprets situations differently; some of the participants entered the interview situation having already decided what it was I was going to ask and what they would tell me, whilst others appeared to have spent little time engaging in reflection on the topics under discussion, and so needed the safe space the qualitative open-ended interview offered in order to explore their own thinking. What these participants said at the time may not have

been what they thought they would have told me had they reflected in advance or had they been forced to react more quickly or instinctively to questioning. Participants often commented on precisely this after the recording of an interview had finished, reflecting on how much they had ‘waffled on’, for example, or how they had had ‘no idea what they were going to say’. Given the focus of the study was not to uncover ‘truths’ regarding practice and policy, such meandering in the participants’ talk is not problematic at all. In fact, it could be argued that the open-ended interview structure allowed for the exploration of participants’ attitudes and the development of attitudes over the period of the interview in a way that can further illuminate our understanding of attitudinal stance-taking.

4.3 Research contexts

This thesis reports on a qualitative multiple case study with fifteen participants drawn from six suburban primary schools in five local authorities across northern England in 2012, from the North-East, North-West, and Yorkshire and the Humber regions. The selection of institutional contexts for the project was one of convenience in that I was following up on suggestions from six different personal and professional contacts. It was also purposive (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007) in that it offered some geographical and linguistic diversity. I approached each of the schools initially by email and often subsequently by telephone. Six other schools were approached, which either refused to take part or which made no response to the initial enquiries, while two other schools played a role in the preliminary study but were subsequently unable to participate in the main study due to unforeseen events.

Contexts: the participants

The study was split into two stages, the first being a **preliminary study** comprising semi-structured interviews across seven schools, which allowed for an initial exploration of the contexts and potential for further research (further information about the preliminary study participants can be found in Appendix 1). The **main study** of fifteen participants (only four of whom had not taken part in the **preliminary study**) comprised thirteen open-ended interviews which allowed me to address the discourse-focused research questions that were born out of researcher reflections on the preliminary study. A distinction is made here between a pilot study and a preliminary study because the initial study here was not concerned with testing of research design or instrumentation for the main study. The nature of the preliminary study will be revisited in more detail in section 4.6.1. A summary of the research contexts and participants in the **main study** is shown in table 4, with the school contexts discussed in more depth in the following section (with Ofsted report data used but deliberately not fully referenced in order to protect confidentiality). Individual participants will be introduced more fully in the next chapter, when their own discourse about themselves will be used to gain further understanding of their backgrounds.

Site	Location	Participants	Role	Interview duration
1	Lancashire	Thomas	Head teacher	43m01s (4 sections)
2	Lancashire	Kelly	EAL Coordinator	31m05s (2 sections)
		Taliba	BLA*	} 28m51s
		Habib	BLA*	
		Oraiba	BLA*	
		Caroline	Deputy head	7m40s
		Marie	Class teacher	26m21s
		Sheila	Head teacher	18m18s
		*BLA=Bilingual Learning Assistant		
3	West Yorkshire	Sarah	Deputy head	42m33s
4	North East	Irene	Head teacher	29m03s (3 sections)
5	West Yorkshire	Luke	Deputy head	26m02s
		Karen	SEN Coordinator	19m17s
		Helen	Family Liaison Mgr	21m02s
		Kate	Class teacher	42m32s
6	North East	Lucy	Higher Level Teaching Assistant (EAL Coordinator)	53m55s

Table 3: Participants in the Main Study interviews, with total length of interview.

School 1

This school is located in a local authority area with an EAL population of just under 15% (School Census, 2011) although the school itself is in a situation where “most pupils are of Pakistani heritage and speak English as an additional language. Others are from different minority ethnic groups and 16 languages are spoken in the school” (Ofsted, 2012). The school had 205 children enrolled at the time of the interviews, which makes it smaller than average, but it has an above average number of children taking free school meals, which is a statistic

frequently used (despite it being a contested and problematic measure) in educational research to highlight an area likely to be experiencing relatively high levels of social deprivation (Sammons et al, 1994, cited in Storey & Chamberlin, 2001).

As far as the provision of support for EAL is concerned, the school received a “Good” status in the 2012 Ofsted inspection, under the revised inspection procedures, which came into play on 1 September 2012, meaning the visit took place at two days’ notice (that becoming the standard notice period from that time). The Ofsted report flagged up issues with long periods of absence from school, which was considered to have a negative impact on other children, as well as those missing from the classroom.

Ofsted considers home-language provision for children with limited English skills to be good when they first arrive at school, commenting that “skilled bi-lingual teaching supports language development well and staff take every opportunity to encourage children to talk about their activities” (Ofsted, 2012). The report discussed good and effective use of bilingual support having had a positive effect on learning outcomes for the pupils ensuring that, by Year Six, achievement of EAL pupils was broadly in line with the national average.

School 2

This school is situated in the same local authority area as S1. This school is a much larger school of 436 pupils (Ofsted, 2012). It also underwent an inspection in 2012, again at two days’ notice, and achieved a “Good” rating overall. The pupils achieve the national average in English by Year Six, although did not meet the standard in Maths, which is what prevented the school from being “outstanding”. The inspection team particularly focused on promoting talking in mathematics, in order to develop mathematical language and conceptual understanding, something that would be well supported by Barwell (2002) and something that the school was focusing on by summer 2012.

The school had no bilingual teachers who were specifically employed for their language skills. Although some are bilingual, they were not necessarily so in the home languages of any of the pupils. However, during the last round of funding cuts affecting the local authority provision, the head teacher (Sheila) made the decision to employ directly four of the bilingual learning assistants who had previously been employed by the LA (including Taliba, Habib and Oraiba). The local authority was, at the time of my visit, funding training for many of the teachers and teaching assistants within the school, at appropriate levels, from non-accredited courses, to masters level programmes, and this is having a significant effect on practice in the school. The Ofsted report remarks “Pupils who speak English as an additional language make outstanding progress and are among the highest attaining pupils”. The School Census (2011) recorded 10 home languages other than English for the pupils in S2.

School 3

School 3 is located in a sprawling and increasingly urbanised suburb of a large Yorkshire city. It is smaller than average, with 196 pupils on the roll in summer 2011. The proportion of children from minority ethnic backgrounds is higher than the national average but the percentage of children with English as an Additional Language is below average, and lower than found elsewhere in the local authority area. The school obtained a “satisfactory” rating from Ofsted in summer 2011.

There is little provision from the local authority for those children who are English language learners, apart from initial home visit support and translations of school documents when required. The head teacher, who was part of the preliminary study and was new to the school in 2008, delegated the EAL coordination responsibility in early 2011 to two Higher Level Teaching Assistants and they were using some of the resources produced by either Blackburn or Tower Hamlets local authorities to work with their small, but growing, population of EAL children.

School 4

School 4 is a junior school (unlike the rest of the schools in the study which combine infant and junior provision in a primary school) just outside the centre of a north-eastern English city. In its last Ofsted inspection in 2009, the school was rated “satisfactory”. The population of EAL children in this local authority is low and this is mirrored in S4, with only a few isolated bilingual children throughout the school, increasingly from Eastern Europe, although also recently from China.

Bilingual support is not utilised at all in the school. Although there are some bilingual staff, most are involved in ancillary services or have been employed for non-linguistic reasons. Support staff of any sort were thin on the ground, however, with teaching assistants only employed to support classes for one-and-a-half days per week.

School 5

This school is located in one of the local authorities with the greatest proportion of EAL children in the country. It is not located centrally within this area, however, and so does not experience quite the same percentages of EAL in the classroom as some of the other local schools, though the EAL proportion is still high. The school is larger than average, with 384 children on the roll in late 2010.

Ofsted rated this school as “good” in 2011 and noted that EAL children made progress in line with their peers. There is little specific provision of support for EAL children, and there is no EAL coordinator in the school, with class teachers taking responsibility for the needs of their children.

School 6

School 6 is a larger-than-average school in a suburban area of a small town situated a few miles from a large north-eastern city, with almost all pupils being of White British ethnicity and a very low EAL population, mirroring that of the local authority in which it is situated. The school received an “outstanding” rating from Ofsted in autumn 2011 but with recommendations to improve the cross-cultural understanding of the children in the school.

4.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was obtained for both stages of this study from the University of York Department of Education’s Ethics Board, under different guidelines, as they were institutionally amended in the time between the preliminary and main studies of this thesis.

Informed consent

Informed written consent was obtained from all participants. In the first instance, a key contact was established at the school and permission to research with them sought by email, usually followed up by a telephone conversation. This allowed for the research aims to be clearly expressed in writing and then verbally with each individual participant, in order that they fully understood the process (British Educational Research Association, 2011). The explicit explanation of these research aims was necessarily kept to a minimum, and questioning was relatively indirect, as telling participants that the intention was to investigate their attitudes and the ways in which they were expressed may have increased the social desirability effect (Fisher, 1993) with interviewees being focused narrowly on this aspect of the conversation to the exclusion of other useful and relevant issues, and perhaps also purposefully putting a gloss on their school or personal viewpoint in this respect, which would not have been beneficial for the aims of the study. Therefore, participants were simply made aware of the broader aim of investigating the nature of support for ‘EAL’ children. This does not amount to any subterfuge about the nature of the research, but rather kept the topic broad enough to allow participants freedom to express themselves (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

Two consent forms (one for the preliminary and one for the main study) were devised, collected and filed for each of the 35 participants: both forms are provided as Appendices 2 and 3. All participants were told at each stage that they could withdraw their consent at any point (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

Participants were able to ask any questions they wished before the recorded interview began in order to assuage any concerns that they may have. Some questions revolved around the potential benefits for the participants themselves. If participants give up their time to talk to a researcher (usually a break-time or lunchtime in a busy teaching day) it is entirely reasonable for them to query the relevance of the work for them as individuals (British Educational

Research Association, 2011). I was happy to discuss the potential impact of this work, in terms of its stand-alone value in publication and therefore potential dissemination amongst researchers and policy-makers, as well as its value in adding to the growing variety of research studies around EAL issues. These discussions were indeed had with a number of participants. I pointed out to participants that class teachers' and teaching assistants' opinions and attitudes had rarely been sought, with the focus often being on the children, and that this study may help their voices to be heard. It could be said that children and parents with languages beyond English require advocacy in the UK, in part because of the prevailing attitudes towards multilingualism, immigration, and poverty, but the teachers of these children are also in need of support. As Harris, Leung & Rampton (2001) note, recent governments have not shown themselves to be particularly willing to listen to researchers in this area, but that does not mean that researchers should stop proposing policy change. This idea of the participants being involved in the study in order to try and effect change is a powerful one, allowing participants, sometimes seen as research subjects, to claim a more central role in the creation of the findings, *researching with and for* rather than simply being *researched on* (Cameron, Fraser, Harvey, Rampton, & Richardson, 1997).

Audio recording

Audio recording interviews can sometimes cause participants to worry about confidentiality and this concern can lead to participants being more careful about the opinions they express, for fear of their management or others in authority becoming aware of what was said. I always made it very clear that the audience for the audio recordings would be highly controlled, and this reassured all participants. Audio recording is clearly less invasive than video recording but may still cause some people concern and this should always be an important consideration. I found it useful to position the recorder in as discreet a location as possible, but also had to ensure that the recording equipment could be plugged in to avoid the potential for batteries running out. The majority of the participants seemed unconcerned by being audio recorded, although two explicitly said they did not enjoy it, and some participants checked whether I was recording during particular interactions (although this was always once the interview had been interrupted for some reason, usually in order to discipline a child).

During nearly all of my main study interviews, I was able to give participants the chance to read the interview transcripts from the previous year and offered all of them the opportunity to be sent the transcript of our interview once it was ready. This was offered largely as a member check to establish credibility in the research study, but also had an ethical function to demonstrate respect and give ownership to the participants (British Educational Research Association, 2011). Offering this chance to inspect the transcripts and make corrections, clarifications or request deletions is considered good practice in constructivist paradigmatic

approaches, in that it offers a chance to revisit the 'reality' or 'truth' created during the interview and to question whether the opinions and attitudes stated during it still feel relevant and 'true' from a distance (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). This being said, only five of the participants took the member check opportunity, others stating that they did not feel the need.

Anonymising

Participating schools have been numbered from 1 to 6, based on the order of my visits to schools during the preliminary study data collection in 2011. Descriptions of the geographical locations of the schools and other participating organisations (see following section) have purposely been kept as vague as possible, in the hope of guaranteeing anonymity, whilst giving enough information for the data analysis and subsequent discussion to be adequately contextualised. A *thick* or *dense* description of the research setting is a concept introduced to the field of ethnography by Geertz (1973) and involves the practice of giving a detailed account of a researcher's experience in fieldwork and of providing enough contextual information that someone outside of that setting can make sense of it and extract meaning from it. It is often seen as an important tool in creating trustworthiness in qualitative data collection (Chapelle & Duff, 2003; Lincoln & Guba, 2000) but it can come at a cost. It is very possible for 'thick' description to give so much information away that it becomes a comparatively easy task to isolate and identify schools and individuals within them. It is hoped, therefore, that the balance obtained in this current study is adequate to protect participants' identities whilst offering enough information about the nature of the contexts to be useful to the reader and allow for application to the reader's own settings, if appropriate or desired.

A 'robust system' of replacing names should be adopted during the transcription phase, using a search and replace function in digital text (Corti, Day & Backhouse, 2000). I decided, after some deliberation about alternatives, to give participants pseudonyms, due to the personalisation of the individual doing so affords.

4.5 The role of the researcher

It is critically important to consider my role in this research process. I seek to present my data as "research interviews as social practice" (Talmy, 2010, p. 128) because 'how' and 'who' I was in these contexts and settings will have had a significant impact on the nature of the discussions and what was included, eliminated, highlighted or played down in these 'conversations'.

This will have changed from setting to setting during the research process and became a particularly key element during the main stage of the data collection, as I was more familiar to some staff by then, with the concurrent change in perspective that this will bring.

Additionally, the very geographical location of the schools will have affected the interaction. For example, I originally come from close to the area in which S6 is situated and know, as a sociolinguist, that the local accent tends to have an impact on the way I interact and establish rapport with people who speak with this accent. This kind of impact was distinctly less likely to be pertinent in S1 and S2.

The researcher-practitioner divide was something I was already highly conscious of before starting on this study, it being a recurrent theme in much education research, both in mainstream education and English Language teaching more specifically (Bahns, 1990). When I was an MA student, I vividly recall it being the topic of a particularly heated ELT Journal debate at the 2009 annual conference of the International Association for Teachers of English as a Foreign Language. I was therefore aware of this supposed dichotomy throughout the research process. It particularly affected the way in which I tried to build relationships and rapport on arriving in a new school. I was made aware of the fact that this often goes awry when a participant in S2 informed me that the teaching staff there had had a good day with me and enjoyed themselves, and that this was great because the previous day they had had a miserable time with another researcher leading them to slightly dread my visit. I was pleased that this had happened chronologically early in my visits, as creating a pleasant interview environment was something I held onto as vitally important. Teachers may or may not object to losing half-an-hour of their day to a researcher, and it is useful to consider what can be done to prevent this becoming a negative experience. As a guest in the school, courtesy is paramount, as is the ability to express an awareness of how pressed for time teachers are, and assurances about how long the process will take (British Educational Research Association, 2011). However, engaging the teachers in the topic and the outcome is also beneficial if possible, and using one's intuition to adjust to the needs of the participant in the interview setting is important. This sometimes involved trying to make the interview as personal and informal as was practicable and on other occasions, being clear about how efficient I would be and how undemanding the discussion would be was important. I felt that this learned adaptability was a good investment on my part in that it made the interview as fruitful as possible.

In some sense, this striking the right balance of appropriateness comes down to a swift and accurate assessment of - and adaptation to - the potentially shifting power relations discursively being constructed during the interaction. To a certain extent, I saw myself, and expected others to see me, as something of an 'outsider' to my participants, as I do not hold Qualified Teacher Status and am not, and never have been, a specialist EAL teacher. My visits to the schools were time-limited and therefore could not be considered as an immersive educational or linguistic ethnography (Conteh, Gregory, Kearney, & Mor-Sommerfeld, 2005; Rampton, 2007). However, this initial self-perception of my 'outsider' status was rarely explicitly questioned and, in fact, our shared educational professional status was often

foregrounded. I was often referred to explicitly as an 'expert', and my opinion sought on a range of EAL and general language learning issues, in what I consider is the mistaken belief that academics and researchers have all the answers. However, there were also many occasions when my lack of knowledge about the specifics of EAL policy and how it affected that school or local authority were apparent, and the balance of power would shift again. Teachers tended to be more explicit in discussing school-based and policy matters with me as they assumed less knowledge, which is ideal for data collection purposes. This lack of specific expertise was, however, well tempered by the fact that I am a language graduate, an English tutor, and a doctoral researcher, which means they still approached the interview with a certain respect for gained knowledge in the field of second language acquisition, so I believe it made for a generally happy marriage. Ultimately, I came to realise that the mutual professional involvement in education that I shared with participants, as a lecturer and English language teacher (albeit in a slightly different field of Teaching English as a Foreign Language and English for Academic Purposes) afforded me much more of the 'insider' status than I had initially thought.

4.6 Data collection methods

The preliminary study

The preliminary study was initially designed as a broad scoping study with data collection undertaken in the spring and summer 2011. The aim was to capture the views of northern English UK primary school educators on a range of issues pertaining to working with children who speak languages beyond English. The purpose was to investigate participants' opinions on four key themes relating to policy and practice with multilingual children and their families, which were felt likely to lead to a more focused approach for the main study. Those four themes were: the nature of the practical provision of support for children who speak languages beyond English; the use of home languages in the school; broader discussions about multilingualism and immigration; and family connections with school.

The interview questions sought to allow teachers to explore their own, and consider others', attitudes towards multilingualism, and the use of home languages, as well as broader, but vitally related questions, of attitudes towards immigration and ethnic minority communities in the UK. The interview guide which was adopted is given in Appendix 4. This preliminary study allowed me to take time to get to know the research field and the issues involved in working with children who speak languages beyond English. It also afforded me the chance to establish effective relationships and a good rapport with many of the participants and gatekeepers in the institutions involved. A thematic analysis of this preliminary study was published by the British Council (Wardman, 2012b), with some pedagogical and policy recommendations included, but for the purposes of this thesis, the data collected during this

stage will be used only to triangulate the interview data from the main study, corroborating, contradicting, or illuminating the analysis of the later series of interviews.

The Main Study

Although many interesting themes arose within the interviews which could have been followed up, including the use (or not) of home languages, teacher's confidence in working with languages beyond English, and comparisons between schools in terms of provision of support, it was the actual language itself used to express opinions that I found myself reflecting on as I considered options for the main study focus, which lead to the discourse-focused research questions introduced in the introduction to this thesis.

Data collection for the main study consisted of visits to six of the seven schools between April and October of 2012. I adopted an unstructured approach to interviewing during this stage, in order to elicit a more free response from participants. I asked one "grand tour" question (Spradley, 1979, cited in Richards, 2003), asking the participants to update me on the intervening year in the broadest of terms, before referring to a list of prompts to follow up on areas of interest should they not be addressed in the response to the overarching question (see figure 4 below for this interview guide, which also indicates the reasoning for each prompt and the connections with particular research questions). This approach offered the greatest freedom to both researcher and participant, whilst giving a clear starting point for the interview sessions. It allowed me to adopt a "qualified naïveté" (Kvale, 2007, p.12) and to be open to noticing connections between the attitudes of staff, influences upon them, and reported action in the school environment or classroom. I was not dictating and limiting them to a narrow frame of reference, as questions such as 'what do you think about children using home languages in your classroom?' might have done. For the most part, these prompts were little used in the event, as the majority of the interviews required clarifications and reflections to keep the conversation flowing, as participants seemed keen to talk. I offered an overview of the types of discussion that had been had during the previous visit to the school, as a reminder for those who were involved, and to set the scene for new participants, and then asked them very broadly for their perspectives.

How are things going overall at the moment for children with EAL in this school and the staff working with them? (mainRQ and subRQ1 and 3 directly, and subRQ2 indirectly)

(Allow participant to talk for as long as they wish and prompt only if necessary)

Follow-up:

If talk is flowing, mainly follow up and interrupt only for clarification questions and reflections to take discussion further.

Any statistics offered – follow up for precision/ evidence.

If necessary, prompt questions about the following may be useful:

Any discussions of particular initiatives – follow up with question regarding who is taking responsibility for it / managing it (subRQ3)

(aiming to get at who is leading on home language support issues – head, school management, LA, elsewhere within the school – i.e. bottom up)

Have staff at the school received any recent training? (subRQ2/ subRQ3)

(aiming to uncover attitudes of leadership team towards EAL/ home languages here – prioritisation of funding)

What is the current funding situation for staff training? (subRQ3)

What is the current funding situation for EAL support? (subRQ2)

(aiming to understand what participants feel about resources and the power of money/ resources in these situations)

Are other languages being used in the school more or less than last year, and what has caused the change if there has been one? (subRQ2)

(aiming to uncover ideologies about the space for languages beyond English in the school, as well as more practical issues to do with time, space and funding for training and further education – issues of prioritisation)

How are home languages used in the classroom? (subRQ2)

(aiming to uncover ideologies about the space for languages beyond English in the school. Any individual practices? This would say something about the power of the individual to create the space for other languages, even within the confines of the controlled curriculum)

How are relationships between parents and the school at the moment? (subRQ1/ subRQ3)

Have there been any specific attempts to work with families and the wider community and, if so, how successful have these been considered to be? (subRQ3)

(aiming to understand who is leading on family liaison and whether there is a school wide strategy.)

Figure 4: Main study interview guide

Interviews during both studies were undertaken in a wide variety of forms, necessarily dictated by the participants and the institutional setting and practices. In most schools, it was possible for staff to take some time out of breaks, lunch hours, or even class-time, to talk to me, and so the majority of my audio-recorded interviews took place in semi-private settings. In some schools, it was possible to secure a small, private office in which to meet, but in others, interviews took place in staff rooms, or in alcoves or more open spaces around the school, which occasionally caused interruptions or noise. However, it felt very important to me, as a visitor to the school, to accept whatever provision the school were able to make and not cause disruption to any plans made (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

How comfortable participants are in the interview situation will affect the interaction. It was important for me, as the interviewer, to learn each time afresh how a particular participant spoke and to adjust the way I listened accordingly, as Wengraf (2001, cited in Richards, 2003) discusses. The first few minutes of an interview are key for establishing rapport and making an interviewee feel at ease and happy to share their life experiences (Hennink, Hutter, & Bailey, 2011; Kvale, 2007). I focused carefully on the briefing stage of each interview, with the intention of intuiting the needs of each individual within the research interview. Equally, Kvale (2007) discusses the debriefing stage of the interview, with the opportunity for the participant to add anything that might have been missed. I ensured this opportunity was provided after each interview.

Auxiliary data

Auxiliary data was gathered from a range of sources in order to support and shed further light on some of the opinions expressed by the teachers in the above research interviews. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, an understanding of the policy documents and local linguistic landscapes, as well as background from teacher trainers and local authority staff was thought to be important to complement the principal data set.

To that end, research interviews were conducted beyond the school contexts introduced in the previous section, with an Initial Teacher Educator and with two local authority English language specialists. Both of these types of provision are currently under threat of funding cuts and changes in approach, with local authority support for bilingual children experiencing intense cuts of government funding and many teams across the country disbanding. More recently, initial teacher education in British universities has also come under threat, with prospective teachers being encouraged to take more practice-based routes into teaching. The two auxiliary research sites are introduced below.

Interview: Local authority specialist teachers

Two specialist EAL teachers from the local authority in northwest England supporting S1 and S2 spoke with me at their offices in the centre of the region. This is a relatively large, and very

successful operation, working under strong leadership. It provides a range of support to the schools in the area, which have widely differing needs. This includes classroom and withdrawal support; extensive training, both In Service Training (INSET) and accredited external training and education; offering resources; working on projects jointly with schools and individuals; and more general advice.

Interview: Initial Teacher Education institution

I secured an interview with the Head of Subject for Initial Teacher Education at a well-known primary education department in northern England. This department awards *circa* 350 primary level Qualified Teacher Status degrees per year. The schools in this present study are relatively likely to be the kind of schools these graduates will seek employment in, so their experiences on the courses are relevant.

Field notes and unstructured observational data: across all research interview contexts

Alongside these interviews, which shed light on some of the experiences shared by the participants, I also kept field notes and unstructured observational data from school visits, whenever this was possible. These notes were taken at the time of the visit, and/ or completed shortly afterwards, and were recorded in one research journal for the whole process. Because I was not looking for specific information to prove or disprove a hypothesis, the notes were not taken in a pre-designed grid format or similar, in the way that classroom interaction data might be collected, for example, but rather simple notes were made when something of interest presented itself, providing a more holistic and “macroscopic” picture (Punch, 2009, p. 155). Information on the linguistic landscapes (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) in the school, for example, was considered pertinent, so notes were made as to whether languages beyond English were present in the environment.

Document evidence: school-produced and national documentation

In a number of schools, I was given documents that participants considered relevant to my research and these were gratefully received as part of this supporting documentation data set. Although more recently, governments, and Ofsted as the inspectorate of education in the UK, have moved away from producing guidance documents for the support of EAL and multilingual children (as can be seen from the most recent publication date listed in the table below), it can be seen in table 5 that there was a period of time in recent history when a flurry of guidance documents was published. Costley and Leung (2014, p. 40) refer to education policy in this current period as something of a “vacuum”. These earlier documents will be considered in order to shed light on some of the participants’ attitudes to the support of the multilingual children in their schools. Decisions about which documents to select were

made with reference to criteria pertaining to whether they remained relevant, informative, up-to-date and credible (Finnegan, 1996).

Documents used to complement the main study interview data analysis are listed in table 4.

Document	Department	Year of publication
<i>Developing Language in the Primary School: literacy and primary languages</i>	Primary National Strategies (Department of Children, Schools and Families)	2009
<i>Community Languages Bulletin</i>	CILT – National Centre for Languages	2009
<i>Supporting children learning English as an additional language.</i>	Department of Children, Schools and Families	2007
<i>New Arrivals Excellence programme guidance</i>	DfES	2007
<i>Guidance on Meeting the Needs of New arrivals</i>	Tower Hamlets EMA Team	2007
<i>Excellence and Enjoyment: learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years.</i>	Department of Children, Schools and Families	2006
<i>Aiming High: Meeting the Needs of newly arrived learners of English as an Additional Language</i>	Primary National Strategy, DfES	2005
<i>Supporting Pupils Learning English as an Additional Language</i>	The National Literacy Strategy - DfES	2002
<i>Languages: the Next Generation</i>	Nuffield Foundation	2000
<i>Education for All</i>	DES	1985
<i>A language for life</i>	DES	1975

Table 4: Auxiliary documentary data

4.7 The approach to transcription

Methodological considerations

As Richards (2003, p. 81) says, the “first step to any adequate analysis of interview data must be transcription”. In fact, Rapley (2007, cited in Kvale, 2007) suggests that transcription is, in fact, an initial analysis in itself. Oliver, Serovich and Mason acknowledge that the task is often seen as nothing more than a “behind-the-scenes aspect of data management” (2005, p. 1273) but call for a far greater focus to be placed on the process, claiming it has a central role to play in the representation of the data and, therefore, in the conclusions drawn from it. They suggest that a closer interrogation of the process is a requirement for all qualitative

researchers, and that a key element of this is a period of reflection in which the researcher considers their options on the continuum of naturalised to denaturalised methods and makes appropriate decisions based on the needs of the project under consideration.

I initially decided that a truly naturalised method of a conversation analytic approach was not required for this transcription, as I was not seeking to investigate the intricacies of language use in its most focused form. Too heavy a focus on the minutiae of the interactional action (for example, sniffs, pauses, overlaps, minimal encouragers and fillers such as 'yeah' and 'mmm') can distract from being able to focus on the essential message that the speaker is trying to communicate, as well as seeming to be a dismissal of the importance of the social context in which the conversation is taking place. This suggested that a broader transcription, such as those favoured by discourse analysts, through which researchers can gain access to the "embodied discourses" (Cameron, 2001, p. 123) in speech, was more appropriate. This approach would easily allow me to focus on a critical discourse analysis but, a transcription lacking in any of the detail, for example regarding pauses, may have prevented me from making some observations on the interactions that may be pertinent. Therefore, it does seem to be the case that the idea of a period of reflection is a wise suggestion for qualitative researchers embarking on transcription as requirements can change during the analysis process.

Initially, following the data collection period for the preliminary study, all my recorded interviews were transcribed in reasonable detail, falling somewhere fairly centrally along the continuum of detailed to broad, in that I captured to some extent pauses, hesitations and repetitions, as well as overlaps (the latter naturally being particularly prevalent in group interviews). This first stage resulted in transcriptions that offered a good overall perspective to facilitate reflection regarding the aims and focus for the main study research questions, and this opportunity to develop an appropriate transcription approach allowed for more clarity about what was necessary once it came to the transcription of the main study data.

Listening to interviews a number of times is an important aspect of the data analysis process so the need to spend time in getting the transcriptions right should not be seen as a negative. I was heavily involved in the transcription of each and every interview, whether this be for the full process or whether it was in the final stages of adding detail (as around ten of the preliminary interviews were transcribed initially by another researcher, and I secured paid research assistant support for the main study interview transcription). The need to coordinate the transcription process between these transcribers and across both stages allowed me to develop a consistent level of detail and to develop an appropriately detailed notation system to suit my needs as discussed above. Therefore, as Kvale (2007) notes, working with a group of transcribers can operate as a good reliability check for accurate transcription.

Transcription notation

Whilst acknowledging Fairclough's point that for many purposes a fairly minimal transcription is adequate (Fairclough, 2010), I have added further detail into my transcriptions to capture a little more linguistic nuance, drawing on traditional notation from Conversation Analysis to do this.

The particular notation conventions I adopted in my transcriptions are adapted from Hutchby & Wooffitt (1998):

(.)	short pause
(...)	longer pause (NB. the decision was generally made not to record the precise length of the pause as it was felt this detail would add little to the eventual analysis)
:	lengthening or stretching out of the preceding syllable
[speech]	concurrent speech
((laughs))	non-verbal activity
(ls)	lip smack
-	a sharp cut-off of the prior sound or word
(inaudible)	speech which is difficult to make out
<u>word</u>	underlined utterance indicates particular emphasis or stress

4.8 APPRAISAL analysis in use

In our 'conversations', participants regularly evaluated current practice and discourse, judged themselves and others, expressed strong and hedged opinions, and situated themselves strategically in the context under discussion, in order to give me some impression about their professional practice and personal feelings, as we can see even in this quote from a transcript from the preliminary study: *'We're trying to sort of reverse that by our attitudes'*.

Here, we see a lexicogrammatical construction that semantically indicates a sense of action without a great sense of agency ('trying'), positioning of self as part of some larger team ('we' and 'our'), hedging ('sort of'), an implied negative judgement of others' previous actions (or lack thereof) and a construction of the current team as now doing the right thing with 'reverse'. The excerpt also highlights awareness of the importance of attitudes, implying that the participant feels that the attitudes themselves can have potency and agency, which supports the focus of research in this area. There is an acknowledgement here of the fact that teachers' attitudes can be a force for good (and implicitly, therefore, also a force for ill). In this quotation, it is also possible to note that there seems to be some sort of ideological struggle going on against an established *status quo*, and, although we may need more context to ascertain from where this stems, it may lead us to consider issues of the power held by

those dictating the way in which things have been done and the potential agency of the group attempting to 'reverse' the way things have been done.

In analysing the transcripts of our talks, I needed a framework that integrated all of these construals. Although it is, of course, useful and important to consider *what* an individual says during a research interview, it is equally important to consider *how* they are expressing themselves and for what purpose. The topics under discussion in our interviews pertain to groups of oft-marginalised children and adults and, therefore, ideologies, with individual and institutional assumptions and presuppositions are embedded throughout the discourse. A critical discourse analytic approach can help "make visible and de-naturalize how some things have come to be interconnected and other things disconnected" (Roderick, 2016, p. '58). Some of the discursive practices analysed in this thesis pertain to issues of power (political, institutional, and individual), agency (or lack thereof), and non-linguistic identities, as well as involving the discursive creation of professional identities.

It should be noted that critical discourse analysis is not a method of analysis in itself (Van Dijk, 2008a). It adopts whatever method and instruments are deemed appropriate for the particular study undertaken. The method and instruments chosen, however, need to allow for a "specific[...] focus on the complex relations between social structure and discourse structure, and how discourse structures may vary or be influenced by social structure" (Van Dijk, 2008, p.4). In focusing on this relationship, I am situating myself as aligned with Fairclough in claiming that "language use [is] imbricated in social relations and processes which systemically determine variation in its properties, including the linguistic forms which appear in texts" (2010, p. 58-9). An introduction of the adopted method of textual analysis, which allows for such a focus on linguistic variation and speaker choice, now follows.

APPRAISAL analysis has been effectively used as a framework for textual analysis to consider the variety of ways in which evaluation is done, since its inception in the 1990s and continued development thereafter. The interview transcriptions were analysed adopting APPRAISAL as the principal method because of its inherent focus on the relevance of context and linguistic choice on the part of the speaker. This approach enabled me to systematically and rigorously identify patterns of evaluation and examine closely linguistic markers of positive and negative attitudes as well as to assess the intensity of that APPRAISAL and the dialogic positioning of the speaker during the process.

Interview coding: software versus manual analysis

Although the first coding and initial analysis of the transcriptions used *Dedoose* as a tool, which is a free open-source online software package for qualitative analysis, subsequent analyses, a self-check of the initial APPRAISAL coding and additional contextual observations, were made manually. I developed an organic system with APPRAISAL codings in one margin, other analytical and CDA coding and notes in the other, potential points of interest at the top

and methodological or analytical reflections at the bottom, using the spaces close to the data more effectively than I felt was possible in a screen-based approach. A snapshot of this approach is shown in figure 5.

Code counts were then conducted within Excel, for each individual participant, and were categorised by attitudes expressed towards different groups (children, teachers, parents, other) before totals for each category and the varying cohorts of participants were calculated.

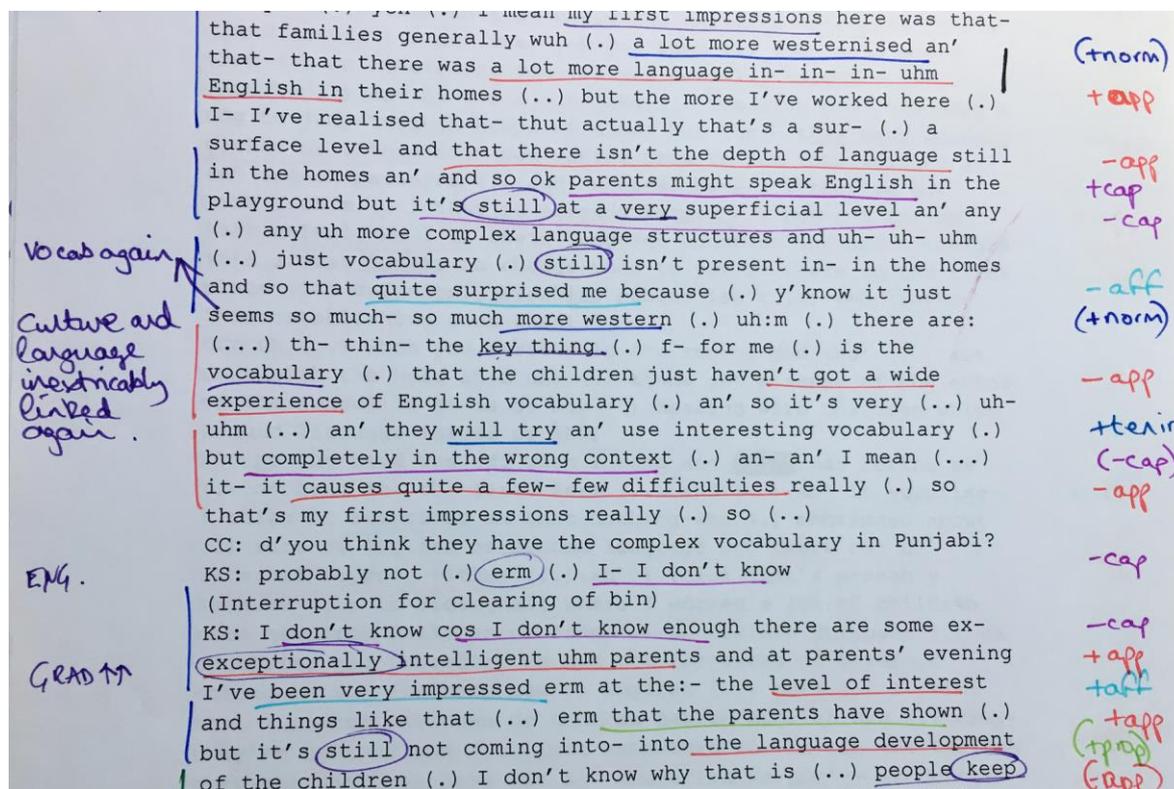


Figure 5: Initial manual coding of main study transcripts

APPRAISAL in practice

In this section, I will discuss both the practical approach to presentation of excerpts in the relevant chapters, and offer some examples of each of the broad systems within the APPRAISAL framework.

During Chapters 6 and 7 (the qualitative findings and discussion chapters), the APPRAISAL coding of relevant points (shown in bold) will be presented in *italics* and subscripted within square brackets (in order to enhance readability as far as possible, something that seems to be a challenge for many researchers working with APPRAISAL). A colon is used to separate different subsystems within the framework. We can see a short example of the approach below:

Lucy: dad **could speak** [judgement: capacity+] (...) mum **couldn't** [judgement: capacity-] (...) maybe it is a cultural thing (...) dads **can** [judgement: capacity+] **all** [high force graduation: quantification] speak (...) mums **can't** [judgement: capacity-]

Whilst the transcription does not make explicit information about intonation and stress, on occasions in analysis, coding decisions were assisted by reference to the audio file to check on the impact of the particular intonation of an utterance.

Moving onto the framework of analysis itself below, I offer linguistic examples of each of the APPRAISAL framework categories, in order to make clear the coding system in operation in Chapters 6 and 7 and to adequately explain what linguistic choices each system in the framework seeks to foreground. For significantly more examples using the framework than is possible to include in this section, see Martin and White (2005).

ATTITUDE	AFFECT <i>(relating to emotions)</i>	Happiness <i>(-/ +)</i>	...a few tears at first
		Security <i>(-/ +)</i>	It's going to be quite daunting
		Satisfaction <i>(-/ +)</i>	... so we're very pleased with that
		Desire <i>(-/ +)</i>	... and they want to come in and help
	JUDGEMENT <i>(relating to human behaviour)</i>	Normality	I think they're really lucky
		Capacity	...and they can't speak English
		Tenacity	People work hard here
		Veracity	I didn't believe her
		Propriety	... and they should be helped to have an understanding...
	APPRECIATION <i>(relating to non-human entities)</i>	Reaction	...it was a lovely day
		Composition	He speaks quite clearly
		Valuation	It's more effective to train a room full of people

Table 5: The Attitude framework in use with data examples

Engagement <i>(heteroglossic or monoglossic)</i>	Expand	Entertain <i>(a range of options is allowed for)</i>	...which I suppose is good
		Attribute <i>(alternative positions explicit)</i>	<u>Acknowledge</u> : when I've talked to like SENCOs in other schools <u>Distance</u> : 'Chomsky claimed to have shown that...' (example taken from Martin & White, 2000)
	Contract	Disclaim <i>(denials and concessions)</i>	<u>Deny</u> : you know they'll never do it <u>Counter</u> : ...you don't even notice
		Proclaim	<u>Concur</u> : which is excluding of other

		(<i>subscribing</i>)	people, of course <u>Pronounce:</u> I think it's important <u>Endorse:</u> 'those studies show that...' (adapted from Martin & White, 2000)
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Table 6: The Engagement framework in use with data examples

Graduation (<i>raise or lower</i>)	Force (<i>intensity</i>)	Quantification	there's going to be loads of parents coming in
		Intensification	...at a very superficial level
	Focus (<i>sharpness</i>)		...managing finances and budgeting and stuff...

Table 7: The Graduation framework in use with data examples

These very limited examples cannot serve to facilitate a comprehensive understanding of this complex framework but this section aims only to observe the range of distinctions that can be made. It is also acknowledged that there is, in fact, further nuance at the next level of abstraction that is not captured in the tables above. Additionally, there is a higher level of JUDGEMENT considered in the original framework that categorises the five JUDGEMENTS into concepts of *Social sanction* and *Social esteem* (Martin & White, 2005). For the purposes of this study, it was felt that these notions did not contribute to an overall understanding in a way that necessitated their inclusion, and this decision was later corroborated by White (personal communication). He discussed the idea that TENACITY may not always fit within its assigned category of *Social esteem* as well as was originally thought as it may well be that these designations are actually culturally bound.

The complexity and breadth of the framework is therefore not in question, but beyond this challenge are some more specific ones worth reflecting on at this stage and the next section will cover some of the most pertinent.

Challenges of applying the APPRAISAL framework

The APPRAISAL framework offers a systematic approach to coding the transcripts for expression of attitude that allows for both a presentation of broad overall patterns, as we will see in the following chapter, and for the more detailed, qualitative approach that will be taken in the subsequent chapters (which will also take into account the attendant systems of ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION). However, it is not without its challenges as a data analysis tool. Some of these challenges were highlighted by Read et al. (2007) in their reflections on attempts to work on algorithms for automated APPRAISAL analysis.

APPRAISAL was initially designed to be used in the analysis of literary and literacy texts. Subsequently, it has received broader use as a research tool for discourse analysis of widely varying genres. These include media texts, grant proposals (Pascual & Unger, 2010), research

articles (Loi, Lim, & Wharton, 2016), wine tasting sheets (Breit, 2013) and, moving away from the written genre, professional discussions (Love & Arkoudis, 2006) and interviews (Sauntson, 2007) thereby involving adaptations to the framework as first developed. Refinements have been made by researchers working with APPRAISAL since its inception in the 1990s but it is acknowledged that the development of the framework is an on-going project (Ngo & Unsworth, 2015) and one that all researchers using it should be an active part of.

Three such challenges are briefly discussed below and will be considered in further depth towards the later stages of this thesis. They are problems related to binary positioning, to hypothetical or unreal situations, and to questions about NORMALITY as a JUDGEMENT.

Polarisation

One of the principal challenges of working with a taxonomy such as APPRAISAL is that the very nature of systematically dealing with linear systems that seek to address positive or negative aspects through noting POLARITY can lead to a binary approach, this especially the case when working at an abstracted numerical level.

As discussed in the previous chapter, I (a fellow educational professional but an outsider to their school and locality) am their audience in these conversations. Their testimony therefore is designed for me at the time and is just their version of thinking at that point in time, as is the case with any synchronous communicative event. The power to construct themselves a particular identity is really with them in this sense. Therefore, the aim should not be to focus solely on what they say here but to observe and investigate more thoroughly *how* they say these things, in order to see if the co-construction is relevant as well as considering in more depth such aspects as seniority and location. The fact that the participants in the current study choose what to volunteer to explore potentially means that attitudes could be expressed that could not have been adequately captured through survey means, where pre-selected questions by the researcher would necessarily limit the options. The usual focus on the binary positive - negative seen in other attitudinal studies (such as those cited and reviewed in Chapter 2) can be enhanced with more reference to how the participants introduce, frame and discuss their attitudes.

It is for this reason that, although a count of ATTITUDE tokens is a useful starting point for analysis in this study, in order to observe broad patterns of ATTITUDE across the cohort, it could be said to be easier to avoid a binary and potentially polarising stance by working with shorter excerpts in a more holistic fashion. This will allow for a focus on the nuances of the linguistic choices made by individual participants and their potential interpretations.

What's a real ATTITUDE?

Martin (2000) acknowledged that speakers often reference hypothetical situations when 'doing' attitude and offered the technical term *irrealis* to allow for the discussion of this factor

in analysis. However, Sauntson (2015) notes that while Martin posits that these instances of hypothetical discourse are most likely to occur within the AFFECT system, her experience in analysing research interviews was that they were perhaps just as likely if not more likely to occur in APPRECIATION. This also seems to be the case for the current study, where *irrealis* cases are classified as APPRECIATION, as well as also being used in JUDGEMENT and AFFECT discourse.

In the excerpt below, we can see that we progress from a concrete example to a narrative of a particular event into a story that doesn't actually happen and that this is created through *irrealis* CAPACITY JUDGEMENT and the grammatical choices made:

Kelly: I actually asked a child to give an answer in Urdu yesterday and she was struggling to put it into English (..) she'd told N what she wanted to say, the answer to a science question (.) she told N in her own language and N thought it was a good answer and she put her hand up and it didn't quite make the same sense (...) I said well (.) she didn't tell the whole class and I do tell them especially in maths if they're looking at difficult concepts or in science concepts (.) I say look if you don't know the words in English it's alright

There are clear linguistic markers of the shift between the real and the unreal. A shift from the simple past tense of the story telling to the present tense and conditional aspect can be observed, which appears multiple times across the data set, often using CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS in the conditional clause.

Problems pertaining to the coding of situations that were in progress are similar in this regard. These are scenarios painted by the speaker in which, typically, a JUDGEMENT is made which may be positive or negative but within the same topic, and which is then reversed due to the passage of time. For example, a child may progress in their proficiency of English over the course of a year. This means that a positive and negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENT is made in close proximity to each other. The question is whether this means that one cancels out the other, or that both stand. Both should be counted, but it does mean that the numeric representation of this excerpt is rather less than useful, without recourse to a more discourse-focused approach to make the APPRAISALS clear.

What is normal, anyway?

Read et al. (2007) observe that that coders generally find it easier to use APPRAISAL consistently within the ATTITUDE subsystem, and the attendant systems of GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT can be more challenging from an inter-rater reliability perspective. However, even within the ATTITUDE system, they note that the raters in their study disagreed over whether a particular lexical choice expressed AFFECT or JUDGEMENT: PROPRIETY. Part of the

issue is concerned with the openness to double (or triple) coding that is required since in much of our attitudinal discourse we express different kinds of attitudes at the same time. This was also discussed in an online forum for researchers using Appraisal Analysis with regards to my study when I posed a question regarding JUDGEMENT and attributed AFFECT. The four respondents to my query agreed with my analysis, acknowledging the challenges of and subjectivity inherent in working with multiple coding.

However, there are occasions when the POLARITY of JUDGEMENTS in coding becomes problematic too. Whilst Martin and White (2005) do deal with the fact that not being NORMAL is sometimes good, the polarity of this judgement is perhaps more complicated than for others, as this acknowledgement means that individuals are judged in a way that looks similar for displaying very different traits.

Other challenges or observations related to particular aspects of APPRAISAL will be made when relevant during the presentation and discussion of coded sections in the findings and analysis chapters. We now turn to a consideration of attempts made to ensure the rigour and trustworthiness of this study.

4.9 Trustworthiness of the study

Traditional models used to assess the quality of quantitative research studies are not relevant in the assessment of the rigour or trustworthiness of qualitative research (Krefting, 1991; Shenton, 2004), focusing as they do on concepts such as and external validity through generalizability and in terms of statistical significance. However, Krefting (1991) also points out that it is important not to judge the quality all qualitative research under the same criteria as each other, as the nature of qualitative research differs so significantly.

Guba's (1981) work on trustworthiness in qualitative research is one of the best-known and most widely used approaches to discuss quality. There are four aspects of the model, which are *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*. In the following section, I will discuss through how this study has met each of these criteria.

Credibility

Credibility differs from the quantitative equivalent measure, *internal validity*, in its orientation towards an acceptance of multiple realities. On the understanding that there is no single reality that is externally measurable, the qualitative researcher's job becomes that of attempting to understand and to represent effectively potential multiple realities.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, I embrace what Talmy (2010, p128), amongst others, endorses when he claimed that applied linguists, as a discipline, should adopt the concept of 'research interview as social practice' in preference to the 'interview as research instrument'. Although he is clear to point out that the latter is a perfectly valid research tool, he claims that

it makes little sense for researchers who have positioned themselves away from the positivist/ neo-positivist standpoints. It may well be the ubiquitous nature of interviewing in today's society that has caused an unquestioning approach to the theorisation of 'interviews as research instrument'. Interviews are everywhere and are often seen as "a resource for investigating truths, facts, experience, beliefs, attitudes, and/or feelings of respondents" (Talmy, 2010, p. 131).

Believing that knowledge and the 'truth' are co-constructed in interaction, and are highly dependent on the context and participants, leads me to embrace the 'research interview as social practice' conceptualisation of interviewing. The approach demands that the researcher adopts a greater reflexivity and reflection with regards to the nature of the interview, the data and the analysis. Bias, distortion, reliability and validity are not fertile ground in the analysis of active interviewing (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004) since the researcher and participant cannot spoil (through leading questions or not giving the 'facts'/ telling the truth) something that it essentially being created through the social practice of the research interview.

There are significant methodological difficulties and dangers in representing someone and attempting to say what they mean by listening to and transcribing what they say, particularly if the urge remains to treat what is said as some kind of 'gospel truth'. Prior (2016) considers how salient stories can be told differently at different times, with different audiences and for different rhetorical purposes. He discusses how one participant, Trang, utilises a particular linguistic device common in story-telling ("I was just...") to position himself as the innocent party and that he seemed to strategically 'forget' key information in some interviews and recall them in others, meaning that the stories changed over time, with more or less 'information' forthcoming depending on Trang's willingness to share or his capacity to engage with his own life narrative at the times of the various interviews in the study.

Adopting the APPRAISAL framework for the analysis of interview data in this study is invaluable in ensuring *credibility* in that it allows for a more reflective approach to what is being said, with the focus on the engagement and graduation systems demanding that the researcher acknowledges the participant's stance and positioning as an integral part of the analysis process. This means that reflexivity about and problematisation of the interview process itself is possible. How did teachers feel within the school environment? Did they feel able to talk freely or feel that they were representing the institution and must be more guarded? Were they confident in their roles and secure in their employment? Would they, therefore, be towing the 'party line', using institutional language and expressing institutional discourses or might they have expressed themselves more personally?

Alongside the analytical choices made to ensure *credibility*, I offered *participant/ member checking* of transcripts and audio files, so that participants were able to comment on the

multiple truths of their reality. Additionally, most participants were interviewed twice which further allows for development of ideas or reflection, on the part of participants and researcher alike.

Whilst inter-rater reliability checks are unusual in qualitative data analysis because of the prevalence of *ad hoc* category creations, it is possible in this study because of the use of a systematic framework. Analyses using the frameworks of systemic functional linguistics are potentially more verifiable and replicable (Barker and Galaskinski, 2001, cited in Wharton, 2012). In my case, I am fortunate enough to have a colleague who has experience with APPRAISAL analysis, and so they have been able to undertake a reliability check with me to ensure that my coding of data is accurate. This check confirmed that we had a high level of similarity and agreement between the two coded texts (>75%). I also engaged in an inter-rater reliability check of a different kind through the online forum for Appraisal Analysis researchers, as mentioned earlier. In this forum, White (personal communication) said that he 'concurred entirely' with my analysis of a particular utterance. Additionally, I have engaged extensively in peer examination of the work, from research seminars with my own department's research unit, to a number of international conferences, where various stages of this study have been reported on and feedback sought. This has always been a constructive and thought-provoking experience and lead to some worthwhile periods of reflection.

It is generally recommended that sticking to well-used paths in terms of data collection is wise. Semi-structured interviews are very prevalent in this kind of multiple case study projects. Tactics to encourage 'honesty' in the interview should be encouraged, with a focus on rapport building and issues around independence of the researcher and confidentiality (see earlier sections for more on this).

Triangulation of data sources is also of value in establishing *credibility*. This study takes its data from different source sites (across a whole region of the UK), different kinds of groupings (individuals, pairs, and groups), and a range of participants (in terms of seniority within schools, as well as local authority staff, and Higher Education teacher training). The use of supporting auxiliary data in the form of preliminary interviews, document and field note analysis to explain participants' responses and attitudes also provides method triangulation. Time sampling is another well-used tool in triangulation of data sources, and since I spoke to the majority of my key participants twice in the official research interviews, I was able to make comparisons between the first and the second interview and to reflect on the reasons for any differences that may be present.

Developing an 'early familiarity with the culture of participating organisations' (Shenton, 2004) also creates *credibility* in qualitative research. In my case, this has been achieved through document analysis, through my earlier research within schools on EAL (Wardman, 2012a) and through active participation in grass-roots and other interest groups, such as

NALDIC and the British Council NEXUS project. This familiarity was then further developed through rapport building during the preliminary study visit to the participating schools. A certain level of balance is required, however, so as not to get too close, or to be too annoying to the organisations concerned. Care was taken with both these aspects, although the first was not really a major issue, as the nature of my connection meant that an intense relationship was never likely to develop, unlike in ethnographic research, where this issue can become a serious one (Sharples, 2017).

Transferability

This criterion can be seen as directly comparable to that of generalisability within a quantitative study. Therefore, applicability could be seen as irrelevant for qualitative research, as each study and setting is seen as unique, with replication unlikely, and the focus being principally upon one context and one group of participants. However, Guba (1981) suggests that the concept of *transferability* is an important one in qualitative research, albeit one that puts the onus rather more on the reader than the writer to find. The researcher's responsibility is to provide an adequate description of the context of the study, of the participants and of the study itself that a reader is able to assess critically its value in terms of the relevance to their own needs as a researcher or practitioner.

In order to ensure *transferability* of this research study, I have sought to offer a 'thick description' (Geertz, 1973) of the socio-historical context and background to the study, and then of participants and their professional settings to the extent that it is possible without damaging confidentiality. The descriptions should be thorough enough to allow for readers to identify those that feel familiar or similar to their own, and to assess, therefore, to what extent findings are applicable to their own research or practice. Demographic information that arose in the interview setting has been incorporated in the discussion of findings when relevant, including such aspects as age, level of seniority, previous experience, and current role within the institution.

Dependability

The traditional criterion of reliability is associated with the desired aim of repeatability of a study, whereby if a piece of research was sound, it would reproduce the same results when undertaken by a different individual or group, or at a different time.

This notion is problematic for the qualitative researcher, who has accepted the concept of multiple realities (see above), as the nature of the data collection process is often more spontaneous and certainly less controlled than a quantitative study. Guba's (1981) proposed criterion of *dependability* as an alternative can be addressed through exploring variability in the contexts and amongst participants. In terms of this study, *dependability* has been ensured because I have sought to reflect on each participant and their place within the group of

participants. This has ensured that all participants have equal rating within the group and that all experiences and opinions have been included in the analysis, exploring thoroughly the variability present within the participant cohort.

A key tool in demonstrating *dependability* is peer examination, which has been adopted extensively throughout this study, in various forms, as mentioned above. The research design of the study has been presented at a number of national and international conferences, as well as more local research staff and student seminars. In addition, a number of academic colleagues have been generous with their time in discussing this study, its design and findings with me from the inception of the project.

All transcriptions were each analysed multiple times, adopting a code-recode procedure as a further marker of *dependability*. The use of digital and hard copy versions of the transcripts allowed for checks for accuracy in analysis as well as for ever-deeper exploration of what the data uncovered in terms of participants' expressed attitudes.

Confirmability

Objectivity in qualitative settings cannot lie with the researcher (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) but rather it needs to be found within the *neutrality* of the data itself. Confirmation of this is considered to be achieved through establishing *truth value* and *applicability*. I contend that the APPRAISAL framework is particularly useful in this regard, as it offers a level of systematicity and *confirmability* to the data analysis that is perhaps missing when adopting a broad thematic analysis where themes are chosen by the researcher as pertinent from within the data set itself. Silverman (2013, p. 315) defines this as “mov[ing] beyond *ad hoc* labels and redefin[ing] our data within a well-articulated analytic scheme”.

Reflexivity is considered a key feature in *confirmability* within qualitative research studies. It is important for researchers to acknowledge predispositions and beliefs given that the nature of this kind of research interview work and analysis is that objectivity can never be achieved (and neither should it probably be sought) so the previous section on my role as a researcher and later reflections on my role in specific instances with participants seeks to demonstrate appropriate reflexivity (Leavy, 2014). Discussing limitations of the study is also an important aspect in *confirmability* (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) and it is to a section dedicated to this that I now turn.

4.10 Limitations of the study

This study does contain some limiting features, but I have attempted to seek to mitigate as many of those as it was within my power to do so, and to discuss them here.

APPRAISAL analysis is still a relatively new tool in the analysis of research interviews and, as such, needs to be critically evaluated as to how successful it is, and what adaptations may

need to be made to either the framework or the guides to its use. Any limitations to the study based on this analytical framework should actually support useful recommendations for the development of APPRAISAL as a research tool in the future, and so should not particularly be viewed as limiting.

My experience in each school was different. This is useful if reflected upon critically, as it may indicate an approach to the research topic or to research more generally. But it does mean that the field data and nature and length of interviews differs from school to school. Therefore, it could be difficult to avoid paying more attention to some schools than others as the data itself is greater in mass from some.

4.11 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has offered a detailed explanation and outline of the current research study. A qualitative multiple instrumental case study design was adopted in order to explore the way that primary school educators in the north of England talked about their attitudes and experiences of working with multilingual children in their schools. Research interviews with 15 managers, teachers, bilingual learning assistants and teaching assistants across six schools form the principal data collection method, with auxiliary data taken from a preliminary set of scoping semi-structured research interviews, and further interviews with local authority staff and an initial teacher education lecturer. Additional auxiliary data takes the form of field note and observational data and relevant official documentation.

APPRAISAL analysis was employed as the key analytical framework alongside a broader critical discourse analytic approach, which provided a systematic approach to the data, enhancing the *credibility* of the study. Trustworthiness of the study was further demonstrated through various strategies, including researcher reflexivity, extensive use of peer examination, inter-rater reliability exercises, and source and method triangulation. Limitations of the study were discussed.

The following chapter begins with a presentation of numerical data and discussion related to the over-arching research question, seeking to highlight broad patterns of ATTITUDE amongst participants, before moving onto two chapters that offer a discourse-focused analysis of the key attitude features that arise from these numerical findings, thereby allowing us to address the research sub-questions.

5 Participants and Patterns of ATTITUDE

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to investigate how primary school educators express attitudes relating to working with children who speak languages beyond English, and their families. As part of this exploration, this chapter introduces the participants more fully, detailing relevant aspects of their experience both inside and out of the classroom, with one of the intentions being to create a sense of them as known characters to revisit during the remainder of the thesis. Additionally, numerical data consisting of frequency counts of ATTITUDE tokens will be presented in order to observe overall patterns of the nature of attitudes expressed across the interview set. An overview of individual participants' attitudes will then be offered, using frequency counts of tokens of ATTITUDE expression obtained through a linguistic APPRAISAL analysis of the transcripts of the main study research interviews. As discussed in the previous chapter, demographic information garnered from both the preliminary and main study interviews is presented alongside this numerical data. Additionally, these portraits of individual participants will be enhanced by reference to two key studies about predictors of attitudes in this field (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

This use of data from the main study interviews in this way will allow us to go some way to addressing the over-arching research question of the study. This numerical data allows for broad patterns to be ascertained which are useful in offering an overarching picture of the participants and the key emergent themes. However, the capacity of this more quantitative approach to address the question fully will be challenged, offering further evidence of a gap in the current research on the issue of attitudes of primary school educators towards working with children who speak languages beyond English. The initial focus on the cohort as a whole and the subsequent consideration of individual participants should allow us to address to what extent the over-arching research question remains unanswered and will lead us towards the following chapters in which the most potentially illuminating and salient of the attitudes will be considered in a more detailed manner through a closer analysis of the participants' discourse to address the discourse related sub-questions.

5.2 Numerical analysis of overall ATTITUDE expression

A quantitative analysis of the main study transcripts was undertaken using the APPRAISAL framework introduced in Chapter 3 and further discussed in Chapter 4. For the purposes of descriptively addressing the over-arching research question, the interviews were subject to coding of frequencies of expression of ATTITUDE in terms of AFFECT, JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION, whereby each expression was classed as either 'negative' or 'positive'. The figure below summarises the ATTITUDE coding within the APPRAISAL model used for this stage

of the analysis, while an example of a hand-coded transcript page can be seen in section 4.8.1 of the methodology chapter.

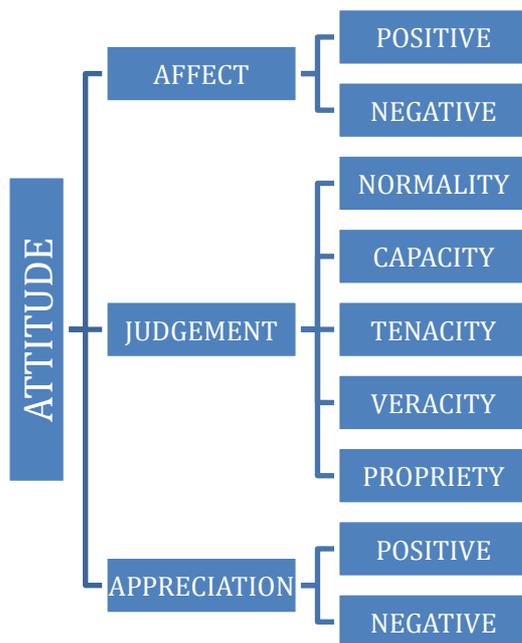


Figure 6: The Attitude Framework as used in the frequency counts of data

Overall ATTITUDE results across all participants

A total number of 2,331 ATTITUDE tokens were coded across the 66,900 words of the 13 main study transcripts (individual transcripts varied in length between 1,400 and 11,000 words). The process of this coding stage is discussed further in Chapter 4. The top-line figures indicate that participants in the study overall are slightly more positive than negative (nine participants from fifteen were positive overall) in expressing ATTITUDES about working with children in mainstream education who speak languages beyond English, with 1,287 (55%) positive tokens of ATTITUDE counted against 1,044 (45%) negative.

Considering the type of ATTITUDES expressed across the main study data, with the removal of the large number of APPRECIATION tokens (for ease of viewing the key patterns), owing to the fact that we are focusing here on discourses relating to attitudes about people, we can see from the chart below that CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS taken together constitute around half of the ATTITUDES expressed about people, and that PROPRIETY and TENACITY make up around a quarter. There are a far greater number of CAPACITY ATTITUDE tokens than any other JUDGEMENT.

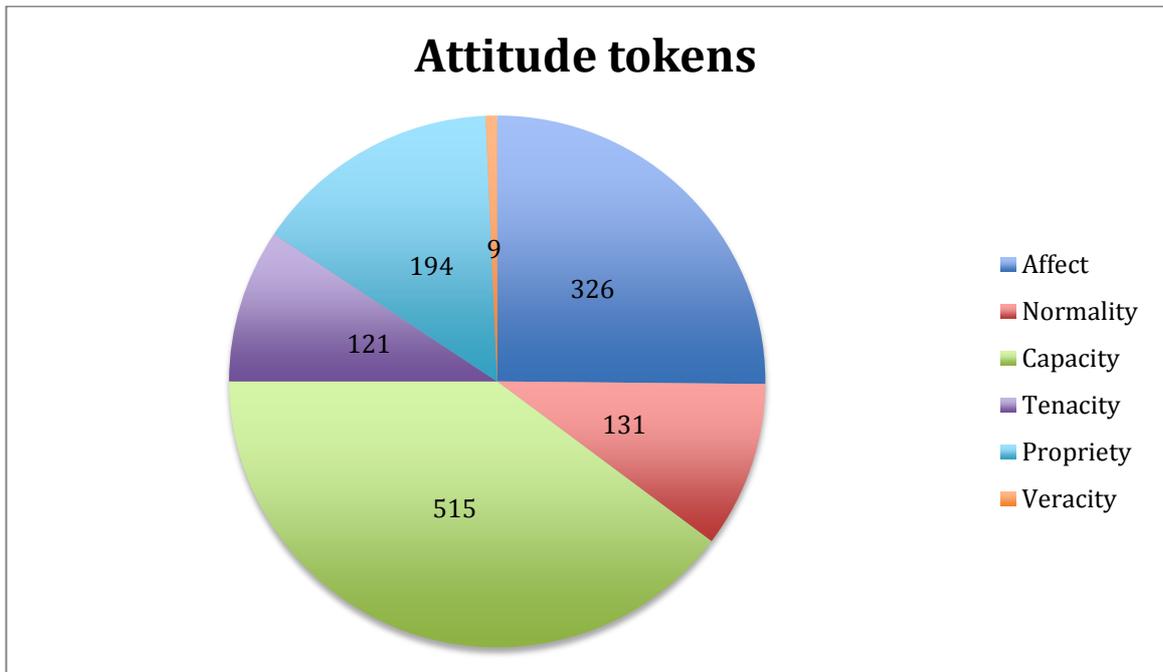


Figure 7: Total relevant Attitude tokens by type

The headline figures for each of the three subsystems of ATTITUDE are shown in table 9. These tokens include all attitudinal comments made, whether about the participants themselves, their colleagues, the children or their families, as well as assessments about resources and the provision of support for children and their parents. JUDGEMENT has been separated above into its constituent parts because of the overall aim of the study being to focus on attitudes towards people rather than the more abstract notions described through APPRECIATION or AFFECT.

ATTITUDE	Positive	Negative
AFFECT (Self and attributed – henceforth ATT.)	204 (63%)	122 (37%)
JUDGEMENT: NORMALITY	26 (20%)	105 (80%)
JUDGEMENT: CAPACITY	253 (49%)	262 (51%)
JUDGEMENT: TENACITY	114 (94%)	7 (6%)
JUDGEMENT: VERACITY	2 (22%)	7 (78%)
JUDGEMENT: PROPRIETY	133 (69%)	61 (31%)
APPRECIATION	555 (54%)	480 (46%)

Table 8: Overall expressions of Attitude

From the figures presented above, we can see that whilst the overall totals tend to the positive, some (CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS) are predominantly negative. It is these areas that need further consideration with reference to the discourse itself rather than a continued focus on the abstracted data.

The results shown in the table above are consistent with a scenario in which there is a “commitment to the welfare and educational needs of students” (McEachron & Bhatti, 2005, p. 176), and where “teachers want to welcome ELLs into the mainstream... [but are] struggling to make sense of teaching and learning in multilingual school environments” (Reeves, 2006, p. 139). A more nuanced consideration of the ATTITUDES expressed in this study seems to bear this out with participants seeming to show a desire to be doing the right thing for the children (as seen through expressions of JUDGEMENTS of PROPRIETY) and to be trying very hard in doing it (demonstrated through expressions of TENACITY JUDGEMENTS), seen through the significantly more positive than negative responses when the JUDGEMENTS about the teachers themselves was separated from those directed elsewhere.

ATTITUDE	Positive	Negative
JUDGEMENT: PROPRIETY	105 (77%)	31 (23%)
JUDGEMENT: TENACITY	89 (97%)	3 (3%)

Table 9: Propriety and Tenacity judgements regarding teachers

The desire to get things right and to provide the best possible education for the children in their care can be interpreted from the above figures, but the struggle to make sense of the challenges in teaching and learning as reported by Reeves (2006) above is apparent from the ATTITUDES expressed by participants about themselves and fellow teaching staff with regards to CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS and APPRECIATION. In that respect, CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS pertaining to teachers across the main study shows almost a perfect balance between positive and negative, but the slight tip to the negative is of note particularly when one considers that one might expect a social desirability bias to affect this kind of reported ATTITUDE, i.e. a response to a question about whether staff are able to deal with a given situation. Flores and Smith (2009) also observe that a slightly negative or neutral response should be seen in a more negative light if taking social desirability into the equation.

ATTITUDE	Positive	Negative
JUDGEMENT: CAPACITY	113 (49%)	115 (51%)
APPRECIATION	332 (56%)	266 (44%)

Table 10: Appreciation and capacity judgements regarding teachers

This socially desirable response is perhaps even more likely in the case of appreciation, where the desire to present the school as providing high quality interventions, excellent events, and good support is likely to be high. With that background, the overall figures could be said to highlight that there remains a challenge for teachers and managers in dealing with teaching and learning in the current fast-changing educational contexts. Once again, the abstracted figures will benefit from being enhanced with closer reference to the discourse itself.

APPRAISALS directed towards and attributed to children and families also highlight certain points of interest to explore in greater depth. The table below offers a summary of the ATTITUDE tokens adopted by participants in their discourse about particular groups, including the JUDGEMENTS and APPRECIATION tokens mentioned above pertaining to their fellow educators. Note that percentages have purposefully not been applied within this table, since the raw figures already enable us to make a variety of comparisons, whilst adding percentages would necessarily have focused on certain comparisons over other possibilities.

ATTITUDE	ATTITUDE about Teachers	ATTITUDE about Children	ATTITUDE about Families	ATTITUDE about External support
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	39	0	0	0
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	9	38	35	1
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	19	59	22	5
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	115	99	47	1
NEGATIVE TENACITY	3	1	3	0
NEGATIVE VERACITY	6	0	1	0
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	31	20	6	4
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	266	103	68	43
Negative totals	488	320	182	54
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	95	0	0	0
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	30	39	39	1
POSITIVE NORMALITY	4	14	8	0
POSITIVE CAPACITY	113	97	32	11
POSTIVE TENACITY	89	4	16	5
POSITIVE VERACITY	1	1	0	0
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	105	9	15	4
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	332	99	83	41
Positive totals	769	263	193	62
Totals	1257	583	375	116

Table 11: Attitude expression made about pertinent groups

Taking a count of the overall tokens of attitude, there is a reasonably balanced picture of JUDGEMENTS, APPRECIATION and attributed AFFECT tokens regarding children. One of the points of interest in the numerical data above, however, comes with the spike in negative NORMALITY. For better or worse, multilingual children are being construed as not normal, (59 tokens of

negative NORMALITY or 81%, against 14 of positive NORMALITY). NORMALITY is unusual amongst the JUDGEMENTS in that being 'unique' or 'different' could be construed as both a positive and negative attribute. Many participants use it in a positive sense, with children who speak languages beyond English being described as 'lucky' for having the opportunity and skills to use two or more languages, for example. However, the surrounding discursive context of other references warrant further discussion, as there are embedded ideologies of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1991) in the participants' discourse around language and social expectations for these children. Subsequent chapters will return to this point.

There is a similar picture painted with regards to NORMALITY in terms of the ATTITUDES towards families expressed by participants (22 negative NORMALITY or 73% against 8 positive) so the forthcoming exploration of the ingrained ideologies about difference will include a discussion of the ATTITUDES towards both children and their families. However, there is another area of interest with regards to participants' ATTITUDES towards the families of their multilingual and emergent multilingual children, which is that of CAPACITY. The frequency counts of these JUDGEMENTS (47 negative or 59% against 32 positive) seems to show that the participants are more at ease criticising the parents of the children from the point of view of their ability, principally linguistically. Reasons for this greater negativity will be explored further in subsequent chapters.

In this chapter so far, we have been considering ATTITUDE expression across the whole cohort of participants. One of the benefits of the current study is that its relatively small scale allows for greater focus on the contradictions and complexities expressed by individuals within it, a point that Flynn (2013) remarks on with regards to her own study, rather than considering data at the abstract and statistical level of the whole, or even subsets of the whole. As we will see below, frequency counts of ATTITUDE for each individual throw up contradictions. That means that going on to consider their individual ways of talking should shed greater light on some of the emergent themes than could be managed by remaining at this numerical level of abstraction. The next section introduces us to the individual participants, with the intention of painting a picture of them as active participants in shaping their discourse on this topic in co-construction with me as their interlocutor.

5.3 Introducing the cast: participants' experiences and ATTITUDES

In this section, numerical data regarding the positivity or negativity of each of the participants will be presented first. Each participant will then be more fully introduced individually with the aim of providing demographic and other pertinent information that will then allow for discussion of their ATTITUDES in the context of understanding the impact of their previous and current experiences. It is these varying experiences which have been said

to explain and predict attitudinal responses to some extent (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Flores & Smith, 2009; Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

Results: ATTITUDES of individual participants

In the table below, numerical data are presented concerning the overall positivity of individual participant's attitude expressions in the main study interview. This can offer a sense of the positivity, negativity or neutrality of the opinions expressed during the interviews, which allows us to see some overall patterns useful for further discussion at the level of discourse semantics.

School	Participant	Positive	Negative	Overall positivity
1	Thomas	106 (48%)	112 (52%)	Slight Negative
2	Kelly	98 (59%)	68 (41%)	Positive
2	Habib	96 (61%)	62 (39%)	Positive
2	Oraiba	20 (100%)	0 (0%)	Positive
2	Taliba	30 (70%)	13 (30%)	Positive
2	Caroline	27 (69%)	12 (31%)	Positive
2	Marie	96 (64%)	55 (36%)	Positive
2	Sheila	66 (70%)	28 (30%)	Positive
3	Sarah	143 (51%)	140 (49%)	Balanced
4	Irene	95 (47%)	106 (53%)	Slight Negative
5	Luke	99 (79%)	26 (21%)	Positive
5	Karen	50 (39%)	78 (61%)	Negative
5	Helen	40 (38%)	66 (62%)	Negative
5	Kate	121 (32%)	255 (68%)	Negative
6	Lucy	204 (59%)	144 (41%)	Positive

Table 12: Overall Attitude per individual participant

A number of observations can be made concerning the results presented above. The first is that the numerical data correlates with the findings of Karathanos (2009) in that the positivity of the overall data masks a large variability in positive and negative ATTITUDES from individual participants, and some of the factors potentially involved in this regard will be discussed in the following section. First, however, the individual participants will be introduced, adopting further numerical data drawing on the APPRAISAL analysis of their discourse, as well as highlighting some of the more pertinent demographic and general information that they chose to share with me.

Thomas – School 1

At the time of the two visits, Thomas had been the long-standing head teacher (for twenty years) at the school but was due to retire at the end of the academic year following the main

study visit, having been teaching since 1976. He talked at the greatest length of all interviewees and made it clear that he was happy to be considered outspoken, saying that his age means he no longer cared! He was the only one of the heads in the study to have focused on appointing a bilingual teacher into each year group. It was a goal, however, that left him perhaps less well equipped to deal with the rise in the population of Eastern European heritage pupils due to the fact that those bilingual teachers were fluent in Urdu or Punjabi rather than Czech or Polish, which were the languages actually on the increase in the school.

He positioned himself as an expert through experience dealing with EAL children over many years during both the preliminary and main study interviews, although he had no qualms about discussing his language learning skills in the preliminary interview with me, saying I've no skill in acquiring languages and describing himself as a dunce at school. He reflected on the importance of experience over any training and positioned himself as self-taught in respect of EAL matters, through observing and talking to others, as can be seen in this excerpt from the preliminary interview with him:

Excerpt 1

When I first went to look at [different local authority area] I went into a school and the Head said to me "So, are yours Panjabi or Gujarati speakers" and I was like "What's that got to do with anything?" and he said "Well, if they're Gujarati by and large they'll come into school with a good basis in English, if it's Panjabi not a chance". No one had ever told me that so I learned this all sort of on the hoof.

Thomas went on to reflect in a very personal way the impact that the knowledge of children's experiences can have on a teacher. This highlights the relevance of seeing the teachers' experiences as equally worth exploring as the children's, which is unusual in the research literature to date, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis.

Excerpt 2

Sometimes it is better you don't know or you wouldn't be able to teach the kids if you knew everything. Sometimes I feel like that. If you knew everything that was in the background you'd be so upset you'd not be able to deal with the children. There comes a base level at which you have to get on with it.

Thomas then moved to discussing his role from a more professional standpoint, constructing for himself an identity of *advocate for the local community*, and expressing the importance of this role in this excerpt from the preliminary interview below:

Excerpt 3

but some of the families and things it's a nightmare a nightmare in [Local Authority area]. I feel like an outpost of social services. I think it's so important. Some heads would see that as totally irrelevant but to me I couldn't cope with the school if I didn't do that if I didn't take some attempt to... The idea that some of these kids can just plug in at 9 o'clock and come ready to learn is absolute crap. These children have got to be engaged. They're very keen and they want to learn but you actually got to engage them, you've actually got to make the environment right and the steps for many of the children will be quite small but once they get going... Blowing my own trumpet, shouldn't be doing this, we're in the top 2% for value added this year. Next year we'll probably be in the bottom 2% next year but...

Thomas positioned himself with regards to other head teachers here very explicitly. He seemed to want to be sure that he was seen to be caring, responsible, and able to see the bigger picture. His potentially strategic discursive use of some informal lexis such as 'plug in' and 'crap' alongside the more standard terms of the education sector like 'engage' and 'environment' seems to be about demonstrating his trustworthiness through signalling his emotional intensity, as well as about seeking affiliation from me. They also serve to position him as a little defensive against those with more power, as does the final section of this excerpt, in which he alluded to the idea that mandated change is constant and what is considered good one year may not be by the next, a common cause for complaint for the teaching profession (Hargreaves, 2004) and one more likely to concern Thomas as the head of the school.

We saw Thomas as slightly negative in his overall attitudes, but considering the numerical data at a more detailed level, other comments about his attitudes can be made. In table 13 below, the data makes clear the focus of Thomas's attitudinal discourse, principally geared around discussing teachers and the school's efforts and ability to meet the demands of the local population. His focus in the main study interview was rarely about the children themselves, which does contrast to an extent with his discourse during the preliminary study, but was actually an impact of his choices to speak about particular events and situations during the intervening academic year, largely focused around staffing issues. These events and situations were, in large part, what have led to the higher negative attitude expression around APPRECIATION.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	0	0	1	1
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	0	2	4	0	6
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	0	4	0	0	4
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	3	13	4	0	20
NEGATIVE TENACITY	0	2	0	0	2
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	0	2	0	0	2
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	5	61	7	4	77
Negative totals	5	65	7	4	81
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	9	0	0	9
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	0	0	5	0	5
POSITIVE NORMALITY	0	1	0	0	1
POSITIVE CAPACITY	1	13	6	2	22
POSITIVE TENACITY	0	5	0	0	5
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	0	18	0	0	18
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	0	31	11	4	46
Positive totals	11	207	36	14	268

Table 13: Numerical Attitude data for Thomas (school 1)

Kelly – School 2

Kelly was the EAL coordinator in school 2, which was a new role created through some funding from a regional hub focused on EAL. She described herself as having too many hats on, foregrounding the administrative demands on the time of teachers, as mentioned by Youngs and Youngs (2001), Hargreaves (2004), and the National Union of Teachers (n.d.). She highlighted the fact that, although all of the participants with Qualified Teacher Status in the study are nominally educated to the same level, that experiences are very location dependent, and reflected on her own teacher training experience very favourably for the extent to which her expertise in dealing with multilingual settings was developed:

Excerpt 4

I also think depending on where you did your teaching training you may have had more or less cos I was at [northern multicultural city]. I did my PGCE at [same city] and it was there. I didn't know I was doing all these EAL strategies but I was because I was at [same city] and that's how they taught it.

Kelly's background in social work may also have broadened her experience in dealing with diverse cultural groups, which will doubtless have an impact on her attitudes towards groups

which may be considered to be in danger of being disempowered (McEachron & Bhatti, 2005).

In talking to me, Kelly does a lot of conversational work describing situations, followed by an APPRECIATION: REACTION evaluation (48% of her APPRAISALS are APPRECIATION), and her JUDGEMENTS of other people are more limited than some other participants. She therefore seemed very focused on action and ‘trying hard’, which is unsurprisingly given her role, in that it predominantly focusing around organising training and facilitating on-going projects related to EAL in the school. This focus is reflected in the frequency counts of APPRAISAL tokens as seen in table 14.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	1	0	0	1
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	5	0	4	0	9
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	4	0	0	0	4
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	3	8	4	0	15
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	0	2	0	0	2
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	7	22	6	2	37
Negative totals	19	33	14	2	68
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	9	3	0	12
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	2	2	3	0	7
POSITIVE CAPACITY	5	6	1	1	13
POSTIVE TENACITY	0	15	0	2	17
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	1	5	1	0	7
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	5	27	7	3	42
Positive totals	51	130	43	10	234

Table 14: Numerical Attitude data for Kelly (school 2)

Habib, Oraiba and Taliba – School 2

The three bilingual learning assistants were the only multilingual participants interviewed during the main study. They also formed the only group interview in the data set. Habib spoke significantly more than the two women in the group interview situation, and therefore most of the attitudinal stances are taken by him, with, for the most part, only supporting comments offered by his co-interviewees, as we can see in the table below detailing their overall ATTITUDE expressions.

ATTITUDE	Habib	Oraiba	Taliba	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	6	0	2	8
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	9	0		9
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	9	0	0	9
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	16	0	5	21
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	4	0	0	4
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	18	0	6	24
Negative totals	62	0	13	75
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	18	3	4	25
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	15	4	0	19
POSITIVE NORMALITY	5	1	1	7
POSITIVE CAPACITY	12	1	10	23
POSTIVE TENACITY	7	1	1	9
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	3	0	2	5
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	36	10	12	58
Positive totals	220	20	56	296

Table 15: Overall numerical Attitude data for Bilingual Learning Assistants (school 2)

Habib and Taliba were described by Kelly as being relatively inexperienced within the school and as having had limited training, although by the time of the main study visit, Habib was being noted as a potential candidate for the Masters level modules that a number of teaching staff at School 2 had undertaken. Oraiba had been at the school for much longer and had undertaken more training, along with another BLA who was not able to be present during the main study interview. The group of bilingual learning assistants were initially employed by the local authority and deployed at various local schools, before being re-employed by School 2, once their contracts were under threat. Oraiba's close colleague explained this to me in the preliminary interview:

Excerpt 5

The cuts have been made and the funding has been sent to schools so now we are based primarily in schools but I feel because of that, at the centre there was training for us every Thursday and lots of other things for us to do as well which have obviously, because they can't fund it anymore, as much. It's not on so the thing is, therefore, we have been trained but where do we go from here.

The experience of this group, therefore, may have led to a good understanding of the needs of the local community and of the particular needs of the children in the school that they were assisting by providing a sense of continuity between home and school (DES, 1985). However,

Ainscow, Conteh, Dyson and Gallanaugh (2007) note that the provision of BLAs in the classroom could be seen as visibly problematizing bilingualism and that the evidence for raising achievement through this employment is not clear. Practically, it has led to a frustration amongst the BLAs around their roles shrinking and their sense of the worth of the training that they have undertaken, as well as a loss of association with others having similar professional roles and background, as is also noted by McEachron and Bhatti (2005) in their explorations of the de-centralising and dismantling of specialist support teams.

Habib was keen to make clear the distinction between the role of the bilingual learning assistant and a teaching assistant, flagging up that there are points of interest to note regarding status of assistants within schools:

Excerpt 6

Yeah, it's just that new staff coming in is the thing. New staff need to be aware how to use a BLA and how to get the best out of them cos they need more training as well in a sense, in that way. You know, if you've got a BLA how do you use them, cos BLA and TA is a different role.

Caroline – School 2

This was the shortest interview of the entire data set, as Caroline (the deputy head) was asked to speak to me about the Leading Parent Partnership Award programme the school were participating in and about the process and impact of that. This meant that the attitudes Caroline was expressing during her conversation with me were more limited than in other of the interviews. There was a greater focus on APPRECIATION (66% of her ATTITUDE tokens were coded as APPRECIATION) as the focus was about the setting up and running of a particular project. The ability to observe the difference in professional focus for particular teachers through the use of the APPRAISAL framework was also noted by Love and Arkoudis (2006) and can be seen clearly in the table below relating to Caroline's short interview with me.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Totals
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	0	1	2	3
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	2	6	0	8
Negative totals	2	7	2	11
POSITIVE CAPACITY	1	2	0	3
POSTIVE TENACITY	2	1	0	3
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	1	3	0	4
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	4	8	5	17
Positive totals	12	28	9	49

Table 16: Numerical Attitude data for Kelly (school 2)

Marie – School 2

Marie was a class teacher who had not participated in the preliminary study. She was a fairly new teacher, both to the school and to teaching itself, having moved into teaching from being a Teaching Assistant. Her recent training had been undertaken in an area with a much lower population of EAL pupils so coming to School 2 for her final placement was, like whooooaaa. The sense of a real shock to the system that we can interpret from this somewhat inarticulate comment is something that some Initial Teacher Education programmes seek to avoid, by trying to ensure placements are made in areas of linguistic and cultural diversity early on in the training process, as the Head of Programme for the ITE course told me in the interview that forms part of the auxiliary data set for this study.

Marie gained a position with the school on completing her training. She reflected on this when I asked her about her teaching experience:

Excerpt 7

Well, this is the first school I've taught at. I worked as a teaching assistant three years ago. I did maths support and then I did that for a year and then I did my PGCE. And this was my final placement and then I got a job here, which was great. That was lovely that then, cos I feel like they've helped me a lot here and I've learnt so much just from being in a- because I'd never had any experience of working with children with EAL.

This sense of gratitude for opportunities and a good learning and professional experience in her discussion was not unusual for teaching staff in School 2, with the BLAs expressing similar sentiments in their preliminary interview.

In the rest of the interview, her focus was very much of the set up within the school itself. Most of her evaluations were about the school situation (APPRECIATION), and the efforts made to raise capacity in the school to better manage working with children who speak languages beyond English. A lesser focus is on the children themselves, but she makes almost no reference to families or to support mechanisms outside of the school, other than the CPD and training provided and funded by the school. Once again, we can note the particular professional focus of an individual through the use of the APPRAISAL framework (Love & Arkoudis, 2006).

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	4	4
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	3	0	3
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	2	2	4
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	15	13	28
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	1	1	2
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	9	5	14
Negative totals	30	25	55
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	10	10
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	1	0	1
POSITIVE NORMALITY	0	0	0
POSITIVE CAPACITY	13	13	26
POSTIVE TENACITY	0	7	7
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	1	5	6
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	13	33	46
Positive totals	88	118	206

Table 17: Numerical Attitude data for Marie (school 2)

Sheila – School 2

Sheila was the head of the school, who has retired from teaching since she gave her time to this study through two short interviews. In them she discussed how her school was positioned regionally as very successful and she as a leader within the regional hub for a range of subject areas, including EAL. She notably gave credit to her staff for pushing forward on more bilingual working in classrooms rather than take the credit herself, noted as a positive sign of good leadership by Ofsted (2009) in their review of twenty ‘outstanding’ schools. She discussed the importance of on-going training and described some of her staff as steeped in training on matters pertaining to EAL. She discussed advances in the parent-school relationship, although acknowledged she knew little about the nature of the recent award given to the school (see Caroline above). She made very few JUDGEMENTS in her attitudinal discourse but a frequency count of APPRAISAL tokens (see the table below) highlights the overwhelming extent to which most of her discourse revolved around positive APPRECIATION demonstrating a confidence in the support offered at the school and in the team of educators she was working with.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	1	0	0	1
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	0	1	0	0	1
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	1	1	0	0	2
NEGATIVE VERACITY	0	1	0	0	1
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	0	0	0	1	1
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	0	7	3	12	22
Negative totals	1	11	3	13	28
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	0	0	1	0	1
POSITIVE CAPACITY	0	6	0	1	7
POSTIVE TENACITY	0	2	0	1	3
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	0	3	1	1	5
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	0	27	12	11	50
Positive totals	2	60	20	40	122

Table 18: Numerical Attitude data for Sheila (school 2)

Sarah – School 3

Sarah was the newly appointed deputy head of school 3, having been in post for less than two years. She had come from fifteen years working in a school in London from where she gained extensive experience working with large and diverse groups of emergent multilingual children (she stated classes of about 95% EAL). She regularly expressed some frustration and a sense of sadness over not being able to adopt similar strategies in this school with a significantly lower population of ‘EAL’ children. Some of the problems associated with isolated bilinguals discussed by Statham (2008) were prevalent at this school. Other frustrations for her stemmed from what she suggested was a poor induction into the school, and particularly into EAL coordination. She told me that there had been no official EAL coordination in the past, whereas two HLTAs I spoke to during the previous year suggested that they were responsible for the coordination in the school. She also told me that she had not been made aware of the existence of a number of physical EAL resources:

Excerpt 8

I’ve done a meeting with the support staff this morning and they were like “We’ve got a cupboard of EAL resources, you know”. I’ve been here four terms and no one has mentioned the cupboard and that we had resources. Okay...

Sarah’s discourse revolved around painting a picture of discovery, not just one pertaining to working out where the physical resources were stored (note the unusual use of negative VERACITY JUDGEMENTS in the table below), but also of learning which children needed language support and what information was needed on families and languages.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	5	0	0	5
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	6	2	9	0	17
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	4	0	1	0	5
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	13	20	7	0	40
NEGATIVE TENACITY	1	1	0	0	2
NEGATIVE VERACITY	0	3	0	0	3
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	1	2	1	0	4
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	7	43	10	4	64
Negative totals	32	76	28	4	140
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	7	0	0	7
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	4	6	0	0	10
POSITIVE NORMALITY	2	0	0	0	2
POSITIVE CAPACITY	10	13	2	0	25
POSTIVE TENACITY	0	20	0	0	20
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	0	10	2	0	12
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	12	48	5	2	67
Positive totals	92	256	65	10	423

Table 19: Numerical Attitude data for Sarah (school 3)

The numerical data for Sarah demonstrated her broader focus, highlighting much that is positive in her attitudes towards the children, but also noting her concerns about the children's happiness and well-being in the attributed AFFECT APPRAISALS, which, as Love and Arkoudis (2006) suggest, may indicate an ability to be particularly empathetic towards the children. Sarah's focus on pushing the school into new ways of working with the 'EAL' population was also observable in the negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS towards the teaching staff seen above.

Irene – School 4

Irene was the long-standing head of a junior school, from which she has since retired, which has a fairly stable population of EAL pupils, low in national terms but quite high for the local area. Her focus was very much on the cultural throughout her conversations with me, with issues pertaining to ethnicity and race foregrounded. She claimed that the school was skilled at working with EAL but had no set provision in place. In-service training within the school on EAL issues had been minimal and involved only the twilight training associated with the National Strategies EAL toolkit delivery during 2006 and 2007. Her reflections on that training were quite forcefully made in her preliminary interview with me:

Excerpt 9

I think that a lot of knowledge that they don't know they have because it's experience and it goes back I mean to what we said earlier this morning. No training and, essentially we haven't had. We did have an input - a course - which was brought into the school a few years ago, but frankly the delivery was rubbish and we didn't engage well because we were like disaffected pupils "Oh no, it's not him coming in again is it? It's just badly taught and actually a bit, it's always difficult bringing into staff to our experience and these staff have been together a long time and gain their experience together and they know what they're doing and then you bring somebody in who's called the ethnic minority teacher who's been out of the classroom for donkey's years who likes to talk about it but not actually do it with real children and you get that disaffection. It's not just about this subject because any advisory teacher who isn't still doing the work in the classroom..

Whilst Youngs and Youngs (2001) suggest that any ESL specific training has a tendency to increase positive attitudes, it would seem from the tone of the above excerpt that she felt some forms of training could potentially lead to entirely the opposite experience, a message that she may well have imparted to her team. This issue will be returned to in chapter six.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	2	0	0	2
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	5	0	2	0	7
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	4	5	6	0	15
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	3	4	3	0	10
NEGATIVE TENACITY	0	0	0	0	0
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	3	0	0	3	6
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	17	20	18	11	66
Negative totals	32	31	29	14	106
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	7	0	0	7
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	4	3	5	0	12
POSITIVE NORMALITY	0	1	5	0	6
POSITIVE CAPACITY	2	10	8	0	20
POSITIVE TENACITY	0	0	0	0	0
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	0	2	2	0	4

POSITIVE APPRECIATION	8	21	17	0	46
Positive totals	78	106	95	28	307

Table 20: Numerical Attitude data for Irene (school 4)

Luke – School 5

Luke was the deputy head at school 5, the school with the highest EAL population in the study, from which he has since retired. His focus in the interview seemed to have been to put a very positive gloss on the current situation in the school and the extent to which this was in co-construction with the researcher will be discussed further in subsequent chapters, as the positivity stands in sharp contrast to the ATTITUDES expressed by other staff in the school. In his discourse, his APPRAISALS were very much about the school and the teachers, rather than about the children and the families. He was keen to share lots of what he considered to be good practice with me, focusing in the preliminary (unrecorded) interview on extra-curricular successes such as Investors in Pupils, the School Council, the school allotment and the rock and roll band in which a number of the girls who speak languages beyond English were involved in, as he proudly told me. During my visit a year later, he took the time to reiterate these aspects, particularly the music and the gardening, suggesting that these non-classroom based activities are seen as very valuable. He told me that:

Excerpt 10

a lot of the children that we have in this school have a limited experience of life before they come into school and so staff were aware of the need to be able to provide them with first-hand experience while they're here and to keep on trying to broaden their experience. So we've been introducing a lot more outdoor provision and provision for imaginative play and that's been very successful so we're very pleased with that. We're continuing to move forward because we're always wanting to develop the children as far as we can.

This focus on action and events means that many of his appraisals consist of positive APPRECIATION (REACTION) and positive PROPRIETY tokens related to teachers and teaching practices.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	2	3	0	0	5
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	8	1	2	0	11
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	0	0	1	0	1
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	4	0	0	5	9
Negative totals	14	4	3	5	26
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	7	0	0	7

POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	1	3	5	0	9
POSITIVE NORMALITY	0	1	0	0	1
POSITIVE CAPACITY	9	9	1	0	19
POSTIVE TENACITY	0	6	0	0	6
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	0	15	0	0	15
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	9	22	6	5	42
Positive totals	47	71	18	15	151

Table 21: Numerical Attitude data for Luke (school 5)

Karen – School 5

Karen was the Family Liaison Manager at school 5 and was part of the preliminary study as well as the main study. Due to her role, her focus is far more on the mesosystem interactions (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) of school and family than many of the other participants and reflects some of the frustrations with developing and maintaining some of these connections that are also played out in other participants' discourse. She is not often child facing in her role at the school and so makes almost no APPRAISALS of the children at all in her interview with me, as is highlighted in table 22.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	2	0	0	2
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	0	3	9	0	12
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	0	1	6	1	8
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	1	1	14	0	16
NEGATIVE TENACITY	0	0	2	0	2
NEGATIVE VERACITY	0	2	1	0	3
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	0	3	3	0	6
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	0	19	10	0	29
Negative totals	1	31	45	1	78
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	2	0	0	2
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	0	4	7	0	11
POSITIVE NORMALITY	0	0	1	0	1
POSITIVE CAPACITY	0	0	6	1	7
POSTIVE TENACITY	0	0	1	0	1
POSITIVE VERACITY	0	1	0	0	1
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	0	4	1	0	5
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	0	17	2	3	22
Positive totals	0	90	108	6	206

Table 22: Numerical Attitude data for Karen (school 5)

Helen – School 5

Helen was the Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator in school 5. During the preliminary stage of the study she told me that that meant she also had responsibility for EAL in the school, as there was no other designated coordinator. She demonstrated throughout her conversation with me that she was well-versed in research findings pertaining to multilingual children, foregrounding the expertise, experience and training that should predict positive attitudes towards multilingual working and emergent multilingual children (Youngs & Youngs, 2001). However, the overwhelming sense from her interview was one of a lack of agency, leading to negative ATTITUDES overall.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	3	0	0	3
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	1	0	0	0	1
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	9	1	0	0	10
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	12	4	0	1	17
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	2	1	0	0	3
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	13	14	3	2	32
Negative totals	37	23	3	3	66
POSITIVE NORMALITY	1	0	0	1	2
POSITIVE CAPACITY	3	8	1	4	16
POSITIVE TENACITY	0	5	1	0	6
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	1	2	2	0	5
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	3	7	1	0	11
Positive totals	82	68	11	11	172

Table 23: Numerical Attitude data for Helen (school 5)

She expressed a strong sense of how things should be done, and of the potential problems and regret ahead if things aren't well managed, but she seemed to feel her hands were tied, resulting in a relatively high number of negative ATTITUDE tokens directed towards both children and teachers. These reflections and evaluations will be considered more fully in subsequent chapters.

Kate – School 5

Luke told me that Kate was headhunted into employment at school 5 from a more inner city school from within the same local authority. She came into the school well known for her experience working with established, if not particularly diverse, communities of 'EAL' children. However, her discourse revealed some of the frustrations stemming from the combination of the two cultures in her practice. In her interview with me, she was often very critical of the school's negative stance on home languages, as will be seen from further

exploration of her discourse in later chapters. However, her conversation with me contained numerous contradictory attitudes and it was difficult to establish her personal viewpoint on certain points, as she acknowledged herself. Regarding home languages, for example, her negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENT of children seen in the table below are mainly concerning what she referred to as the inappropriateness of language which seemed to contrast with her earlier stance of wanting to encourage more home language use. These contradictions will be discussed further in chapter six.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	8	0	0	8
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	7	0	1	1	9
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	8	16	3	0	27
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	8	13	1	0	22
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	25	38	2	3	68
Negative totals	48	75	7	4	134
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	14	0	0	14
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	1	6	1	1	9
POSITIVE NORMALITY	0	0	2	0	2
POSITIVE CAPACITY	12	6	2	3	23
POSTIVE TENACITY	1	5	1	0	7
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	2	9	1	0	12
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	13	32	5	4	54
Positive totals	125	222	26	16	389

Table 24: Numerical Attitude data for Kate (school 5)

A further point of interest in the table above is the very high positive AFFECT count, which was only rarely seen. This may well be indicative of the personality factor that Youngs and Youngs (2001) claim may also be relevant in considering positive attitudes, but it is beyond the scope of this study to claim this, or study it in more depth, as it was in their own.

Lucy – School 6

This school had what Ofsted described as a “very low population of EAL children” (4 at the time of the second visit), which means that in talking about them, the same few specific children were mentioned repeatedly. This could give the impression of a very close relationship, but this was probably only in contrast with the situation in other schools, where there were far more individuals to use as examples.

Lucy was a Higher Level Teaching Assistant, who had been nominated as the EAL Coordinator. This role brings with it a lot of responsibility, which given the remuneration package for an HLTA, is a lot to ask (cf. Blatchford, Bassett, Brown, & Webster, 2009 for more

on the increased responsibilities of teaching assistants in recent educational history). A short while after my interview with her, she was nominated by a parent for a teaching award through the local newspaper and won the Support Teacher award for the local area.

Overwhelmingly, the tone of her interview was very positive, as can be seen in the table below presenting her overall use of ATTITUDE tokens. She acknowledged that the last year had been ‘mixed’ and said:

Excerpt 11

I think we’ve had a learning curve with English as an additional language this year quite significantly but I’m quite proud of the way that everyone has worked together.

She used a lot of language of APPRECIATION: REACTION that encoded AFFECT. Particularly prevalent was her use of the word ‘lovely’, which she used nineteen times in the 54-minute conversation. Only twice was this used to describe a person, and once to describe a school as a whole. The remainder of the time, it was used as a marker of positive APPRECIATION of a circumstance or event (REACTION or COMPOSITION). These uses of evoked AFFECT or direct AFFECT attitudinal stances taken by Lucy are similar to those of Kate above and are perhaps personality-driven linguistic choices perhaps made for the purposes of affiliation in the co-construction of the discourse.

ATTITUDE	Children	Teachers	Families	Support	Totals
NEGATIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	6	0	0	6
NEGATIVE ATT. AFFECT	15	0	1	0	16
NEGATIVE NORMALITY	21	1	6	3	31
NEGATIVE CAPACITY	29	15	7	1	52
NEGATIVE TENACITY	0	0	1	0	1
NEGATIVE PROPRIETY	5	3	0	0	8
NEGATIVE APPRECIATION	10	11	7	2	30
Negative totals	80	36	22	6	144
POSITIVE SELF-AFFECT	0	10	0	0	10
POSITIVE ATT. AFFECT	17	0	0	0	17
POSITIVE NORMALITY	5	0	0	0	5
POSITIVE CAPACITY	36	8	5	3	52
POSTIVE TENACITY	1	14	13	2	30
POSITIVE VERACITY	1	0	0	0	1
POSITIVE PROPRIETY	2	25	5	3	35
POSITIVE APPRECIATION	21	19	5	9	54
Positive totals	243	148	72	29	492

5.4 Beginning to go beyond the description of ATTITUDES

Mainstream teachers are under increasing stress to provide outstanding educational opportunities for a wide-ranging groups of pupils and to cope with the ever-increasing demands of administration on their time (Grayson & Alvarez, 2008; National Union of Teachers, n.d.). Owing in part to individual factors mediating the effects of pressure and stress on teachers (Jepson & Forrest, 2006), they are likely to 'vary considerably in their eagerness to incorporate ESL [emergent multilingual] students into regular, content area classrooms' (Youngs & Youngs, 2001, p. 97). As discussed in Chapter 2, Flores and Smith (2009), Youngs and Youngs (2001) and Byrnes, Kiger and Manning (1997) are amongst the few researchers who have sought to explain (the *why*) rather than simply describe (the *what*) the differing degrees of positivity of attitude that can be seen amongst the teaching profession with regards to working with multilingual children, in increasingly multilingual settings and with children's home languages. They undertook this work by drawing together previous work on attitudes and developing a model of predictors of attitudes towards this area.

Teachers' characteristics as predictors of attitudes

Whilst research work in the USA may not always be of relevance to the UK context, the predictors of positive attitudes in terms of teacher characteristics to be presented in the following subsections seem likely to be applicable across many cultures, as the nature and the pressures of the profession remain largely constant across most Westernised nations. Youngs and Youngs (2001, p. 99-100) adopt the predictors proposed by Byrnes, Kiger and Manning (1997) adding their own to develop their model, rationale, and subsequent further study of each element, which I summarise graphically in figure 8 below and discuss further with reference to the participants in this study in the following sections, as an attempt to begin to explain some of the numerical data presented above. More recently, Flores and Smith (2009) contribute their own perspectives on teacher characteristics to build on these earlier models, and their contributions are added when required. It is important to acknowledge that whilst the work of these scholars is useful for us here, it is to be understood as stemming from a different research paradigm than that taken for this study. The studies cited here consider attitudes as internal and stable constructs, whereas discussions of and explanations for discursively constructed attitudes in this dissertation stem from a philosophical standpoint that considers them to be fluid and socially created.

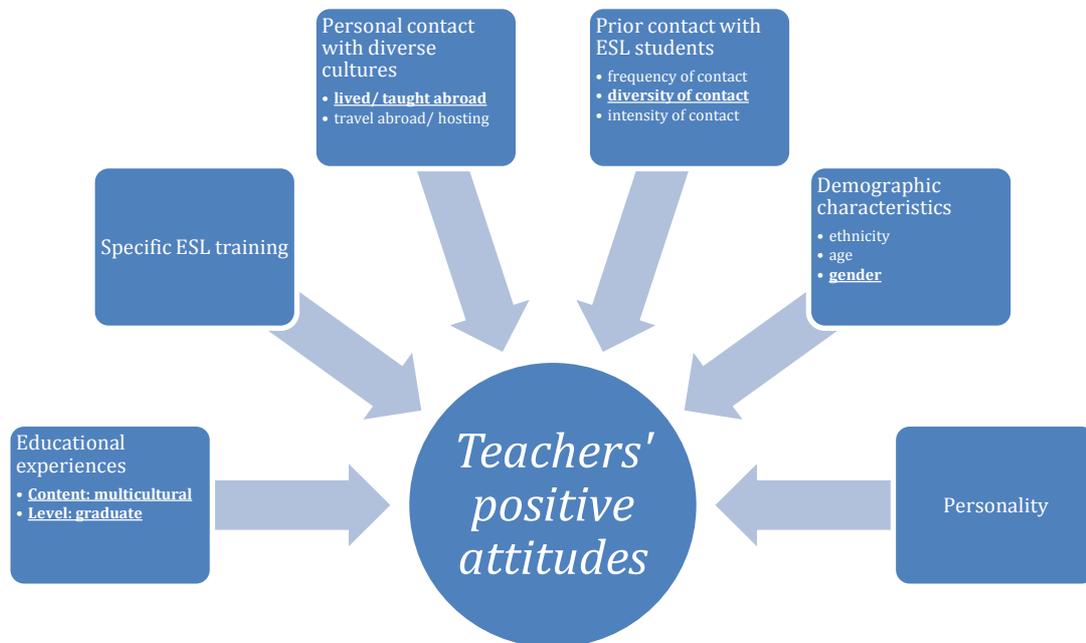


Figure 8: A model of Attitude Predictors (adapted from Youngs and Youngs, 2001)

General educational experiences

Educational experiences are relevant for positive attitudes both in terms of quality and content of that education. Obtaining a graduate degree has been shown to lead to positive attitudes to cultural and linguistic diversity (Byrnes et al., 1997; Karathanos, 2009), as have higher measures of cognitive sophistication. Educational programmes and modules specifically related to cultural awareness, both directly and more abstractly, have also been shown to be important in developing positive attitudes. Following their further analysis of respondents in their study, Youngs and Youngs (2001) posit that foreign language learning or multicultural education courses would be a good predictor for positive attitudes. Their further observations that their teaching discipline would be significant is not seen as relevant for this current study in the context of primary education.

None of the participants in the current study had studied a foreign language at degree level, with only the three bilingual learning assistants claiming any advanced knowledge of another language. A number of participants specifically refer to their poor language learning skills, as we have seen above. No suggestion was given during any of the interviews that opportunities including multicultural education had been undertaken, although this could not be definitively verified without recourse to participants' CVs or follow up demographic questioning. However, the traditional route into teaching for UK mainstream teachers and the training of teaching and learning assistants does not suggest that multicultural education is likely to have been a significant factor in any of the participants' educational background. Insofar as the fact that a higher level of education is thought to be beneficial, most of the participants had completed an undergraduate degree (with the exception of the four learning/ teaching assistants), with only Kelly, Sheila and Sarah having studied at

postgraduate level, which is the level posited by Youngs and Youngs (2001) to make a statistical difference in comparative measures of attitudes to linguistic and cultural diversity.

Specific ESL training

Byrnes et al. (1997) found that mainstream teachers with formal ESL training were more positive about teaching linguistically diverse student groups than those without. The need for training and education in second language acquisition as well as specific training on strategies for dealing with emergent multilingual children has been recommended as self evident and indeed vital by many researchers in the area across many countries, including the USA and the UK. But Youngs and Youngs (2001) sought to enhance that by considering the impact of different types of training. Perhaps surprisingly, they did not find any significant differences in attitudes dependent on the nature of the training provided, and concluded by proposing that the only significant factor was an increase in positive attitudes due to *any* ESL training at all as opposed to none. This was contradicted by Karathanos (2009) whose data showed that ESL-specific university preparation was key.

All the participants have undertaken some form of training in dealing with EAL or working with multilingual children, as this has been something provided as INSET training in most schools throughout the UK in recent history. Pre-service training was considered in the current study by most who spoke of it to be either minimal or non-existent (although Caroline's experience mentioned above was very positive) and ultimately ineffectual. Attitudes towards in-service training can often be negative (seen in Irene and her colleagues in school 4, who found it patronising and a waste of time), although others (particularly Sheila, Kelly and Marie in School 2) report that they consider it to be important for a range of reasons, including keeping 'up-to-date' and being 'fresh'. Those who have undertaken more advanced training, in the form of higher education courses, report a different and far more positive experience, which suggests that it is the connection between the first two of Youngs and Youngs' predictors (i.e. educational experience and specific ESL training) in their model that is important and that it is the deeper, linguistically-based education that makes the most difference to teachers' attitudes.

Personal contact with diverse cultures

Drawing on social contact theory (Taylor, Peplau & Sears, 1997, cited in Youngs & Youngs, 2001), it was proposed that prolonged contact with people from other cultures would be likely to improve attitudes to linguistically and socially diverse students. Following their analysis, Youngs and Youngs observed that having lived or taught outside of the USA had a significant effect on attitudes, whereas simply travelling abroad or hosting a foreign exchange student were not significant in changing attitudes for the positive. Other cultural connections such as having family living abroad and being in regular communication with them were not aspects explicitly mentioned in the study.

None of the participants in this study reported having spent any time at all living or teaching outside of the UK. The three bilingual learning assistants clearly have the strongest multicultural connections, but are all British citizens and do not report having spent any significant length of time outside of the UK. This means that, although this factor may well be a significant one in increasing positive attitudes, the participants in this current study are, for the most part, typical of the monolingual, mono-cultural teachers discussed by Ofsted (2002) as well as researchers such as McEachron and Bhatti (2005).

Prior contact with ESL students

Following an analysis of previous studies, Youngs and Youngs (2001) hypothesised that, overall, attitudes were likely to be more positive if teachers had previous contact with ESL students. They extended the explorations of Byrnes et al. (1997) from looking at purely frequency of contact with ESL students (which was also noted as a primary effect for Flores and Smith, 2009), to also consider the diversity and intensity of that contact. Their analysis suggested that it was the diversity of the contact that was the most statistically significant factor in increasing positive attitudes. Therefore, we should expect to see that more positive attitudes are found in teachers and teaching assistants working in classrooms where a greater number of home languages are spoken.

The UK is now known for being a highly diverse society (Vertovec, 2007) and media reports have often focused on equally diverse classrooms publishing articles with titles such as: *The primary where pupils speak 42 different languages* (Bisset, 2016), recent analysis has suggested that schools are actually more racially segregated than the top-line figures on diversity would suggest (Demos, 2015) with 61% of ethnic minority children entering Year 1 in schools where ethnic minority students are the majority of the student population, which does not always reflect the make-up of the immediate area of the school. Whilst some of the teachers in this current study comment on their previous experiences of diversity in the classroom, many are now in classrooms that are more limited in the range of languages spoken. Whilst teachers in school 1, 2 and 3 talk about the number of languages spoken in their schools, the experience in many of the individual classrooms is more homogeneous, particularly in School 5, located in the Local Authority specifically mentioned in the Demos Analysis as being racially segregated. Schools 4 (Irene) and 6 (Lucy) have too few children who speak English as an additional language amongst their population to be able to claim to teach in a diverse setting. Schools 1 and 2 have the greatest populations of 'EAL' children but acknowledge difficulties in managing the increasing diversity of languages (particularly in School 1 and 2 where the provision of bilingual support has to date been very geared around one language community). Sarah in School 3 has perhaps the greatest experience in teaching diverse groups of children, from her previous experience in London as well as due to her current setting, which has a population of children speaking 17 languages.

These varying levels of contact with children who speak languages beyond English would suggest that we should find greater positivity levels in individuals such as Sarah, and overall we should see greater positivity in Schools 1, 2 and 3; this does seem to be largely borne out by the overall ATTITUDE data presented above.

Demographic characteristics

Three demographic characteristics which Youngs and Youngs (2001) considered might be relevant in the study of attitudes towards emergent multilingual students were ethnicity, age and gender. García-Nevarez, Stafford and Arias (2005) found that ethnicity made a difference in their study in that Latino teachers were more positive about the use of students' native languages. Other studies (Byrnes, et al., 1997) had found no significant link between ethnicity and attitudes but Youngs and Youngs (2001) posited that there may not have been enough diversity in the respondents' group to be sure of that finding. However, they considered their own sample to be too homogeneous to analyse this potential factor any further, and the same applies in this current study. Flores and Smith (2009), however, found a strong positive effect with regards to ethnicity and, in common with García-Nevarez, Stafford and Arias (2005), also observed that teachers who were certified as bilingual were more positive than monolingual teachers, but this factor was not considered by Youngs and Youngs (2001) and is not really possible to comment on extensively in this current study, which contained only three bilingual participants, none of whom were qualified teachers. They did not hypothesise that the age of teachers would have an effect on attitudes and indeed found no statistical significant link. However, the hypothesis, based on previous studies about gender differences, that females would be more comfortable with interacting with people from different cultures (Ottavi, Pope-Davis & Dings, 1994, cited in Youngs & Youngs, 2001) was supported by their analysis. Love and Arkoudis (2006) observed that females in their study used APPRAISAL patterns differently to males in professional conversations, with females being more conversationally supportive and males more conversationally performative. We might therefore expect to find that female participants in this current study were, overall, more positive in their attitudes than the males as well as potentially expressing those attitudes in a different manner.

With only three men represented in the participants in the current study (although with a caveat that this information was not elicited formally in the interactions and therefore remains subject to my own interpretation of participants' social presentation of their gender), gender as a category seems unlikely to be a useful tool in predicting attitudes, especially given that the three males in the current study are also interesting in terms of position. Two of them are school managers, one head and one deputy head, and the third is one of the bilingual learning assistants. This means that there is a lack of male class teachers

involved in this study, thereby making it more difficult to establish whether gender is an important predictor here.

Personality

Previous studies have suggested that some measures of personality would have a positive effect on attitudes towards culturally diverse classrooms and students.

Psychological insecurity and higher levels of conservatism were seen to be associated with more negative attitudes. As mentioned above, Youngs and Youngs (2001) did not analyse this aspect of their model further in their study, saying it was beyond the scope of the work. Therefore, with a limited hypothesis to work with, I will also deem a thorough consideration of personality factors to be outside the remit of this study.

Other factors

We noted above that whilst some of the participants from whom we might expect a high level of positivity when discussed in the context Youngs and Youngs' (2001) predictor model, they were not all as positive in their expression of ATTITUDES as might have been anticipated. It may well be that the notion of a search for the ideal teacher for children with languages beyond English is "illusive", as Flores and Smith (2009, p. 349) posit. However, other factors may well need to be considered. As mentioned in the previous section, it would appear that the teaching context seems to make a difference to whether attitudes overall are positive or negative, demonstrating that schools can "be viewed as highly diverse social contexts" (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011, p. 588), and that good leadership (Hargreaves, 2004) and a positive school climate (Grayson & Alvarez, 2008) are key factors. Those teaching in School 2 (including Kelly and Sheila) seem on the whole to be positive about working with emergent multilingual children and multilingualism. Those working in School 5 (including Kate) are the opposite. The leadership and management approach to 'EAL' matters in these two schools is discussed in a subsequent chapter and it may well be a key factor. It is notable that the most senior member of staff at School 5 (Luke) is the only participant to be positive overall during the main study interview.

5.5 Summary

This chapter has sought to provide a broad overview of findings that are pertinent to this study's over-arching research question. Initial overall patterns of ATTITUDE expression are presented for the group of participants as a whole, as well as for the individual teachers, managers, and assistants. The quantification of APPRAISAL patterns across the data offers a useful starting point (Love & Arkoudis, 2006; Sauntson, 2007) but these patterns, and the discourses behind the abstract numerical data, are both ripe for further and richer exploration at a more detailed level in subsequent chapters.

These patterns corroborate to an extent previous studies about the variance in attitudes. Overall, we see a tendency towards positive ATTITUDES across most attitudinal categories, but digging a little deeper exposes a variance of different attitudes, where we discover that teachers' JUDGEMENTS of positive PROPRIETY and TENACITY are overwhelming made with reference to themselves and their colleagues, rather than children or their families. This indicates a desire to paint a picture of themselves as trying hard to do the right thing, and will be discussed further in chapter six. Negative judgements of CAPACITY are more frequently seen directed at parents, suggesting that societal and linguistic ideologies around the expectations of parents of multilingual and emergent multilingual children are at play. This, amongst other discussions of CAPACITY and NORMALITY, will form the focus of chapter five.

At an individual level, we see that participants display markedly different balances between positivity and negativity overall. The factors discussed by Youngs and Youngs (2001) and Byrnes et al. (1997) are borne out to some extent but the participants in this current study only seem slightly affected by postgraduate education. Specific training on working with children who speak languages beyond English does not seem to operate as an indicator of positive attitudes. This study demonstrates that not all of the predictors of attitudes as previously discussed can be applied usefully, as the contexts of the study differ in terms of the opportunities afforded to individuals. Predictors related to contact with diverse cultures and with a diversity of students can be hard to prove or disprove in many UK contexts, where the diversity of the overall population can be differently and often more widely distributed. The only demographic category considered by Youngs and Youngs (2001), gender, was not able to be considered as a factor in observing positivity of attitudes. It may be that in more qualitative exploration, personality related factors, such as the use of AFFECT in interviews, could become a factor to be considered, but again this must be deemed as beyond the scope of the project.

The exploration of the numerical data against the predictors proposed by Youngs and Youngs (2001) and Byrnes, et al. (1997) has allowed us to observe that factors attributed to positive attitudes are not always borne out for this group of participants where it seems that more situational factors are often at play. We can see this in the overall data for individuals where it is possible to note an overall difference in attitudes between schools. For example, we might expect that Lucy, in School 6, with limited experience of working with children who speak languages beyond English, limited training or educational background with regards to second language acquisition, and limited multi-cultural exposure, to present with negative ATTITUDES overall, but this was not the case for this individual, as we saw earlier. On the other hand, we would expect Kate in school 5, with her educational background and experience with diverse pupils to exhibit positive ATTITUDES but in the setting in which she was teaching during this study, this was not the case. Flores and Smith (2009) also found this limited value of teaching experience, suggesting that more experienced teachers may become entrenched

in deficit thinking, whereas more recently qualified teachers or teaching assistants may have had more diversity experience. It does also seem to suggest here that there may be a link between school leadership (and the school climate created) and positive ATTITUDES, or questions to do with the novelty or otherwise of working with children who speak languages beyond English, and further exploration of these factors will be made through a more qualitative lens in Chapters 6 and 7.

We now move to the next chapter, which focuses on revealing the embedded ideologies regarding linguistic and social *capital* that are part of the participants' *habitus*, which often arise through discourse pertaining to the CAPACITY and NORMALITY of children who speak languages beyond English, and their families. That will lead onto a chapter drawing principally on the relevant JUDGEMENTS made about PROPRIETY that will focus on what is deemed as legitimate and appropriate behaviour for school leaders, teachers, and children, exposing ideologies around pedagogy and language maintenance.

6 Views on *capital* from the *habitus* of the education *field*: what an analysis of CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS can tell US

“You’ve got to take a holistic view to EAL you’re not just talking about language, you’re talking about culture and everything else” (Kelly)

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to investigate how primary school educators express attitudes about working with children who speak languages beyond English, and their families. Following the analysis of the main study research interview transcripts reported on in the previous chapter, it was observed that the APPRAISAL JUDGEMENT subsystems of CAPACITY and NORMALITY were well-used linguistic choices for participants in their discourse about others.

We noted that the frequency counts of CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS (47 negative or 61% against 30 positive) made towards parents seems to indicate that the participants are more critical of families than children. NORMALITY judgements made by participants towards family members are also typically negative, so I contend that both CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS towards parents are worth considering further. Negative CAPACITY is also of interest in participants’ discourse around children who speak languages beyond English, too, which we find occurring almost as much as the positive JUDGEMENTS in this category. We particularly noted, however, that children who speak languages beyond English were being construed as not normal, (81% of normality tokens directed at multilingual children were considered to be negative). This suggests that both CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS towards children should be discussed further.

This current chapter will specifically address research sub-questions a) and b) (see section 1.5) by exploring how CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS are often underpinned by and reveal ideologies about *what or who people are*. Emergent themes were found to focus predominantly around *language ideologies* in the expression of attitudes towards varying languages, including English, and expectations around language use. They also related to more *societally oriented ideologies*, which are also to be considered as they are regularly found conflated with language-related issues. The themes most commonly under discussion when these judgements were invoked have been grouped together to offer an overarching

structure for the presentation of data, the discussion thereof, and the eventual key findings of this chapter.

These key themes emerging from the participants' ATTITUDE discourse utilising CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS will be briefly introduced in the following section below. There follows a detailed discussion of each emergent theme with close reference to excerpts from the research interviews. Alongside the APPRAISAL analysis framework, a range of critical discourse analytical tools was utilised (as discussed in Chapter 4) to highlight the ideological nature of the JUDGEMENTS made. Adopting these varying CDA tools will allow us to explore more closely *how* the participants constructed their discourse in relation to these themes, which thereby explicitly addresses the study's overarching research questions and the three sub-questions.

6.2 Chapter overview

In this chapter, excerpts from a number of the research interviews are presented to show how the linguistic choices of CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS made by participants in their discourse with me reflect and reveal the stances of the participants on a range of aspects related to their attitudes towards both English and languages beyond English, and the speakers thereof.

Whilst the expectation might be that participants would be largely focused on discussion about linguistic themes and CAPACITY when talking about working with children who speak languages beyond English and their families, analysis also revealed that a number of other themes emerge, more driven by and revealed through NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS. Attitudes about languages are often based on ingrained sets of values (or *habitus* in Bourdieu's terms, as discussed in Chapter 3) that are connected to "common sense" ideological beliefs about "us" and the "other" in society and in particular contexts, like the education system. In countries like the UK, with a long history of immigration, the notion of "otherness" is often predicated on the perception of differences in ethnicity, race, and culture (Ricento, 2013) but themes pertaining to beliefs about gender roles and socio-economic status are also prevalent. Ideologies are revealed around what has been varyingly referred to as the *intersectionality* (Crenshaw, 1989), the *domains of identification* (Jenkins, 2004) or the *universes of discourse* (Barth, 1983, cited in Jenkins, 2004) between these social and personal identities. In essence, this is what Kelly means when she mentions the 'everything else' in the excerpt at the head of this chapter. These are all ideologically charged topics that either directly or indirectly influence school policies and practices, while also heavily influencing individuals' own attitudes and beliefs and, therefore, their discourses around multilingualism, multilingual children and their families. Participants are embedded in the particular *field* of their professional practice in the institutional arena of the primary school in the Bourdieuan sense, which means that their discourse is predicated on a particular set of ingrained dispositions that make up the *habitus* of the institution and the individual.

In the following sections, we will consider how participants' discursive choices in appraising CAPACITY suggest notions of the perceived *importance and power of English* in comparison to other languages and varieties when talking about *linguistic capital*. We will then move on to looking at participants' explicit attitudinal discourse about speaking *languages beyond English*, their place in and out of the classroom, and who is constructed as responsible for *home language attrition or maintenance*. Questions about language shift will then lead us to consider related NORMALITY judgements about cultural expectations. Salient excerpts have been chosen to exemplify each point, whilst a broad range of related coded excerpts not included in the chapters themselves can be seen in Appendix 5, being explicitly referenced when relevant to the discussion in hand.

6.3 The monolingual *habitus* revealed through CAPACITY

"Helping the children to develop the language is one of our priorities" (Luke)

This section focuses on participants' discourse reflecting the perceived importance and dominance of English in and beyond the school context. This notion of the primacy of English will be discussed from three perspectives below, drawing on other participants' attitudes and discourse. The first concerns the nature of the hegemonic ideological stance being taken, the second is related to the impact that this powerful ideology has on other languages in the discourse, and the third makes observations about participants' discourse about the notion of the 'good communicator' more generally, which includes a reflection on the connection between language and socio-economic status.

English as important and powerful

Luke takes an explicit attitudinal stance with regards to English, constructing it as primary and dominant, as seen in the coded excerpt below, in which we can see positive CAPACITY, alongside a range of other APPRAISAL resources being used (see Chapter 4 for a reminder of the analysis and coding approach):

Excerpt 12

Luke: well we- we- we- (...) uhm emphasise **the importance** of English [appreciation: valuation+] (...) because (...) that's [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] the **dominant** [appreciation: valuation+ /high force graduation: intensification] language in the country (...) a:nd for children to: (.) make progress and to (...) uhm **do well** [judgement: capacity+ irrealis] in their future lives **they need** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] to be **good (.) communicators** [judgement: capacity+ irrealis] they've **got to be** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] **effective (.) communicators** [judgement: capacity+ irrealis] (...) and so (.) **we'd be doing**

the children **a disservice** [*judgement: propriety- irrealis*] (.) if we didn't promote that

Whilst the evaluative statement about the dominance of English is explicit, there are further observations that can be made about stances taken here that are a little more implicitly communicated. Through the *irrealis* CAPACITY and PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS, he gives the impression of absolving the school of responsibility by explaining that the dominance of English is a result of societal factors and it is this that leads teachers to feel they need to promote 'the importance of English'. In point of fact, critical discourse analysts regularly state that the education system, schools and teachers are key sites in ideological struggle and change (Heller, 1996) but Luke does not talk of contesting the *status quo*. It is telling that he adopts a *monoglossic* approach (Martin, 2000) here, in that the discourse above excludes any alternative position than the 'facts' that *English is the dominant language in the country* and that the *children need to be good communicators*.

Languages beyond English are simply missing from the equation across much of this collection of research interviews and the dominance of English is clear to see. Across four of the six schools, I spoke to participants who, seemingly without being consciously aware of it, rendered the home languages and broader linguistic repertoires of the children invisible through some of their discursive practices, in precisely the manner that Bourdieu discusses in relation to the legitimation of 'official' language use (1991). Kelly (school 2) and Irene (school 4) both offer negative CAPACITY descriptions of children entering the school with no language at all thereby entirely negating their prior linguistic experiences and knowledge. This ideology of '*language*' equals '*English*' presents itself multiple times in Lucy's discourse from School 6 too, with references to her/ his/ their language when evaluating parents English-speaking CAPACITY as 'poor'. She *does*, however, explicitly correct herself at one point by saying: his language was very poor when he first joined us in nursery or his English was very poor, I should say demonstrating that, although these hegemonic ideologies may have become naturalised into discourse patterns and are used fairly automatically by monolingual speakers of English in the UK (Fairclough, 2010), it is possible for speakers to become more aware (here probably because of the particular nature of the communicative event and her interlocutor's claimed interest).

She is not alone in revealing these naturalised hegemonic ideologies through her discourse however, as reference to the now-archived National Literacy Strategy documents shows frequent reference to the ideological notion that '*language*' equals '*English*'. This plays into the 'common-sense' viewpoint of English being the language of the country, with its attendant lack of interest in acknowledging the presence of other languages. Furthermore, reference to 'the language' is seen in the research literature as demonstrative of a standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 1994) in which the target set by schools is a very particular form of

English. We actually find only very limited use of that particular noun phrase in my corpus of research interviews, with only Luke using it to express this notion, in the quote at the head of this chapter section, although references to ‘good’, ‘poor’ and ‘bad’ English perform a similar function, ideologically-speaking, and are seen across the data set.

The fact that explicit references to languages beyond English are often missing in the participants’ discourse certainly reflects both of the major existing linguistic ideologies but it is perhaps the ‘rendering dumb’ of certain individuals that we see in a moment of Lucy’s interview, through the CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS applied to the mother(s), that is most interesting from this perspective:

Excerpt 13

Lucy: and M (.) the little Polish boy (..) dad **could speak**
[judgement: capacity+] (.) mum **couldn’t** [judgement: capacity-] (..) maybe it is
a cultural thing (.) dads **can** [judgement: capacity+] **all** [high force graduation:
quantification] speak (.) mums **can’t** [judgement: capacity-] (..) **mainly** (.) [low
force graduation: quantification]

The implication of the utterance in the excerpt above seems to be that if you cannot speak English, you may be considered not to be able to speak at all, echoing observations of similar ideologically grounded statements in previous research (Helot & Young, 2002). The use of the high force GRADUATION employed here also leads to a strong essentialising discourse of categorisation (Wetherell & Potter, 1992, cited in McKinlay & McVittie, 2008) not untypical in discourse of this nature (Love & Arkoudis, 2006), although there is an acknowledgement through the use of the lowering force GRADUATION resource at the end of the utterance, after a pause, which suggests Lucy becomes aware she might have gone a little far in her claim.

Linguistic capital: language hierarchies and linguistic repertoires

The lack of reference to the children’s potential full linguistic repertoires (a concept described, defined and updated by Busch, 2012, and Wang et al., 2014) as part of the process of them becoming ‘good’ and ‘effective’ communicators perhaps also reveals a lack of real enthusiasm for making the most of, and enhancing their potential as multilingual members of the community.

Whilst the dominance of English is apparent throughout all participants’ discourse, a hierarchy of languages beyond English within the participating schools can be observed in a variety of ways, through the discourse of participants to the linguistic landscape as recorded in the field notes. The contrastive concepts of *elite* and *folk* multilingualism (Romaine, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1981), the area in which most research on relative linguistic statuses has been done, is perhaps less relevant for this study, as nearly all of the children who speak languages beyond English would be likely to identify as ‘folk’ multilinguals *vis-à-vis* their

situation as a speaker of one of the languages of a minority community. Having said that, those children whose home languages are European in origin (and particularly French speakers, a few of whom were mentioned across the data set), may find that their languages are more reflected in the school environment, through the MFL provision, thereby affording a higher status to their linguistic identity.

Positive CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS about multilingual children's prowess at learning French are typical of other teachers and managers in this study, and of findings elsewhere (Primary National Strategies, 2009):

Excerpt 14

Luke: we- we (.) encourage the children to swi- or- not- it hasn't been the case over this last year probably (.) for a (.) several years have been (.) er **promoting** French [*appreciation: valuation+*] (..) **so** [*engagement: contract: proclaim: concur*] the children have been **picking up** French [*judgement: capacity+*] (.) **very easily** [*high force graduation: intensification*] (..) '**specially** [*high force graduation: intensification*] the EAL children (CC: mm yeh) (..) because they're already **used** to the idea (CC: of learning a language exactly) [*affect: security+*]

Beyond the construction of French as 'superior' to Punjabi or other home languages, the other interesting aspect of the excerpt above is in the repair/ restart. It seems that Luke was about to say 'switch' which, given the context, would suggest that Luke may have been about to say that the children should switch from using Punjabi to learning French as the preferred language beyond English within the school walls.

In addition to the traditional hierarchy of elite languages for MFL teaching, the superiority of Urdu is seen in a number of ways in participants' discourse, and highlights a further hierarchy of note. A decision to teach Urdu as a foreign language in School 1 was celebrated as a way of improving self-esteem in the multilingual and emergent multilingual children and as a good token of multicultural education for school inspectors. However, Thomas also made reference to the high status of Urdu in this comment during my preliminary interview, telling me that the families see it as a kudos thing because in their country, speaking Urdu is considered to be one level up. As well as noting the ideologically-loaded description of where the families are considered to belong geographically, there is a sense in the discourse here that, even amongst the migrant languages, there is a strong hierarchy in place, although it is also interesting to note that Urdu is only one level up, leaving plenty of space for other languages above it in the 'pecking order'. As an example of this, the number of Pashto speakers in some schools, for example, is underestimated as a result of parents choosing to state a different language (often Urdu) as their home language (Wardman et al., 2012).

This sense of the hierarchy goes beyond the worries of parents in deciding which language to claim their child speaks, into an acknowledgement of prejudice towards certain languages in language policy and planning terms. Theresa (a participant in the auxiliary data set of research interviews with local authority teaching staff) acknowledges that you do get languages which are more desirable at the level of language planning and policy, in her reference to the language of business at the moment and the notion of a language in vogue she demonstrates that she is aware these policy focuses are transient, perhaps picking up on the changing statuses of languages like Mandarin Chinese and Arabic in the business world (Tinsley & Board, 2012), and implies a frustration with ever-changing language policies depending on the fashion of the moment.

‘This communication thing’: who are the ‘good’ and ‘effective’ communicators?

Luke’s CAPACITY-related discourse about the need for multilingual children to appreciate that they need to be ‘good’ and ‘effective’ communicators in English as the ‘language of the country’ in order to ‘do well in the future’ is of note in part *because* of its focus on the multilingual child with regards to the issue of communicative competence. The topic of CAPACITY for communication is a common one across the main study interviews and exists very much at the intersection between language-related topics discourse around socio-economic status.

The focus is not always solely on children who speak languages beyond English when speech and communication issues are discussed. Those children are, in fact, sometimes construed positively *vis à vis* the monolingual ‘white’ children of a lower socio-economic background, in terms of being ‘better’ at English amongst other attributes. Teachers and managers share their attitudes about children referred to as indigenous white children (school 2), predominantly white children (school 6), British children (school 3), or children who’ve just got English as a first language (school 5), noting the conflation of language with skin colour in two of these phrases, with nationality in the third, and the interesting choice of the GRADUATION resource ‘just’ in the fourth, which arguably evokes a negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENT, amongst other potential interpretations.

There seems to be a broader debate about whether speech and communication problems are an issue related to multilingualism or whether they are part of a larger societal problem about the way children are being brought up.

Excerpt 15

Helen: an- an **even** [engagement: contract: disclaim: counter] when I've talked to like **SENCOs in other schools** [engagement: expand: attribute: acknowledge] (.) they- we're **all** [high force graduation: quantification] coming out with the same **problem** [appreciation: composition-] (.) r- it's th- this **communication thing** [judgement: capacity-] (.) so (....) it is uh- (.) **I don't think** [engagement: expand: entertain] **it's not just** [low force graduation: intensification] linked to EAL (.) **anymore** [engagement: contract: disclaim: counter] (CC: no)

CC: **it's unlikely** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] (.) so is it about **plonking children** [judgement: propriety-] in front of TVs an' iPads

Helen: I think [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] it's a lot to do with- do with- and **not talking to them** [judgement: propriety-] [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] yeah (.) basically (.) and the fact that **a lot of ch- a lot of** [high force graduation: quantification] children (..) their interaction is with computer games where it's **visual an' not verbal** [evoked judgement: propriety- in appreciation: composition-] (.) so: they've **just** [low force graduation: intensification] **not got that understanding** [judgement: capacity-]

Kate at the same school is perhaps even more explicit in her discourse about children at the previous school she taught in when she described them as speech deprived and said they:

Excerpt 16

came to school **grunting** [judgement: capacity-] because they'd had a **dummy in their mouth** [judgement: propriety-] **all the time** [high force graduation: intensification] an'- an' people had **shouted at them not talked to them** [judgement: propriety-] an' so (.) the- there was **language deprivation** [appreciation: composition-] **still** [engagement: contract: counter] (.) uhm (.) but not English (.) not second language

This concern with children coming to school 'grunting' is corroborated by large scale studies on child-directed speech and the impacts of socio-economic status on speech and language development in child developmental psychology literature (Sohr-Preston et al., 2013, inter alia). Helen says that this 'communication thing' is 'not just linked to EAL anymore' but the suggestion through this use of ENGAGEMENT and GRADUATION resources highlights that expectations may remain quite set for many in this respect. Kate's discourse includes the same sense of expected deficit of the multilingual children in her use of 'still'. That linguistic choice constructs English language learners as experiencing language deprivation in the same way as the lower socio-economic group of native English speakers who are facing communication problems because of their upbringing.

The positioning of some multilingual children as superior linguistically is sometimes done very explicitly, as with the contrasting CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS seen in the excerpt from Luke below:

Excerpt 17

Luke: **some** [low force graduation: quantification] of the (.) the children that have English as an additional language (.) are **actually** (.) **very** [high force graduation: intensification] **fluent** (.) [judgement: capacity+] and (.) so they are (.) members of the **aspiring** [evoked judgement: propriety+ encoded in appreciation: composition+] middle class (.) Asian families (...) and their- the quality [appreciation: composition+] of their language **in some** [low force graduation: quantification] cases is **in some** [low force graduation: quantification] cases a lot [high force graduation: quantification] **better** [judgement: capacity+ encoded in appreciation: composition+] (.) than the: (.) **some** [low force graduation: quantification] of the white families (CC: mhmm) (.) that come from a lowe:r (.) socio-economic bracket

We can see here in the reference to ‘the [better] quality of their language’ a sense that the standard variety of English is being used as a model of excellence, which is a well-established ideological stance (Corson, 1997), alongside the use of the word ‘language’ to mean ‘English’ as we saw earlier. We also see the use of the modal adjunct ‘actually’ to discuss a matter of expectations not being met, as also discussed by Wharton (2012), and seen in a number of other excerpts in this chapter, suggesting a sense of shifts and challenges to the participants’ *habitus* and expectations occurring based upon their professional experiences. This excerpt seems at heart to not just be about language CAPACITY but also to exist at its intersection with both socio-economic status and ethnicity (Reay et al., 2007). Bradley (2016) refers to the recent development of the ‘Asian petit bourgeoisie’ in Britain, which seems to be referenced here through ‘aspiring’ as a descriptor of these families. It is interesting to note, however, that there is a cause-and-effect factor created through the choice of ‘so’ here in that the increased CAPACITY in English language is determined to be what leads to the upward social mobility, highlighting again the ideology that perpetuates the power and dominance of English in UK society.

Moreover, the conflation between language and socio-economic status identities is notable in the participants’ discourse for its implied nature. Whilst explicit references were made across the research interviews to ‘low socio-economic status’ (three references across the data set of preliminary and main study interviews, including the one in the excerpt above), there is no mention at all of the terms ‘working class’, ‘poor’ or ‘deprived/deprivation’ in the economic or social sense. All (seven) references to aspiration refer to minority language communities and groups of children who speak languages beyond English.

It seems that the CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS of linguistic *capital* are based on presuppositions that the speaker assumes I, as the listener, will be bringing to the communicative event of the research interview.

The terms 'poor' and 'deprived' are used but they function to describe linguistic concerns, thus implying negative social *capital* judgements. We see references to 'poor role models' (linguistically) and 'language deprivation' (above in Kate's excerpt). In the language deprivation excerpt, we can see various negative attributes applied to parents, including:

- Not talking to their children
- Shouting at their children
- Use of video games
- Excessive use of dummies in infancy

These negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS are predicated on the participants' *habitus* and seem to be judging the parents for their lack of *social capital*, whilst only explicitly discussing language.

Summary

Two dominant linguistic ideologies have thrived in countries like the UK, the USA and Australia, those of an English monolingualism, and of a standard language ideology (Ricento, 2013), both of which we have seen represented in the presentation of and discussion of the participants' discourse above. The English monolingual mindset leads to language diversity being seen as an 'alien and divisive force' (Rubdy, 2010, p. 215) while the second involves schools being positioned as 'chief purveyors of standards' (Rubdy, 2010, p. 215). We have seen, and will continue to see across the remainder of both this chapter as well as the next, that elements of both of these ideologies are at play in the discourse of the participants, albeit with a greater weight on the variations on the monolingual mindset. Participants' attitudinal discourses about language, and particularly those related to evaluating CAPACITY, reveal attitudes that echo previous studies into the monolingual mindset or *habitus* prevalent in what have been traditionally known as English speaking countries (Conteh & Meier, 2014; Gogolin, 1997, inter alia). There is a strong perception of the primacy of English, which manifests itself in discursive features that to some extent diminish the importance and role of other languages and create a hierarchy of languages beyond English, as discussed above.

We will now continue to explore and discuss notions that stem from these language ideologies, as well as further discussion of the societal ideological stances that are triggered when language identities overlap and intersect with other social and personal identities. Discourses about the worth of language beyond English in the participants' interviews will be explored in the following section. The perpetuation of an ideology around the notion of a deficit/ transition model (Baker, 2011) through participants' discourse will then be

discussed. The domains and 'safe spaces' (Conteh & Brock, 2011) for languages beyond English are often clearly defined and any responsibility on the part of participants for home language maintenance or language shift and attrition goes unacknowledged. Following this change of focus to considering the role of the family, a discussion of CAPACITY and NORMALITY here will lead us to observe the intersection of language with social and ethnic identities. It is also of value to discuss what may be considered as 'absent' from the participants' discourse, as this can often shed further light on pertinent prevailing ideologies (Fairclough, 2015) so some of these areas will be discussed towards the end of the chapter.

6.4 Building CAPACITY

"The first language should be guarded, cherished and developed"

(Theresa, auxiliary data set)

Theresa is not the only participant in this study to use the word 'cherish' to describe an optimal attitude towards multilingual children's home languages. The term is also used by Habib, one of the bilingual learning assistants in school 2. As might be expected, the bilingual learning assistants are distinctly more positive about the possibility of becoming and remaining multilingual and of the importance in looking after the home language. He says:

Excerpt 18

Habib: You realise that people one day accept your language when they cherish it. You feel more confident.

It is also perhaps revealing to observe that there are only three uses of the word 'accept' with reference to attitudes to languages in the entirety of the interview data set across both preliminary and main studies. The fact that Habib speaks hypothetically here suggests that he feels this true acceptance is rather rare. In this chapter section, discourses that positively construct multilingualism and languages beyond English as an asset will then be contrasted with those discourses that lead to the more prevalent deficit/ transition model that is embedded within the mainstream education system and therefore throughout the schools in this data set, despite the good practice that is in place in a number of them that should be counteracting the notion of deficit.

Multilingualism as an 'asset': positive NORMALITY

Following Habib's hypothetical comment about the importance of cherishing the home languages of multilingual children and the impact that this can have, he goes on to explicitly describe the impact of this nurturing by narrating a rather lengthy story about working with a little boy to raise his self-esteem and acceptance of his home language and culture (this excerpt can be seen in its entirety in appendix 5.1). He talks of how happy the boy became simply because of the interest that was being shown in his background, and how adjusted he became to his difference, increasingly being able to see his differences as positive.

Excerpt 19

Habib: he's **very** [high force graduation: intensification] **happy** [attributed affect: happiness+] now because before he was ((puts on voice)) oh **I hate** my name [attributed affect: happiness-] (.) I said right because **everybody else** [judgement: normality+] has like different names so you've got Chit (.) **just** [low force graduation: intensification] gonna be Ch- an' I said T this is a **very** [high force graduation: intensification] nice name [appreciation: reaction+] it's **different** [judgement: normality+] and it's- an' now I call him Mr Chit and (.) ((laughter)) **he smiles** [attributed affect: happiness+] (.) but e- e- if **he is confident** [attributed affect: security+] oh my name **is nice** [appreciation: reaction+] it's not some- you know when you are **different** in a school [judgement: normality- irrealis] an' you're the **only** Asian child [judgement: normality- irrealis] or you're the **only** (.) white child [judgement: normality- irrealis] (.) y'know (.) it does **affect you** [attributed affect: happiness-] as a person

The extensive use of the APPRAISAL ATTITUDE resource of AFFECT in this passage is unusual across this set of research interviews, in which participants generally seem keen to maintain a professional air with the requisite distance from emotions that might be expected to entail. As noted in the previous chapter, some participants use AFFECT more than others but its use above is significant in that Habib seems determined to make clear how positive this interaction and experience has been for both him and the child involved in this process.

Habib's use of negative NORMALITY *irrealis* tokens highlights what he sees as the potential ill effects of failing to cherish the languages beyond English brought to school by multilingual children. Positive NORMALITY markers are prevalent in much of the discourse that pertains to multilingualism being seen as an asset, which is observable across the whole data set. Multilingual children (both individually and as a cohort) are described varyingly as 'lucky' (positive NORMALITY) in schools 2 and 6, 'clever' in schools 1, 3 and 6, 'bright' and 'amazing' in school 4, and as being on a 'far better footing' (school 6) than monolingual children, and almost all participants are very positive about the notion of home language maintenance in their discourse, at least hypothetically.

Despite a lack of strategies and practices in some of the schools to ensure that the value of home languages is appreciated, many teachers make an explicit assessment of the importance of the children's languages. Lucy, for example, says:

Excerpt 20

Lucy: I think [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] *keeping their natural language is an **extremely** [high force graduation: intensification] **important characteristic** [appreciation: valuation+] (.) **it's** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] *part of their culture (0.2) **it's** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] who they are (.) **it's** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] what they are (.) **it's** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] what makes them **unique** [judgement: normality+]**

Lucy adopts the term 'natural' language here, which is interesting in that it is an un-utilised expression in the literature or wider discourse, suggesting that this topic may be one that she has not considered in a professional sense before and one that may be rarely discussed. We have seen that diglossic language generally lacks prestige but 'natural' language, in the way that Lucy has used it here, contains something interesting from an attitudinal perspective. There is something about authenticity present in the notion, perhaps drawing on the idea of the language of the soul (Schiffman, 1996). The antonym for 'natural' is 'unnatural', which would, by extension, situate English as an 'unnatural' language for the children involved. This returns us to the ideology of the monolingual *habitus* again, drawing on the idea of monolingualism as the norm. Her use of ENGAGEMENT resources is also of note here, in that this utterance is monoglossic in its stance, in the sense adopted by Martin (2000); beyond the initial more hesitant 'I think', she does not acknowledge other viewpoints within it. She makes repeated monoglossic statements using parallel constructions, in which she makes strong connections between language and notions of personal identity, reminiscent of political rhetoric, which we will see her adopt again in an excerpt discussed in section 6.5.2.

Language and identity are closely interwoven (Evans, 2014) and seem to be seen by some participants in this study as inextricably connected. Some almost claim a genetic or biological association, as Lucy does above. Below we can see a similar construction from Helen, who utilises GRADUATION resources to amplify her attitude expression when asked how a Polish-Irish teacher in the school would feel about her son losing his Polish:

Excerpt 21

Helen: I think [engagement: expand: entertain] *she would think he **can't** [judgement: capacity-] lose- because that's- that's- it's like something you pass down like the colour of yo- your eyes an' (.) an' **things like that** [low focus graduation] an' I- **I think** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] **it's** a **really** [high force graduation: intensification] **important thing** [appreciation: valuation+] an' (.) and for those children to **not have it** [judgement: capacity- irrealis] then (..) I think will have **an impact** [appreciation: valuation- irrealis]*

Habib and Oraiba reflect on the notion of multilingualism being as asset explicitly in this co-construction with me:

Excerpt 22

Habib: y'know we are working here because **we've got** another language [judgement: capacity+] (.) if I- if I **couldn't** [judgement: capacity-irrealis] I- I might not be working here (**CC:** yehyeh) so it's **an asset** [appreciation: valuation+] (.) an' y'know people go an' learn Chinese an' you know the languages (.) you learn French but (.) our children think oh no you know first language

Oraiba: because they've **all** [high force graduation: quantification] **practically** [low force graduation: intensification] **got it** [judgement: capacity+] **so** [engagement: contract: proclaim: concur] **they don't think [it's**

CC: [that it's **anything special** [appreciation: valuation-]

Habib uses a short *hypothetical narrative* discursive structure which includes a performance element in the shape of a reported speech passage (Baynham, 2011b) to demonstrate that they believe the children in the school think their own type of multilingualism is not as much of an asset as the *elite* multilingualism associated with voluntary (reflected in *go* and *learn* above), classroom-taught learning of a high status language, such as Chinese (*sic*) or French.

It seems that the explicit positive attitudes expressed by participants in the form of the judgements of normality and capacity seen above are not leading to children do not appreciate that speaking their home language *is* an asset. We will see more on this negative affect on the part of children in section 6.4.3. it would therefore appear that the intended message of the positive statements from teachers is not having the desired affect on the children and more effort may need to be made in this regard to bolster self-esteem. So, we should ask ourselves what else might be going on for both teachers and children here, and a consideration of this question leads us directly to discourses around the deficit model, a major tenet of a monolingual *habitus*.

Multilingualism as a 'deficit': negative CAPACITY

The deficit/ transition model of multilingual education as defined and described by Baker (2011) is that approach which leads to the mainstreaming (Overington, 2012) of children with languages beyond English in the education system, essentially demanding of them that they get to the point where they can be congratulated by someone like Lucy (school 6) for having picked our language up terrifically. This view of multilingual children actually constructs multilingualism as a problem not a resource, and multicultural education becomes equated with "assimilation to traditional British educational values and *the* English language" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 20, my emphasis to note the standard language ideology embedded purposefully in this citation).

The way that an 'EAL' child is marked out as such can also be demonstrative of a deficit model. The focus is on negative CAPACITY, what the child *cannot* do with language, specifically the additional language, which is, of course, English in this case. Teachers know that specific academic vocabulary is one of the biggest challenges for emergent multilingual children. They often comment that children are perceived as 'fluent' in English but go on to discuss vocabulary as an on-going need and a key thing (Kate, school 5). Participants from all schools except school 4 mention vocabulary as a factor and a priority for development. This may be because of the fact that vocabulary has been foregrounded in CPD training for teachers through the commonplace use of Cummins' quadrant model (1984) in such training, which has been a useful dissemination of research findings. However, its focus on vocabulary development may mean that other grammatical aspects of the CALP or more academic language are perhaps not as known amongst teachers, although lack of CAPACITY with regards to tenses are also mentioned by a number of teachers as another marker of an emergent multilingual child. The discourses around classroom and school practices that stem from the deficit/ transition model are discussed further in the next chapter.

It seems that this sense of a deficit due to multilingualism underlies a number of the negative CAPACITY judgements regarding families seen in participants' discourse. Parents (and particularly mothers) are discursively constructed as linguistically incapable, intellectually ill-equipped, and lacking in confidence to come into schools or go into further training (see Appendix section 5.2 for more examples). A commonly-seen discursive construction of a positive JUDGEMENT followed by a negative is seen again in Thomas' discourse about some LA funded parent and child sessions he runs at school 1 as 'Keeping Up With The Children' classes. He notes:

Excerpt 23

Thomas: they **might be able** [*judgement: capacity+*] to give them a pencil but they **can't** [*judgement: capacity-*] support them and **most** [*high force graduation: quantification*] of them the parents do **want** [*affect: desire-*] to support them but they **don't know how** [*judgement: capacity-*] to

This comment perpetuates a rather negative view of the CAPACITY of parents with regards to helping their children. Thomas makes potentially revealing linguistic choices in ATTITUDE expression around CAPACITY on a few occasions similar to the excerpt above in which he expresses a mainly positive JUDGEMENT (although here we can acknowledge the lowering of intensity of the positive JUDGEMENT through the use of the filler 'and stuff') swiftly followed by a subtle negative construction:

Excerpt 24

Thomas: most of **my** Asian community are **brilliant** [high force graduation: intensification][judgement: capacity+] sewers and **stuff** [low focus graduation] but they **couldn't** [judgement: capacity-] do a pattern to save your life because **they do it by eye** [evoked appreciation: reaction-]

The use of 'my' as seen above is a key trope in Thomas's rhetoric across both of his interviews with me (see appendix 5.2). This use of pronouns seems to demonstrate his perceived power and a sense of some level of ownership over the parents and children, and could be interpreted as being paternalistic, imperialist, and patronising, which can perhaps be seen in this section of transcript:

Excerpt 25

Thomas: the parents by and large (.) really enjoy that especially the mathematics don't ask me why the mathematics goes down a storm here and most of **my** parents here really enjoy that because many of them feel inadequate and if you think about their everyday lives managing finance and budgeting and stuff they actually find it very beneficial

This tone here, which could be considered as rather patronising, coupled with what Gabriel, (1994, p. 86) refers to as low status, culturally-associated 'knowledges' (like sewing by eye) being dismissed, is not uncommon in discourses that are situated in societies in which Eurocentric ideologies are embedded (Gabriel, 1994). The use of pronouns for this effect is particularly prevalent in Thomas's discourse. Although three other participants use the phrase 'our parents', the discursive effect of the first person pronoun is stronger. A little further on in our interview, Thomas once again uses the word 'inadequate' to describe how he thinks parents feel, but on this occasion he corrects himself, saying sorry not inadequate (..) intimidated about coming into school, the change in the attributed AFFECT seeming to do the job of shifting the responsibility for managing these relationships onto the school, something that will be picked up further in the following chapter.

Multilingualism as contained: negative NORMALITY

The deficit/ transition model and the pedagogical impact of it, which will be discussed further in the following chapter, seems to lead to home languages being construed as not NORMAL at school and the notion of there being clear domains for language use in children's minds. These discourses about feelings towards language use will be discussed below, before considering the notion that children are being constructed as being, at least partially, responsible for the limited use of their language in the classroom, and therefore, by extension, for the potential attrition or maintenance of their home language.

Negative construals of NORMALITY are seen throughout these research interviews, for example in Habib's hypothetical constructions at the end of his narrative about working with the young boy from Poland. In APPRAISAL terms, they are coded as a negative NORMALITY assessment, but more broadly, they are demonstrative, to an extent, of the Othering kind of discourse that can be found in these, and other similar, analyses of spoken and written discourse (de Beauvoir, 2007).

The explicit suggestion of children being 'embarrassed' by their linguistic and cultural difference as manifested by their home language is a feature in the discourse at schools 1, 2 and 4. In interviews at schools 2, 3, 4 and 5, children are represented as feeling that their home language belongs in the home and that English is the only language they should speak at school. Kelly and Marie both demonstrate a lack of clarity about what might be causing the embarrassment, with Kelly seeming to lack any reflexivity about whether the attitudes and (in)action of the staff may be relevant. Marie offered a very hesitant response indeed, using multiple restarts:

Excerpt 26

Marie: I've no idea (.) I don't- I don't- (.) I **really** [high force graduation: intensification] don't- **I don't know** [judgement: capacity-] if it's **just** [low force graduation: intensification] **not what they expect** [attributed evoked judgement: normality- encoded in appreciation: reaction] at school

In this excerpt we can see something about the domain of the home language, the suggestion that participants (and children) see it as belonging in the home and not in the school. The use of the attributed ATTITUDE NORMALITY token ensures that this ideological stance is communicated as reflecting the experiences and attitudes of the children may be revealing of a general unwillingness to be explicit about this notion of appropriate domain for the home languages of the children.

In the following excerpt, however, Irene (school 4) considers that, rather than the more psychological notions of NORMALITY, it is children's increased CAPACITY in English (and perhaps decreasing CAPACITY in their home language) that leads to the limited use of home languages in the classroom environment in her school:

Excerpt 27

Irene: it's not used much in lessons because **most of them** [high force graduation: quantification] (.) the children (.) are **perfectly** [high force graduation: intensification] **comfortable** [judgement: capacity+ and attributed affect: security+] talking in English (.) and some of them are **not that** [high force graduation: intensification] **comfortable** talking [judgement: capacity- and attributed affect: security-] in a second language

This notion that it is the choice of the children not to be using their home languages is important. We will consider issues of blame for language loss and responsibility for language maintenance further in the following section, but the concept of real ‘choice’ in these contexts where a dominant language holds sway can be challenged (Genesee et al., 1995). Negative NORMALITY is perhaps a worse attributed label than negative CAPACITY, especially for children and adolescents who are keen to not stand out (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2005).

Summary

In this section, we have been able to explore, to some extent, the contradictory nature of much of the participants’ discourse with regards to multilingual children’s languages, which perhaps highlights an ideological struggle going on between what might be perceived as ideal practice and what is pragmatically achievable in schools and classrooms in the UK during the current era, more of which will be said in the next chapter. Teachers are torn between wanting to make the best of the children’s linguistic and cultural repertoires and histories and genuinely celebrating their difference (NORMALITY) and feeling obliged to focus on curriculum and assessment and levels (which will be discussed further in Chapter 7), which forces a focus on what the children seem unable to do (CAPACITY).

Using attributed negative NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS, children are construed as being unwilling to use their home language for fear of embarrassment, although participants are keen to point out that this unwillingness may also be due to children being increasingly capable in using English. An increased CAPACITY in English, whilst clearly a positive developed for the child in question, may well coincide with some element of language attrition if there is no clear plan for home language maintenance, and it is to the issues of language attrition and shift, and associated reflection on cultural expectations and shifts, that we now turn in our final section on CAPACITY and NORMALITY.

6.5 Changing CAPACITY and shifting NORMALITY

“the culture of the school changes over time and we don’t change our assumptions fast enough” (Caroline)

This section deals more explicitly with the intersection between linguistic and other identities, as the conflation between language and Eurocentric, essentialising and categorising discourses around ethnic minority groups becomes visible. Firstly, we will pick up on the notion of language attrition and shift, mentioned briefly in the previous section, and examine some of the discourses constructed around those issues from a familial perspective. We will note during this exploration that expectations play a key role and so will dedicate space in the following section to a discussion of the way that cultural and linguistic expectations of children and parents are constructed in the research interviews.

(Changing) languages and cultures

According to participants, language shift has, indeed, arrived for some families connected to school 5, and also shows signs in the participants' discourse of being present in schools 3 and 4. Helen bemoans the situation of having the strange anomaly now of having some children who are from an Asian background that don't speak in any language other than English. However, it is actually neither a strange nor anomalous situation as the established literature makes clear, which demonstrates that migrant languages often disappear between the second and third generations (Bortolato, 2012; Parameswaran, 2014). Irene in the North-East is also seeing this process in action and tells me that

Excerpt 28

Irene: there is *[engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce]* a slide happening
(.) so a slide goes downwards (.) so whatever (.) on a gradient
upwards (.) in **less** (..) **less** *[low force graduation: quantification]* obvious
use and (...) and their own language **I think** *[engagement: expand: entertain]*
(..) because their mums are (..) once your mum **speaks your**
language *[judgement: capacity+]* or whichever language you are using I-
I (.) **I presume** *[engagement: expand: entertain]* (.) **I hypothesised** *[engagement:*
expand: entertain] (.) you're **much more** *[high force graduation: intensification]*
comfortable *[attributed affect: security+]* (.) you **don't have to rely** on
the other language *[judgement: capacity+]* **so much** *[high force graduation:*
intensification] at home (.) so I think the next generation coming
through **needs to remember** *[judgement: propriety-]* what we've got here
(.) and their mums and dads (.) **it's** *[engagement: contract: proclaim:*
pronounce] not going to be **important to them** *[attributed appreciation:*
valuation-] **is it** *[engagement: expand: entertain]* (.) a second language (.)
it's *[engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce]* a **holiday language** *[appreciation:*
valuation-] then

The shift between 'downwards' and 'upwards' seems to show a reformulation of the thought process Irene is going through in which she initially uses the common 'downwards' collocation of a slide but then reconceptualises to communicate a more positive message about language loss in 'a gradient upwards' (presumably in English use). This, coupled with her later reference to not having to 'rely on' what becomes a 'holiday language', the loss of the home language is painted as a positive projection of the near future. The current reliance on the home language seems therefore to be construed as a negative and attrition or shift is therefore not an unfortunate outcome but rather a positive change.

The research literature on multilingual families highlights that changes in migration patterns can negatively effect inter-generational relationships (Canagarajah, 2008; Hua, 2008) with

children less able to communicate with grandparents (particularly) and parents, because they are less adept at the 'home' language as English becomes more dominant generation by generation in a settled migrant community. This is often construed as being at least partly led by the younger generation (Canagarajah, 2008), but Helen observes that parents play their part in denying the home language to their children too:

Excerpt 29

Helen: they'll say (.) **I don't know** [*judgement: capacity-*] what they're talking about Miss (.) why do they think **I know** [*attributed judgement: capacity+*] (.) I say well it's quite [*high force graduation: intensification*] **obvious** [*appreciation: composition+*] why they think you **should know** [*attributed judgement: propriety-*] (..) A (.) because ((laughs)) they think you **should do it** [*attributed judgement: propriety-*] but the- **they don't understand it** [*judgement: capacity-*] and then they'll say well mum and dad **speak it** [*attributed judgement: capacity+*] but we- (.) not to me anymore an- an' so (.) they've **missed out** [*appreciation: composition-*] (.) they then **don't understand** then [*judgement: capacity-*] what the parents are spe- which **I s'pose** [*engagement: expand: entertain*] is **good** [*appreciation: composition+*] i- **in some ways** [*low force graduation: quantification*] (CC: laughs) (.) you **don't understand** [*judgement: capacity-*] what your parents are talking about (.) which is **a good ploy** [*judgement: capacity+*] (.) **to be quite honest** [*judgement: veracity+*] (CC: yeah absolutely) ((laughs)) (.) but- by that very fact they're **being excluded** [*appreciation: composition-*] then from a part of their own family as well (..) so: (...) I d- (...)

We see above the blame for the language shift being laid at the door of the parents, rather than because of broader societal challenges or educational pressures such as assessment concerns (Wyman et al., 2010). This is despite the fact that school 5 actually encourages English language use by parents, through monitoring and the (arguably quite patronising) use of stickers and certificates as Luke described, claiming that this was light-hearted but that it adds to the ethos of the school. It has, however, been acknowledged elsewhere that whilst bilingual development is often considered by teachers to be the responsibility of parents (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011), it is known to be a difficult task for parents to manage, with O'Bryan (1976, p. 176, cited in Cummins & Danesi, 1990) saying that it is "quite possibly beyond them".

The real and significant educational challenges presented by language shift are discussed by a number of the participants in school 3 and 5, suggesting that it is an increasingly pressing problem. The English being spoken in the home of the families that are undergoing this well-researched language shift may be quite attenuated. Sarah discussed her worries about EAL

traits and issues going on with regards to one of the children in school 3 who speaks English in the home but was cared for during the day by her grandmother for the first five years of her life and also notes her concerns about parents speaking bad English in the home in preference to the language of their own parents. In a similar vein, and Kate describes some of the challenges for educators as follows:

Excerpt 30

Kate: yeh (.) yeh (.) I mean my first impressions here was that- that families generally wuh (.) **a lot more** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **westernised** *[evoked judgement: normality+ encoded in appreciation: composition+]* an' that- that there was **a lot more** *[high force graduation: intensification]* language in- in- in- uhm **English in their homes** *[appreciation: composition+]* (..) but the more I've worked here (.) I- **I've realised** that- *[engagement: contract: proclaim: concur: concede]* that actually that's a sur- (.) **a surface level** *[evoked judgement: capacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-]* and that there **isn't the depth of language** *[evoked judgement: capacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-]* **still** *[high force graduation: quantification: extent]* in the homes an' and so ok parents **might speak English** *[judgement: capacity+]* in the playground but it's **still** *[high force graduation: quantification: extent]* at a **very** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **superficial level** *[evoked judgement: capacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-]* an' any (.) any uh more complex language structures and uh- uh- uhm (..) **just** *[low force graduation: intensification]* vocabulary (.) **still** *[high force graduation: quantification: extent]* **isn't present** in- in the homes *[appreciation: composition-]* and so that **quite** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **surprised me** *[affect: security-]* because (.) y'know it **just** *[low force graduation: intensification]* seems so much- so much **more western** *[evoked judgement: normality+ encoded in appreciation: composition+]* (.) uh:m (.) there are: (...) th- thin- the key thing (.) f- **for me** *[engagement: expand: entertain]* (.) is the vocabulary (.) that the children **just** *[low force graduation: intensification]* **haven't got a wide experience** of English vocabulary *[judgement: capacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-]* (.) an' so it's **very** *[high force graduation: intensification]* (..) uh- uhm (..) an' they will try an' use **interesting vocabulary** *[appreciation: composition+]* (.) but **completely** *[high force graduation: quantification]* in the **wrong context** *[appreciation: composition-]* (.) an- an' I mean (...) it- it causes **quite a few- few** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **difficulties** *[appreciation: composition-]* **really** *[low focus graduation]*

The realities of language shift as seen above in the large number of negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS used may well be the natural outcome of policies in which the home languages of

the children are not encouraged, which have been more prevalent at school 5 than any of the other schools in this study. Therefore, it is perhaps unsurprising that this was the context in which most discussion of language shift was heard, along with expressions of concern from some of the participants (Helen, in particular) regarding the loss of a sense of belonging that she feels occurs with children experiencing language attrition and shift, along with the potential community-wide issues that may come with that individual loss of place. She goes on to say that integration is a really good thing but it shouldn't come at the cost of losing your own identity to do it [...] you shouldn't have to give up that to become the other.

Also notable within the discourse on language shift were other features useful for our understanding of some of the ideological connotations that take place when language itself is the subject of conversation. Expectations expressed above regarding a cultural shift to 'western' along with language shift are of note and this conflation of language and somewhat essentialising concepts such as 'western' (only mentioned in school 4 and 5) and 'Asian' (mentioned across all schools) are common features. Here, the linguistic CAPACITY problems are seen as surprising because culturally the children seem 'western' to Kate (presumably in contrast to the children in her previous school). Although she does go on to explicitly reference limited vocabulary as a linguistic effect, this initial expressed surprise reveals an interesting ideological stance about expectations of language loss relating to integration and assimilation into British society.

Of course, these broad categorical terms are often the most practical linguistic choice, but the use of 'Asian', particularly, can mask issues with particular communities that fall within that demographic category. For example, statistics on achievement at GCSE level show Pakistani heritage children as being significantly outperformed by other groups of children, with Chinese heritage girls 'achieving' the most impressive results (Runnymede Trust, 2012). An additional societal problem regarding this kind of discourse is that it can perpetuate a dichotomising viewpoint of 'the West and the rest' (Hall, 2006) and 'them' and 'us', leading to discourses that are very Othering (de Beauvoir, 2007; Wodak, 2011) in their stance and in which Hall (1992, cited in Bradley, 2016), argues that the very history of colonialism can be traced. Othering and stereotypical language is used across the data in describing both adults and children, with one salient example given below:

Excerpt 31

Irene: One of them in particular will find I think will struggle to be in an Islamic school because there are **all sorts of Western things which aren't Asian**. The other one is more **fundamentalist** and always has been throughout her time at this school.

Irene is giving an assessment of the likelihood of two of the children from her school being happy in the new school they are transferring to, previously described by her as a ‘fundamentalist Islamic school’, which can really only be speculation on Irene’s part as she acknowledges earlier that she’s ‘never heard of’ it before. Going on to describe a child as ‘fundamentalist’ is a very strong linguistic choice, given the negative connotations associated with this word, with its links in the wider discourse to terrorist activity and extreme behaviours (Gabriel, 1994). This word is now closely associated with Islam and rarely used outside that context, but it is interesting to consider what manifestations Irene is intending by choosing the word, perhaps seeing it as simply denoting the wearing of a headscarf and a faith-practicing family situation.

When directly asked whether she thought it was a shame that children were not using their ‘heritage’ language anymore, Irene in school 4 said ‘no’, though only after a significant pause. Pauses are highlighted by Tileagă (cited in McKinlay & McVittie, 2008) as suggesting reluctance on the part of the speaker to commit to a particular point. Her discourse from then on was entirely devoid of reference to language itself, but rather became a discourse conflating language with skin colour. Language or language proficiency is used as a proxy for race or ethnicity in much societal, governmental and media discourse, for example that about residency and citizenship (Dabach, 2014; UK government services, n.d.) and we can see that in Irene’s discourse in this extract:

Excerpt 32

CC: do you think that’s a shame

Irene: (4.2) **no** *[engagement: contract: disclaim: counter]* (1.2) because (0.8) you **have to** *[judgement: propriety+]* differentiate between white people and a:nd **which ever other** *[low focus graduation: soften]* colour you **want** *[affect: desire+]* to talk to because (.) in two or three generations you don’t **even** *[engagement: contract: disclaim: counter]* **notice** *[evoked judgement: normality+ encoded in appreciation: reaction+ irrealis]* (.) apart from someone has **Polish heritage name** *[evoked judgement: normality-encoded in appreciation: composition]* for example (0.3) you **wouldn’t** *[judgement: propriety-]* walk along the street for example and assume that they would have any other culture without asking (.) **would you** but because somebody has **a different** (0.4) **umm** (0.2) **coloured skin** *[judgement: normality-]* then **I think** *[engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce]* it takes **extra** *[high force graduation: quantification]* generations to (.) not **just** *[low force graduation: intensification]* because of the people themselves but because of **other people** *[judgement: propriety-]* who put their culture back onto them and go (0.2) oh

well obviously you're (0.4) whatever you are and maybe obviously they're not

CC: **yes**

Irene: but **they just** [low force graduation: intensification] **look different** [judgement: normality-] in this area because – whether it's Asian or Chinese **or whatever**

Irene uses the generic 'you', as discussed by Wodak and Fairclough (1997) used as a distancing tool above. She seems keen to communicate that it's not just her feeling this way, but rather that it's a widely held opinion. She sets up two hypothetical situations for a similar rhetorical effect. Her seeking of affiliation with me through 'you know' at the end of the first of the hypothetical scenarios painted perhaps demonstrates she does not feel completely at ease in the topic as there is a change of emphasis forthcoming when she lays the blame for this inability of non-white individuals to shake off their culture on 'other people' who 'put their culture back onto them'. A straightforward question about home language use has, therefore, become inextricably linked with issues pertaining to expectations about assimilation and the greater difficulties of being a visible minority.

The 'Othering' is enhanced here through adopting a dismissive stance when clarifying, as if what community the 'othered' person belongs to is of little import. We see that in three phrases in the above excerpt: 'white people and which ever other colour', 'whatever you are', and 'Asian or Chinese or whatever'. This notion is particularly relevant in the following section to which we now turn, in which we explore the linguistic and cultural expectations of children and parents, noting how some participants' discourses constructs them as changing, whilst at other times, more traditional viewpoints remain embedded.

(Changing) expectations and gender roles

It is useful to note that some schools in this study are very familiar with a diverse group of children, with settled communities of speakers of languages beyond English. Other schools, particularly school 6, are less used to dealing with other cultures and this can become apparent in the discourse in a variety of ways. We shall consider a number of them in this section.

We have already seen above mothers being negatively appraised for not being able to speak (English), and below, Lucy's narrative is predicated on the mother's lack of CAPACITY in English. This negative construal of the mother leads to a highly positive one for the father. The father's role here is seen to differ from her expectations of fathers in migrant families and he garners positive appraisals because of taking on roles traditionally perceived to be the mothers' job. The upset to the patriarchal family unit (caused by an English language deficit) that seemed to be what Lucy presupposes is of note. Here, I use the term 'patriarchal' in the precise meaning reclaimed by Barrett (1980, cited in Carby, 1982), relating particularly to

familial male domination rather than the broader societal male domination that the term has come to mean. Below we see Lucy constructing this Sri Lankan father, with an overall strong sense of a positive NORMALITY judgement almost construing him as a hero:

Excerpt 33

Lucy: because her English **isn't so** [low force graduation: intensification]
fluent [evoked judgement: capacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-] and she's
working [judgement: tenacity+] on it (.) she **still** [engagement: contract: counter]
washes (.) cleans (.) cooks (.) dad will bring them to school
in the morning (.) then dad will walk into town and dad will do
the shopping (.) and **every morning** [evoked judgement: tenacity+ encoded in high
force graduation: quantity] about nine thirty you see dad coming back
with four (.) five (.) six Tesco bags (.) and **he does that**
every morning [evoked judgement: tenacity+ encoded in high force graduation: quantity]
(0.2) **he does it** in the rain (.) **he does it** in the snow (.) **he**
does it in the hail (.) **he does it** in the wind (.) **he does it**
in the sunshine (.) [evoked judgement: tenacity+ encoded in high force graduation:
intensification] I **never** [high force graduation: intensification] see him in a taxi
(.) I **never** [high force graduation: intensification] see him on the bus (.) he
just [low force graduation: intensification] has these Tesco bags which he'll
walk back home with

Discursively, there are some interesting features here. We can see a number of parallel constructions (as noted earlier from this same participant), i.e. the repeated patterns in 'washes, cleans, cooks' and 'four, five, six', and the oft-repeated verb phrase 'he does it'. Wodak and Fairclough (1997, p. 272) described the use of these rhetorical devices as 'the prerogative of professional politicians', which suggests that this is a practised 'salient' story that has been told before, as Prior (2016) discusses.

Additionally, the use of the ENGAGEMENT resource of 'still' serves to minimise the importance of the three tasks that the mother contributes to the household, thereby signalling to the hearer that the school drop off and subsequent daily shopping is considered to be an altogether bigger and more important task than the others mentioned. The use of 'these' with the Tesco bags at the end of the story gives a kind of emblematic feel to these objects too, imbuing the story with a further sense of import.

Expectations of the children are also sometimes gendered and dependent on perceptions of cultural norms for certain communities. Lucy uses highly positive narrative structures regularly in her interview in a way that seems to be allowing her to explore some of these normative notions (see appendix 5.3 for some excerpts that perform this function and further exploration of them that cannot be included in the main text due to space constraints). In the excerpt below however, we see evoked JUDGEMENTS of negative NORMALITY and CAPACITY. Lucy

never quite articulates what exactly is ‘tricky’, and we can see that the pauses in her talk become more extended as she works out how or whether to say what she is thinking, but she is making some clear observations about the younger child (R) being more like the other children and different from her older sister (P), who seems to be being considered as more ‘traditional’ (demure, shy, timid, with her head tilted):

Excerpt 34

Lucy: I was looking at their prom photographs this week on facebook and seeing all the children who had grown up from here and were **beautiful** [*judgement: normality+*] and **grown up** [*judgement: capacity+*] and **handsome** [*judgement: normality+*] [CC: a:w] and in all of that group there was **only** [*low force graduation: quantity*] **one Indian young girl** [*evoked judgement: normality- encoded in appreciation: composition-*](.) yeah (0.3) s-so it is a little bit trickier (.) it is **a little bit** [*low force graduation: intensification*] **tricky** (0.4) [*appreciation: reaction-*](.) but (.) she was **timid** [*judgement: tenacity-*] and **shy** [*judgement: tenacity-*] [*high force graduation: intensification*] and she’s taller than the others [*judgement: normality-*] (0.2) you know (.) her face is **demure** [*evoked judgement: tenacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-*](.) **for want of a better word** [*low focus graduation*] (.) and when she looks at you **in her shy way** [*evoked judgement: tenacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-*] (.) R will come in (.) in the morning and will say mo:rnin (.) **she will shout** [*evoked judgement: tenacity+ encoded in appreciation: composition+*] at the gate (.) and dad meets her at the gate (.)P is **always** [*high force graduation: intensification*] **head tilted** (.) **slightly** [*low force graduation: intensification*] **down** [*evoked judgement: tenacity- encoded in appreciation: composition-*]

Gendered discourses about changing expectations on children because of their cultural and familial backgrounds can also be seen. The demure, shy girl with her head lowered is a classic trope in discriminatory discourse (Barber, 2015) but Kate elsewhere is celebratory about girls in school 5 (reflected also in Thomas’s discourse in School 1) breaking away from some of the more ‘traditional’ aspects of their heritage cultures.

Excerpt 35

Kate: and- and culturally getting the kids outside of the culture er- doing that (.) you know whereas umm (..) you know in- in some school they- they’ve **given up** [*judgement: tenacity-*] on music well it’s not culturally a- well you know they’ll **never** [*high force graduation: intensification*] do it **whereas** [*engagement: contract: disclaim*](.) you know we have got Asian girls strumming their guitars (CC: whacking them ((smile voice))) and you know **I think that’s the**

thing that I would say [engagement: expand: entertain] is that the Asian girls have **a lot more** [evoked appreciation: valuation+ encoded in high force graduation: quantity] **about them** [judgement: capacity+] and they're **a lot more** [evoked appreciation: valuation+ encoded in high force graduation: quantity] **forceful** [judgement: capacity+] and- and that **excites** me [affect: satisfaction+] really that- that they might not be **marriage fodder** [appreciation: valuation-] and- and that they might have a **bit** [low force graduation] **more** [evoked appreciation: valuation+ encoded in high force graduation: quantity] **of a say in - in their future** [attributed evoked affect: security+] really

Whilst the positivity of Kate's discourse is clear here, it is also apparent that she is unsure how to begin this utterance. The hesitations, repeated use of 'you know', and restarts at the beginning of this excerpt suggest that there was an awkwardness in her mind about how to talk about these 'cultural issues'. The grammatical and GRADUATION structure 'a lot more, ... a lot more, ... a bit more' is worth noting too, as it suggests that there remains some work for these girls in improving their life potential, as even if they have become more forceful and have more gumption (my inference of 'a lot more about them') this still leads to only having 'a bit more' of a say about their future direction.

Kate contrasts these children with the parents of the children in other schools in which she has taught, and adopts negative NORMALITY, classic proxies of difference and Othering lexical choices like the *burka*:

Excerpt 36

Kate: the **women with Burkas** [evoked judgement: normality-encoded in appreciation: composition-] and **everything else like that** [low focus graduation] (CC: ((coughs))) y'know that- that you know **don't speak** any English [judgement: capacity-] and- and you're sort of em- (..) almost (..) the home school liaison person at my old school **sort of** [low focus graduation] worked with the community in their **sort of** [low focus graduation] **1950s view of what Pakistan was like** [appreciation: valuation-] and- and almost kept it like that (CC: mm) **whereas** [engagement: contract: disclaim] here the girls are **aspirational** [judgement: capacity+/normality+] and erm- erm you know and- so it's **just** [low force graduation: intensification] **different** [appreciation: composition+]

The dismissive sweeping up of all potential markers of cultural or religious heritage in 'everything else like that' is interesting here alongside the appraisals highlighted above. The use of 'you know' is worth considering here too, used extensively in both of the excerpts above, suggesting attempts at aligning and seeking affiliation with the interviewer. This attitude is almost entirely echoed by Irene in school 4, who tells a similar tale of women who

have grown up in the UK mainstream education system no longer fitting into the perceived traditional cultural models (see the excerpt available in appendix 5.4).

Summary

The persistence of the kind of negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS towards parents that we have seen some of the discourse presented in the early part of this chapter section are, in part, what shape some of the attempts in the participating schools to work with and innovate to build and maintain relationships between the school and the local community. Attitudes about what people (particularly schools and teachers) should be doing (PROPRIETY) and how hard they are trying (TENACITY) reveal ideologies around pedagogy and practices and the nature of the school's role which will be discussed in the following chapter. In the meantime, as we move towards the close of this chapter, we should consider those language-related topics that are either only briefly foregrounded in the participants' discourse or are not mentioned at all, and consider what this suggests with regards to their attitudinal and ideological stances.

6.6 Notably absent attitudes

What is absent from a dataset can be just as interesting as what is observed. Across this group of research interviews, we might expect to see some reference to those issues that have increasingly preoccupied researchers working in the area of multilingualism and with multilingual people, such as an awareness of the linguistic and cultural impact of transnational mobility (cf. Canagarajah, 2012), and superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007). Across all the main study interviews, there is very little talk about managing mobility and the changing nature of and understanding of linguistic and cultural diversity, other than as a frustrating aspect in management. Examples are issues mentioned regarding dealing with transient groups of students, particularly Roma children (mentioned in School 1), or the children of international students (mentioned in School 3), or strategically managing regular absenteeism due to visits to the 'motherland' (discussed in School 4). But there are no references to these being perceived as becoming normalised patterns of mobility, as some researchers would suggest was the case, rather these instances above are painted as not NORMAL scenarios and therefore worthy of comment.

It is unsurprising that fairly new terms in the research literature such as translanguaging (García & Kleyn, 2016), which takes into account greater fluidity in the repertoires of multilingual speakers, do not make an appearance amongst this group of educational professionals, as it currently remains a term that is used in researcher circles rather than amongst practitioners. However, there is only one use of the term 'code-switching' across all of the interviews, which is a much more established word for the kind of hybridity in language use that is common in speakers of multiple languages. Furthermore, this reference

to code-switching also occurs only after I have used the word in my interview with Helen, thereby priming her to respond also using it. Here, she reflects on the lack of code-switching that she hears at school 5:

Excerpt 37

Helen: I don't hear it in the children here (..) if they're talking to you about something (..) um (..) I **would expect them** [*judgement: normality-*] to drop in some (..) some (..) y'know (..) Punjabi in their words because it would **just** [*low force graduation: intensification*] **automatically come** [*judgement: capacity+*] an if- if they're really **stuck** for a- (..) a name [*judgement: capacity- irrealis*] (..) it's **just** [*low force graduation: intensification*] a (relative) and they- they'll say that (..) otherwise (..) it's English and I found that **really** [*high force graduation: intensification*] **strange** [*affect: security-*] when I first came here COS I- I **would've expected it** [*judgement: normality-*] (..) a lot (..) **a lot more** [*high force graduation: intensification*] (..) and it's ver- it's **very** [*high force graduation: intensification*] **rare** [*judgement: normality-*] (..) then I don't know whether that's because: (....) **they're not fluent enough** [*judgement: capacity-*] in either language for it to be that (..) **ease** (..) **of it happening** [*appreciation: composition-*]

We can see that Helen has expectations about children's likely language practices, which is based on her previous experience and understanding gained from reading and training. Whilst some other participants have also undertaken training and education incorporating elements of second language acquisition, no other participant in the main study mentions the strategic use of both languages at the same time, either with or without using the linguistic terminology. This reveals an underlying monoglossic ideology concerning languages being viewed as monolithic and bounded entities (Pennycook, 2009), which means it can be difficult for individuals with a monolingual mindset to see how various languages could be utilised and cognitively activated simultaneously.

It may be the fact that languages seem to be perceived by participants as monolithic that explains why the Standard Language Ideology said to be a prevailing ideological theme in English-speaking countries has not been foregrounded in the discourse of these participants. There is no discussion in this corpus of research interviews of the existence of a range of English accents and dialects beyond the dismissal of the language of some English-speakers as poor, and acknowledgement of some as good, as we saw earlier. The actual goal for the English language learner, the emergent multilingual, is not defined by any participant, which seems to be revealing in itself of the truly embedded nature of the Standard Language Ideology.

6.7 Chapter summary: key findings

This chapter principally focused on how the Appraisal framework's JUDGEMENT categories of CAPACITY and NORMALITY are used in participants' discourse to adopt and express ideological stances towards multilingual children and parents, and their multilingualism.

The **key findings** regarding *what* attitudes are constructed by participants through their discourses employing CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS can be summarised as follows:

- English is assumed to be primary and dominant;
- additive bilingualism is seen positively but home languages are construed as belonging in the home not at school;
- language is conflated with other non-linguistic identities by a number of participants, such as socio-economic status (which has implications for the perception of participants towards monolingual children from more socially deprived areas) and ethnicity (which perpetuate 'othering' discourses);
- embarrassment and reluctance on the part of children to embrace the opportunity to use their home language is construed as a contributory element of language shift and attrition;
- parents are also being held to account for language attrition;
- language CAPACITY, or lack thereof, is construed as changing familial and gender roles and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS highlight changing and fossilised cultural expectations of children and families.

Participants often seem unaware that they are expressing anything ideologically loaded when talking about language and languages. Many of these ideologies are, for the most part, so naturalised (Fairclough, 2010) that they seem considered simply as common-sense notions and generally remain uncontested in the discourse. This is seen in some of the key discursive features that have been considered in this chapter, beyond the APPRAISAL resources of CAPACITY and NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS.

The **key findings** regarding *how* participants constructed those attitudes are listed here and then summarised further below:

- Low force GRADUATION resources
- Hypothetical discourse
- Lack of specificity
- 'Othering' lexical and grammatical devices

Low force GRADUATION resources

Low force graduation features such as *still* and *just* are used by numerous participants to express attitudes around expectations, and reveal embedded ideologies. For example, the deficit/ transition ideological stance can be seen reflected and perpetuated through

discursive features of GRADUATION such as 'still', as we have seen above, which is frequently seen across the research interview corpus.

Hypothetical discourse

Anecdotes, hypothetical and 'real' narratives and *irrealis* judgements are utilised by a number of the participants in this study, creating a variety of discursive effects. Narratives often offer the chance to create a distance between the speaker and the events and people involved in the story (Baynham, 2011b), but they also perhaps give the opportunity to use the ATTITUDE system of AFFECT more. This affords a space for more emotion and personality into the discourse than would perhaps seem appropriate to participants taking part in a research interview in a professional context otherwise.

Content-wise, narratives allow participants to make both positive and negative NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS very effectively. We will see further reference to the discursive role of *irrealis* JUDGEMENTS in the next chapter, when we will consider the effect of talking about participants say they would do in terms of their working practices.

Lack of specificity

There are many moments where a lack of specificity in participants' discourse is apparent. This is not surprising, of course, given that these discourses belong in the spoken genre, and that they are perhaps often around topics that the participants rarely have the opportunity to discuss, so there is a certain amount of *logogenesis* (Martin & White, 2005) to be expected. However, some of these vague utterances seem to reveal something more. The primacy of English is seen reflected in a variety of features in the participants' discourse and we regularly saw *language* being used as synonymous with *English*, which I contended was a typical *common-sense* ideological feature also seen in governmental guidance and curriculum documents (DCSF, 2007b). We also noted vague and essentialising terms being used for social and ethnic categories such as *Western*, *Asian*, and *Chinese*, and considered the impact of this feature, also seen elsewhere (Love & Arkoudis, 2006). For example, we noted in the final section of this chapter the choice of 'westernised' being used as a descriptor of a cultural characteristic instead of being adopted to discuss a linguistic aspect. This, along with other examples (see Appendix 5.5) could be said to reflect a discourse of 'business-as-usual racism' (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) or Eurocentrism.

Othering devices

These vague terms seen above are also notable as the use of them also allows participants to categorise and segregate individuals into groups in their discourse. This desire to categorise is very instinctual for us (Bailey, 1994) but also often betrays our attitudinal thinking. 'Othering' lexical and grammatical constructions are prevalent throughout the participants' discourse in this study, including pronoun use (particularly 'my children', 'my parents' by

Thomas in school 1, and 'our girl/ children' by Lucy in school 6) amongst participants, which performs at least two functions discursively, the creation of a sense of ownership or control, and as a marker of an 'us' and 'them' distinction (Wodak, 2011).

We turn now to a chapter in which we will explore participants' attitudinal discourses based around PROPRIETY and TENACITY JUDGEMENTS. Concepts of legitimate leadership practices and legitimate language use on the part of children will be key in the discussions. These topics are grounded in ideologies around pedagogy and professional and personal practices, the lived experiences and actions of the participants, and attitudes towards resources, whether they are financial, physical or personal.

7 Being a ‘good leader’, a ‘good teacher’ or a ‘good child’: what an analysis of participants’ PROPRIETY and TENACITY JUDGEMENTS can tell us

“If you get the right things in place in the early stages EAL children start to surge and you get this zoom and they’re away.” (Thomas)

7.1 Introduction

The aim of this study was to investigate how primary school educators express attitudes about working with children who speak languages beyond English, and their families. Following an analysis of the transcripts from the main study research interviews reported in chapter four, we observed that the APPRAISAL JUDGEMENT subsystems of PROPRIETY and, to a lesser extent, TENACITY, were often used by participants in their discourse about themselves and their working practices. Whilst not occurring as frequently as CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS (228 tokens coded), PROPRIETY (136 tokens coded) and TENACITY (92) JUDGEMENTS are notable, in part, because of the balance between the positive and the negative. Whereas CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS are almost evenly matched between the two poles, there is a stark difference across the PROPRIETY and TENACITY categories, as we can see in the table below that we first saw in Chapter 4, suggesting an overwhelmingly positive message about participants persevering in trying to provide the best education possible for the children in their care.

ATTITUDE	Positive	Negative
JUDGEMENT: PROPRIETY	105 (77%)	31 (23%)
JUDGEMENT: TENACITY	89 (97%)	3 (3%)

Table 26: Propriety and Tenacity judgements regarding teachers

Insofar as expressions of ATTITUDES towards children by participants are concerned, TENACITY was, perhaps surprisingly, used only sparingly, with occasional references to ‘hard workers’ amongst the cohorts. PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS were striking in that, whilst limited in number, there were just over twice as many negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS made about children than positive, so this finding will also be considered further during this chapter.

7.2 Chapter Overview: JUDGEMENT and Ideology

This chapter will principally address research sub-question c) (see section 1.5) by exploring how PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS are underpinned by and reveal ideologies about *what people do* (or *should do*), and the notion of *legitimate* behaviours (Bourdieu, 1991; Heller, 1996). This contrasts with and builds on the focus of the previous chapter, which was based around what

and who people *are*, their *habitus* and their *linguistic capital* in the *field* of primary education. PROPRIETY and TENACITY JUDGEMENTS, alongside other key ATTITUDE categories such as APPRECIATION, are also important in our exploration of participants' reflections, here often underpinned by and revealing of ideologies about pedagogy and about the perceived role of teachers in UK society. Judgements about *legitimate* behaviours stem from ideologies and *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1977; Flynn, 2013) about normative behaviour and appropriate standards and so lead on from the discussions of JUDGEMENTS that expose *habitus* and appraise *capital* contained within the previous chapter.

Below, we will explore how the notion of school managers and leaders *trying very hard to do the right thing* plays out in discourse. Judgements of PROPRIETY and TENACITY that are both self-directed and attributed to others reveal that school leaders are expected to manage a number of aspects in particular ways to be considered as effective. Drawing also on the literature pertaining to school leadership in diverse settings, we will first consider the notion of JUDGEMENTS about leadership as they arise in the participants' discourse, and evaluations of the school climate that is created as a result. The way that funding and resources are managed also emerged in the analysis of data as a key role for managers and leaders, as did the facilitation of knowledge development and training, highlighted as a key feature for success in multilingual settings (Blair & Bourne, 1998, cited in Ludhra & Jones, 2008) . Discourse around participants' (and especially school managers') efforts to work with parents of children who speak languages beyond English will then be considered, which reveals ideologies about expected roles of parents and schools in the local communities. Finally, the school climate and ethos created by the school leadership around the languages beyond English of the children in the school leads to JUDGEMENTS of PROPRIETY and TENACITY about leaders, teachers, *and* children, and a reflection on some of the ideologies exposed by these discourses will bring this chapter to a close.

As in the previous chapter, a detailed discussion of each of these foci will make close reference to salient excerpts from the research interviews. Alongside the APPRAISAL analysis framework, a range of critical discourse analytical tools was utilised, which will allow us to explore precisely *how* the participants constructed their discourse in relation to these aspects.

7.3 School leaders trying hard to do the right thing

"It's a bit like skating on ice. You're waiting for someone to turn the temperature up and you fall through." (Thomas)

This sections begins with a discussion of the discourses of participants that pertain to making JUDGEMENTS about each other, although with a focus on those about their managers, since the direct policies and action of those in positions of power has been considered to impact

directly on the discourses of others, and language attitudes such as those explored in the previous chapter are known to strongly influence educational policy (Christ, 1997). It is acknowledged that teachers' attitudes and knowledge about language are not homogeneous and will differ both within and between schools. The varying communities in which schools exist lead to all schools being different from each other (Hall, Smith, & Wicaksono, 2011) as each setting can manifest as a different *field* in terms of *doxa* and *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977, 1991; Flynn, 2015a), although it can also be said that there is likely to be plenty of common ground between schools of similar type and experience.

We will pick up on the patterns noted in chapter four concerning overall positivity levels between the schools as we focus on the leadership styles observed in each school, insofar as reflections on the participants' discourse can help us to understand them. We will do this by considering our school managers from the perspective of *effective leadership* as proposed by Blair (2002), in which she posits that the ideal school leader in multi-ethnic school contexts needs to be someone who manages to balance both democratic and autocratic styles. We will discuss these notions with regards to the leaders in this current study to establish if this helps us to understand the overall ATTITUDES expressed between different schools and the sense of the school climate created. A second key theme for this chapter section will be the issue of leadership with regards to developing their teams' preparedness to teach children who speak languages beyond English, against a backdrop of recent and significant changes to funding models, as reviewed in a press briefing by Strand and Murphy (2015).

School leadership and school climate

Strong leaders

Building school *capacity* (Maden, 2001, cited in Mulford, 2003) and ensuring school *effectiveness* (Blair, 2002) are undoubtedly important educational issues for school managers to focus on. Maden (2001, p. 319, cited in Mulford, 2003) contends that there is a temptation to see the headteacher as a sort of 'miracle worker' but that it is the explicit creation and maintenance of values and core beliefs that is the most important role of the head. Blair (2002) discusses the need for effective leaders of modern multi-ethnic schools to be able to be *democratic* in seeking collaboration with other teachers and parents, but at the same time, *autocratic* if needed, in order to push through potentially difficult decisions.

Managers can provide high quality and indeed inspiring leadership, which we see explicitly acknowledged in school 2. Participants employed there describe the school as 'very well-resourced' and the head, Sheila, as 'very supportive' in providing time and funding for training and themselves as 'lucky' to be there (Marie, Kelly and the bilingual learning assistant team) The creation of appropriate and inspiring values and core beliefs that Maden (2001, cited in Mulford, 2003) discusses can be seen reflected in Habib's discourse, in which

he articulates something about the agency that a mutual understanding of these beliefs has granted him the authority to overrule a new or temporary class teacher:

Excerpt 38

Habib: the school ethos is (.) so that everybody who comes [in
(.)

CC: [exactly

Habib: there's **no hindrance** or there's **no barriers** *[evoked affect: security+ in appreciation: reaction+]* (.) which is (.) which is **very very** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **critical** *[appreciation: composition+]* for good practice

Sheila was seconded to another school locally in between the preliminary and main studies, which she and others tell me about. This would seem to be an indicator of esteem on the part of the local community, which she discusses in a matter-of-fact manner and other participants (specifically Marie and the BLAs) also mention in a positive sense.

Other schools in which the type of strong leader that Blair (2002) refers to seem to be present are ascertained more from an analysis of the self-presentation of two of the managers, which of course, brings with it the potential for bias, in that positive 'facework' (Goffman, 1967) is a likely necessary component in the discourses of the relevant participants. However, a consideration of the proclaimed roles of these two participants, Thomas and Sarah, seems to indicate that there is a strong sense of effectiveness in either their current or planned practices.

Thomas presents himself as an advocate for his local community as we saw in chapter four's biographical section and here again below. He thinks the school's role is pivotal because:

Excerpt 39

Thomas: when you're dealing with families many of whom are first generation stuff like that erm I see this school as **a first stop** *[judgement: propriety+]* on the road to other agencies for many of these families they will **feel comfortable** *[affect: security+]* here many *[high force graduation: quantification]* of them **do not have the right information** *[judgement: capacity-]* so basically so yea school is the first signpost **if we can't deal with it** *[judgement: capacity- unrealistic]* **we know** *[judgement: capacity+]* where to go to get the help for many of these families that they **desperately** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **need** *[judgement: capacity-]* that **especially** *[high force graduation: intensification]* the asylum seeker families and things like that

In the remainder of his discourse, his positive PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS about his educational practice of ensuring bilingual teachers in each year group, and of his insistence on

appropriate training for staff and parents, as well as his desire to ensure that his good practice is backed up by others' opinions through the use of ENGAGEMENT resources, suggest that in him, we can see something of the autocratic leader that makes things happen in schools. The sense of a collaborative and democratic leader was more lacking in his self-presentation, however, with no real discussion of consultation with either staff or parents. In the previous chapter, we noted his regular discursive practice of demonstrating a sense of ownership over parents and children through the use of first person pronouns, which seems to support the notion of an autocratic rather than a democratic style. He talked of placing great trust in his teaching team, but did not talk about actually discussing practices with them. Trust in her team was also a key factor in Sheila's discourse, reflecting Blair's assertions about ideal approaches to school leadership (2002). A number of times in our conversation, Sheila directed me to discuss aspects of our discussion further with others as her confident delegation to them meant that she regarded her deputy, her EAL coordinator and her BLAs as better placed to speak about certain issues (in particular, the parenting award and liaisons with parents).

Sarah as the new deputy and lead on 'EAL' in school 3, talks of changing practices due to her previous experiences in multi-ethnic schools. Her discourses about the various topics under discussion suggested a tenacious leadership on matters pertaining to children who speak languages beyond English, which have already been seen in this chapter in the way she talked of trying to improve school-home connections (and can also be evidenced by her insistence on parents speaking in their home languages at home), and can also be seen below in how she is pushing forward a new set of strategies for children's assessment with her team:

Excerpt 40

Sarah: if you have year (.) level (.) step one in your class (.) try these things (.) if you have step two children (.) **you need to** [*judgement: propriety+ irrealis*] (.) you **must try** these things [*judgement: propriety+ irrealis*] (.) the plan is (.) to get them to do a sort of class action plan (.) my class has got step ones and step threes (.) so I'm doing this with these and this with these ((pointing at documentation)) (.) but they **haven't quite** [*low force graduation: intensification*] **got it yet** [*judgement: capacity-*] (..) I think for the first time (.) I'm actually **going to need to** [*judgement: propriety+ irrealis*] sit down with teachers (.) and go through it (.) **one to one** [*judgement: tenacity+ irrealis*]

Other leadership styles

There are other models of leadership on display in the schools of the main study. Heads in schools 4, 5 and 6 may be considered to be lacking in either the autocratic or democratic

styles, or demonstrating otherwise potentially limiting approaches to working with children with languages beyond English. These include approaches that can give the impression of complacency in practice, or of priorities lying elsewhere, which we may see in school 4 where everybody and nobody is responsible for EAL. In school 5, where we saw most participants express negative attitudes overall, the head chose not to be involved in this current study at all, and was negatively portrayed by participants in their discourse, as we shall see below. It seems that the management of 'EAL' was delegated entirely to the deputy head. Complacency may well be expected, to an extent, in a school that has been working with children who speak languages beyond English for many years, as well as being situated in a region where such populations are large and settled, such as School 5. However, in school 6, the issue is more one of novelty and anxiety, which manifests in a more confused discourse (as we saw in the narratives from Lucy in the previous chapter and also in appendix 5.3). The head of school 6 was also not involved in the data collection, and was absent from the participants' discussions in both the preliminary and main studies, which perhaps suggests a more democratic or trusting approach, but one that is unlikely to lead to much school-wide development in practices for working with the children who do speak languages beyond English. Mehmedbegovic (2011) notes that "existing pockets of good practice in using first languages in the curriculum and supporting children to develop bilingually can easily be lost" if strong leadership is not present. This could be a particular issue in this school given the decision taken for the EAL coordination to be taken on by a Higher Level Teaching Assistant.

The statistics on populations of children who speak languages beyond English are clear about the recent pace of change (School census, 2011) but Kate suggests that in her school (5), these demographic changes have not been adequately managed and suggests that strategic decisions have not been taken here, both by the head (who was not a participant in this study) and the deputy (Luke, who was):

Excerpt 41

Kate: but I think for a long time and even under the present head and the deputy (.) it was a white middle class school and it's changed rapidly (..) and almost with (...) the same values an' everything have been imposed on it an' again **I don't know** [*judgement: capacity-*] whether **it's right** [*evoked judgement: propriety-*] (.) it **could be** [*engagement: expand: entertain*] the **right way of doing it** [*judgement: propriety+*] **I don't know** [*engagement: expand: entertain*]

The confused messages around PROPRIETY here are of note. The authority of the head seems to be made clear, with an obvious concern in expressing a contrary opinion here leading to a self-directed negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENT. However, this gives the impression of 'performing' deference rather than of creating an impression of genuine doubt about her position on the matter, and with that said, the combination of the two clauses about doing things the 'right'

way coupled with the 'imposition' of the existing values on the new demographic can be interpreted, in fact, as quite damning of the management's handling of change. Kate later goes on to say that she considers the head to be absolutely lovely but [...] cocooned and not aware of the research that's gone on outside.

Other staff members, such as Helen below, are initially quite explicit about their feelings on currently established language policies in the school:

Excerpt 42

Helen: and (.) we **know** [*judgement: capacity+*] that the children are **not encouraged** [*attributed judgement: propriety-*] to speak in their home language (CC: oh indeed) to each other and things which is (..)
CC: Where does [that
Helen: [that- that comes fr- that **obviously** [*engagement: contract: proclaim*] comes from (..) err the head (.) errm (..) which I find havi- **having had previous experience** [*judgement: capacity+*] and a bit like you've been saying (.) if if th- the child's got that grounding (.) a good grounding in th- in their ow- (.) home language and that understanding and they've explored certain other areas within it then it's **easier for them to transfer it over** [*judgement: capacity+ irrealis*] but (..) they are **just** [*low force graduation: intensification*] **encouraged to speak English** [*attributed judgement: propriety+*] (.) f- f- for reasons ah spose **beyond (..) m- my understanding** [*judgement: capacity-*] **sometimes** [*low force graduation: quantification*]

Helen's does something noteworthy regarding the construal and use of professional expertise here. She sets herself up as 'informed' in the early part of this turn, with self-JUDGEMENTS of CAPACITY regarding experience, as well as acknowledging and building on the earlier discussions we had had about using home languages. However, amidst extensive hesitation and pausing (including a restart that seems to have lead to the avoidance of a direct criticism), she then goes on to make an attempt to negate those CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS and knowledge by suggesting that there must be something she doesn't understand about the situation. Similarly to Kate above, this does not seem a wholly sincere attempt, however, so the overall attitude expressed is that of an evoked negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENT about the head. She later makes her attitude much more explicit, whilst bemoaning the potential language attrition that she felt could happen as a result of this school policy:

Excerpt 43

Helen: the children that I've talked about who you would expect to speak Punjabi do not have that (.) **don't have that**

understanding [*judgement: capacity-*] (.) so- an' **can only speak** English
 [*judgement: capacity-*] (.) an- I thi- an- then I think (.) and you feel
 (..) personally **I felt that as a loss for them** [*affect: happiness-*]
 (.) and- and yet (.) as you look at it as to what we're trying
 to do in school is (.) that is basically what we're trying to
do (CC: do to everyone (.) yeh yeh)(.) **which is so:** [*engagement:*
contract] (.) i- **in my view** [*engagement: expand*] **is so wrong** [*judgement:*
propriety-] because we've tried to take away something which is
 (....) an enrichment for them (.) being able to speak- as
 monolingual an- unfortunately we'll always be (.) uhm (.) **is**
such a waste [*judgement: propriety-*] of a- a talent and an experience

However, even here when the criticism is far more explicit, we can still observe an interesting linguistic choice in the ENGAGEMENT resource that Helen employs as she describes the policy as 'wrong'. She begins to say 'which is so wrong' but then restarts the utterance again with 'in my view', altering her ENGAGEMENT stance from monoglossic to heteroglossic (Martin, 2000), leaving space for doubt and others' disagreement.

Financial, physical and personal resources

This section will focus on participants' attitudes and reflections on leadership with regards to *funding*, which was an unsurprising focus of the discourse, given the cuts to public funding following the economic downturn of 2008 and subsequent austerity policies. New modes of managing and operating as a result will also be discussed, as well as discourses developing preparedness to teach children who speak languages beyond English, given that this was a factor noted by Youngs and Youngs (2001) as important for the development of positive attitudes towards working with children who speak languages beyond English.

Funding

The governmental rhetoric around the cuts in funding has been focused on the positives of freedom for schools to choose what they need for their pupils (Local Government Association, 2010). However, the experience on the ground has been less than satisfactory for many school managers and has been a limiting feature, with a sense of powerlessness about managing the situation, as Thomas reflects on in the quote that began this chapter section it's a bit like skating on ice you're waiting for someone to turn the temperature up and you fall through.

Changes to modes of provision and the impact of them may be taking a while to sink in, however. Local authority support being removed in many regions has been increasing in pace since the beginning of data collection for this study and was just starting to bite in some regions in 2012. The previous security of this support may well be missed, as we can see in

this reflection from Luke, in which he, as deputy head in school 5, seems to realise only as he is talking that things may be different now:

Excerpt 44

CC: is there any (..) local authority provision for (..) the children

Luke: we- **we can** [judgement: capacity+] always access: (..) the support **if we need it** [judgement: capacity- irrealis] (..) so we've had it from the learning support services in the past (..) though I think that's now (...) been disbanded [appreciation: composition-]

CC: Mm (..) that was (..) my- my next question ((laughs))

Luke: But **we've always been able** [judgement: capacity+] to (..) access: (..) uhm (..) expert help **if we've needed it** [judgement: capacity- irrealis] (...) and erm (..) that wh- that was one of the: **(..) the good things** [appreciation: composition+]

too about (..) having H as a member of staff because she **used to work for** (..) um (..) [local authority team] (CC: mmm) (..) and **she worked with the (..) teams** that would support schools with these (..) err sort of interventions [evoked judgement: capacity+]

For those seemingly more up to speed, Thomas reflects the frustrations and concerns associated with the loss of key people in the local authority teams:

Excerpt 45

Thomas: certainly within this authority there are so many experts **who've gone down the road** it's unbelievable [appreciation: composition-]

Luke comments on the situation, utilising negative APPRECIATION appraisals tokens throughout and referencing the public discourse rhetoric in 'the idea':

Excerpt 46

Luke: and the idea is isn't it that schools are supposed to buy in (..) these agencies (..) but **they don't exist** [appreciation: composition-] (CC: mmm) or there are very few it's **a really undeveloped (..) market** [appreciation: composition-] (CC: it really is) isn't it (..) **there's nobody there** [appreciation: composition-]

Concerns about funding are apparent in many interviews, including this negative view of the future in terms of schools working together and sharing best practice from Kate in school 5:

Excerpt 47

Kate: I think the more funding is- that's going from central um you know from [source] and everything in [city] (.) **the less we're gonna find out** [what happens *[judgement: capacity-]*

CC: [absolutely]

Kate: (.) and the **more in boxes we're gonna be put** *[appreciation: composition-]*

Thomas adopts a lot of negative APPRECIATION evaluation and also expresses negative AFFECT when discussing the lack of resources and staffing in the school:

Excerpt 48

Thomas: now I'm at the point where I've got minority languages numbering seventeen and limited resources and **limited outside help** *[appreciation: composition-]* too because even if you're in even if you're in groups like used to be in the [regional] network hub there's **only so much support and help available** *[appreciation: composition-]* being quite a **struggle for some of the teachers to deal with** *[judgement: capacity-]* because of the impact on other children in the class

He goes on to say:

Excerpt 49

Thomas: so yea the the (.) the provision for the (.) er extended number of languages has **actually** stretched me and the school to **actually** (...) (ls) **I wouldn't say** breaking point but **actually it's really pushed us to the wire** *[appreciation: composition-]*

His repeated use of the mood adjunct 'actually' here seems to highlight the sense of the unexpected and what he feels to be a shocking situation. Additionally, his aside of 'I wouldn't say...' is interesting in that this allows him to take a stance that could be considered a little extreme but to be able to explicitly back away from it. The phrase remains in the mind of the listener despite this hedging.

However, overall, funding cuts were perceived to be less of a factor than might have been expected. Some participants were quite open to alternative ways of working and evoked judgements of the positive capacity of schools and teachers can be seen:

Excerpt 50

Luke: yeah (.) but also with regard to some of the things we do **you don't need extra money** *[judgement: capacity+]* (.) it's just uh (.) a shift in the way in which you wo:rk (..) it's uh (.) using new ideas (..) developing **a new understanding** *[judgement: capacity+]* SO (..)

you don't necessarily have to buy in more resources or more people

In a number of areas, hubs of schools are replacing the local authority role, with best practice being shared at a local and regional level. Sheila reports on this extensively in her interview with me, her expressed attitude being that there was much to commend this type of approach but that it has its limitations in reach and ambition.

Excerpt 51

Sheila: we **managed** [*judgement: tenacity+*] to establish (...) uhm a thing that's called by schools for schools (.) uhm: (.) but a sharing of good practice [*appreciation: composition+*] so we've got schools that are identified as (.) lead schools or hub schools for (.) a range of different things including EAL so (.) it's- it's something that we can (.) tap in to (.) errm (.) **it's not used (...) that greatly** [*appreciation: valuation-*] (.) but that's because there's no funding for it [*appreciation: composition-*] (CC: exactly) so 'course initially when we were in the (.) [*region name*] project we were able to (...) uhm (...) fund those- those visits and uhm (...) Kelly's post was (.) funded out of that (CC: yeh yeh) so that's where we sort of started all of this really so (...) uhm (.....) there is some sh- **some sharing of practice but not enough** [*appreciation: composition-*]

There are political problems with the growth of regional hubs and Sheila feels that there are issues with increasing centralisation:

Excerpt 52

Sheila: I think it's most successful at regional level (.) (CC: yeah) errr (.) an' we find that it's **more successful** within [*town*] and within [*town*] schools (.) [*appreciation: composition+*] and as soon as we try an' take it wider than that it's more **difficult to organise** [*appreciation: composition-*] (CC: that's interesting) uhhh: (..) not just to organise but people's perceptions and understanding are different [*judgement: propriety-/ capacity-*] and they wa:y- you get embroiled then in the way in which it's delivered (..) uhm (.) within a local authority or within a region (.) an' that (.) just **complicates matters** really (CC: yeah) [*appreciation: composition-*] when what **you really want** [*affect: desire+*] to get down to is how do we support these children

Sarah in School 3 is, in fact, extremely enthusiastic about the positive changes that she believes can occur now that funding cuts have forced schools to have to work together, and paints a very rosy picture of the future, contrasting strongly with Kate's:

Excerpt 53

Sarah: I think that Local Authorities are **decimated** [*appreciation: composition-*] and they've had to find ways of working (.) which use **the resources they've got** [*judgement: capacity+/ tenacity+*] (.) and if the resources they've got are good schools (.) **developing strongly** [*appreciation: composition+ irrealis*] (.) that's **what they're using now** [*evoked judgement: capacity+ irrealis*] (.) rather than sending in Local Authority advisors to do everything for them

Other participants are unfazed by the cuts to funding as they claim not to have required the support:

Excerpt 54

Irene: we never got an specific funding because we (.) we haven't anybody (.) haven't had anybody who for a number of years who has had any EAL teaching input (..) so (...) **we look after ourselves** [*judgement: capacity+/ appreciation: composition+*]

In other areas (like the local authority of school 1 and 2), the support was still strong ('a service second to none' as described by Thomas), led by one particularly well-regarded individual, who is described in a series of positive judgements of CAPACITY, PROPRIETY and TENACITY as:

Excerpt 55

Kelly: very sort of **proactive** [*judgement: propriety+*] and she's got (.) **fingers in lots of pies** (.) [*judgement: tenacity+*]
(**CC:** m yeah) I mean (.) she's a go-getter well I think she **will be constantly** [*judgement: tenacity+*] researching new approaches

Preparedness to teach children who speak languages beyond English

Training plays a big part in preparedness to teach and should increase positive attitudes (Youngs & Youngs, 2001). Luke in School 5 is positive about the INSET sessions that the staff had provided in the intervening year between the preliminary and main studies, as was Sarah in School 3. Sheila equally is positive about the role of training, even in a situation that she judges to be working well:

Excerpt 56

Sheila: we've just had err (.) uhm (.) a block of training as well on u- updating our race awareness (.) (CC: mhmm) uh:m (.) just looking at (.) sort of cultural identity and uhm (.) terminology that we should use and also: (.) uhm (..) issues around racial harassment and racial bullying (..) not because it's an issue in the school *[evoked judgement: propriety+]* (.) but simply because we haven't done any training on it for a while *[appreciation: composition-]* and it's always *[high force graduation: quantification]* useful to update *[appreciation: valuation+]*

Marie, a class teacher in Sheila's school, agrees with her manager that it is good to 'keep[...] it fresh'. The research literature shows that higher level education about multilingualism is the most beneficial (Benson & Pluddeman, 2010; Karathanos, 2009) for practitioners and Sheila's testimony to the masters level training that some of her team have undertaken bears that out:

Excerpt 57

Sheila: *[the local authority service leader]* has been uhm (.) leading on uhm (.) training at uhm (..) Masters level [...] so: a number of my staff were involved in that and I think that's now gone into its second phase as well (.) uhm (.) so: (.) that very *[high force graduation: intensification]* high level of knowledge and expertise *[judgement: capacity+]* is now coming into the school

Kelly's views in the same school about this training support those of Sheila, also adopting the word 'expertise', suggesting an increasingly confident workforce.

Training and Continuing Professional Development, however, whilst often considered to be vital in improving attitudes, but when done wholeheartedly, can be difficult because of the commitment involved (Day & Sachs, 2004), as Kelly makes clear:

Excerpt 58

Kelly: one or two other bilingual assistants and teaching assistants started but there were **difficulties with it** *[appreciation: composition-]* and it's a twilight course it's after school so (C: yeah) **if** they've got families it's **particularly** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **hard** *[appreciation: composition- irrealis]*

Thomas's comments on the same issue echo Kelly's directly. He expresses the attitude that there is a time and a place for further study in individual's lives but that for his staff the time is not now. Individuals need to be particularly motivated to take part in such voluntary and

time-consuming training and education to sacrifice their personal lives to the extent that is required.

Even twilight INSET sessions can be considered time-consuming and a waste of time if the content or delivery methods are ill-conceived, or if staff cannot see the worth in the nature of the training (Ludhra & Jones, 2008). The expressed attitudes of the leadership are important in creating a positive reception for training, as we see above in school 2. In school 4, Irene expresses very different opinions about training provided, in her preliminary interview with me, when she talks of the training offered around the bilingual pupil programme initiative. She says:

Excerpt 59

Irene: we did have an input, a course about (.) which was brought into the school a few years ago but frankly the delivery was rubbish, and [...] and we didn't engage well because we were like disaffected pupils

CC: ((laughter)) sitting at the back going (..)

Irene: oh no it's not him coming in again is it (..) it's just badly taught and actually a bit (.) it's always difficult bringing into staff (.) to our experience (.) to staff (.) and these staff have been just beginning to break in and get new people (.) have been together a long time (.) and gain their experience together (.) and they know what they're doing (.) and then you bring somebody in who's called the ethnic minority teacher who's been out of the classroom for donkey's years who likes to talk about it but not actually do it with real children (..) and (.) and you get that disaffection

Irene's desire to protect her team from poor training and giving up their time for something that she deems unlikely to change their practice for the better is clear. Her positioning of herself alongside her team, suffering this training, through the pronoun 'we' is also of note, in that it gets across the notion of a democratic approach of being 'in it together'.

Preparedness to teach children who speak languages beyond English could also be said to be about people knowing their responsibilities, knowing the children, and being made aware of previous work done in the school, sharing best practice and resources. This was a problem in School 3, since between my preliminary and main study visits, staffing changes meant that the deputy head took on the EAL coordination role, but was not told about the role that HLTAs had taken in the school prior to her arrival and was unaware of EAL resources in the school. Sarah dealt with this with humour, but it is clear to see her negative APPRECIATION appraisals:

Excerpt 60

Sarah: I've done a meeting with the support staff this morning
(.) and were like (.) we've got a cupboard of EAL resources
(.)you know (0.2) I've been here four terms (.) and **no one**
has mentioned the cupboard [*judgement:propriety-*] (.) and **that we had**
resources ((laughter)) [*appreciation: reaction-*] oka:y

[later in the interview]

CC: yeah (0.2) and do you have any resources in (0.2) um
(.) any of the home languages within the school (.) like do
you use dual-languages

Sarah: we just bought more bilingual (0.2) more
bilingual (0.4) we identified that **there aren't very many**
[*appreciation: composition-*] (.) although there might be some in this
cupboard that **I've never seen** [*judgement: capacity-*] ((laughter))

Youngs and Youngs note that the more experience teachers have the more positive their attitudes, but the Bilingual Learning Assistants suggest that their personal experience of working with teachers shows a different story:

Excerpt 61

Habib: she's- she's- **quite young** [*evoked judgement: capacity-*] an'
she's just **newly qualified** [*evoked judgement: capacity-*] which was the
point that I made all the time (.) that it's not people don't
want to do it (..) cos our (.) not- aren't that young anymore
but y'know (.) people who are just- y'know people who like
just newly qualified (..) they are **more open to change**
[*judgement: propriety+*] they are more open to (.) y'know they're not
[like

CC: [not stuck in their own way

Habib: like (..) **certain teachers were** [*judgement: propriety-*]
((laugh voice)) a few years ago

However, generally speaking, lack of experience working with multilingual and multicultural is considered to be a driving factor behind negative attitudes towards multilingual pupils (Youngs & Youngs, 2001) and below we see an interesting construction in this slip-up (as it seems to be) regarding categorising by skin colour and/ or ethnicity that potentially highlights a lack of experience working multi-culturally. The meanings underlying the use of the word 'white' here, which seems to be being used to mean something other than 'Caucasian', but more related to meaning 'British but not non-white British'.

Excerpt 62

Lucy: then they brought six member of staff (.) two of which were white (.) two of which were Asian (.) two (..) of which were European (.) which **I thought** *[engagement: contract: pronounce]* was a bit **strange** *[affect: security-]* for a central *[town name]* school (.) but one was Belgian (.) and one was Austrian

This seeming ignorance appears again shortly afterwards, within the same narrative episode. Below we see a religious confusion with Sikhs seemingly being described as wearing Jewish caps. These two phrases can be interpreted as belonging together as there is not a significant enough pause between the two clauses to suggest that they were being used to describe different people:

Excerpt 63

Lucy: but there was Sikhs (.) and some of them had the little Jewish caps (.) so there were a couple who were Sikhs (.) there were a couple in burkas (.) all the way down (.) to the ground (.) you know (.) **all black and covered up** and um (.) er (.) that was something that **our children had never seen before** *[judgement: capacity-]* (.) that was something the adults had **never seen before** *[judgement: capacity-]* (..) but **it was lovely** *[appreciation: reaction+]* (

The rather dramatic and certainly Othering description of the women in burkas ('all black and covered up') also gives the impression of a narrator who is unused to the experience of spending time with those from different cultural backgrounds and perhaps feels quite threatened and challenged by the new situation. The hasty addition of the final qualifying phrase seems clearly an attempt to mitigate the previous section in case I had interpreted it as inappropriate. She seems to be seeking affiliation from me at this juncture.

She continues with a narrative seemingly designed to cast the staff from her school in a good light, as doing the right thing, with positive self-JUDGMENTS of PROPRIETY, the repetition of the GRADUATION device 'in any way' which also gives an overall effect of TENACITY to the narrative, and the statements of AFFECT regarding the emotional states connected to trying so hard to get everything just right:

Excerpt 64

Lucy: we **welcomed them** *[judgement: propriety+]* (.) we made sure **we weren't standing on anybody's toes** *[judgement: propriety+]* **in any way** *[high force graduation: intensification]* (.) culturally **in any way** *[high force graduation: intensification]* (.) religiously **in any way** *[high force graduation: intensification]* (.) you know (.) we were **worried** *[affect: security-]* that they were serving an all day breakfast in the café we were

going to (.) we **didn't want** [*affect: satisfaction-*] bacons or meats coming out on the plates

Experience working with diverse communities is not just a clear predictor for positive attitudes in the research literature, but is also explicitly valued by participants in this study. School 5 appointed a new member of staff from the more inner city area of the local authority in the year between my preliminary and main study visits and her virtues were extolled during my interviews in the school:

Excerpt 65

Luke: in addition to those things we've appointed a new member of staff (.) who's **classed as** [*engagement: expand: acknowledge*] an **excellent** (.) teacher [*judgement: capacity+*] (.) so it's somebody in the authority (.) who (.) prior to coming here (.) uhm was **visited by teachers** from other schools right across the authority (.) to observe and find out her meth- what her methods were [*evoked judgement: capacity+*] (.) and she's arrived and she's **already** [*high force graduation: quantification*] started to have **an impact** [*judgement: capacity+*]

Luke's use of ENGAGEMENT here in the form of 'who's classed as' seems to give extra credence to his compliments of the new staff member, in that he communicates to me that it is not just him who thinks she is great. He does go on to enthuse further about this staff member later. Although this was at a prompt from me, Luke doesn't take much convincing to give a detailed response about her personality and capability (using AFFECT and many positive JUDGEMENT APPRAISAL tokens) and the effect that he feels it is having:

Excerpt 66

CC: what is it that makes her: (.) an **excellent** (.) teacher then (.) what- what does she- what processes does she adopt
Luke: Well I think (.) in the first place (.) she herself is **very** [*high force graduation: intensification*] **passionate** [*judgement: tenacity+/judgement: propriety+*] about her subject (..) um (.) she **really** [*high force graduation: intensification*] **enjoys** language [*attributed affect: happiness+*] (..) she's a **very** [*high force graduation: intensification*] **creative** individual [*judgement: capacity+*] (CC: mmhmm) she **likes** [*attributed affect: happiness+*] to inspire (.) children (.) she- she takes a **great delight** [*attributed affect: happiness+*] (.) in seeing that children are **motivated** [*attributed affect: desire+*] (.) and that they (.) **want** [*attributed affect: desire+*] to produce work (.) she puts an accent on (.) the: talking side of things as well (.) so (..) yeah (.) someone who's **committed** [*judgement: tenacity+*] (.) **creative** [*judgement: capacity+*] (.) well **motivated** [*attributed affect: desire+*] themselves (.) they themselves have got a **very good**

use of language *[judgement: capacity+]* (.) so they're constantly modelling (CC: modelling) (.) her language to the children (.) she's also (..) a bit of a **risk taker** *[judgement: tenacity+]* she's prepared to **try new ideas** *[judgement: tenacity+]* (.) she's **not a tramline person** *[judgement: tenacity+]* (CC: mmhmm) (...) she likes to (.) to coin a phrase **think outside the box:** *[judgement: tenacity+]* (.) and she encourages the children and the staff to do that (..) that's o- that's one of her great strengths she doesn't believe that ((coughs)) um staff should always **be to:ld what to do** *[judgement: propriety+]* (.) but they should be helped **to have an understanding** *[judgement: capacity+ irrealis]* of what it is that **they want** to do *[attributed affect: desire+]* (CC: mm yeah) and er (.) to **find out the best ways** for doing things (.) the ways that **are right** (.) for them (..) *[judgement: tenacity+/judgement: propriety+]*

In my later conversation with Kate, the teacher described above, much of her very personal talk (she uses more AFFECT attitudinal tokens than any other participant) revolves around the frustrations of trying to bring two contradictory cultures together. Her talk is full of belief about her own philosophy whilst not wanting to be too incriminating about her new institution. As we have already seen, some of Kate's attitudes seem contradictory and it seems likely that moving to a new institution with a gained reputation that has gone before her, as we see above, has been challenging.

7.4 School leaders trying hard to do the right thing with parents

"If you don't have a personal relationship with parents, they won't come in" (Oraiba)

All participants discuss the importance of fostering *parental engagement*, which can be interpreted as including issues to do with learning at home, strong connections between school and home, in-school activities, and involving parents in decision-making (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011). An interview prompt question (see Interview Guide in section 4.6.2 of the methodology chapter) asking for an update from participants about the relationship between schools and homes ensured that most participants had something to say about some or all of these matters. Although a number of participants also discuss their expectations of parents with regards to learning in the home, this aspect is beyond the scope of this chapter, due to space constraints, which led to a decision to focus principally on PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS about school staff (and particular school managers) in this section.

With regards to school-home connections, more under the control of participants and their colleagues, they are seen in some contexts as hard to build (School 3) or as rather nascent (School 6), whilst elsewhere, claims are made that links have been well established and

quite deep (Caroline, school 2) whilst still developing (Schools 1 and 2), increasingly successful (School 5), or slowly improving (Schools 4). In all schools, discourses about working with parents principally revolve around very practical notions such as invitations to the school for events, training, and assemblies; communications via newsletters and texts; and home visits, but there are also some reflections on the extent to which parents are involved in decision making through parent governor roles and the like.

Reflections on these contrasting states of relationship are considered through analysis of selected extracts from various research interviews in the two chapter sections below, the first looking to the schools that seem to predominantly construe parents as hard-to-reach, before turning to the discourses of those working in schools that report high levels of connection and engagement.

“No one comes”

The difficulties in establishing good connections with some parents being construed as hard to reach surfaces across a number of the interviews, even in schools that deem themselves as successful overall in engaging with parents. It is of especial concern for the Family Liaison Manager at School 5, Karen, who expresses disillusion (in the form of negative AFFECT) about the take up of courses that she has launched. Sheila talks about how very very difficult (noting the high force GRADUATION in the intensifiers) it is to get enough engagement to secure a full quota of parent governors.

Sarah in School 3 is equally downbeat about the success of family-focused initiatives at that school, and perplexed about how to get working with parents right. The refrain of ‘no-one comes’ can be heard throughout her discourse, with subtly invoked JUDGEMENTS of negative PROPRIETY and negative APPRECIATION attributed to parents:

Excerpt 67

Sarah: we have tended to find in the past that **if we tried** [judgement: tenacity+ irrealis] to run workshops and things like that (.) **no one comes** [invoked appreciation: valuation-] ((five lines of transcript missing)) we’ve had various things (.) we have a fantastic [appreciation: valuation+] black and white history month with events and stuff ((one line of transcript missing)) but the next step for that was (.) **wasn’t led enough** [invoked appreciation: composition-] by our parents and children (0.3) so **we’ve been trying** [judgement: tenacity+] to have meetings (.) to which **no one comes** [invoked appreciation: valuation-]

As we can see above, Sarah wants to get parents to be involved in meetings about how to make the school more inclusive and to counter accusations of assuming parents’ needs and wishes that have been levelled at schools over the years (Hanafin & Lynch, 2002), but reports

limited success. She thinks the issue might be that the questions posed in these kind of meetings do not elicit parents' genuine contributions and collaboration and, in fact, may continue to perpetuate the control of the school over the family (strong school leadership and the benefits of collaboration with parents is discussed by Blair, 2002). However, she is desperate to get the parents working together on an induction pack including information on what they would have liked to have had when they first arrived and similar. She acknowledges that that it's still us leading but that it is considerably better in that parents are at least getting to have their say about how things should be in that little area. She is hopeful that by adopting this approach they will start to be more successful, as recompense for the high level of TENACITY that she is attributing to herself and the team:

Excerpt 68

Sarah: we're doing **lots of** [high force graduation: quantification] **events and things like that** [judgement: tenacity+] (0.4) but **nothing** that the parents **are in to** [invoked attributed appreciation: valuation-] (.) that is **hard** for us to control [judgement: capacity-]

Sarah is a new leader in this school and demonstrates how hard she is trying (TENACITY) to make the changes that she feels need to be made (PROPRIETY) in her discourse about parental engagement to improve the situation for the children who speak languages beyond English. It is interesting to note that, although it is parents' lack of interest in the events that is being foregrounded in the above excerpt, she takes responsibility for this, rather than being explicit in a making TENACITY or PROPRIETY judgements against the parents.

Alongside the acknowledgement that parents not being 'into' what was on offer was not the fault of the parents themselves, but related to the nature of the provision, there are reflections on why, even if the invitations were of interest to families, they can still not be successful. The EAL co-ordinator from School 1 (on maternity leave during the main study period) told me that:

Excerpt 69

A cousin of mine goes to [School 2] and she was telling me about a course that they do in Foundation and they had 17 or 18 mums (..) and I was telling her wow that's wonderful I can't see that happening here (..) a lot because they've got more children to look after (.) you know the family structure they have a mother-in-law (.) father-in-law at home (.) they've got to cook and clean (.) like my mum for example I could never imagine my mum coming in (.) she'd be like no I've got to get my cooking and cleaning done first (.) that's a culture thing

Family learning provision aims to bridge gaps with regards to linguistic capability and academic knowledge in both schools 1 and 2 (with similar, if less regular, provision, including ESOL classes, offered elsewhere). However, this kind of provision has been considered as a key factor in perpetuating the cultural deficit ideology inherent in family-focused initiatives in that they do not take into account the possibility of changing the school systems themselves (Hanafin & Lynch, 2002). The cultural deficit model is based on a deterministic view of some families as unlikely to succeed and as being uninterested in education, due to socio-economic status or ethnicity. This model is now largely dismissed by professionals (Hanafin & Lynch, 2002) but it does live on in occasional moments in participants' discourse here. Thomas in school 1 reflects on this particularly in his first interview with me:

Excerpt 70

Thomas: it's a really disconcerting thing at this school cos a lot of the families and some of the teachers come to me and this thing about we hand the children to you Mr P for education (.) the idea that the education is the whole of us altogether for many of them is very difficult to grasp (.) they see education as nine to three fifteen (.) the learning

Ideologically, this is all noteworthy in that it is predicated on the notion that it is indeed important for parents to play a key role in education and in schools. Whilst this viewpoint is valid and supported by some research, others actually question this assertion (Crozier, 2000; Vincent & Martin, 2000, cited in Hanafin & Lynch, 2002). Cultural differences about the value attached to education and the roles of parents and teachers in this endeavour are highlighted in the discourse, as above, reflecting previous research (Blackledge, 2001).

Thomas bemoans the fact that it does not take much for provision to be derailed. The school was involved in building works between the preliminary and main study periods and he told me that the Family Learning and ESOL classes had, therefore, been impossible to run. This suggests that this kind of provision is seen as a nice-to-have add on rather than something that is seen as intrinsic to successful operation, which is likely to have a detrimental effect on the success of initiatives (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011).

A clear desire on the part of participants to bring parents into the fold of the school community and take part in more of the schools' activities has been seen above, but for balance, we need to consider the discourses of participants who feel that they have made progress in this regard.

Increasing engagement

A number of the school managers have employed staff specifically to deal with and build relationships with families. School 1 has a part-time Parents Advisor, School 2 a Family Support Worker, and in School 5, the Family Liaison Manager was one of the participants in

this study. Responsibilities are also considered to lie with other individuals, beyond the leadership team, however, as we shall see in the discourses of the participants.

Excerpt 71

Luke: we like *[affect: desire+]* to get the parents involved (..) and so we'll do that (.) by inviting the parents in (..) we have consultations a couple of times a year but the- we always have a- an open door policy (CC: mm) so (.) **if any parent has any concerns** *[attributed affect: security- irrealis]* they **can** *[judgement: capacity+]* **always** *[high force graduation: quantification]* come in an' discuss (.) their children

Listening to what parents want is certainly deemed to be the right thing to do but it can come at a cost. Kelly in school 2 talks about some sessions run for parents on literacy and numeracy (see appendix 5.6 for the full coded excerpt). These came about due to asking parents what they would like to see but they are proving difficult to manage and prioritise, as she reflects in the excerpt below about the roll-out process across the school as a whole:

Excerpt 72

Kelly: we've not quite *[low force graduation: intensification]* **managed** *[judgement: tenacity-]* to get off the ground properly yet but we have agreed it as a staff group that it will happen is that we're going to have parents coming in to each year group (.) to see how literacy and numeracy is taught cos this is what **parents are asking** (CC: right) (.) **for** *[attributed affect: desire+]* and er how to help sessions and Fiona and I did have one for year five but **we've not managed to get everybody on-** *[judgement: propriety-/judgement: tenacity-]* (.) well it's **very** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **difficult** *[appreciation: composition-]* coz a lot of our staff meeting are- are more sort of training sessions and **trying to get things** *[judgement: tenacity-]* - and then we had the change cos [deputy] had been away for a while and **we'd got it all sorted (.) or nearly sorted** *[appreciation: composition+]* and then things **changed** *[appreciation: composition-]* (C: yeah) so this is what happens in schools (.) priorities change ((smile voice)) (C: of course) but basically I mean the staff group I think are **reasonably** *[low force graduation: intensification]* **committed** *[judgement: tenacity+]* to it and we found it **very** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **beneficial** *[appreciation: composition+]*

Whilst TENACITY and PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS are made through this excerpt from Kelly's interview, the lower GRADUATION force of 'reasonably' associated with the TENACITY-loaded adjective 'committed' is of note. This is not a common collocation, with 'committed' sitting

more frequently with 'highly' or 'firmly', so the lowering force, along with other graduation and engagement resources she employs, may communicate some doubt about the extent to which the staff group are focused on this initiative. According to previous research findings, this lack of an embedded parental engagement strategy is likely to fail unless the innovation is 'integrated in a whole school approach' (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011, p. 5).

School 2 received the accolade of a Leading Parent Partnership award in the year of my second visit to the school, and Caroline was charged with discussing this with me. Whilst this award recognised a lot of hard work, it also raised developmental points to enhance further the existing good practice, as deemed by the awarding panel. Caroline shared the plans for expansion beyond the standard parents' evening, report writing, and special events:

Excerpt 73

Caroline: so we thought because that's the way that parents engage with us we'd **increase the number** [judgement: tenacity+] of special events we have and **increase the amount of time** [judgement: tenacity+] that they get to come in and celebrate with us **as well** [high force graduation: intensification]. So we've done that and we now have **winter fairs and summer fairs and talent shows and invite them into assemblies** once a term [judgement: tenacity+] **as well** [high force graduation: intensification] so we've got **more** [high force graduation: quantification] engagement than we had when we **won this award** in October [judgement: propriety+]

Kelly discusses the nature of communications with families and expresses the attitude that the *mode* of communication is key. She narrates a pertinent anecdote to me about how communications improved almost by accident in School 2. A letter to parents had not gone out in as timely a manner as normal and an alternative was sought, and Kelly explains that what happened instead is that the children were asked to write down the message in their homework diaries. They got a better response than for the usual methods and got twenty parents attending a class meeting. As Kelly says, this is almost unheard of cos sometimes you don't even get twenty parents for the whole school if you have a meeting.

So far, we have focused the discussion regarding the perceived responsibility for parental engagement around the school leadership teams, but acknowledged at the beginning of this chapter section that it can be seen as a broader role. Below, we consider the role of the bilingual learning assistants in building relationships beyond the school walls, in the local community and the positive effects claimed by a number of the participants based there.

The BLA team reflect on the long period of time and the TENACITY (hard work) required by their colleague to make these successes come to fruition:

Excerpt 74

Habib: y'know that's (.) J's **hard work on a personal level**
[judgement: tenacity+] I have to say (..) because you know most of the
women (.) when- when they started (.) **nobody wanted to come**

[affect: desire-]

CC: nah I remember her saying it was like physically
dragging them

Habib: but with J they **feel confident an' comfortable** [affect:
security+] going in (.)

Oraiba: an' she'll be like just come f- (..) just have a look

CC: yehyeh exactly just come for ten minutes an' then yea

Oraiba: so you know **if you don't have a personal relationship
with parents they won't come in** [appreciation: valuation- irrealis] COS YOU
know they **feel** (.) [affect: security-] an' now (.) all the mums that
come in they **feel at home** [affect: security+]

They go on to tell me that events now taking place have been a success and get really good feedback, are fully attended and that, in fact, there is a waiting list for the next event scheduled for a few months hence.

Summary

We can see above a work force talking of trying hard to increase the range of opportunities for parents to get involved in activities of the school as well as those for personal learning and development. As we have seen above, successes have come for some in the shape of:

- Improved written and spoken communications, noting the importance of building on and maintaining personal relationships, either directly or through the children
- Creating an environment in which parents feel comfortable and 'at home'
- Increasing the nature of number of 'celebratory' events, for example talent shows, and seasonal fairs
- Targeted literacy and numeracy 'How to Help' sessions, as a result of a consultation and needs analysis with parents

The research evidence in support of increased parental engagement is limited in terms of measurable gains, but the evidence that is there has demonstrated significant gains in children's achievement following targeted literacy and numeracy training (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011), so it would seem that the consultation with parents conducted in School 2 was a great success.

However, in the discourse making judgements of TENACITY and PROPRIETY on the part of participants and their colleagues to improve the current situation, JUDGEMENTS and APPRAISALS are, of course, also made about the parents themselves. The barriers to parental involvement

and engagement that arise (and by extension, therefore, the aspects that are considered to have improved when more effective engagement is secured) in the ATTITUDE discourse of participants include:

- Language and communication problems (CAPACITY)
- Lack of confidence/ being intimidated (AFFECT)
- Not being interested in the offered events/ training (AFFECT)
- Costs, time and transport issues (CAPACITY)

Each of these challenges are also highlighted as key in the Department of Education review on best practice in parental engagement (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011). It is notable that the JUDGEMENTS made about parents' lack of engagement only rarely invoke negative TENACITY or PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS and further discussion of this point will be given in the absent attitudes and the summary section of this chapter.

Participants' efforts to establish strong connections with parents are, of course, made from a desire to improve the educational chances of the *children* in their schools, predicated on the assumption that this will help, as discussed earlier. We now turn to the discourses from participants about what they feel they *should do* for the *children* who speak languages beyond English.

7.5 Trying hard to do the right thing with children

“The world comes in with these children and goes out again with them so we have to be part of it” (Thomas)

In this section, we will consider discourses from participants focused on what they feel schools and teaching teams should *do*, and how much effort needs to be made to accommodate the needs of children who speak languages beyond English. Initially, our focus will be on the discursive refrain of *respect for languages*, but questioning the extent to which this discourse is rhetorical, by going on to consider more of the participants' discourse around how *welcome* children's home languages are in the classroom. Discourses about *strategies* for teaching children who speak languages beyond English and around what teachers should actually do in the classroom and in the wider school environment, will then be analysed and discussed.

“We respect all languages”

This section is to be constructed around two key excerpts from participants from school 2 and school 5, respectively, who specifically concern themselves with the notion of respect for the languages spoken by the children in the school. The idea of celebrating languages beyond English and other cultures is very embedded in the current educational ideology, as can be seen in a number of educational documents and media discourse (DES, 2006). References to

celebrating cultural diversity and linguistic heritage appear across research interviews from a number of the participating schools. These excerpts are two that either commence with or contain an explicit rhetorical stance about the importance of respecting the languages beyond English within the school environment or similar expression. This particular phrase was also used in schools 3 and 6, despite it not being part of any prompt from the interview questions, thereby not being an example of a semantic prime (cf. Sandson & Posner, 1987).

Excerpt 75

Kelly: yeah (.) um (.) but we are **trying** [*judgment: tenacity+*] to do more multilingual signage (..) this is **not necessarily** [*low force graduation: intensification*] because the children **need it** [*appreciation: valuation-*] (.) or they can read it coz a lot of them **can't read it** [*judgement: capacity-*] but its about **showing** [*judgement: propriety+*] that we **respect** [*judgement: propriety+ in appreciation: valuation+*] (C: mmmm) **all** [*high force graduation: quantification*] languages that **all languages** [*high force graduation: quantification*] are (.) **acceptable** [*judgement: propriety+ in appreciation: composition+*] in our school and (CC: yeah) that **it's ok** [*judgement: propriety+*] to speak in your own language in the classroom (CC: yeah) (.) which (.) children **find difficult** [*judgement: capacity- /attributed affect: security-*] **I thin-** [*engagement: contract: proclaim*] a lot [*high force graduation: quantification*] of the teachers are now are- are (.) **quite** [*low force graduation: intensification*] **willing** [*attributed affect: security+*] to let people use first language in the classroom (CC: okay) **particularly** [*high force graduation: intensification*] when they have new children

In this excerpt from school 2, we can see a rhetorical reiteration of the notion of respect for languages beyond English and celebration of diversity. This message of 'respect' and almost "evangelical" use of 'value' (Bourne, 2001, p. 251) is one that has echoes of the various governmental guidance documents for working with children with EAL, in which teachers are encouraged to learn a few words of the languages of the children in their classes in order to demonstrate their respect (DCSF, 2007b; DES, 2006), in order, for example, to show a "civilised respect" towards other languages (Kingman, 1988, p. 43). However, an analysis of the discourse following these rhetorical claims of respect is interesting in that they can often go on to demonstrate something of the power of the participants in controlling other languages' use, both that of children and parents.

In this case, this demonstrative construction is mitigated by a series of caveats through the ever-lowering force of the adjectives chosen regarding the children using their languages at school. Ultimately, the attitude expressed seems to be that children should have to be given permission to use their own language, and that it is only really to be encouraged when the

children are new to the school and new to English. This thereby creates a sense of temporariness and reflects an ideology subscribing to the deficit/ transition model stemming from the monolingual *habitus* of the participants, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Moreover, in the case above, the somewhat clichéd expression ‘we respect all languages’ is prefaced by a phrase that further suggests that this may be little more than a rhetorical stance, ‘it’s about showing that...’, which was also seen in the discourse of a participant in the preliminary study at school 6. This idea of a demonstration of doing the right thing (PROPRIETY) is present in a number of the participants’ interviews, some being more explicit than others about the affordances of demonstrations of multilingual and multicultural awareness.

The concept of respecting the language of the children reappears in this excerpt from school 5 below, but it also offers a further demonstration of attitudes about the primacy of English, reflecting those ideologies discussed in the previous chapter:

Excerpt 76

Luke: SO WE respect [evoked judgement: propriety+ in appreciation: valuation+] (.) the language (.) you know the uh the- of **lots of** [high force graduation: quantification] the children Punjabi (.) **but** [engagement: contract: disclaim: counter] at the same time (..) an’ we- we- **we- realise** [judgement: capacity+] that (.) **sometimes** [low force graduation: quantification] WE **have to** [judgement: propriety+] speak with **some** [low force graduation: quantification] children in their mother tongue [judgement: capacity-] (CC: mmm) (.)**but** [engagement: contract: disclaim: counter] then we will **try** [judgement: tenacity+] to (.) help to develop the **English side of things** [evoked judgement: capacity-] as well becau:se (..) **that’s** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] what’s **i- in the culture** [evoked judgement: normality+ encoded in appreciation: valuation+]

Luke seems to be actively striving for a balance throughout this utterance. Whilst he is keen to gain affiliation with me by demonstrating a positive attitude towards languages beyond English he twice makes a shift (seen through the use of the countering ENGAGEMENT resource ‘but’) during which it becomes clear that his focus is on developing English proficiency rather than really allowing for the ‘language of lots of the children’. This positive self-presentation followed by negative stance-taking is remarkably similar in tone to Kelly’s rhetoric from school 2, which is particularly notable given the significant differences in overall ATTITUDE from participants in these two schools that was observed in chapter four.

Pronoun use also seems revealing in this excerpt above. Luke adopts ‘we’ throughout, which serves a number of discursive purposes. One is to make the passage seem hypothetical and rhetorical, a sense which is heightened by the use of the future aspect in ‘we *will try* to help to

develop'. Another is perhaps to allow him to distance himself from these scenarios, laying responsibility elsewhere, onto other team members. He speaks for the school community at large, rather than simply for himself, something made clear by the third repetition of the pronoun in this passage 'we have to speak with some children in their mother tongue', which is something he does not actually have the linguistic capability to do. His discourse around this topic is, of course, made all the more worthy of reflection when contrasted with his colleagues' reflections on school leadership and the perceived ethos of the school with regards to languages beyond English that were discussed in the first section of this chapter, when a rather different tone was adopted (see the latter part of section 7.3.1).

As we have seen, the two salient excerpts used above follow similar discursive construction patterns and, equally, follow similar lines in terms of content. The positivity with regards to the use of home languages is caveated to such an extent that it seems that the languages of the multilingual children are only really welcomed and considered appropriate (positive PROPRIETY) when they are associated with negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS of the children concerned, and as part of a transition approach to home language use, thereby buying into the deficit model ideology discussed earlier.

This sense that the children have an educational problem leads to discourses about what specifically teachers should do in the classroom with regards to home language use, as well as discussion on pedagogical practices designed to improve the children's educational chances. We therefore now turn to a discussion of ATTITUDINAL discourses related to classroom practice geared towards children who speak languages beyond English. We will first consider the expressed ATTITUDES of the participants with regards to how they see their role in managing the linguistic repertoires of the children in their care. A critical discourse analytical approach is often based around explorations of power in discourse (Fairclough, 2015; Maftoon & Shakouri, 2012; Van Dijk, 2008, inter alia) and it is with reference to the PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS in the discourse on how teachers should manage children who speak languages beyond English in the school environment that we can see the participants in this study wield their power most explicitly.

"It's about the inappropriateness of language"

Whilst the excerpts above show an element of the power of the participants to control language use of the children, the discourses of 'let[ting] people speak first language' may be seen as being fairly mild in comparison to some of the rhetoric that is associated with the schools in which the children's home language are even less encouraged. Unsurprisingly, an analysis of the research interviews with a focus on the use of languages beyond English in the classroom reveals marked difference in attitudes depending on the school under consideration, as we have already seen. However, this topic and context could be seen as a classic site of ideological struggle (Heller, 1996; Kong, 2014) which leads to participants

across *all* schools presenting a confused rhetoric about languages beyond English, as we will see below.

Drawing on Brown (2012) and earlier seminal work on the importance of linguistic landscapes (Landry & Bourhis, 1997) for language vitality in particular locales, I ensured that I logged observations in field notes about the languages visible and audible in schools as I visited, which along with the expressed attitudes of participants, afford me the opportunity to reflect on the prominence of and role for languages beyond English in the environments of the schools. More of my reflections about these observations regarding languages beyond English in the school environment can be seen in Appendix 6. However, one observation from my field notes on the linguistic landscape in one of the classrooms in school 4, was to make a note of this text on a sign on the back of one of the classroom doors, which reads:

We use our first language in school to:

- *Improve our English and extend our vocabulary*
- *Become more confident in speaking our first language*
- *Improve and extend our first language*
- *Learn new ideas through using our first language*

Observing this in the linguistic landscape, one might expect that the classroom in question would be adopting a range of multilingual strategies (Bourne, 2002) but this proves not to be the case, and is a tale of rhetorical positivity about first/ home languages that is echoed within many of the schools in the study.

This section continues with a look back at the preliminary stage of the study, as this excerpt from my interview with Kelly offers a useful starting point for reflections around this kind of control. During this interview, I spoke with Kelly about how extensively home languages were used in the school (school 2). Given the location in the local authority area with the strongest provision in the study and given the presence of bilingual learning assistants in the school and a general sense of positivity towards other languages, her response was perhaps a little surprising:

Excerpt 77

Kelly: So I'm all for *it* [*home language use in the classroom*] and I believe in *it* but if *it's* not encouraged and used from Foundation upwards *it's* difficult in Year 5 cos they're a bit embarrassed using *it*. And then they've got to learn to use *it* appropriately so in our school at the moment there isn't a culture of *it*, of children being allowed to use *it* without there being a bilingual member of staff there to sort of oversee *it*.

Amongst other aspects to be discussed below, the repeated use of ‘it’ to mean ‘home language’ is of interest here, which is, along with some reflections on the use of the singular ‘first language’ without a determiner, (heard from most participants in School 2 and explored a little further in Appendix 7). Of course, beyond this interesting rhetorical point, the power of the discourse with regards to language use is of significance. Children are construed as not being able to be trusted to use their own language appropriately and almost as needing a chaperone to do so. This gives the impression of the teaching staff adopting a very powerful position with regards to the creation of a culture in which the ownership of the children’s languages seems to lie with the teachers.

In the very different setting of school 5, Helen explicitly acknowledges in a negative APPRECIATION construction that home languages are not generally encouraged in the classroom. Perhaps one reason for this can be seen in the following excerpt in which we see that the concern for excluding others through using home languages, which is also seen as a concern in school 6. Below, Kate utilises the attitude resources of PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS to suggest that children may be deliberately excluding others, along with the high force graduation of ‘only’, which gives the impression in the discourse that this would be the chosen *modus operandi* of the children if they were allowed free rein in using their home language:

Excerpt 78

CC: you hear no (..) heritage languages

Kate: **only** [*high force graduation: quantification*] when they **want to:** [*attributed affect: inclination+*] be **rude** [*judgement: propriety-*] uhm (..) whether (..) when they want to uh:m (..) **exclude** anybody from the group [*judgement: propriety-*] including the teacher (..) from the group

[15 lines of transcript excised]

but it’s the- it’s this communicating (..) uhm (..) to- to **stop** other people **understanding** [*appreciation: reaction-and judgement: capacity-*] that we do **frown upon** [*judgement: propriety-*]

Taking the exclusion concerns further, the deputy head of school 5 explains his philosophy in essentially adopting an English-only policy:

Luke: everybody (..) when they’re speaking English (..) **everybody can** [*engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce*] **share it** [*appreciation: valuation+*] (CC: mmhmm) so all the- the teaching staff and the support staff (..) the children who are- who are (..) uhm (..) **not** (..) **speaking** say Punjabi [*judgment: capacity-*] (..) they **can all** [*high force graduation: quantification*] **understand** [*judgement: capacity+*] each

other (.) so it creates more of a **level** (.) (CC: mmhmm (.)
playing field) **playing field** *[appreciation: composition+]* yeah

It is interesting that I demonstrated some solidarity with Luke here, by playing a part in the co-construction of this discourse, in latching onto the common collocation of 'playing field', that of 'level' and completing what I could tell he was trying to say as he paused. The 'level playing field' as offering equality is an interesting concept. In educational research, there has been discussion of the difference between equality and parity, most recently with regards to gender (Unterhalter, 2012), but it is relevant here too, and here we have a suggestion from Luke that disadvantaging a minority of the pupils for the benefit of the majority is a good thing. It reflects the findings of Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011) who observed teachers' sense of "equality for all" being secured through everyone using just one dominant language in the classroom, entrenching its underlying ideology of assimilation. The multilingual repertoires of the children are being implicitly positively appraised in Luke's discourse, one assumes, but there is no acknowledgement that the goal here is not really a 'level playing field'. This notion of immersion techniques for children who speak languages beyond English leading to 'placing all children on the same equal footing' is also seen beyond this data set, one recent example being from a best practice article on the Headteacher Update website, the online magazine for primary school head teachers, in which the similar quotation can be seen (Flatman, 2016).

Kate is perhaps the participant most at the nexus of the ideological struggle on this issue, because of her recent transition from a much more diverse school, and below talks of allowing for languages beyond English in the context of answering the register, defending her right to do this in a school that is quite against any use of other languages by saying:

Excerpt 79

Kate: no that's the bit that I will **encourage** *[judgement: propriety+]*
an' I do **want** them *[affect: desire+]* to share their culture wi- with
me an' so that was the **only** *[high force graduation: intensification]* bit that
I have said (.) yeah (.) erm so they- we **let them do that**
[judgement: propriety+]

This positive message communicated about the intertwined nature of culture and language is negated by the tokenistic nature of what is on offer in the discourse here, i.e. that using your home language to answer the register is somewhat limited way of sharing your culture. Tokenism of this type is critiqued in earlier governmental guidance as being a "pernicious form of bias", along with omission and stereotyping of linguistic and multicultural differences (DES, 2006). This rhetorical stance is also immediately contradicted by a more negative and ideologically monolingual stance, with children seemingly being disciplined for using their own language and languages beyond English being construed purely in negative terms. Although we see again the concerns about exclusion of others through the use of home

languages, it is possibly the equivalence drawn between home languages and taboo language that has the strongest impact of the statements below. Situating these two together in the discourse seems to reveal a very negative ideological stance towards languages beyond English.

Excerpt 80

Kate: but any other language we **actually** give them a **warning** [judgement: propriety-] for because they're using it (..) in (..) in **an inappropriate way** [judgement: propriety-] (..) I mean **obviously** [engagement: contract: proclaim: concur: affirm] if it was a lesson where you (..) y'know in RE or whatever if we're asking for technical terms or whatever then **no problem** [judgement: propriety+] **at all** [high force graduation: intensification]

[12 lines of transcript deleted as irrelevant]

I would **encourage it** [judgement: propriety+] an' **encourage what they have got** [judgement: propriety+] (..) but it's about (..) it's about the **inappropriateness of language** [appreciation: composition-/ judgement: propriety-] an' just as you'd say to a child (..) I mean at my previous school we never (..) told a child that swearing was wrong because actually (..) **you're criticising** what they hear at home all the time [judgement: propriety-] (..) and- an' therefore: so what we would say is **we don't swear in school** [judgement: propriety-] (CC: yeh) an' in a similar way here (..) we **don't speak in Punjabi** [judgement: propriety-] we **don't speak in Urdu or whatever in school** [judgement: propriety-] because **we need to make it** [judgement: propriety+] so that **everyone can understand it** [judgement: capacity+] so it's- it's the way it's done rather than uhm (..) an' the way it's explained (CC: yeah) rather than anything else

It is important to note that the position adopted in schools 4 and particularly 5 are not representative of the situation across the remaining schools in the study. However, they are probably representative of other similar schools in the UK, in which this level of control and prohibition has been noted and is discussed anecdotally at numerous events for EAL teachers and specialists, as well as in other European countries such as Belgium, as discussed by Sierens and Van Avermaet (2014), where children can be punished for speaking their language at the 'wrong' time. Whilst in most schools in this study, the languages of the children seem to have an extremely limited place in the classroom itself, the way that the matter is discussed often has a very different and open tone to the discourse:

Excerpt 81

Lucy: I have to say (0.2) there's **no specialists** [*judgement: capacity-
encoded in appreciation: composition-*] here **at all** [*high force graduation: intensification*]
(.) but there are people who are **keen** [*judgement: tenacity+/ attributed
affect: desire+*] and **eager to learn** [*judgement: tenacity+/ attributed affect: desire+*]

The disjoint in the excerpt above is notable. Whilst this excerpt is part of an interview in a school with very limited experience of issues pertaining to multilingualism, the direct negative appraisals of CAPACITY and APPRECIATION in terms of resourcing is rather offset by the positive AFFECT.

This desire to do the right thing in ensuring that good provision is on offer for children who speak languages beyond English is now considered through an analysis of the discourse pertaining to the actual classroom strategies for helping children who speak languages beyond English and any actions taken to include home languages in the classroom or school environment.

What to actually do

An analysis of much of the participants' discourses suggests that they operate within a deficit/ transitional model typical of societies ideologically imbued with a monolingual *habitus*, with the expectation that the children should move towards exclusive use of English in the school as soon as possible. The notion of searching for and expectation of finding problems is reflected across the participants' discourse, a classic feature of a deficit model philosophy. In the excerpt below, Luke's negative attitudes manifest early in conversation after I simply asked about responsibility for educating children who speak languages beyond English in the school:

Excerpt 82

Luke: all the- everybody feels like they have a **responsibility**
[*judgement: propriety+*] (.) and so there's **plenty** [*high force graduation:
quantification*] of **discussion** [*appreciation: composition+*] (.) within year
groups and within key stages (.) and within the whole staff
(..) so it's (.) identifying **problems** [*appreciation: composition-*] (.)
and then **trying** [*judgement: tenacity+*] to find ways to: (.) uhm: (.)
remedy (.) the (.) the problems (.) so the: (..) the
interventions are something that are **ongoing** [*judgement: tenacity+*] (.)
all the time [*high force graduation: quantification*] (.) but they're in
response to how we perceive (.) **the needs** [*judgement: capacity- and
propriety+*] (.) (.)

It is interesting to note the terminology used, particularly the idea of finding a 'remedy', which situates this as stemming from a deficit model approach, as discussed in the previous

chapter. It is also reminiscent of the discussion in the introduction to this thesis around the problems associated with the idea of ‘supporting’ multilingual children (Carder, 2009). The notion of ‘EAL issues’ crops up across the data set, with respect to the ‘EAL traits’ mentioned in the previous chapter, particularly around language features like vocabulary, tenses, and writing at the text level.

The responsibility for identifying the needs of the children is mirrored in this excerpt from Sarah in School 3, in which she also highlights other pertinent issues:

Excerpt 83

Sarah: part of the identification process was actually going
(.) okay (.) some children are on step five (0.4) who (0.2) you
might not notice *[evoked judgement: capacity+]* (0.3) but when you look at
their writing or when they get further up (0.2) you’re **going to**
notice *[evoked judgement: capacity-]* (2.5) um (0.2) and we **just** *[low force*
graduation: intensification] **need to** *[judgement: propriety+]* (0.3) hunt them down
somewhere (0.2) and for teachers to know who they are (0.6) we
don’t **necessarily** *[engagement: expand: entertain]* **need** *[judgement: propriety+]* to
do anything terribly special for them

In the excerpt above, along with the statements of PROPRIETY about what she, as a leader, expects the staff in the school to be doing to pick up on these children and their needs, Sarah also reflects on the well-known variances in linguistic competency of different types, essentially drawing on research making the distinction between academic and interpersonal language (Cummins, 1984). These variances can cause teachers to consider certain children (such as these achieving level 5 on this assessment criteria) as fluent, and not in need of any particular provision of ‘support’, and this type of discourse is adopted by a number of participants in the study in addition to Sarah.

The nature of the support considered above is very much about providing teaching in English. We will see that there is a very mixed message regarding how encouraged the children are to utilise the linguistic resources of their home languages in the classroom. Even when the children’s home languages are actively encouraged, it often becomes clear that the vested interest really lies in the transition to English that can be afforded by continued development of that home language, well supported by previous research (Thomas & Collier, 1997). Although Kelly in school 2 does go on to state an explicit desire to avoid subtractive bilingualism, her first focus in asking parents to use their home language at home is on the transition aspect, thereby foregrounding the deficit/ transition model in her attitude:

Excerpt 84

Kelly: we’ve been **trying** *[judgement: tenacity+]* to get over to parents
that er (..) they **should** *[judgement: propriety+]* (.) continue to use

first language (.) because that will **improve** *[evoked judgement: capacity+ encoded in appreciation: composition+ irrealis]* (.) the children's second language

In school 2, there was discussion of an increase in the role of home languages in the classroom between my preliminary and main study visits owing to training and further education undertaken by some staff members, leading to projects like 'language buddies' being established by some of the teaching team, and we will consider the impact of this later in this section. However, the limited role for languages beyond English in most of the participating schools tends to lead to only hypothetical discussions about how they could be used in the classroom, albeit often with a very positive focus on the idea that teachers would do the right thing (PROPRIETY) in these circumstances. This vague discourse has been seen elsewhere to stem from and "downplay deep-seated assimilationist ideologies and difficulties in implementing structural changes" and concerns over "problematic implementations" of inclusive practices (Horenczyk & Tatar, 2002, p. 442). This hypothetical positivity, however, can also be seen in Lucy's discourse of GRADUATION in the excerpt below which raises the force of the utterance through the adverb 'absolutely' and the qualifier 'very' alongside the diminishing effect of the qualifier 'slight' below:

Excerpt 85

CC: so - um if (.) thinking about the individual child within a class (0.2) um (.) if they did want to use (.) Tamil to explore something what would -

Lucy: that would be **absolutely** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **promoted** *[judgement: propriety+ irrealis]* (.) and **very** *[high force graduation: intensification]* **supported** by the staff *[judgement: propriety+ irrealis]* (0.3) but it would be made into a **slight** *[low force graduation: intensification]* **humour** *[appreciation: composition-]* because the teacher would say **they'd like to be able to understand** what they're doing *[judgement: capacity-]* (.) but it would be done in a very **sensitive way** *[judgement: propriety+ irrealis]* (.) and in a **well meaning way** *[judgement: propriety+ irrealis]*

There is a sense of awkwardness around the use of home languages in the classroom, picking up on fear of the teacher not understanding the children, with Sarah in school 3, for example, expressing an attitude (negative AFFECT attributed to her colleagues) that teachers would be very insecure, which corroborates previous work about why teachers don't tend to encourage home languages (Wardman et al., 2012). Other participants are more confident in stating that there is no sense of fear, with Kelly insisting that that was not a problem in school 2:

Excerpt 86

CC: is there any **fear** [*judgement: security-*] from the teachers about
(..) people being off talking in a language that they [don't
understand]

Kelly: [well there- there]
isn't with us because we're **we're committed to it** [*judgement:*
propriety+ / judgement: capacity+] erm (.) and (.) we have mentioned it in
staff meet- coz we've done a staff meeting on it as well (.)
erm in the staff meeting we said well you know there- there's
always some child who'll tell you well they're talking about
football (C: yeah) or actually **they're talking about maths**
[*judgement: propriety-*] and this is literacy well I [**wasn't as worried**
[*affect: security+*] about that ((laughs))]

CC: [((laughs))] that's **clever** [*judgement: capacity+*]

Kelly: so usually there's **somebody who'll tell you** [*judgement:*
propriety+] and you **can usually see** [*judgement: capacity+*] if someone's
off task

Overall, the increase in working multilingually seems to be seen positively throughout the school, and stands in contrast to the rhetoric of the previous year's visit, but Kelly reflects on the fact the 'language buddies' approach doesn't always work and it can be hard to work out why children in one class respond well and those in another may not:

Excerpt 87

Kelly: my partner in year five has been doing **a lot of** [*high*
force graduation: quantification] erm (.) multilingual work in
class (.) I've **tried** [*judgement: tenacity+*] doing it in my class it's
not(.) I've got a **different cohort** [*appreciation: composition-*] with
different behaviour [*evoked judgement: propriety-*]

CC: ((laughs))

Kelly: and it's very difficult [*appreciation: composition-*] because when
you (.) have people working in language buddies which we **tried**
[*judgement: tenacity+*] to do (.) you have to [*judgement: propriety+*] move people
around (.) and it **doesn't work** [*appreciation: composition-*] as **well** [*high*
force graduation: intensification] in my class because of the children I've
got in my [*evoked judgement: propriety-*] (**CC:** o:k yeah) they **will actually**
(.) er respond [*judgement: propriety+*] in Japane:se or Urdu Punjabi
Pashto

Kelly is careful in her subtle blaming of the children for the 'language buddies' scheme not being as successful in her classroom as in her colleague's. She avoids direct accusations of bad

behaviour, adopting the euphemistic adjective 'different' instead, and almost blames the setting up and methods of the 'language buddies' approach, when she says that it doesn't work because she needs to be able to move people around. The reason is prefaced with 'because' as any listener would expect but instead of something more directly attributing blame like 'but the children refuse to move' or 'but the children talk too much between themselves', she simply says 'because of the children I've got' leaving it to me as her interlocutor to do the work of working out where the blame for the lack of success of the project lay.

The excerpt above also contained an implied message that children were being held responsible for the failure of an innovation in using home languages in the classroom. Interestingly, we can see a picture building up of children being the target of negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS whether they are about using or *not* using home languages. Although nine from the 20 negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS made across the data set were about classic behavioural issues, such as being boisterous, bitchy, silly or unkind, the remainder were related to language use. Six of these JUDGEMENTS pertained to using languages beyond English inappropriately in order to exclude, or to be rude, as we have seen reflected in excerpts above. However, the remaining five of the negative JUDGEMENTS are related to participants being displeased when children do not use the language beyond English, on the occasions they are encouraged. This mixed picture, coupled with the similarly mixed picture when looking at the way in which participants communicate with families about the use of English in the home, may lead to the children being somewhat unsure about what is expected of them and how encouraged and nurtured their language beyond English is, something which we return to in the following chapter summary.

Summary

In this section, we have observed that teachers' discourses about what practices they should adopt and how hard they are trying to better the educational opportunities for children who speak languages beyond English is predicated to a great extent on exerting *power and control* over the children's own language repertoire. The discourse is connected strongly to what children *can do* and *should do* and to what is perceived to be the status quo. In this regard, we saw that participants' negative PROPRIETY judgements in this main study were almost entirely connected to using or *not* using their language beyond English. The equating of home language with bad behaviour or a taboo has numerous implications for the children whose identity is intertwined with its use, including but not limited to lowering of self-esteem (Cummins, 1984), and the perpetuating of English monolingual *habitus*, with the knowledge that a *habitus* established at a young and impressionable age carries 'a disproportionate weight' (Bourdieu, 1990, p. 60, cited in Weininger, 2002). The potential confusion for children over when their own languages might be welcome, highlighted through the lens of

the PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS analysed, may also be a factor that schools find it is worth being more explicit about.

7.6 Notably absent ATTITUDES

At the beginning of this chapter, we noted that expressions of TENACITY about children were used only sparingly and that PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS were striking in that, whilst limited in number, there were just over twice as many negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS made about children than positive. We have discussed the issues relating to these negative JUDGEMENTS but a brief consideration of the lack of positivity is also worthwhile. It seems likely that this lack of positivity regarding hard work and doing the right thing on the part of children might stem from participants' high expectations of pupils' general behaviour in the education context. This would potentially render actual positive PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS redundant to their minds.

It was also seen as notable that parents' lack of engagement only rarely invoked negative TENACITY or PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS from participants. However, the overall lack of positivity in the discourse around school and family connections might suggest that there is more to this than meets the eye. Whilst a range of APPRAISALS were made that seemed to excuse the parents' lack of attendance at various events, the taking on of responsibility on the part of the participants which we saw above (i.e. the discussions about events that did not meet the needs of the families and talk of how much effort was being made) does not diminish the sense that is implicit in parts of the discourse about the role of parents and the nature of the connections between home and school. Irene refers to not knowing enough about the families, although most other schools talk of their home visits as a valuable tool. The expectations still seem to be that communications will happen in a way that suits the school rather than the culture of the local communities (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011). Implied criticisms of parents (which are really those of PROPRIETY and TENACITY) include concerns over the narrow world view of the families and thereby of the upbringing of the children, the use of technology in the home, as well as many discussions related to the use of languages in the home, in which the parents are rarely painted as getting it right. The unintended consequences of participants perhaps trying to be kind by not expressing blame through PROPRIETY or TENACITY JUDGEMENTS can include an unconscious perpetuation of the stereotypes of parents who speak languages beyond English as shy, lacking in confidence, incapable and thereby somehow lesser, which could be seen as very problematic in terms of ingrained ideological viewpoints, both in education circles and across the broader society.

Having made these reflections on the absent but implied nature of some judgements pertaining to children and parents in the study, we now turn to a chapter summary, and a consideration of the key findings.

7.7 Chapter summary and key findings

This chapter has considered a number of aspects related to the notion of what leaders, teachers and children should be doing in schools; what are the *legitimate* behaviours for these groups when considering working with increasing numbers of children who speak languages beyond English in UK primary schools. Firstly, in this summary, we will focus on the notions of leadership leading to increased positivity, as initially discussed in chapter four. After that, a summary of the rhetorical stances towards languages beyond English will be offered, before a section reflecting on the analytical categories of JUDGEMENT resources and how they play out and contrast with each other in participants discourse across this study.

Summary: leadership

Much of this chapter has focused on discourses around the differences in leadership styles across the participating schools insofar as an analysis of APPRAISAL JUDGEMENTS (particularly those pertaining to PROPRIETY) can illuminate. This was undertaken in order to try and assess whether the overall positivity levels in schools could be considered to be a reflection of leadership decisions and styles, drawing on key literature pertaining to positive attitudes and the predictors thereof (Youngs & Youngs, 2001), effective leadership in multi-ethnic schools (Blair, 2002) and effectiveness in school-home connections (Goodall & Vorhaus, 2011). The numerical analysis highlighted that there seemed to be distinct differences between School 2 and School 5 in these respects.

The analysis above has shown that in the school where positive attitudes were more prevalent, the head teacher was universally discussed in positive terms, with regards to her own personal expertise relating to working with children who speak languages beyond English, the training and development opportunities she has facilitated, the ethos she has created around home language use (albeit with some contradictions still very much present), and the trust she has demonstrated in staff, especially with regards to developing links with parents.

On the other hand, participants in school 5 construct a different picture, one in which they are initially reluctant to directly criticise the school's practices and climate, but often do go onto do so. This suggests a negative leadership style, in which there is a sense of control and power over the teaching team as well as over the children. The head is significantly more distant from the study itself, not having become involved in either stage. However, she is also less referenced in the discourses of the participants too, apart from the negative reflections on language policy. Although family connections are considered important enough for a role of Family Liaison Manager to exist in the school, the post-holder communicates a sense of distance from decision-making and a subsequent lack of agency as a result. Staff training has been offered in the school, in the form of twilight INSET sessions, probably the most common

approach to CPD, but this differs from the focus on Masters level provision, as offered in schools 1 and 2, and that has been shown elsewhere to improve positive attitudes (Youngs & Youngs, 2001).

Summary: what should be done with languages beyond English

Participants' discourse showed a complex and contested situation with regards to the notion of legitimate use of the languages beyond English spoken by children in the participating schools in this study. We saw a rhetorical positivity about welcoming languages in schools, contrast with a more nuanced, and often negative, picture on the further and closer examination afforded by the APPRAISAL framework. An analysis of the discourse overall revealed that teachers hold and wield significant power and control over the language use of the children, with little reflection on the potential impact of that on children, as discussed in chapter two, and, briefly, earlier in this chapter. The analysis also suggested that, due to this control of when their home language is deemed legitimate, children are often construed (through negative PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS) as not using their linguistic repertoire appropriately whether they are speaking English *or* one of their languages beyond English, depending on the point in the day.

Reflections on JUDGEMENTS

PROPRIETY (and TENACITY) JUDGEMENTS are inherently different to the CAPACITY and NORMALITY APPRAISALS we saw in the previous chapter. Firstly, we have already noted that CAPACITY and NORMALITY relate to something intrinsic to the person, to what or who they are, whereas PROPRIETY and TENACITY are about JUDGEMENTS of people's actions or inaction. However, in addition to that, we can also suggest that there are important reasons why CAPACITY, especially, is found more often in this data set, which may also be the case in other data sets of spoken attitudinal language. CAPACITY is likely to be perceived as more measurable by participants, therefore being something that is an easier JUDGEMENT to make about someone else. Assessments and standards, particularly applied as in education contexts, mean that making JUDGEMENTS about capability is a normal, every-day event for educators and poses no internal challenge. ENGAGEMENT resources are likely to be employed differently, therefore, with a more heteroglossic approach, utilising at least to some extent, the measures applied. NORMALITY JUDGEMENTS are perhaps less consciously made. As we have seen in the previous chapter, they often happen through employing "Othering" lexical and grammatical structures and through the choice of narrative devices that indicate an embedded ideological stance is being taken.

PROPRIETY and TENACITY JUDGEMENTS seem less likely to be able to be made without being significantly more conscious of doing so. It is one thing to criticise one's colleagues and managers, as we have seen, but quite another to explicitly criticise what the parents of the

children in your class do or don't do. Additionally, these JUDGEMENTS are inherently subjective and are not able to be measured in the same way as CAPACITY. Therefore, we see that these JUDGEMENTS are made significantly less often and that, when they are, they are more likely to be positive. When they are negative, they are often so subtly implied that even choosing to code instances as negative PROPRIETY is not always a clear decision. Both PROPRIETY but especially TENACITY have a tendency in this analysis at least, to need to be seen at a level above the individual lexico-grammatical structure. For example, TENACITY is often seen expressed through repetition, rather than in one instance of someone being labelled as 'trying very hard'. Negative PROPRIETY is often invoked through a description associated with a negative APPRECIATION marker, with can be seen as evocation of an individual *not doing the right thing*. The desire on the part of the speaker to avoid explicitly blaming seems to lead instead to a greater use of attributed negative AFFECT. In circumstances when parents (for example) are not involving themselves in the events they are invited to, we might expect to see negative PROPRIETY and a sense of blame attached to them for this. This is rarely the case in this set of research interviews and what we see instead are either negative CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS or APPRECIATION APPRAISAL towards the teachers and the schools themselves, or more typically, negative AFFECT attributed to parents (see appendix 5.6 for examples) in the form of their lack of confidence, nervousness or fear, or the measurable negative CAPACITY, as we saw in the previous chapter. This presumably feels kinder or easier in JUDGEMENT terms to the participants but it may well have unintended consequences in terms of perpetuating ideologies about communities of speakers of languages beyond English as less capable and more isolated.

PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS made about the children were largely negative. Of course, teachers' expectations about good behaviour might lead to participants not actively praising children in narratives where children are seen to be behaving appropriately. Moreover, the nature of the research interview itself could lead to a focus on the problems, as the assumption might be that that is what the researcher wants to hear about. However, when looking closely at those PROPRIETY JUDGEMENTS, they remain of interest in that they are almost wholly to do with language use. Children are criticised for using their home language in some situations and for not using their home language in others, as we saw in the summary above. The connection of home language with taboo language is also interesting and seem to be ideologically revealing. These spaces for home language use are perhaps ill defined and therefore may well be very confusing.

Some of the more pragmatic issues relating to clarity for children, support for teachers, and communications with parents will be raised, alongside more critical concerns pertaining to the overall claims of this study and recommendations that come from it in the following, and final, chapter of this thesis.

8 Conclusions

8.1 Introduction

In the introduction to this thesis, I discussed the importance of primary school educators' attitudes towards children who speak languages beyond English. A lack of research specifically focusing on the way that teachers talk about these children, their families, and the schools' ways of working in increasingly diverse contexts was highlighted. This gap in the research was particularly noted in the UK mainstream school context, where most studies to date in this area have focused on the children involved, their local communities, as well as the evaluation of particular and sometimes innovative pedagogical practices. The purpose of this study, therefore, was to fill that gap, and with that goal in mind, a broad over-arching research question was designed, to allow for exploration of subsequently collected research interview data. This research question was:

How do primary school educators express attitudes about children who speak languages beyond English and their families from northern English primary schools?

Research sub-questions were designed to help narrow the focus during the investigation:

- a) *What are the discourses of participants regarding children with languages beyond English and their families, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*
- b) *What are the discourses of participants regarding the languages beyond English used in their local communities, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*
- c) *What are the discourses of participants regarding their schools' practices and policies for working with children with languages beyond English, and what ideologies do their expressed attitudes reveal?*

The conclusions from this study presented below arise from the major findings of the previous three chapters. They address the different aspects of the topic afforded by the careful phrasing of the research question, i.e. choosing 'how' to allow for a focus on the nature of the attitudes expressed, and a focus on the discourse itself, the linguistic choices made by participants in expressing those attitudes.

8.2 Conclusions drawn from main findings

The initial claims stated at the end of Chapter 5, being drawn from the numerical analysis of the research interviews, provided a basis for further exploration through the qualitative analysis and interpretation of the following two chapters. It was observed that while attitudes overall seemed positive, in line with other studies on attitudes with a similar focus

on children who speak languages beyond English, the overall numerical data masks variances that were worthy of further nuanced exploration. Furthermore, it was observed that JUDGEMENTS of CAPACITY, NORMALITY, TENACITY and PROPRIETY appeared to be of particular interest and that predictors of positive attitudes previously discussed in research literature (Byrnes, et al., 1997; Flores & Smith, 2009; Youngs & Youngs, 2001) did not seem to wholly address those variations, meaning that context specific factors needed to be explored, especially school leadership and climate aspects.

The subsequent findings of the following two chapters are those that will be considered here. The areas for discussion are synthesised from the key findings presented at the end of each of the last two chapters, following analysis of the data pertaining to the nature of the ATTITUDES combined with other linguistic observations about the constructed discourse itself. They include those related to a) what participants' JUDGEMENTS tell us about embedded ideologies related to Bourdieu's notions of *capital* and *habitus*, b) the uncontested dominance and primacy of English, c) differing perspectives of principle and practice relating to the value of additive bilingualism, d) the conflation of non-linguistic identities in discourses about attitudes to language, e) responsibility for language attrition, f) control of children's use of their languages, g) the importance of strong school leadership, and h) observations relating to the JUDGEMENT system of the APPRAISAL framework. The findings will be summarised below, and conclusions drawn for each, before recommendations are proposed and a final reflection on the study is offered.

JUDGEMENTS, *habitus* and *capital*

It was observed that APPRAISAL JUDGEMENTS made by participants about CAPACITY, NORMALITY, TENACITY and PROPRIETY tell us something about participants' ideologies relating to language as well as about broader societal ideologies. Evaluations made adopting APPRAISAL JUDGEMENTS are often, at heart, assessments of Bourdieu's notions of *linguistic and social capital* (in terms of what children, parents and teachers can and should do linguistically and educationally) and are strongly connected to his concept of *habitus*, particularly to a well established monolingual *habitus*, but also to the *habitus* relating to the educational *field*, as evidenced by data that reveals the power and control participants have over language use in the school environment (to be discussed further in section 8.2.6). A conclusion to be drawn from this finding is that these ingrained ideologies should be contested in today's super-diverse society, and work should be undertaken to challenge and subvert the monolingual *habitus* embedded in UK society, given the changing demographics of the population. However, an appreciation of the strength of that *habitus* and related *doxa* affords us the opportunity to reflect on the ingrained nature of linguistic and social ideologies and to acknowledge that individuals therefore should not necessarily be held responsible for negative attitudes expressed regarding working with children who speak languages beyond English.

Unchallenged dominance and primacy of (standard) English

We saw that the dominance and primacy of English in the education system is currently uncontested. This was evidenced through an analysis of APPRAISAL JUDGEMENTS, and observations related to a lack of specificity in discourse about language, for example, references that imply a lack of language altogether if English is appraised as not being 'good enough'. Lack of explicit reference to standard English was considered to demonstrate the ingrained nature of the standard language ideology, with the vague references to 'good' and 'poor' English nonetheless suggesting that there were expected, if ill-defined, benchmarks for users of English. A conclusion to draw from this finding builds on the conclusion related to *habitus* above, as the notion of the dominance of English also stems from this mind-set. Contesting the dominant role of English in UK primary schools is highly unlikely to be undertaken by policymakers, and so, if this is possible to achieve, it is most likely to happen through a grass-roots movement of teaching professionals and researchers working in concert, as Ricento and Hornberger (1996, cited in Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011) observed.

Principle and practice relating to the value of bilingualism

Building on the dominance of English is the observation that analysis shows whilst most of the participants consider additive bilingualism to be a positive thing in theory, an asset and something children are 'lucky' to have, in practice the discourse reveals a transition model, whereby educators encourage the use of home languages largely (if not only) as a way of improving English standards. This is seen both through APPRAISAL JUDGEMENTS of NORMALITY, CAPACITY and PROPRIETY, but also in the use of institutionalised phrases such as 'respect' and 'celebrate', and the use of low force GRADUATION resources, such as 'still', that betray an impatience at the pace of progress towards a more exclusive of English in the educational *field*. A conclusion that can be drawn from these findings is that there would be merit in educators knowing more about the benefits of being bilingual and about the ways that languages beyond English can be effectively used in schools that remain monolingual in terms of the linguistic capabilities of the teaching force.

Conflation of linguistic and non-linguistic identities

It was noted that discourses that revealed attitudes about language and about the speakers of other languages are often conflated with evaluations of other social identities, such as those pertaining to socio-economic status and ethnicity. However, further analysis suggested that these other identities are constructed differently in the discourse. Discourses about socio-economic status that intersected with APPRAISALS about linguistic and social *capital* were often evoked rather than explicitly marked. Reference to ethnicity is sometimes more explicit, albeit more essentialist, leading to a sense of 'them' and 'us', as seen in other studies (Wodak, 2011). Both of these confluations are seen through a lack of specificity in discourse, either

through essentialising categorisation terms such as 'Asian' or 'Western' or through the euphemistic use of only tangentially related expressions, such as 'poor role models'. This lack of specificity serves to force the interlocutor to use their presuppositions, and therefore this analysis highlights the importance of analysing the co-construction of interviews and the value of the systematic and linguistic approach to the data.

A clear conclusion from this finding is that awareness needs raising about how conflated attitudes and how intersectional identities are. A further conclusion is related to the affordances of close linguistic analysis, which can highlight better the role of the researcher as perceived by the interviewee in the co-construction of research interviews. This includes an expectation that the listener will do some of the ideological work, by bringing their presuppositions to bear on the discourse and essentially 'hearing' something that wasn't directly said.

Responsibility for language attrition

An analysis of the discourse revealed that parents and children were, at least to some extent, being held accountable for language attrition and language shift. Participants' discourse suggested that there was a strongly ingrained sense of appropriate domain for languages beyond English, both on the part of educators and of children who speak those languages. The home is considered the domain for home languages. A conclusion that can be drawn from this finding is that children being embarrassed to speak using their full linguistic repertoire is something that should be avoided in an increasingly diverse society. The responsibility for language attrition and shift needs sharing because societal bilingualism is a societal issue. Societal bilingualism is considered important for economic growth (Nuffield Foundation, 2000) and the negative effects of language attrition are potentially major. Having considered the role of teachers' attitudes towards children's languages and cultures, it could be said that the educator's role is of great political import. Thomas, in his preliminary interview with me said something that with hindsight showed uncanny insight, and caused me to reflect on the very nature of this study, when he said:

Excerpt 88

At the end of the day they are wonderful children. They are so clever [...] I think there's a lot of untapped talent being missed and I think that the British government and the British people haven't really realised what they're missing. I think it's just one of those things. And how that's going to go I don't know [...] There's definitely a ghetto mentality. The community don't see it but people outside think it and that's why they don't think they need to come near. So it's all those things that make me worry for the future. How you break those

barriers down? Because who do I blame? [...] If you look in the media and how things are portrayed [...] so I think what messages are we sending to these families and what have you? Someone said to me like Al Qaeda and stuff like that and I'm like don't talk to me about Al Qaeda. I said there could well be cells in every town. If I was Islamic faith [...] I would actually feel under threat in some places because of the negativity of some of the stuff we get. It's really sad. And then I look at the kids and think does it matter cos these are wonderful kids? You know you just get on with it. Well you do. It's one of those things.

The role of teachers in providing the best start possible in life for children who speak languages beyond English, possibly in order to offset some of the negativity that Thomas talks about, is key. The potential importance of this role for an individual can be seen in the figure below.

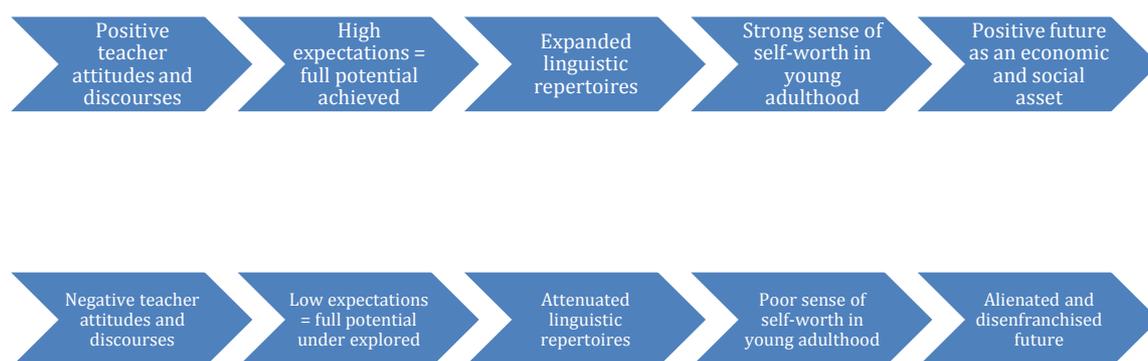


Figure 9: time lines for a positive and a negative linguistic/ social experience in education and early adulthood

Control of children's language use

During the analysis of the discourse relating to PROPRIETY (in particular) in the research interviews, it was observed that children seem to be being judged both for using home languages when they 'shouldn't' and not using home languages when they 'should'. Discourses of prohibition and discouragement were present across multiple schools, despite contradicting rhetoric at the school policy level and governmental guidance documentation (DCSF, 2007b; Ofsted, 2009). However, implied criticism of the children was sparked in narratives pertaining to efforts to bring home languages in to the classroom, due to what was interpreted as the children often choosing not to use their languages beyond English when it was deemed legitimate to do so by teachers. One conclusion that could be drawn from this finding is that children may well be confused about the role of their home language in the

school, as well as unsure about the strength of their educator's commitment to a genuine celebration of their language and culture. We can also conclude that the role of the teacher is a powerful one insofar as control of children's linguistic repertoires is concerned, which could be considered as problematic given the issues raised earlier regarding language attrition.

The importance of strong school leadership

It was observed in Chapter 5 that the numerical report of the APPRAISAL analysis of research interviews seemed to reveal a difference in overall positive and negatives ATTITUDES between certain schools, that went beyond the predictors of positive attitudes discussed by Flores and Smith (2009), Youngs and Youngs (2001) and Byrnes et al. (1997), and was therefore considered to be worth further exploration. When a closer analysis of JUDGEMENTS and other linguistic devices was made, differences in attitudes towards the school leadership and climate created, with regards to home languages and children who speak languages beyond English, were notable. School leadership on 'EAL' issues, and the climate that managers create is of great importance for positive ATTITUDE maintenance both with regards to children who speak languages beyond English and their families. It could be concluded that Blair's notion of 'strong' leadership (2002) should be disseminated further and discussed openly by school leadership teams in order to ensure that the optimal balance between autocracy and democracy is being obtained, whilst acknowledging that this balance is currently considered to be only rarely found in the UK education system (Blair, 2002).

Observations relating to the APPRAISAL JUDGEMENTS system

Following the completion of analysis adopting the ATTITUDE system from the APPRAISAL framework (Martin & White, 2005), a number of challenges in coding were observed, which were discussed in the Methodology chapter of this thesis. However, observations about the nature of the JUDGEMENTS made by participants were also made that may be of use to future researchers using the framework in similar contexts. It was observed that CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS were more prevalent than any of the other judgement categories, and it was noted that it may well be the sense of 'measurability' that comes with the notion of evaluating CAPACITY that means that it is more likely to be a JUDGEMENT made. This may be particularly true for participants drawn from a profession in which these evaluations are an every-day occurrence, such as the educational *field*. The other JUDGEMENT systems of the ATTITUDE framework are more inherently subjective, and may be more likely to be couched, evoked and indirectly done in the discourse. From this we can offer a conclusion that this insight may be useful for researchers adopting APPRAISAL, particularly if working in an educational setting with groups of people used to assessing and evaluating performance. A further observation to be made about the use of APPRAISAL in analysing research interviews, which as I noted earlier is still rare, is that there do exist challenges that relate to the fact that the framework does not

allow for capturing ATTITUDES as they are co-constructed in the moment. Whilst Martin and White (2000) do discuss the anticipated ATTITUDES of readers, they do not cover actual responses of interlocutors in synchronous communicative situations.

Having offered a concise summary of each finding with a statement regarding the conclusions that can be drawn from them, we now move on to a discussion of the recommendations that can be proposed on the basis of the conclusions made.

8.3 Recommendations

Taking into account the crucial role that we have outlined regarding the transmission of educators' attitudes to children who speak languages beyond English, both in the introduction to this thesis, the literature review and in the figure presented in section 8.2.5 above, I will now draw together the conclusions from the thesis and propose recommendations that seek to address them.

For teachers and managers: training and education

I echo Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011, p. 599) in saying that we should “insist on the active and powerful role of teachers in shaping school contexts and language policies” and seek to raise awareness of “their political and social role as educators, of the way power relations function and are exercised in the classroom and to expose the – often subtle and implicit – ways existing school policies may reproduce social inequalities” (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011, p. 599). Particularly in an era defined by lack of centralisation for policies and shared practices for children who speak languages beyond English, it is increasingly important that it is recognised that the agents of ideological change will be (and probably should be) those working at the grass-roots level (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Van Dijk (2013) also observed that societal ideologies are rarely reshaped and renegotiated by those in the strongest positions of power, as it does not serve their best interests to challenge structures that perpetuate their privilege. His three-layered socio-cognitive construction of ideology, translated to a figure as seen below, allows us to see more clearly how it is that individuals are crucial in the (slow) process of ideological change.

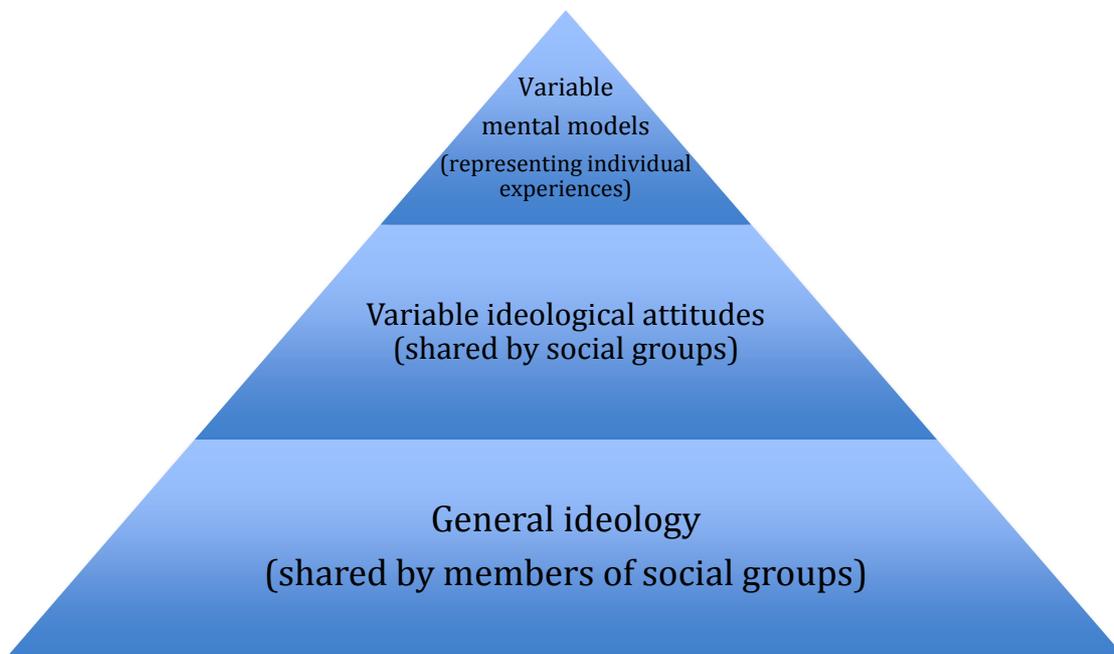


Figure 10: Van Dijk's (2013) three-layered socio-cognitive ideological system

Corson (1997) refers back to the Bullock report of 1979 that was discussed in the introduction to this thesis and its pluralist viewpoint of 'valuing' of language diversity and says that for this to ever become a reality, children and teachers needs to increase their critical awareness of the social and historical reasons why certain languages and varieties hold greater prestige. He goes on to say the schools need professional development policies that promote greater teacher awareness of language diversity. But I would also argue that those policies and development opportunities need to promote greater teacher awareness of how those social and historical factors are embedded in ideologies and consciously or subconsciously perpetuated by those in privileged positions, which includes themselves as educators (Fairclough, 2015) to a certain extent, although I also note the oft-reported sense of lack of agency to challenge accepted educational *field doxa*. Educators' own social backgrounds, personal and professional life histories, and previous and current working contexts and practices have also created their own *habitus*, which brings with it *doxa* and dispositions that, whilst not fixed, are hard to shift (Bourdieu, 1977). It is with this in mind that a recommendation for awareness raising training for new and experienced educators is made.

Training on Discourses and Embedded Ideologies around Working with Children who Speak Languages Beyond English

The intention is that drawing on the above modes of thinking would seek to avoid a deficit approach to training and professional development. Training would rather aim to offer a stimulating and thought-provoking experience that may inspire teachers and lead to them taking on the active, powerful, political, and social roles required for grass-roots ideological change. Having acknowledged in the introduction to this thesis the fact that teachers are seen

as being at the front-line with children who speak languages beyond English, their capacity to affect change, whether for just one individual or for a whole groups of children who might have potentially found themselves alienated from wider society, should not be underestimated. It should not necessarily be the case that educators should just ‘get on with it’, as Thomas suggested with some resignation above.

There is a potential for awareness-raising discussion around actual *discursive practices* to subvert the dominant forces in discourse and society (Fairclough, 2010; Van Dijk, 2008a). By using transcriptions of primary school educators’ discourses around relevant topics, language ideologies and other conflated issues could be exposed, unpacked, and challenged by participants and facilitators during a training session.

The intention is to design and adopt a heuristic device incorporating elements of Bourdieu’s theory of practice alongside a simplified APPRAISAL framework that may be usable as a professional development tool for practitioners in order to discuss their *discursive practices* (Foucault, 1972) and linguistic choices (Halliday, 1985) around children who speak languages beyond English. Any such device used in professional development settings could additionally involve a fruitful on-going two-way interaction between practitioners and researchers as the tool could be evaluated, enhanced and developed through use. The purpose of this training approach is consciousness raising about the way that education professionals perceive linguistic and cultural variety and diversity, and exposing and discussing some of the reasons behind these perceptions. An initial sketch of a possible example activity can be seen below in figure 11.

Consider the following comment from a KS2 teacher:

It’s about the inappropriateness of language and just as you’d say to a child... I mean at my previous school we never told a child that swearing was wrong because actually you’re criticising what they hear at home all the time and so what we would say is we don’t swear in school and in a similar way here we don’t speak in Punjabi, we don’t speak in Urdu, or whatever, in school because we need to make it so that everyone can understand it.

Figure 11: proposed professional development activity excerpt

Think about the words underlined.

What is the effect of those particular linguistic choices?

Think about issues to do with:

Who controls language use? Why and should they?

Is anyone left out when we seek to have equality in the classroom?

Something else to discuss:

What is the effect on you of connecting the idea of children swearing with children using their home languages in the classroom?

What is the implied criticism of the parents in this excerpt?

Figure 12: proposed professional development discussion activity

In just this one short excerpt, ideologies are able to be exposed and discussed that highlight the power of the teacher in the classroom to deny or permit linguistic resources to children, the potential dismissal of languages according to hierarchy or familiarity, the equating of home language use with taboo language, and the issues of who is to be linguistically excluded in the classroom. As Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou say, “teachers need to be motivated to openly renegotiate the ideology of ‘one language for all-equality for all’ at school and consciously deconstruct it, to realize its subtle hegemonic pressures” (2011, p 599). The potential to deconstruct this and related ideologies, whilst taking into account the underlying societal *habitus* that influences the production of such discourses, is what is at the heart of this proposed professional development. The intention is that this training package will be designed to address the first six of the findings noted at the beginning of this chapter.

Additional research is required to pursue the notion of the ‘strong’ leader for schools working with children speaking languages beyond English, perhaps particularly those schools (like many in this current study) in areas hitherto unaccustomed to dealing with significant numbers of such children. The impact on school climate and thence on policies and practice related to children speaking languages beyond English needs further consideration. However, an extension to the professional development activities proposed above for educators would also be of benefit to school leaders.

For researchers: APPRAISAL observations

Researchers adopting the APPRAISAL framework for analysis have been very responsive to the openness of the original proponents (James Martin and Peter White) of the framework with regards to adaptations and refinements as the framework is asked to deal with an ever wider range of text types. The online presence of researchers sharing practice and ideas means that joining in with this community to share findings and observations is one of the most efficient

ways to work directly with the relevant group of researchers. Having already begun this conversation, discussions about the particular observations made during this study will be made as contributions in that forum. Those observations include the potentially destabilising effect of the 'measurable' nature of CAPACITY JUDGEMENTS against those more likely to be seen as subjective.

8.4 Further research

APPRAISAL as an analytical tool has much to offer for the researcher in this particular area of campaigning for social justice through Critical Discourse Analysis. As can be seen from the numerical analysis of Chapter 5, this study itself had to be limited to a qualitative exploration of only a few of the APPRAISAL categories. Due to space constraints, only the JUDGEMENT categories of CAPACITY, NORMALITY, PROPRIETY and TENACITY were considered in any depth in the following two chapters, meaning that APPRECIATION and AFFECT expressions amongst participants had to be ignored for the most part. There was also the potential to say significantly more about the use of GRADUATION and ENGAGEMENT resources in the participants' discourse. Therefore, it can be concluded that further research adopting this analytical tool would shed further light on entrenched ideologies, offering additional depth to our understanding of this area of import for social justice and change.

As noted above, further research on the role of leaders in diverse schools, as well as schools with limited but increasing diversity, is important. This includes research on the role of leaders who are not managers within the school, an issue that could not be fully explored in this thesis. The role of Bourdieu's theory of practice constructs on teachers' discourses could be more fully explored, perhaps by adopting a personal narrative approach, and the actual impact of teacher discourses and attitudes also needs to be more fully considered. For the purposes of this thesis, it was presupposed that teachers' attitudes were of pivotal importance for children, as previous literature has confirmed. However, this connection is worth exploring further through longitudinal studies of groups of children.

Whilst this study goes some way towards addressing the gap in the research around UK teachers' attitudes towards children who speak languages beyond English, it is small-scale and further work to clarify the stances of teachers towards this population is required. This is particularly important work taking into consideration political events that have occurred since this study commenced, including two general elections (2015 and 2017) returning an increasingly right wing government each time, a 2016 referendum the result of which is leading to the withdrawal of the UK from the European Union by 2019, and what are being described as Islamist extremist attacks in London and Manchester in 2017. Studies more directly comparing teachers' attitudes on a global scale may also be of great use and this

collaborative research work has already started, with my future additional work in the UK context on this topic included in the wider project.

8.5 Final reflections: revisiting significance

This thesis has been concerned with exploring the discourses of teachers, teaching and learning assistants, EAL coordinators and school management team members. The focus has been on attitudes expressed about people with regards to working with children who speak languages beyond English. This has meant analysing and discussing attitudes relating to the children themselves, their families, and the practices and policies of the educators themselves and their colleagues. Analysing those attitudes has revealed a number of ingrained ideological stances about *capital* and *legitimate* language, pedagogical and leadership practices that are predicated on the dispositions and beliefs – the *habitus* and the *doxa* – of the education system.

Findings from this study cannot be generalised to the wider population, as the approach taken was that of a multiple case study. However, the contexts of the participating schools will be familiar to many practitioners and researchers in the area, and should offer points of comparison for those readers to draw their own conclusions about the relevance of the findings for their own setting.

This lengthy part-time doctoral experience has been formative in research terms. I have had the opportunity to consider a range of potential research designs that offered different angles on this important and timely topic. The linguistic aspect was seen to be the approach least likely to date over the course of the period of registration, but because of the particular political climate of the period of production of this thesis (2010-2017), the nature of the attitudes themselves and an understanding of the underlying ideological standpoints continue to have potency.

This study is significant in a number of respects. These contributions include a) proposing the term languages beyond English to replace and subvert existing terms which subscribe to a deficit approach, b) addressing the gap caused by scarcity of research concerned with teachers' attitudes on this topic, and the lack of teachers' own voices and discourses due to the current focus on surveys to capture attitudinal data, c) offering the developmental opportunity of the research tool to the participants (a number of whom took the chance for the space to explore their thinking on this topic as can be seen in the data), d) adopting the APPRAISAL framework for the analysis of research interviews, increasing the small number of studies that have taken this approach to date, e) drawing together Critical Discourse Analysis with Bourdieu's theory of practice constructs to highlight entrenched ideologies in discourse, and f) offering important implications for practice and for professional development, which revolve around the importance of awareness-raising for teachers about discourses and about

their powerful role as potential challengers of ideology on behalf of children who speak languages beyond English.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Overview of preliminary & main study data collection

1.1 Main Study Schools

Site	Location	Size (no. of pupils)	Description	Ofsted rating (at time of data collection)	LA EAL population
1	Lancashire	141	The vast majority of pupils are of Asian Pakistani origin and a high percentage of pupils live in homes where English is not the mother tongue. The percentage of pupils who have free school meals is above average. A high number of pupils join or leave the school at times other than the usual admission or transfer to secondary school. When children start in the nursery, the majority have skills and knowledge that are well below national expectations for children of their age, many starting school with little or no spoken English' (Ofsted, 2006).	Good	14.9%
2	Lancashire	441	The proportion of children who come from homes where English is not the first language is high and has increased since the previous inspection. The majority of children are of Pakistani heritage but almost a third are White British. The proportion of pupils with learning difficulties and/or disabilities is well above average. Some pupils have very complex needs and this is reflected in an above average number of pupils who have a statement of special educational need. The proportion of pupils who are known to be eligible for free school meals is above average. More pupils join and leave the school at different times in the school year than is usual. ' (Ofsted, 2009).	Good	14.9%
3	West Yorkshire	196	This is a slightly smaller-than-average sized primary school. The proportion of pupils known to be eligible for free school meals is above the national average, as is	Satisfactory	16.2%

			the proportion of pupils from minority ethnic groups. A minority of pupils are of White British heritage. However, the proportion of pupils who speak English as an additional language is average' (Ofsted, 2011).		
4	North East	330	The school is larger than average. The proportion of pupils entitled to free school meals is lower than that found nationally. Although there are increasing numbers of pupils from minority ethnic groups, most pupils are from a White British background and the proportion of pupils who speak English as an additional language is low' (Ofsted, 2009).	Satisfactory	4.6%
5	West Yorkshire	384	This is a larger-than-average size primary school. The proportion of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds is well above average and the majority of these speak English as an additional language. The proportion of pupils known to be eligible for free school meals is just above average. A lower than average proportion of pupils has special educational needs and/or disabilities. The number of pupils on roll has increased recently and this has affected the organisation of some class groupings' (Ofsted, 2010).	Good	43.5%
6	North East	473	The school is a larger than average size school and over- subscribed. A small number of pupils, less than one in ten, claim free school meals. There are fewer pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds and fewer with learning difficulties and/or disabilities than in most schools' (Ofsted, 2007).	Good	0.9%

1.2 Preliminary study participants and interviews

Site	Participants	Interview duration
1	JT (EAL coordinator)	27m15s
	TQ (Head teacher)	53m38s
2	KC (EAL coordinator)	33m43s
	BLAs (4)	27m37s
	TS (class teacher)	24m38s
	SS (Head teacher)	20m12s
3	KD/ KN (class teachers)	20m54s
	KBE (Head teacher)	21m40s
	TAs (4)	43m46s
4	IN (class teacher)	21m00s
	ID (Head teacher)	28m01s
5	Nothing recorded during this visit owing to the way I was escorted around the school. Field notes were taken and extensive notes made during conversations	
6	FX (SMT member/ nursery teacher)	15m27s
	MF (class teacher)	9m08s
	KL (class teacher)	9m44s
	MI (class teacher)	6m51s
7 (attrition from Main Study)	SE (class teacher)	14m21s
	ThQ (Head teacher)	51m04s

Appendix 2: Consent form (preliminary study)

LETTER OF CONSENT - **AUDIO** RECORDING RELEASE CONSENT FORM

Researcher name: Clare Wardman

As part of this project we have made an **audio** recording of you while you participated in the research.

We would like you to indicate below what uses of these records you are willing to consent to. This is completely up to you. We will only use the records in ways that you agree to. In any use of these

	Audio
The records can be studied by the research team for use in the research project.	
The records can be used for scientific publications.	
The written transcript can be kept in an archive for other researchers.	
The records can be used by other researchers.	
The records can be shown at meetings of scientists interested in the study of Language.	
The records can be shown in classrooms to students.	
The records can be shown in public presentations to non-scientific groups.	
The records can be used on television, radio and the internet.	

records, names of individuals and schools will not be identified and any identifying remarks will be anonymised.

Next to each of the following, please sign your initials to show your agreement:

I have read the above description and give my consent for the use of the records as indicated above. I understand that I can withdraw part or all of my consent at any time.

Signature _____

Date _____

Name _____

Researcher contact details:

Clare Wardman
Department of Education
University of York
Heslington, York
YO10 5DD

Appendix 3: Consent form (main study)

CONSENT FORM

Full title of Project: A longitudinal study regarding teachers' opinions on the provision of support for children with English as an Additional Language

Name, position and contact address of Researcher: Clare Wardman, PhD researcher
Department of Education, University of York, Heslington, York, YO10 5DD

Please initial box

I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.

I agree to take part in the above study.

I agree that my data gathered in this study may be stored (after it has been anonymised) in a specialist data centre and may be used for future research.

Please tick box

Yes

No

I agree to the interview being audio recorded

I agree to the use of anonymised quotes in publications

Name of Participant

Date

Signature

Name of Researcher

Date

Signature

Full title of Project: A longitudinal study regarding teachers' opinions on the provision of support for children with English as an Additional Language

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide whether or not to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

What is the purpose of the study?

This study aims to provide a good understanding of the varying level of support provided for children with EAL and teachers' opinions and experiences in offering that support.

Why have I been invited to participate?

This school is one of between 8 and 12 schools to take part in the project, across the north of England and you are involved because you have some responsibility for, or frequent dealings with, children with EAL.

Do I have to take part?

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

What will happen to me if I take part?

- This project forms the 2nd stage of research towards a PhD dissertation
- Interviews (of about 30 minutes per participant) will be audio-recorded and the recording files will be held anonymously using a key for reference
- Transcriptions will be made that are equally anonymous, including blanking out references to places and people that might identify an individual, school or local authority
- Data will be held for only as long as it may prove useful for the PhD study or for any other publication or research study that does not deviate from the original aims as stated to the participants
- The results of the study will be published in my PhD thesis and may also be published more widely in referred academic journals or books, and conference papers

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

By undertaking this kind of research, researchers working in the field of EAL research sincerely hope that we may be able to influence policy-makers and funders to recognise the importance of providing an appropriate level of support for children with English as an Additional Language. Therefore, your contribution is extremely valuable.

Thank you for taking part in this study.

Appendix 4: Preliminary interview guide

EAL research: provision of support: interview questions for school visits

Thank you for agreeing to take part in this research. Your answers will be held confidentially so I ask you to be as honest and full as possible in your responses.

I've broken the questions into four themes – provision, the first language, attitudes and families. If I don't ask a question you expect me to ask, please tell me and we can talk about it.

Provision of classroom support for EAL children

1. Who has responsibility for EAL in your school?
2. Is withdrawal practiced for all EAL children?/ for all children in school?
3. Are EAL children always accommodated in age-appropriate classes?
4. Do teachers use any research findings in their teaching?
5. Are children encouraged or dissuaded from learning a third language – i.e. MFL at school? What are the results?

Using the child's first language in the school

1. Is there evidence of other languages than English in the school, and is this more than just the rhetoric of inclusivity?
2. Does the school have any bilingual staff?
3. How is the L1 used in the classroom?

4. What is your opinion of dual language books?

Attitudes towards bilingualism and bilingual children

1. What is your attitude/ are the attitudes of other staff towards bilingualism?

2. Where have these attitudes come from? Others in school, reading, dealing with children? Have they changed over time?

3. What is your opinion on immigration – assimilation or pluralism?

4. What do you think are the attitudes of the country at large:

- Pluralist (supporting strongly the idea of using two or more languages in life)
- Civic (expecting that minority groups should adopt the values and language of the minority but allowing freedom in private values and practice – non intervention)

- Assimilation (minority groups are expected to largely abandon their heritage language- it is seen as a divisive symbol, working against national unity)
- Ethnist ideology (encouraging or forcing minorities to give up their language and culture)

Knowledge about family situations

1. How well do class teachers know about home situations and languages?

2. Do the schools have in place a family language planning system to avoid language loss?

3. What types of relationships exist with parents?

4. Are there specific attempts to work with families and the wider community?

Appendix 5: Excerpts grouped by theme or incident

5.1 Happy boy and Habib

Habib: an' that's how T (.) his name is T (.) he was (.) and I- the first day I took him out (.) I printed something from Poland I asked him where he lived (.) before and then I went and printed his home town an' pictures from his (.) town (.) wherever he lives (.) a train station (.) an' then I showed him (..) he was like beaming with (.) y'know **joy** [attributed affect: happiness+](puts on voice) that's the train station you know my granddad used to take me (.) an' this an' that so he was **so** [high force graduation: intensification] **happy** [attributed affect: happiness+] because I was showing **interest** [affect: satisfaction+] in his language in his country (.) an' now (CC: an' him) yeah (.) he's **very** [high force graduation: intensification] **happy** [attributed affect: happiness+] now because before he was ((puts on voice)) oh **I hate** my name [attributed affect: happiness-] (.) I said right because **everybody else** [judgement: normality+] has like different names so you've got Chit (.) **just** [low force graduation: intensification] gonna be Ch- an' I said T this is a **very** [high force graduation: intensification] nice name [appreciation: reaction+] it's **different** [judgement: normality+] and it's- an' now I call him Mr () and (.) ((laughter)) **he smiles** [attributed affect: happiness+] (.) but e- e- if **he is confident** [attributed affect: security+] oh my name **is nice** [appreciation: reaction+] it's not some- you know when you are **different** in a school [judgement: normality-] an' you're the **only** Asian child [judgement: normality-] or you're the **only** (.) white child [judgement: normality-] (.) y'know (.) it does **affect you** [attributed affect: happiness-] as a person

Irene: there's **more** [high force graduation: quantification] mother (0.4) mother- mother to school exchanges because **more** [high force graduation: quantification] of the mothers who are coming through are **British educated** [appreciation: valuation+] and therefore they **can** [judgement: capacity+] communicate (.) **often better** [high force graduation: intensification] than their partners um (.) whereas ten years ago we **probably** [low focus graduation] **barely** [low force graduation: quantification] saw (0.5) you know (.) a mother whose first language was

actually **functioning** as English *[judgement: capacity-]* (0.6) and although **they're bilingual** *[appreciation: composition-]* (0.4) in a functionally (0.2) they **can** *[judgement: capacity+]* communicate **very well** *[high force graduation: intensification]* with us

5.2 Thomas's use of pronouns

Thomas uses personal pronouns regularly throughout both interviews about children, parents and teachers, which gives the interlocutor a strong indication of his sense of ownership and control over the school environment.

Thomas: then again quite rightly I'm looking at **my** white indigenous children and thinking what are they getting out of this because basically the school has to be (.) whatever provision I make for EAL in this school it also has to be seen in the light of the fact that I'm dealing with a whole cohort of children which there are some children who are not EAL so I have to make sure there's equality so there's that's been quite a problem

Thomas: therefore **we** actually targeted some additional work to take place in school focused on **my** EY provision and **my** year 1s and that's been based on er and in fact they're on-going now and that was provided by the English language service and an additional teacher came into school with additional bilingual support assistant

Thomas: all **my** staff are er bar one are married with young children so their time will come but it's not now some of **my** staff are very interested in things like that but it's not the right time

Thomas: I mean if I was unable to support **my** pupils at lower stages with bilingual staff then that again would have a huge impact on the way **my** children developed their understanding of English erm (...) so - so at the moment I don't even think about it because **my** governors understand at this school that **my** priority and if I had to make any cuts then the KS1 and EY area would be the last area I wouldn't be doing it with and I also would be very loath to replace well qualified staff with younger staff that are cheaper which is the other

consideration that other schools do as that would have a huge impact on the way **my** children develop their learning

Thomas: they still need to be provided for so at the moment I'm now I employ - I've got **my** Czech speaker working with them two times a week

CC: yea yea and he was there last year

Thomas: yea this is now his second year working with us and he is now not only working with the children but he is now also working with **my** parents

Thomas: don't ask me why the mathematics goes down a storm here and most of **my** parents here really enjoy that because many of them feel inadequate and if you think about their every day lives managing finance and budgeting and stuff they actually find it very beneficial they all enjoy it we get fifteen twenty parents turn up at that

5.3 Lucy's narratives

This first narrative seems to be about Lucy wanting to construct the girl, who is a new arrival to the UK and to the school, as normal. She likes normal things that other (British born) children do, so it seems as if Lucy is working through some preconceptions.

LUCY: Disney cards are in at the moment (.) and football cards (.) and she is over the moon because she has got two and everybody else has just got one but she's got two [laughter]

CC: aw

LUCY: I got them (.) I got them (.) I got them (.) she'll shout (.) she'll come in one in each hand (.) I got them (.) I got them (.) and they'd been to erm (..) [local theme park] for the first time (.) when was it (.) oh it was in the holidays and yes (.) there's been some concentrated something from the holidays (.) they'd been to [local theme park] (.) and yes (.) you know those photographs you take when you get to the top of a log flume [**CC:** yes] and you're about to come down and you're hair is all like that [**CC:** yeah] yes (.) well she was look (.) my photo (.) look (.) my photo my photo my photo (.) look my face (.) she shouted my photo (.) look my face (.) she was in the background and her little eyes were

like that [laughter] white eyes (.) she shouted white eyes
{laughter}

CC: (..) bless her

This second narrative is far longer. It begins with a scene setting context of the reaction to the Ofsted visit and then goes on to describe at some length a collaborative trip undertaken to address the needs for more community cohesion. She is working through a number of preconceived ideas about cultural differences throughout, and exposing some of her inexperience in her descriptions of people at times. This seems like a very important narrative for her to share. She clearly feels the experience was formative (for her and others).

LUCY: Because of our OFSTED (.) our school got outstanding (.) and one of the areas- the only area which they said we could improve at was broadening our community base (0.3) our headteacher [laughter] put up a very good argument about this and said where do we go (0.2) and they kept talking about community cohesion and community ethos and we were saying we're doing all that (0.2) the vicar is coming (0.2) the rabbi is coming (0.3) the- you know (.)

CC: what did they mean

LUCY: they (0.3) hm (.) they wanted us to - I think they wanted us to mix more with (0.9) maybe a school on a different footing to us maybe (0.3) I don't know (.) and I hate to use the word (0.3) and I don't know if I'm using the word in the right term (0.9) w-we work out how our school is (.) in the government terms (0.2) so in the amount of free school meals we have [CC: yeah] it's a fair assumption (0.3) because we've got a free school meal threshold (0.4) so I think maybe (.) they're looking for us to mix with someone with high free school meals (.) but we looked at the schools around here (0.4) and we didn't feel that our children had anything to learn from them (0.5) so two members of staff (.) our literacy coordinator and a key stage two member of staff (0.3) spent a lot of time going to a variety of different schools in the area (.) talking to different heads - who had let them in (.) and talking to them (0.3) and having a conversation about making links (0.9) almost a partnership for want of a better word (0.4) and our key stage one team leader came back and talked to us about it (.) there was a lovely school which she had been to (0.3) the head teacher was very supportive (0.3) and how about if we had a mini

Olympics on our school field (0.2) and their children came to join us (0.3) and everyone felt that was great (0.3) and a teacher came (.) it turned out to be a year three teacher (.) and she said (0.2) well we've look at your SAT grades on the government pages (0.3) and well (.) we can't bring our year twos because they're below

CC: well that was kind of the point wasn't it

LUCY: yeah (.) so we've brought our year threes instead (0.3) and can I just say (.) 89% of my class have never been out of central [city] (0.3) and everywhere they go (.) they go in a taxi (0.4) because it's usually owned by an uncle (.) or extended family member and (0.9) could we take them to the beach (0.3) and I said (.) well (.) can you imagine the risk assessment (0.3) and she said (.) yeah (.) I can (0.3) I really want to see the awe and excitement (0.6) I really want them to do something (.) they've (.) never done before (0.9) and G said (.) right well (.) we'll get K on the risk assessments (0.3) so I want up there to talk to them (.) and the teacher came here (0.3) and the head teacher spoke to us on the telephone (.) because [town] is having a lot of work done (0.4) on the seafront (.) so it was finding a time to go (.) which was safe (0.4) and the right time and place (0.5) and they got the contractors to stop working that day (.) and move further up the beach (0.4) and they put extra people on the beach because we had 60 children (.) 89% who had English as an additional language (0.4) so we said (.) oh let's treat them all for an ice cream (0.3) so I went to the sea front (.) and I paid for all these ice cream (0.6) up front (.) in the morning (0.6) at six o'clock in the morning (0.8) but they came (.) and you know (.) I thought R would be over the moon (0.4) but she just looked around the room (.) as though to say (.) yeah alright then (0.4) and went and sat with her friends (0.4) and I though oh (.) well that's that then (0.3) we've got an us and them already (0.5) but as the day when on (.) oh I wish you'd seen it (.) they didn't understand lining up in twos to go anywhere (0.5) because they never do (0.3) so we put them in a two (0.4) they brought six people - six adults (0.3) who were parents (.) two were only their own language (.) not even English as an additional language (0.2) so there was a lot of interpretation going on from the four

of the parents (0.3) then they brought six member of staff (0.3) two of which were white (.) two of which were Asian (.) two (0.5) of which were European (0.3) which I thought was a bit strange for a central city school (.) but one was Belgian (0.3) and one was Austrian

CC: oh really

LUCY: yeah (.) they both teach there (0.3) but that's another thing altogether (0.6) so we set off (.) walking down to the beach (.) walking down to the beach (.) we'd only got to round the corner when they said they were tired [laughter]

CC: well yeah

LUCY: but there was Sikhs (.) and some of them had the little Jewish caps (.) so there were a couple who were Sikhs (.) there were a couple in Burkhas (.) all the way down (.) to the ground (.) you know (.) all black and covered up and um (0.2) er (.) that was something that our children had never seen before (.) that was something the adults had never seen before (0.4) but it was lovely (.) we welcomed them (0.3) we made sure we weren't standing on anybody's toes in any way (.) culturally in anyway (.) religiously in anyway (.) you know (0.3) we were worried that they were serving an all day breakfast in the café we were going to (0.3) we didn't want bacons or meats coming out on the plates (0.4) so they opened the window from the outside (.) and we served from the inside (.) and we served the children like that

CC: that is great

LUCY: and we took their socks and shoes (.) and they played in the sand and the ladies in the burkhas (0.3) they took their sandals off (.) and they played in the sand (0.9) and she was saying (.) you know (.) don't get me wrong (.) I loved the idea of the Olympics (.) but I just knew this would be a better idea for them (0.3) so we've done that with them (0.4) we all came back and sat with them (0.5) we put six of ours with six of theirs (0.3) and matched up one of our staff members with one of theirs (.) so the group stayed as twelve all day (0.3) with two members of staff (0.3) the ratio was 1:6 which was lovely (0.4) and everybody had a time to go for an ice cream (.) so we had time to build sandcastles on the beach (0.4) and we tried to get the biggest one (0.3) one group would go for an ice cream (.) come back and the second

group would go (0.4) so some sandcastles got really big to start with and others didn't (0.2) but we had sandcastle competitions (.) we stuck flags in them (0.3) we went back to school (.) we picked up our packed lunches and sat in the school field (0.3) some children said prayers (.) I asked our children to just to sit quietly and wait (0.3) until they'd finished their prayers (.) then they said they needed to wash their hands so a pack of wipes when round everybody (.) and they had their lunch (0.3) and then we said they could have 10 or 15 minutes to play together (0.4) and that was when it started (0.3) whilst we'd been on the beach (.) there'd been two ground of six (.) but they'd had lunch (0.3) after that they'd gone off like that (0.9) holding hands (0.3) oh it was amazing (0.3) and our head teacher came out (.) and said is this what they meant by community or cultural diversity (0.3) they were all over the place (.) we blew the whistle (.) we brought them back (.) and we set out of Olympic games on the field and in their own groups they moved around (0.4) there was no completion (0.3) the school wasn't better than the other (0.8) and it was absolutely super (0.4) so we've got another one of those planned for October but with a different age range (.) and we're hoping in November (0.3) the group that was here (0.3) they're going to get on the bus and go there for the day (.) and that really will put them in a minority

CC: very interesting

LUCY: oh it was super (0.3) they were saying can we stay (.) can we stay (0.3) and even the mums were shaking hands (0.6) it was lovely (0.2) it really was lovely (0.2) but when they were gone I went [breathes out loudly] and I said to G (.) I was sure I was going to lose one of them on the beach (.) I was sure I would lose on somewhere (.) but they just get standing there (0.3) looking at the water (0.3) wo::w water (.) water (.) water (0.3) and when you stand in certain places on the seafront (.) that's all you can see you 180 degrees (.) it was fantastic

CC: I suppose that was the first time they'd been out of the centre

LUCY: well (.) yeah (.) and that's much higher than us (.) that's 89% (0.3) but they were of a similar academic ability

so maybe it was right to bring the year threes (.) we had thought maybe our year twos would learn something from the other year twos (0.3) but they were right to bring them (0.3) they were a little bit stronger with their language (.) they were a little tiny bit more confident (0.5) they weren't so timid (.) at the ice cream shop (0.3) and they were off playing (.) and the mums were asking us questions about our school (.) how often can we walk to the beach (.) do we have a park (.) yes we've got a park (.) we go to the park (.) we said next time we might take them to the one with the swings and roundabouts (0.3) but it's trying to find something with isn't too expensive for 120 children which is safe to do and is still experiential (1.2) it's just a very different (.) we have a uniform and they do but maybe only four in the class had it on (0.3) and our 60 children were all in uniform (0.3) some of theirs was traditional dress (0.5) like I said (.) the Sikh boys had their hair tied up on a bun on the top of their heads (.) but as I said (0.4) we want everyone to be asking those types of questions (.) we had the breaktime and the lunchtime separately away from school (.) because we didn't want to risk losing them (0.2) but next time they come (.) we need to have break and lunch together

CC: mm (.) interesting

LUCY: we just need to let them children go (.) and have fun together (0.9) we need to get the rest of our children feel comfortable with them (0.6) community cohesion (0.2) back to that word

CC: it sounds like an amazing project (0.2) I wonder what will happen when you go over there

LUCY: yeah (0.4) yeah that's what we said (0.3) you know there's no park to go to and there's no beach (0.2) and there's not playing field (.) so what are we going to do (0.3) so we'll see (.) we'll see (0.4) it's nice (0.3) it's good for our children (.) and like I say (.) I thought R would have absolutely loved that (0.3) and shot to someone (.) but nope (.) back to her friends (0.2) quite happy in the corner (.) chatting away (0.4) because I just remembered she'd made that connection with Mrs M when she came (.) so I thought she'd make the connection now (0.2) but- but that's her connection now (.) she's moved on (.) in three months

she's moved on (0.4) her connection was her white (.) English speaking friends

5.4 Irene on changing roles for women

Irene: A is **interesting** [judgement: normality-] (.) I haven't - **I don't know her** [judgement: capacity-] well enough to initiate a conversation really in that she's (0.6) um (0.2) **very** [high force graduation: intensification] **Western** [judgement: normality+] in **many ways** [low force graduation: quantity] and **obviously** [engagement: contract: proclaim: concur: affirm] **she's working** (.) **she's driving a car** from Newcastle [evoked normality+] every day to work in a very mixed environment [appreciation: composition+] and **I know** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] that some families **don't like that** [attributed affect: happiness-] (.) but she is **very** [high force graduation: intensification] **traditionally dressed** [evoked judgement: normality- encoded in appreciation: composition-] and **you often** [high force graduation: quantity] **find** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] when people **make the step** [CC: yep] to work they wear **Western clothes** [appreciation: composition+] (.) **even** [engagement: contract: disclaim: counter] if not in private life (.) where if they were going out they would choose to wear (0.3) **Eastern clothes** [appreciation: composition-]

CC: so she's reconciling the two - that

Irene: she's **hovering** [judgement: normality-] (.) yes between the two

Irene: it's at 16 and 17 when they go back to Bangladesh (.) and then they come back with a Bangladeshi man (0.9) who probably has **no** (.) **British cultural background** [appreciation: reaction-] (0.2) and for some of these women this **could be a problem** [attributed appreciation: reaction-] (0.3) the other thing which **maybe** [engagement: expand: entertain] has changed because I don't know if it had happened to all- um (0.3) or (1.4) or whether it was at the top of my mind last time (.) is um we're beginning to get more of **these articulate women** [judgement: capacity+] (0.5) beginning to rebel against domestic violence (2.3) and **I presume** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] they're getting that **fed** [appreciation: valuation-] (to them (0.3) [CC: yeah] and I **was reading about that in one of the refuges** [engagement: expand: attribute: acknowledge] this year and that was (0.2) you know **really** [high force graduation: intensification] **unheard of** [evoked judgement: normality-] (.) they **just** [low

force graduation: intensification **took the beatings** *[evoked judgement: tenacity-]*

kind of thing *[low focus graduation]*

CC: but (.) they're being educated in [schools

Irene: *[it's not being tolerated* *[evoked judgement: tenacity+ encoded in appreciation: reaction-]* **anymore**

[engagement: contract: disclaim: counter]

CC: *[they have lived in this community]*

Irene: that's right *[engagement: contract: proclaim: concur]* (.) they spend seven years in a school (.) which is telling them they're **as equal as any man** *[appreciation: valuation+]* (.) then they've got another few years (.) and then they go away and bring back some **poor peasant bloke** *[judgement: normality-/ capacity-]* and - to give him a visa to get in and that's (.) **really quite** *[high force graduation]* **scary** *[appreciation: reaction-]*

5.5 Essentialising discourses, and challenging them

Kate: the **women with Burkas** *[evoked judgement: normality-encoded in appreciation: composition-]* and **everything else like that** *[low focus graduation]* (CC: ((coughs))) y'know that- that you know **don't speak** any English *[judgement: capacity-]* and- and you're sort of em- (..) almost (..) the home school liaison person at my old school **sort of** *[low focus graduation]* worked with the community in their **sort of** *[low focus graduation]* **1950s view of what Pakistan was like** *[appreciation: valuation-]* and- and almost kept it like that (CC: mm) **whereas** *[engagement: contract: disclaim]* here the girls are **aspirational** *[judgement: capacity+/ normality+]* and erm- erm you know and- so it's **just** *[low force graduation: intensification]* **different** *[appreciation: composition+]*

Kate: and- and culturally getting the kids outside of the culture er- doing that (.) you know whereas umm (..) you know in- in some school they- they've **given up** *[judgement: tenacity-]* on music well it's not culturally a- well you know they'll **never** *[high force graduation: intensification]* do it **whereas** *[engagement: contract: disclaim]* (.) you know we have got Asian girls strumming their guitars (CC: whacking them ((smile voice))) and you know **I**

think that's the thing that I would say [engagement: expand: entertain]
 is that the Asian girls have a lot more [evoked appreciation: valuation+
 encoded in high force graduation: quantity] about them [judgement: capacity+] and
 they're a lot more [evoked appreciation: valuation+ encoded in high force graduation:
 quantity] forceful [judgement: capacity+] and- and that excites me
[affect: satisfaction+] really that- that they might not be marriage
 fodder [appreciation: valuation-] and- and that they might have a bit
[low force graduation] more [evoked appreciation: valuation+ encoded in high force
 graduation: quantity] of a say in - in their future [attributed evoked affect:
 security+] really

5.6 Parent- school relationship: invites and AFFECT

Thomas: so many of the parents will feel inadequate coming into school hesitant sorry not inadequate intimidated about coming into school because they feel like they've nothing to offer o:r erm (ls) the fear or (.) thing of of authority erm whatever you wanna call at so breaking those sort of barriers down the parents the families need to feel comfortable about coming to our school the door is always open that's what it's all about many schools don't need that but I don't take the children off the yard and close the doors and we don't let them out again at quarter past three

Caroline: I thought a nice way of doing it would be to ask two simple questions (.) er what do we do well (.) and what would be better even if (.) so (.) they looked at those two questions and they commented on the welcome and how they felt about school in general (.) we had children who did translation for us and transcribed thos- those translations which was lovely (.) a:nd the whole thing was administered by children (.) so (.) the parents didn't feel intimidated in any way (.) well (.) I think CG [pupil in charge] can intimidate anyone (CC: laughs) she's a tiny little thing gorgeous personality

Sarah: I suspect that we might have some parents (.) who might not be very pleased to find out that we've made a note that their children are EAL (.) but in terms of our teachers (0.2) we need our teachers (.) to know which children (.) are likely to have these issues

Karen: it was the time of the census actually because we said bring the census in if you've got any (.) problems (.) what was quite an eye opener (.) a lot of the parents didn't know whether they were British Pakistani or y'know- so they were filling it wrong (..) but the second week (.) it dropped to three mums (..) and it was only a four week course (..) so that was the commit- y'know that's- an' it wasn't- I sat in on it only to sort of (.) tea and coffee and help and y'know we sort of (.) we did one thing to was to ring up and pretend your washing machine was broken a lot of it is (CC: yeh (.) a bit o' role play) yeah (.) I know it's different to be- but they're all mums and they all knew each other but **I think they probably feel emb- they don't want to make a fool of themselves** (.) and it's just things like not knowing what a warranty i- you know when you just presume (CC: yeh) where teachers maybe send out work and (.) do this do that (.) and it's a lot of the language we use **that they probably have got (.) very little knowledge of** (.) but I thought that would've been a really good (..) course to start off with for parents and (...) (CC: a bit dispirited by that) abs- yeah (.) it- it- (..) but um (..) it- (.) those that came (.) we enjoyed ourselves (.) but one mum came (.) and she did n- she came because **she felt she didn't have a lot of confiden- in- in- in em- (.) she'd been educated here but she'd felt as though she didn't have the confidence to ring up and make an appoint- and things like that** (.) an' she came and stuck out six weeks ((laughs)) four weeks whatever ((laughs)) she'd no reason to (.) but (.) she got something out of it which was (.) at the end of the day that's what- all I wanted

Kelly: so (.) last year again Emma and I in year five invited parents in to some sessions on bread (..) our DT (.) so we did a um thing about (.) presentation with Asda making (.) different things about bread and tasting bread (.) and then we did a (..) session- follow up session well we designed our bread and then we made bread with the parents (.) so we had them in doing that- and we did s- the sort of thing I said we were doing in literacy where we'd have the bread a photograph of the bread (.) I might even show y- be able to show you a copy of um and they they wrote things round to describe the bread how does it taste (..) er what does it smell like and all these sorts of things so they were

working in first language with a group- with groups of children
(..) so (.) er we did that and and again like with the literacy
and things we did in class we did actually give parents er
questionnaires (..) (C: mmhm) about that how did they feel and
about (.) mentioned use at home as well to see what the said about
that (.) a:nd what we've not quite managed to get off the ground
properly yet but we have agreed it as a staff group that it will
happen is that **we're going to have parents coming in to each year
group (.) to see how literacy and numeracy is taught coz this is
what parents are asking** (C: right) (.) for and er how to help
sessions and Emma and I did have one for year five but we've not
managed to get everybody on- (.) well it's very difficult coz a
lot of our staff meeting are- are more sort of training sessions
and trying to get things- and then we had the change coz (Bev) had
been (C: inaudible) (inaudible) for a while and we'd got it all
sorted (.) or nearly sorted and then things changed (C: yeah) so
this is what happens in schools (.) priorities change ((smile
voice)) (C: of course) but basically I mean the staff group I
think are reasonably committed to it and we found it very
beneficial

Appendix 6: Linguistic landscapes in schools

School 1

As mentioned elsewhere, there is a bilingual teacher employed in almost every year group, and a participant in the preliminary study confirms there are displays in their languages in each classroom. These are likely to be limited to Panjabi and Urdu, but even a limited amount in other languages can have a good effect, as a participant in the preliminary study (away on maternity leave the following year) said:

I've even had a Czech parent last week who says she wants to come in and wants to improve her English and I think that's due to the result of seeing, you know the bits and bats around the school (.) it feels more welcoming for them

This seems to highlight the fact that even something that might be considered to be tokenistic ('bits and bats') can provide a benefit to some members of the school and broader community.

School 2

Kelly: **certainly** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] in Foundation they've **certainly** [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] got **all** [high force graduation: quantification] (.) I **think** [engagement: expand: entertain] they've got **all** [high force graduation: quantification] of the languages of the children represented in there (..) but they've got different languages displayed there as a welcome cos the parents **just** [low force graduation: intensification] do come in there

However, Kelly has not got as far as she would like in this respect across the school, and her use of ENGAGEMENT resources above suggest that she is not completely sure of the situation in the Foundation stage setting either. The emphatic *do* above is used as a resource for implicitly communicating an attitude about why it is a priority in Foundation that to get languages to be more visible, and why elsewhere it is less crucial. Once again, this demonstrates the pragmatic desire on the part of participants to be seen to be doing the right thing. Later in the interview she said:

Kelly: my ideal would be for **every** [high force graduation: quantification] class teacher to have something displaying (..) **some** [low force graduation: quantification] (.) **every** [high force graduation: quantification] language of the children in that class (.) that- that would be my ideal but

haven't necessarily [engagement: contract: proclaim: concur: concede] **got that** going on [appreciation: composition⁻]

Both she and Marie (in the same school) acknowledge that the children may not be able to actually read the displays but Marie wonders whether it might actually help some of them learn some Urdu. This expressed desire for and perhaps a sense of an educational responsibility to afford an enhanced linguistic experience is rare across the research interview set.

Further examples of this kind of rhetoric includes the notion of mak[ing] it look valued/ good (seen in analysis of school 1 and 6 transcripts). A welcome poster and a display of the months of the year in a range of languages are visible during the preliminary study visit and mentioned by participants:

CC: have you (...) ever done kind of big displays using other languages or other languages of the children at school

Kelly: We (...) **not big** [low + high force graduation: intensification] displays (...) we **always** [high force graduation: quantification] make sure things like there's a welcome sign that sort of thing but it's quite **tokenistic** [appreciation: valuation⁻] really but **just** [low force graduation: intensification] er yeah **just** [low force graduation: intensification] to have it around and say that we **welcome it** [judgement: propriety⁺] (...) erm and then when we've done topic work on certain countries and things like that then we've done about languages

School 3

A welcome poster and a display of the months of the year in a range of languages are visible during the preliminary study visit and mentioned by participants:

CC: have you (...) ever done kind of big displays using other languages or other languages of the children at school

Karen: We (...) **not big** [low + high force graduation: intensification] displays (...) we **always** [high force graduation: quantification] make sure things like there's a welcome sign that sort of thing but it's quite **tokenistic** [appreciation: valuation⁻] really but **just** [low force graduation: intensification] er yeah **just** [low force graduation: intensification] to have it around and say that we **welcome it** [judgement: propriety⁺] (...) erm and then when

we've done topic work on certain countries and things like that then we've done about languages

A number of participants join in this 'rhetoric of inclusivity' (Barwell, 2005a), and the following year Sarah talked about ensuring dual language books were available and commenting that the institutional line was very much:

Sarah: it's kind of [low focus graduation] an emerging area (0.4) so it's- let's get some in and make it look valued

We have already seen excerpts that demonstrate the pragmatic use of resources and pedagogical strategies that serve to demonstrate effort on the part of participants, when we considered 'it's about showing that we respect all languages' in chapter 7. Participants are keen to be seen to be doing the right thing, as other studies have shown (Reeves, 2006).

School 4

French is on the classroom walls, but beyond that use of the *elite* foreign language, Irene gives a mixed message about the use of languages beyond English in school 4, initially discussing their use outside of the classroom:

Irene: you **hear it quite a bit** [*judgement: normality+*]]
[*high force graduation: quantification*] between-

CC: within the-

Irene: within the school walls and in the playground (0.2)
quite comfortably [*attributed affect: security+*] and **not** with
any **great** [*low + high force graduation: intensification*]
embarrassment [*attributed affect: security-*] (.)

The reference to the potential for being embarrassed is noteworthy, in that it is not made clear why the pupils would be embarrassed. This reference to children perhaps being embarrassed to speak in their own language is not confined to this school. The implied message throughout them all is that they are concerned about the children being embarrassed as home languages are construed as 'not normal', as positioning the children as 'different'. This sense of stigma, perceived by participants and attributed to the children in this study, and discussed elsewhere (Baker, 2011 inter alia) is caused by and perpetuates the monolingual *habitus* ideology that monolingualism is the norm.

School 5

My field notes from visits to this school note a lack of languages beyond English in evidence, despite this school having the highest population of 'EAL' children in the study. I observed that no other languages were heard in the school itself, but that more Panjabi was audible in the playground between some of the children. Reference to playground talk from participants actually focuses on the use of English by parents rather than languages beyond English by the children:

Kate: so ok parents **might** [low force graduation: intensification] **speak** English [judgement: capacity⁺] in the playground but it's **still** [high force graduation: quantification] at a **very** [high force graduation: intensification] **superficial** level [judgement: capacity⁻]

School 6

There is a sense in the excerpt below of romanticising the use of the home language in the choice of the term 'heart warming'. Lucy also acknowledges the efficiency of using the language the children are most comfortable with, although embedded in this section of talk is the underlying concern about children who don't speak Tamil. In this example, she seems relieved that the use of the home language doesn't last too long. This suggests that she feels there is a limit to how much a non-dominant language should be used, which echoes the views of participants in other studies (French, 2017).

Lucy: I think [engagement: contract: proclaim: pronounce] it's **heart warming** [appreciation: reaction⁺] that they speak Tamil when they're together (.) and **sometimes** [low force graduation: quantification] (.) you can see them in the playground (0.2) the two girls when they're together (0.2) they're having a conversation which is **excluding** [appreciation: reaction⁻] of other people (.) **of course** [engagement: contract: proclaim: concur: affirm] (.) because it is Tamil (.) but because **they're confident** with it [judgement: capacity⁺] (.) they **can** [judgement: capacity⁺] have **such** [high force graduation: intensification] **quick conversations** [appreciation: composition⁺] with each other (0.2) and **just** [low force graduation: intensification] clear up an issue (.) or talk about who is picking who up (.) or who is coming for who (0.3) then they're off and they're with their friends

Appendix 7: The use of 'first language'

A number of participants (particularly in School 2, but also noted in school 1 in the same local authority region) use the singular 'home/ first language' without a determiner instead of 'home/ first languages' and this linguistic choice seems to do the job of essentialising of all languages other than English as one homogeneous, singular group seems ideologically driven by the monolingual *habitus*. We can see other examples of this use of 'first language' elsewhere in this thesis from Habib, Kelly and Marie as well as below from the head of school 2 describing the linguistic and cultural impact of the merger that formed the school a few years before:

Sheila: One school was using first language very comfortably at key stage one and we joined a junior school and the junior school were not and definitely against the use of first language and erm it's been quite a battle actually for people to understand and see the value and use of the first language so we've moved through that and there was some tension with adults as well with their perceptions of when you use first language and when you don't.

It seems that this use of the term is almost being used as a technical pedagogical term in these contexts, which perhaps is what gives it the sense of the distance from the children themselves. The sense created is that these languages are being used simply as tools and the greater distance afforded by switching to the pronoun is notable in the excerpt above, which seems a strange contrast with what can be seen to be a largely very positive message pushing an increase in the use of home languages in the school environment.

Appendix 8: Agency and Ofsted inspections

Lucy makes frequent references to Ofsted in her conversation because of the coinciding of the arrival of four children from Sri Lanka with an unannounced visit from Ofsted. Here we can see something of the power that Ofsted hold over schools and teaching staff. Provisions were made (including using the new arrivals' cousin as a translator) for these children seemingly in order to hide their presence from the inspector, to demonstrate that the school was coping and to avoid worries over individual teachers 'failing' in their lessons:

Lucy: it was only because we were fortunate enough to have an ex-member of staff who said oh no (.) Ofsted are here (.) what can I do to help (0.2) to make it look good (0.5) we can't put her in the classroom they're coming into observe and she would fail (.) wouldn't she (0.3) because the teacher wouldn't have time to deal with her and Ofsted (0.4) but we'd had one day to prepare (.) they came on the Tuesday and Ofsted came on the Wednesday (0.2) she just would have failed (.) so it was nice to give her one to one

There is a sense in her talk that the Ofsted visit inhibited getting better systems into place for the newly arrived pupils, when she says so we managed during the three days that Ofsted were here but what settled into place the minute Ofsted had gone has really worked well

Thomas's school was also adversely affected by an Ofsted inspection visit, and he offers a very similar negative evaluation of the impact:

Thomas: we've actually decided now that this is something **we need to look at** [*judgement: propriety+*] but then I suppose what happened then the Ofsted call hit us the week was it the week after ten days after the meeting so everything **was thrown out** [*appreciation: composition-*] to get that sorted and we've just come back from it on an even keel after three weeks

We can see that the sense of what was the right thing to do, the PROPRIETY judgement about an aspect of practice that needed to be worked on was side lined until after the Ofsted inspection, with the implication that good practice was put on the backburner and deprioritised purely because of the visit.

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