

**How do Multilingual Families and Different Schooling  
Contexts Shape Young Children's Beliefs and Attitudes  
towards Multilingualism?**

**Valerie Nave**

**Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**The University of Leeds**

**School of Education**

**June 2015**

The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

This copy has been supplied on the understanding that it is copyright material and that no quotation from the thesis may be published without acknowledgement.

## **Dedication**

To the dearest members of my family: my mother, late grand-parents, husband and four lovely daughters, Mariam, Sarah, Lina and Mona without forgetting my three grand-children, Issa, Adam and Layla I dedicate this thesis.

“Whether we do it intentionally or inadvertently when we destroy children’s language and rupture their relationship with parents and grandparents, we are contradicting the very essence of education”. (Cummins, 2001)

“The person who knows only one language does not truly know that language”.  
(Goethe)

“If your child is going to develop a healthy personality with the capacity to remain intact and grow, [he or] she must learn how to test reality, regulate her impulses, stabilize [his or] her moods, integrate [his or] her feelings and actions, and focus [his or] her concentration and plan”. (Greenspan, 1985)

“I’ve often thought there ought to be a manual to hand to little kids, telling them what kind of planet they’re on, why they don’t fall off, how much time they’ve probably got here, how to avoid poison ivy, and so on....and one thing I would really like to tell them about is cultural relativity. I didn’t learn until I was in college about all the other cultures, and I should have learned that in the first grade. A first grader should understand that his or her culture isn’t a rational invention; that there are thousands of other cultures and they all work pretty well; that all culture functions on faith rather than truth; that there are lots of alternatives to our own society. Cultural relativity is defensible and attractive. It’s also a source of hope. It means we don’t have to continue this way if we don’t like it”. Vonnegut (1974:139)

## **Acknowledgments**

All praise is due to God, the most merciful, Who has granted me the opportunities and strength to achieve this long-lasting work.

During this period, I often visualised the picture of a worker in a tunnel who was digging, but, had, at some point, the feeling that he would not reach the end of the tunnel. However, the support I have received from my supervisors, colleagues, friends and my family has proved invaluable during this time. Thanks to all the encouragement I have benefitted from the people mentioned above, I believe that I was close to catching sight of the light in the darkness. As a whole, this work has definitely increased my humility, as I have realised that knowledge is infinite and that I know so little after such a long journey.

I am firstly, indebted to my university-University of Leeds- for giving me the opportunity to continue my research even though I discovered in the middle of my research that I was dyslexic; Following this, the university has supported me through the arrangement of one-to-one tuition with Mr Patrick Webster, who has shown care and support in the way I studied, wrote and with time management. This service has been of great help.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to start my thesis showing gratefulness to my supervisors, Dr Jean Conteh and Dr Martin Lamb, for their constant advice and invaluable feedback. Their approach to educational and professional life has made tremendous change in the way I perceive issues related to language education and research in general.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to my participants and their families as well as the members of staff from the complementary school I investigated. I am also grateful to both mainstream schools that offered me access and that cannot be named for ethical reasons without which I could not have completed my research. Their support is unforgettable.

To my husband who has continuously believed in me. He is the one who has supported me financially and inspired me thanks to his life experience and generosity.

To my daughters, for having a positive attitude and seeking success in diversity, for coping with my high level of stress that was not always easy to handle and for showing me constant love and appreciation. To my sons-in-law who have always understood my challenges and were of great help in some technical issues I encountered. Finally, I would like to thank my mother who has been patient in this long journey.

## Abstract

Multicultural and multilingual education has expanded in scale and scope over the last thirty years, especially in the West. Despite the fact that inclusion is a keyword often heard in this part of the world, multilingual learners still face some issues that impede their home language maintenance. My thesis reports on an eight-month-ethnographic critical exploration of the beliefs, attitudes and practices of three multilingual families interacting mainly with members of their mainstream and complementary schools in the UK.

I conducted the research aiming at understanding my participants' home language experiences emically and etically. My parent's role and helper's role in the complementary school have contributed to the emic (internal) perspective on my data and my researcher's role to the etic (external) standpoint. This makes the study valuable as this type of research is not numerous. Based on a model of different theoretical frameworks such as a socio-cultural learning approach (focussing on interdependence of social and individual processes), family language policy and an ecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) consisting of concentric layers of interactions including state, cultures, mainstream and complementary schools as well as the home and wider community, the research presents three case studies reflecting the tensions and contradictions within and between homes, mainstream and complementary schools and state policy in regards to multilingualism that could impede home language maintenance.

At the macro level, I reviewed the government policy in England regarding multilingual learners. At the micro level, I organised interviews with mainstream school teachers,

multilingual children, a complementary school teacher and parents in their own residence supported by observation, field notes and diaries. An analysis of interviews with the pupils, parents and teachers during a full academic year showed the intricate relations between a range of social actors and the participants.

The research findings encompass anxiety among multilingual learners, insufficient training for teachers in EAL (English as an Additional language), the often low priority given to inclusion and government policies in regards to multilingual learners' linguistic and cultural background, all being obstacles to home language maintenance.

My study shows the importance of the links across the layers (divisions of society/see [Figure 2.1](#)) and also the complexity, leading to the conclusion that better understandings need to be developed.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Dedication</i> .....	<i>iii</i>
<i>Acknowledgments</i> .....	<i>v</i>
<i>Abstract</i> .....	<i>vii</i>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENTS</b> .....	<i>ix</i>
<i>List of Tables</i> .....	<i>xiv</i>
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	<i>xv</i>
<i>List of Abbreviations</i> .....	<i>xvi</i>
<i>Chapter 1: Introduction</i> .....	<i>1</i>
<i>Chapter 2: Background and Literature Review</i> .....	<i>6</i>
<b>2.1 Background of my Research</b> .....	<b>6</b>
2.1.1 Personal Background.....	6
2.1.2 Research Question.....	7
2.1.2.1 Aim of my Research.....	7
2.1.2.2 Key Terms: Beliefs, Attitudes, Practices, Multilingual Children, EAL (English as an Additional Language) and Different Schooling Contexts.....	8
2.1.2.3 Goal of the Research Question.....	13
2.1.3 Rationale of my Research.....	14
2.1.4 UK Setting: Historical Background and the State of Language Education Historical Context: Government, Mainstream and Complementary Schools in the UK.....	16
2.1.4.1 Government and Mainstream Schools.....	16
2.1.4.2 Government and Complementary Schools: Spaces to Accommodate Multilingual Pupils.....	17
2.1.5 Present Situation: in the UK in Regards to Monolingual and Multilingual Education Impact of Beliefs on Attitudes and Practices towards Multilingualism within UK Schools.....	19
2.1.5.1 The State’s Language Policy: the Monolingual Mind Set in Education: a Critical View.....	20
2.1.5.2 Multilingual Education in the UK.....	22
<b>2.2 Overview of the Literature</b> .....	<b>31</b>
2.2.1 Approaches in Relation to the Research Question.....	31
2.2.2 Theoretical Framework Used in my Study.....	35
2.2.2.1 An Ecological View on Language Maintenance.....	39
2.2.2.2 Multilingual Children’s Whole Language Repertoire and its Significance in an Educational Context.....	46

2.2.3	Social Forces (Beliefs, Attitudes and Practices) Impacting on Home Language Maintenance between and within a Variety of Settings. ....	48
2.2.4	Macro System:.....	49
2.2.4.1	Language Policy/ Language Ideology/Belief: Definition .....	49
2.2.4.2	Language Ideologies in the UK.....	49
2.2.5	Exosystem: Interactions between the Macro and the Micro .....	53
2.2.5.1	Indirect Impacts from the Macro System on Family Language Policy (FLP) .....	53
2.2.6	Meso System: Interactions between a Variety of Institutions and the Multilingual Child... ..	54
2.2.6.1	Multilingual Children in Relation to Teachers and Parents .....	56
2.2.6.2	Multilingual Pupils and Schools .....	57
2.2.6.3	Parents' Communication with Schools and Impacts: .....	61
2.2.6.4	Parents' Interaction with the Child and its Impact on Home Language Maintenance .....	63
2.2.7	Microsystem: Schools.....	64
2.2.7.1	Mainstream Schools: .....	64
2.2.7.2	Complementary Schools.....	68
2.2.7.3	Families in Relation to Multilingualism <i>Family Language Policy</i> .....	73
<b>2.3</b>	<b>Summary.....</b>	<b>76</b>
<i>Chapter 3 Methodology and Research Design .....</i>		<i>78</i>
<b>3.1</b>	<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>3.2</b>	<b>Methodology: .....</b>	<b>78</b>
3.2.1	Qualitative Research .....	78
3.2.2	Ethnography:.....	79
<b>3.3</b>	<b>Research Design: Case Study.....</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>3.4</b>	<b>Data Collection Process .....</b>	<b>84</b>
3.4.1	Introduction.....	84
3.4.2	Selection of Sites .....	98
3.4.2.1	Classroom: .....	98
3.4.2.2	Home .....	99
3.4.3	Selection of Tools .....	99
3.4.3.1	Document Review.....	99
3.4.3.2	Parents' Diaries.....	100
3.4.3.3	Observation .....	101
3.4.3.4	Interviews: Advantages and Disadvantages .....	102
<b>3.5</b>	<b>Data Analysis.....</b>	<b>105</b>
<b>3.6</b>	<b>Trustworthiness: Reliability and Validity .....</b>	<b>113</b>
<b>3.7</b>	<b>Ethical Concern.....</b>	<b>115</b>
3.7.1	The Informants .....	115
3.7.2	Ethical Review Form .....	116
3.7.3	Anonymity .....	116
3.7.4	Data Storage .....	117
<b>3.8</b>	<b>Researcher's Central Roles in an Ethnographic Study: Multiple Roles (Mother, Assistant and Researcher).....</b>	<b>117</b>
3.8.1	Limitations within the Research/Affordances Provided.....	118

3.8.2	Dilemmas/Reconciliations:.....	121
3.8.3	Challenges/Opportunities .....	122
<b>3.9</b>	<b>Summary.....</b>	<b>124</b>
	<i>Chapters 4 and 5.....</i>	<i>126</i>
	<i>Introduction to Chapter 4 and 5 .....</i>	<i>126</i>
	<i>Chapter 4 First Case Study: Dahlia .....</i>	<i>128</i>
<b>4.1</b>	<b>Introduction .....</b>	<b>128</b>
<b>4.2</b>	<b>The Microsystem .....</b>	<b>128</b>
4.2.1	Dahlia.....	128
4.2.1.1	A Brief Description .....	128
4.2.1.2	Dahlia’s General Attitude towards Learning from her Teacher’s and Parents’ Point of View .....	130
4.2.2	Dahlia’s Immediate Family: .....	130
4.2.2.1	The Father’s View on Multilingualism and Role in Dahlia’s Language Experience ....	132
4.2.2.2	Sisters’ Role in Dahlia’s Linguistic Experience .....	134
4.2.2.3	The Mother’s Role in Dahlia’s Home Language —Maintenance .....	135
4.2.2.4	Parents’ Practice: Common Ground in Relation to Multilingualism .....	136
4.2.2.5	Parents’ Divergence on the Child’s Upbringing .....	137
4.2.3	Her Mainstream School.....	138
4.2.3.1	The School Characteristics and Dahlia’s Teacher’s Standpoint of the School in Regards to Multilingual Education .....	138
4.2.3.2	The Mainstream Teacher’s Background .....	140
4.2.3.3	The Teacher’s Current Understanding of EAL Pupils .....	142
4.2.3.4	The Teacher’s Current Training in EAL.....	142
4.2.3.5	The School’s Practice .....	143
4.2.4	Her Complementary School .....	146
4.2.4.1	The Setting .....	146
4.2.4.2	The School’s Linguistic Practice .....	147
4.2.4.3	The Teacher’s Background.....	148
4.2.4.4	The Teacher’s Practice .....	148
4.2.5	The Mesosystem .....	150
4.2.5.1	Dahlia in Relation to her Parents/Siblings .....	150
4.2.5.2	Dahlia in Relation to her Mainstream Teacher and the Mainstream Teacher in Relation to Dahlia.....	151
4.2.5.3	Dahlia in Relation to her Peers .....	152
4.2.6	Mainstream School in Relation to Parents/Parents in Relation to Mainstream School.....	154
4.2.7	The Exo system.....	157
4.2.7.1	The Child and the Parent’s Work.....	157
4.2.7.2	The Child and the Extended Family .....	158
	<i>Chapter 5 Second Case Study: Oscar /Third Case Study: Gabriel .....</i>	<i>159</i>
<b>5.1</b>	<b>Introduction to the Second Case Study: Oscar .....</b>	<b>159</b>
5.1.1	The microsystem .....	159

5.1.1.1	Introducing Oscar .....	159
5.1.1.2	Personal Agency .....	160
5.1.1.3	Oscar's Immediate Family: .....	163
5.1.1.4	The Parents' Views on Multilingualism and Role in Oscar's Language Experience ...	164
5.1.1.5	The Mother's Attitude/Impact on Oscar's Home Language Maintenance.....	167
5.1.1.6	The Siblings' Role in Oscar's Home Language Maintenance .....	167
5.1.2	Mainstream and Complementary Schools .....	168
5.1.2.1	Mainstream School .....	168
5.1.2.2	Complementary School .....	169
5.1.3	The Meso System .....	170
5.1.3.1	Mainstream School in Relation to Parents/Parents in Relation to Mainstream School .....	170
5.1.3.2	The Parents in Relation to Oscar .....	171
5.1.3.3	Oscar and his Peers.....	172
5.1.4	The Exosystem:.....	172
5.1.4.1	Oscar's Extended Family/Family's Friends and Impact on the Home Culture.....	172
5.1.5	The Macro system .....	174
5.1.5.1	British Culture: Impact on the Home Culture .....	174
<b>5.2</b>	<b>Introduction to the Third Case Study: Gabriel .....</b>	<b>175</b>
5.2.1	The Micro System.....	176
5.2.1.1	Introducing Gabriel .....	176
5.2.1.2	Gabriel's Personal Agency .....	176
5.2.1.3	Gabriel's Immediate Family .....	179
5.2.1.4	Mainstream School: its Role in Gabriel's Home Language Maintenance .....	184
5.2.1.5	The Complementary School and its Role in Gabriel's Home Language Maintenance (see section 3.7.8) .....	186
5.2.2	The Mesosystem .....	187
5.2.2.1	Mainstream School in Relation to Parents/Parents in relation to Mainstream School... .....	187
5.2.2.2	Relationship between the Mainstream and Complementary Schools .....	189
5.2.2.3	The Complementary School and the Family .....	190
5.2.3	Summary .....	190
<i>Chapter 6 Synthesis of the Three Case Studies and Discussion .....</i>		<i>192</i>
<b>6.1</b>	<b>Introduction to the Synthesis and Discussion .....</b>	<b>192</b>
<b>6.2</b>	<b>Synthesis.....</b>	<b>193</b>
6.2.1	Research Process towards the Identification of Issues .....	193
6.2.2	Definition of the Analytical Themes and their Relationship.....	196
6.2.3	Summary of the Case Studies .....	199
<b>6.3</b>	<b>Discussion .....</b>	<b>202</b>
6.3.1	Highlighting the Issues.....	202
6.3.1.1	Families' Beliefs and Attitudes, Impact on the Three Multilingual Participants' Beliefs . .....	202
6.3.1.2	Children's Beliefs in Contradiction with their Attitudes and Practices.....	204
6.3.1.3	Families' Beliefs and Attitudes Impacting on their Practices.....	206
6.3.1.4	The Mainstream Institutions' Culture in Contradiction with School Curriculum: Impact on the Multilingual Pupils' Attitudes .....	207

6.3.1.5	The Societal Beliefs Shape the Main Institutions' Practices .....	210
6.3.1.6	The Parents and Teachers in Lack of a Clear Message to Support Multilingual Children Pupils .....	211
6.3.1.7	The Complementary French Teacher's Practice: Attempt to Open up Multilingual Spaces .....	212
6.3.1.8	The Home-School Practices: Attempts to Negotiate for Affordances .....	214
6.3.1.9	Contradictions between Mainstream School Teachers' Beliefs and Teachers' Attitudes .....	215
6.3.1.10	Teachers' Attitudes in Contradiction with their Practice .....	217
6.3.1.11	Home Practices and Home-School Relationship practices in opposition to the Family's Beliefs and Attitudes .....	219
<i>Chapter 7 Conclusion</i> .....		222
<b>7.1</b>	<b>Limitations of my Study</b> .....	<b>222</b>
<b>7.2</b>	<b>The Research Question: summary of what I did to approach it and how I addressed it</b> .....	<b>224</b>
7.2.1	Synthesis of the Literature Review and the Gap Identified .....	225
7.2.2	The Role of the Theories Used and my Contribution .....	227
7.2.3	Synthesis of my Research Design and Methodology.....	229
7.2.4	My Findings and the Research Question .....	229
<b>7.3</b>	<b>Synthesis of Findings/Implications for Pedagogy and Policy</b> .....	<b>231</b>
7.3.1	Synthesis of Findings .....	231
7.3.2	Implications for Pedagogy/Policy .....	235
<i>Bibliography</i> .....		2466
<i>Appendices</i> .....		262

## List of Tables

<b><u>Table 3.1:</u></b> Letter from the French complementary school addressed to the eventual participants' parents -----	86
<b><u>Table 3.2:</u></b> List of eventual participants and their parents-----	87
<b><u>Table 3.3:</u></b> Table Summarising Information about the Final Analysed Three Cases----	90
<b><u>Table 3.4:</u></b> One Example of a Transcription Table (Preliminary Phase) -----	97
<b><u>Table 3.5:</u></b> Number of interviews, observations, field notes and diaries-----	105

## List of Figures

<b><u>Figure 2.1:</u></b> Circles of Influence in Multilingual Children’s Home	
Language Maintenance-----	42
<b><u>Figure 6.1:</u></b> Research Process towards the Identification of Issues-----	194
<b><u>Figure 6.2:</u></b> Diagram Used in the Three Case Studies to Extract the Issues-----	198

## List of Abbreviations

- BBC:** British Broadcasting Corporation
- BFLA:** Bilingual First Language Acquisition
- CM1:** Cours Moyen 1 (equivalent to Year Four)
- CPD:** Continuing Professional Development
- DCSF:** Department for Children, Schools and Families
- DES:** Department of Education and Skills
- DfE:** Department for Education
- DfES:** Department for Education and Skills
- EAL:** English as an Additional Language
- ECC:** European Communities Council
- EEC:** European Economic Community
- EMAG:** Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant
- ESL:** English as Second Language
- FLP:** Family Language Policy
- HMI:** Her Majesty's Inspectors
- ITE:** Initial Teacher Education
- L2:** Second Language
- LA:** Local Authorities
- MFL:** Modern Foreign Language
- MKO:** More Knowledgeable Other
- MP:** Member of Parliament
- MOTET:** The Mother Tongue and English Teaching (Project)
- MT:** Mother Tongue
- NALDIC:** National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (UK)
- NLS:** National Literacy Strategy
- PGCE:** Postgraduate Certificate in Education
- PTA:** Parent Teacher Association

**SEN:** Special Educational Needs

**SENCO:** Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator

**TL:** Target Language

**UAE:** United Arab Emirates

**UK:** United Kingdom

**US:** United States

**UNESCO:** The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

**ZPD:** Zone of Proximal Development

## Chapter 1: Introduction

The global world results in numerous movements of families who often learn languages at home different from the societal language. These children have to learn a new language as soon as they enter schools in order to achieve academically and socially. Most of the time, they attend a mainstream school with home language hardly represented in their school. The situation is controversial; on the one hand, schools in Europe and North America are proud to promote diversity and on the other hand, educational policies and practices often portray the status quo in regards to multilingual learners as a problem and educators seldom see their multilingual pupils' home language as a resource for the host country (Cummins, 2001). In "monolingualising" (Heller, 1995: 374) societies such as Britain, the United States, Australia, France, it is common for these children to lose their home language in the second or third generation (Fishman, 1966). Therefore, numerous parents from ethnic minorities have taken initiatives in order to overcome the loss of their home language and support the learning of an additional language. Often, the home language is not taught formally and language policies devalue the minority children's "funds of knowledge" (Gonzales et al., 2005) even if researchers such as Cummins support the idea that educating children in their home language is surely the most advantageous way of maximising their potential. UNESCO (2000) asserts that minority pupils' low academic achievement and early school leaving are partly due to these language policies.

There is a real issue in the field of language education that needs to be addressed. The struggle families face in preserving their languages, the confusion experienced by teachers and the misunderstanding policy makers encounter are worth investigating in order to illuminate the complexity of the issues. While searching for a gap in the

literature of language education and multilingualism in a “monolingualising” society, I pinpointed that a variety of social forces impacted on multilingual learners’ home language maintenance. I have been interested in exploring what exactly motivates or discourages French/English speakers to retain the language they speak at home in the Yorkshire, UK. It is the scarcity of research on the multilingual children’s home language experience in the UK at home, schools and in the wider community that inspired me to pursue this study.

In order to understand the multi-linguals’ language status quo, I planned to investigate the home language experience of some multilingual families starting at the complementary school where all my participants share the same premises. I also decided to explore my participants’ learning experience in their individual mainstream school as well as in their own house. My study shows some strength thanks to the access I benefitted as a mother researcher and the daily contact I gained with one of my participants. The literature review (section 2.2) indicates that several contemporary researchers have concentrated on similar themes themselves interested in the importance of the complementary schools, the language ideology and its impact on multilingual children or the mainstream teachers’ attitude towards multilingualism and their practice as well as the teachers’ training opportunity that could make a difference in the home language maintenance of these children. For example, Borrero and Yeh (2010) researched on multilingual learners and the target language learning, Dixon and Wu (2014) examined some multilingual families’ home language practice; my research complements these studies by focusing on the home language experience at home, in complementary and mainstream schools and the influence of the National Language Policy on these different institutions. Other researchers have examined each layer of the

ecology of learning without including all factors acting and reacting between and within these layers. For example, Blackledge (2000) focused on language ideology, Paez (2009) on language proficiency, Garcia and Cuellar (2006) on socio-economic characteristics, Rumberger and Tran (2008) on academic achievement, Conteh (2007b) on multilingual teachers and EAL learners, Day (2002) on teachers' attitude towards multilingual learners and multilingual learners' attitude in class, Barradas (2007) on complementary schools for Portuguese pupils, Chen (2007) on the academic success of Chinese minority pupils and Creese et al. (2006) on multilingual learners' (with Gujarati as the home language) and teachers' identity positioning. My research encompasses several identical concerns (complementary school, academic outcome, socio-economic category, mainstream school and home) with the difference of language background, place of the participants' residence and the multifaceted settings of investigation.

I drew on ethnographic methodology (see Chapter Three) as it allowed me to acquire knowledge of the participants' home language experience in different settings. The comprehensive and abundant data offered me sufficient details in order to capture intricate information that was not always visible at the first sight. I had a privileged position as I was known by the complementary schools' staff, the pupils and their parents before starting the research; thus, the trust issue was not raised in this study.

In summary of the case studies (Chapters Four and Five), my research describes and analyses in details what facilitated the participants' home language maintenance and what impeded it.

In the discussion (Chapter Six), I talked about ten points drawing out similarities and differences across the three case studies. I emphasised the tensions in and within the ecological layers (see figure 2.1 section 2.2.2 Theoretical Framework Used in my Study)

because these contradictions seemed to be the factors that hindered home language maintenance and thus answered my research question.

Finally, the thesis outlines the process of research from my background that motivated me to start investigating about multilingual children in the UK to the discussion of my findings via the detailed experiences of three multilingual families and the maintenance of their home language.

Based on my background and daily experience of multilingualism in the UK, I decided to approach the following research question:

*How do families and different schooling contexts shape young children's beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism?*

I believe that the methodology, the field under investigation, and the relationships I have developed with the participants and their surroundings over the years provided a good opportunity to address my research question.

Throughout the study, I made reference to the term EAL (English as an Additional Language) in relation to the multilingual children in the UK. I am aware that EAL is a highly contested category and that labelling of children can damage young people's prospects. I must say that EAL has not emerged as an interpretive category from my data but was rather introduced by me due to the fact that through my discussion with parents and teachers as well as by references to my own experience as a parent of a multilingual child, the term EAL was often used in schools with an unclear understanding of what it actually meant and how it was really mediated in policy and practice. I drew upon this classification because it was part of the discourse around multilingualism which, in my point of view, has a significant implication for the

children's experiences in schools. This has been noticed and referred in the literature (see 2.1.5.2) and I retained it in my study as an issue that needs further understanding and research in comprehending multilingual experiences in a monolingual society.

My thesis consists of the introduction of the study and six other chapters in line with the University of Leeds thesis format regulations. The second chapter presents the background of my research, an overview of the literature in relation to the variety of approaches researchers resorted to tackle the issues of multilingual learners in "monolingualising" contexts and the possible social forces impacting on home language maintenance between and within a number of settings. The third chapter deals with the way I conducted my ethnographic investigation. In Chapter Four and Five, I present my three case studies. In the sixth chapter, I synthesise the three case studies and discuss how the analytical themes that emerged from the data are linked and how they illuminate the three participants' home language maintenance experience. Finally, in the last chapter, I conclude that the theoretical framework has contributed to the understanding of my data and that data analysis has offered a new framework that add further clarification on multilingual education in "monolingualising" (Heller: 1995: 374) system. I end my thesis suggesting some implications of my findings for policy makers, teachers and families who are committed to language preservation.

## **Chapter 2: Background and Literature Review**

### **2.1 Background of my Research**

#### **2.1.1 Personal Background**

As a French native speaker married to an Iraqi national living in the United Kingdom (UK) and United Arab Emirates (UAE), I have had to deal with both multilingual and multicultural environments. My interest in multilingualism has been reinforced from the first day I became a mother. I knew I would have to take up the challenge of teaching my language to my children in an environment where French was almost non-existent.

At present, my children are twenty-five, twenty three, twenty-two and ten years old. They speak and write in Arabic, French and English at different levels. This repertoire on which they draw during their school years has been somehow burdensome for both parents and children, either because of lack of resources or little exposure. However, the language acquisition took place mainly in the UAE for the first three children and in the UK for the fourth one. The first three children were able to switch from English to French to Arabic easily without the slightest problem of identity. In their heads, it was clear that they were half French and half Iraqi. They have never hidden either of their nationalities. In fact, they used to speak Arabic to an Arab speaker, French to a French speaker and English to an English speaker, depending on the environments in which they were. When my third daughter was six years old, she attended a French school in France for a month in Year 1. The teacher commented that she was quiet but could follow up the activities in the classroom. At the end of the month, the teacher said literally: “if all the children were like her, I would teach on Sundays”. In fact, after a month of observation, when she had found her place, she started helping others. By contrast, my fourth daughter moved to the United Kingdom when she was two years

old. She started attending pre-school by the age of 2:5; now she is ten and she has insisted that I speak French to her most of the time. She is also keen on knowing her second language which is Arabic.

As a mother, I have always been puzzled with the idea of multilingualism in a monolingual setting since when we moved to the United Kingdom. My children would often say that they know three languages but they do not fully master one of them as if it was problematic. My late multilingualism has made me reflect on the reason why on the one hand, positive comments on multilingual people are commonly heard and on the other hand supporting multilingual children in monolingualising context is a challenge for pupils, parents and teachers; moreover, there is a discourse that can be often captured whether it is at national level (political speeches) or at local level (at school) that associates multilingual pupils as a problem for educators (Agirdad, 2010). This personal experience has motivated me to illuminate my understanding with a thorough research on multilingual children and explore several families' linguistic and cultural experiences (as explained in the rationale of my research question/section 2.1.3).

In the next section, I will clarify what I aim to study in more detail.

## **2.1.2 Research Question**

### **2.1.2.1 Aim of my Research**

My aim is to develop an understanding of young nine to ten year-old multilingual children attending mainstream and complementary schools in the north of England. Here I will deal with learning two world languages, English and French as languages of instruction with two different rates of exposure. My focus is mainly on the French complementary school in which I selected a class of seven nine to ten year-old boys and

girls. Some children have experienced consistent exposure to mainly two languages that contribute to their language acquisition. Others have limited exposure or face negative forces that impede their home language preservation. My case studies attempt to describe the social forces that affect my multilingual informants as they learn formally in a monolingual schooling system as well as informally at home and in the complementary schools.

Based on this aim, my research intends to answer the following question:

- ***Research Question:***

*How do multilingual families and **different schooling contexts** shape young **children's beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism?***

Here I will define the theoretical concepts that underpin my research question.

#### **2.1.2.2 Key Terms: Beliefs, Attitudes, Practices, Multilingual Children, EAL (English as an Additional Language) and Different Schooling Contexts**

In this section, I intend to define the key terms that should clarify my research question.

The notion of “**beliefs**” (ideology) seems to be crucial in this study as it affects every informant’s language attitudes and practices and thus determines whether a family (microsystem: see section 2.2.7) could remain multilingual despite social, political and cultural pressure (macrosystem) (see section 2.2.4 for the definition of ideology). Likewise, it is necessary to define the key word “**attitudes**” because of its influential aspect as well as the term “practices”. Choi justifies the importance of this definition by stating that “attitudes have a decisive influence on processes of linguistic variation and change, language planning and the maintenance or loss of languages in a community”

(2003: 82). I would borrow Choi's definition of "linguistic attitude" as it provides a clear explanation of the way I understand it. It is:

An individual or collective expression towards language and any issues related to language. It is the act of responding to certain aspects of language, linguistic ideologies and linguistic use (2003:82)

As for "*language practices*", I rely on Spolsky's definition:

The habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire, its language beliefs and ideology-the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management. (2004: 5)

Language practices can include reading, storytelling and interactions in schools or any other educational settings in a specific language or in a mixture of languages.

After defining "beliefs", "attitudes" and "practices", three themes that play an important place in determining home language maintenance, I have decided to give some details about what I mean by multilingual children as they are at the core of this study. Moreover, I will go further by explaining what I mean by EAL since multilingual children are often categorised as EAL in mainstream schools. This is important due to the fact that the way educators perceive children influence their own beliefs and attitudes.

- By *Child*, I mean:

A young person who is not a static entity shaped by powerful social forces but is a dynamic participant who reasons and is motivated in a particular way in any given social environment which means that the individual cannot be tagged because he or she evolves and show different sides of himself or herself all the time. He or she can be a

leader in some domains and subordinates or followers in other areas. The child can only be observed, interviewed, understood, given the space and opportunity to be empowered for home language maintenance to take place because the multilingual child like any other child has an agency that keeps evolving according to specific situations, places and time. Norton (2011, 173) talks about “struggles over language, identity, and power”. Foucault (1980) elaborates the idea of relationship between knowledge and power in particular the ways power acts in “subtle and often invisible” (Norton, 2011: 175) fashion. Foucault sees in power a way to naturalise “events and practices in ways that come to be seen as “normal” to members of a community” (Norton, 2011:175).

In the next point, I will define and discuss the meaning of “multilingual children” as they are key individuals in this study.

- By “*Multilingual Children*”, I mean:

“Multilingual” (I deliberately choose the term “multilingual” instead of “bilingual” as I have participants who speak more than two languages; in fact, the term can also refer to two or more languages) is a word that is highly problematic to define since multilingual children are of so many types and thus are difficult to assess. In 1999, Her Majesty’s Inspectors (HMI) agreed on the terms “multilingual learners” describing them as follows:

“Multilingual” refers to children who are in regular contact with more than one language for the purposes of daily living. Their competence may be in one or all of the four skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing) in either or both languages and is likely to be at varying levels. “Multilingual” or “developing multilingual” are descriptors which encompass a wide range of starting points and levels of proficiency. “English as a second language” (ESL) and “English as an Additional Language” (EAL) are terms which refer to only one aspect of an individual’s language repertoire. For most pupils, English will quickly become their main language for education,

career and life chances, but their first and community language will remain a crucial dimension of their social and cultural identity (OFSTED, 1999).

As a matter of fact, my thesis is not about children who are fluent speakers and writers of different languages, but of children who use different languages for different purposes in their daily lives. This definition may be satisfactory for the majority of educators as it encompasses all pupils who are exposed to two or more languages on a regular basis although it is not reflective of the understandings and conditions in schools generally. Franson (2011, 2) on NALDIC website illustrates the complexity of defining the key words stating that “it may be that [the child] uses [his] or her first or home language for domestic and familial purposes and that English is [his] or her preferred language for communication outside home”. It could be that the child speaks one language to his or her mother and another language to his or her father and one of the home languages used in the mainstream school and the other used in the complementary school. Moreover, classification could be done in terms of competence, “a multilingual may have a high level of proficiency in both languages or may have only limited proficiency in one and be far more proficient in the other” (Franson, 2011: 2). But is the classification that really matters or is it the way educators view multilingual learners and thus adapt to each individual’s language needs (as the needs vary from one pupil to another and from one period of time to another) that matters mostly? In this study, I am not interested in researching on some multilingual pupils’ performance in French, but rather on participants and actors’ beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism because interactions among actors around and with participants influence one another’s beliefs, attitudes and thus practices. These complex layers of impact on multilingual children are partly the factors involved in home language maintenance or shift.

In the next point, I will define the meaning of “English as an Additional Language” pupil because my participants will be categorised as EAL in their mainstream school since they are multilingual.

- By “*EAL pupil*”, I mean:

I adopted the EAL (English as an Additional language) term to indicate to my readers how my participants are perceived in mainstream schools. Hall defines him/her in the following way:

[P]upils 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 are competent and literate in both languages (2001:5).

EAL is an acronym that started to be used officially in the UK in 2001 within the NLS (National Literacy Strategy) documents. Before this time, multilingual learners were initially called ESL (English as a Second Language) learners and mentioned in official documents such as Bullock Report (DES:1975) focusing on the benefits of multilingualism for multilingual individuals and the community (DES, 1975: 293-294). In 1985, another report minimised the role of multilingualism in the classroom although the main aim of this initiative was to promote “equal opportunities” (Swann Report: DES, 1985).

Conteh (2015) emphasises the irrelevance of diversity in mainstream schools demonstrating that CPD (Continuing Professional Development) and ITE (Initial Teacher Education) hardly include multilingual matters and that the deficit model of language diversity is still present at the moment. Moreover, the many model policies for EAL show that each school has its own definition of “EAL learner”. This variety of meanings may be an issue of confusion for educational stakeholders.

After defining the key terms and concepts of the research question, I will explain briefly the whole meaning of the research question.

### **2.1.2.3 Goal of the Research Question**

The multilingual learners are nowadays diverse in the UK; therefore, more and more educational stakeholders may need guidance to apply the policy “Every Child Matters” DfES (2003) as it has become a challenge for them to teach these pupils. Given the fact that researchers such as Cummins have shown the importance of the home language in children’s educational achievement, my research question deals with a variety of social actors from home, schools and the wider community that fosters or impedes multilingual learners’ home language retention in a region where English is the dominant language.

In the UK, the multilingual children attend monolingual schools in which English is the medium of instruction. In addition to English, a foreign language is taught as a subject from Year Three “but bilingualism<sup>1</sup> is not fostered in the curriculum” Baker (2011: 173). Parents who are keen on maintaining their culture and language send their multilingual children to a complementary school at the week-end or after school during the week as the British state claims through an 800-page government report (Education for All, also called the “Swann Report” of 1985) “that linguistic and cultural maintenance was beyond the remit of mainstream education and would be best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves” (DES, 1985:406). However, in 2005, the then Secretary of State for Education and Skills, Ruth Kelly, sets out in a Government White Paper (2005: 7) her vision for improving the education system. She

---

<sup>1</sup> Here the quote includes “bilingualism”; however, for the sake of consistency, I have drawn on multilingualism in the whole research (even when it meant bilingualism). See section 2.1.2 for a working definition.

admits that the system must “tailor education around the needs of each individual child- so that no child falls behind and no child is held back from achieving their potential”. If this is a concern of the British education system, one must ask whether the 650, 000 (18.3 %) primary school pupils’ linguistic needs from state-funded schools [linguistic and social needs] that have a home language other than English are catered for (NALDIC, 2014).

In the next section, I will explain the reasons why investigating on French/English pupils in the United Kingdom is important for educational stakeholders and the pupils themselves.

### **2.1.3 Rationale of my Research**

As seen in section 2.1.1, my own experience has led me to ponder over children with more than one language in a country where English is dominant. Classroom observations and one interview with a French mother (see Appendicesx One: Trial Methodology) elicited some questions regarding reasons why multilingual learners might have little chance to maintain part of their languages as well as the consequences this situation might entail. Some researchers such as Wong-Fillmore (1991) or Fishman (1994) state that children can be negatively affected when losing their native language.

Wong-Fillmore wrote:

Losing a native language affects the social, emotional, cognitive and educational development of language minority children as well as the integrity of their families and the society they live in (1991: 342).

When the environment is not encouraging multilingual learners to maintain their languages, it also means that they are losing their culture as language is part of culture, thus losing their “greetings, curses, praises, laws, literature, songs, riddles, proverbs,

cures, wisdoms and prayers” (Fishman, 1994:72). At this stage, it may be important to define the term culture as it is a key word in this research. Even if “culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English Language” (Williams, 1983: 87), one has to opt for a working definition that could suit the purpose of one’s study; among a series of definitions, I have decided to use Riley’s definition:

Culture is knowledge, in the widest possible sense, including the traditions and history of the group, its common sense, beliefs, values, attitudes and language (2007: 36).

The reference to culture, here, denotes the values of independence, personal freedom, duties and rights, educated or non-educated parents, equality between male and female, optimism or pessimism about the future, marriage and kinship forms, value of opportunities, risk taking, religious life, artistic development and many more features as culture is unlimited.

Here, in this study, “culture” will refer not only to the wider community but also to a smaller group such as the family or the classroom as they have their own culture with their own standards of living with a system of beliefs and values that could be slightly or completely different from the wider world around.

Therefore, what remains of this individual if his or her culture is not explored in the classroom? -A self who has been deprived. Not only the individual will show some “social, emotional, cognitive and educational development” issues, but also his or her relationship with the family and community will be affected. Therefore, such a perspective poses major problems to individuals, schools, homes and society as a whole.

In order to comprehend the multilingual children's challenges in regards to multilingual education. I will briefly map out existing knowledge of the field of EAL in relation to beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism.

#### **2.1.4 UK Setting: Historical Background and the State of Language Education Historical Context: Government, Mainstream and Complementary Schools in the UK**

##### **2.1.4.1 Government and Mainstream Schools**

Until 1999, no policy document was supporting the EAL (English as an Additional Language, see section 2.1.5.2) pupils in the National Literacy Strategy file. It is only in 1999 that EAL and SEN (Special Educational Needs) received some consideration (Conteh et al., 2007a). The fact that these two labels were associated stressed the deficit view of multilingualism (Conteh et al., 2007a). From 1999 and onwards, new reports and initiatives in regards to multilingual pupils (Excellence and Enjoyment: A Strategy for Primary Schools (DfES, 2003), Every Child Matters (DfES, 2003), the Aiming High initiative regarding the support of EAL pupils) took place and funding provision was arranged in order to help this category of pupils improve in mainstream schools. However, the document was part of a separate-package not included in the National Curriculum. These publications were accompanied by official discourses emphasising the marginal status of this group of pupils (Conteh et al., 2007a).

As the number of multilingual pupils has increased in the UK, understanding the government and schools' beliefs and attitudes when dealing with pedagogical issues pertaining to EAL pupils in a 'monolingualising' (Heller, 1995: 374) society is significant. Moreover, exploring teachers' personal beliefs towards multilingualism can highlight the multilingual pupils' status quo in relation to their linguistic situation and academic achievement. Do they support a multilingual culture or do they dismiss it?

Authors such as Aronin reviewed Lasagabaster and Huguet's (2007) work on the would-be teachers claiming that:

This is significant since not only language attitudes of the new generation of educators are important in themselves but also the influence of the teachers on their pupils' attitudes to language determines the future sociolinguistic situation and education to a large extent (2008: 292).

De Angelis states that:

[T]eachers may choose to encourage or discourage the use and/or maintenance of the home language on the basis of personal beliefs, individual interests or personal experience, and the advice they offer will inevitably influence parents' decisions and contribute to supporting or hindering the spread of multilingualism in the school context (2011: 217).

As seen here, the mainstream school teachers may have a significant impact as they spend much time with their pupils and they have pedagogical power inside their classroom. In addition, other educational centres such as complementary schools, may contribute also to the linguistic repertoire of multilingual pupils when parents value their home language and believe that these particular schools put the emphasis on home language and cultural knowledge.

#### **2.1.4.2 Government and Complementary Schools: Spaces to Accommodate Multilingual Pupils**

Even though complementary schools have existed for a long time in the UK, they have become more present since the 1960s due to increased immigration and motivation to maintain home languages and cultures. The existence of around 3,000 complementary schools across the UK shows the significant organisations providing communities with linguistic, social and cultural needs (Nwulu: 2015). These schools are truly complementary as they take place during the weekend or after school. Researchers such

as Wei (2006) have emphasised the fact that the UK government has often overlooked the importance of these after school classes. Moreover, even in case of success (the Chinese community schools), politicians (for example, Margaret Thatcher) drew on their success to confirm that this type of complementary education had to be continued separately from the mainstream school.

Wei (2006) emphasised that this area of education has not been much investigated although recently, researchers such as Wei (2011), Creese (2009), Çise Çavuşoğlu (2013), Blackledge and Creese (2010), Barradas (2007), Chen (2007), Conteh (2015), Gregory and Kenner (2013), Martin et al. (2004) have shown the importance of complementary schools in the multilingual children's education. I hope my study will fill a gap in investigating the multilingual child's perspective and all the crucial actors interacting with him or her directly or indirectly taking into consideration the complementary school as the nexus of the study (see section 3.4.1). Wei advances in his 2006 article that further research is needed:

Attitudes by the teachers, governors or sponsors of the schools, and the parents and families towards the relationship between complementary schools and mainstream schools also require in-depth investigation. Similarly, we need to know more about mainstream school teachers' awareness of and attitudes towards the policies and practices of complementary schools. (2006: 81-82)

These complementary, supplementary, community or 'after hours' schools often work with no connection to the rest of the educational system.

In my study, I consistently draw on "complementary" schools to refer to the Saturday schools; I chose this term because I perceived them complementary to the mainstream schools.

After raising some important concepts in relation to educational settings (mainstream and complementary schools) in which actors of different beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism interact with one another and influence mutually multilingual children, I will now turn to the ideological underpinnings for language education and talk about monolingual education v multilingual education as it is perceived currently in the United Kingdom, because this represents the beliefs and attitudes of a significant body defining the trend in national education specially when it forms the base of present controversial debates that contextualise the position of our multilingual pupils in educational settings. I will, therefore, present the monolingual mind set, a fundamental issue of interest for academics and language advocates, which is according to Clyne:

[T]he greatest impediment to recognizing, valuing and utilizing our language potential [...]. Such a mindset sees everything in terms of monolingualism being the norm, even though there are more bi- and multilinguals in the world than monolinguals (2005: xi).

It is an important concept to take into consideration in my study as it influences educational stakeholders as for their way of implementing the curriculum and determining current teaching methodologies.

### **2.1.5 Present Situation: in the UK in Regards to Monolingual and Multilingual Education Impact of Beliefs on Attitudes and Practices towards Multilingualism within UK Schools**

In this section, I will present the country's current language policy in regards to multilingual pupils' schooling reflecting the country's language ideology as it can shape pupils' identity. I will also discuss the place of the participants' home language in schools.

### **2.1.5.1 The State's Language Policy: the Monolingual Mind Set in Education: a Critical View**

Language policy is a means for governments and educational agencies to plan and arrange the linguistic situation of a place. Because language policy has significant consequences on multilingual individuals educationally, culturally, economically and socially, I decided to dedicate a great part of my literature review to this field.

In the UK, teaching languages followed the monolingual principle that consists of the exclusive use of target language as a means of instruction; it was thought that pupils would learn better if they conceived of languages as separate subjects (Howatt, 1984).

The monolingual principle has become the norm because policy makers are concerned that pupils must have a maximum exposure to the target language. In practice, pupils' home language(s) may be valued by the mainstream class teacher who may claim how important it is to be able to speak several languages, but he or she hardly ever refers to them.

This monolingual principle in teaching limits the opportunity for the multilingual pupil to value his or her background and thus inhibit the maintenance of the home language especially owing to the fact that the school practices represent a powerful site to raise children's potential. Lee and Oxelson (2006: 463) state that "educators are potentially in a strong position to promote a society that respects, embraces and affirms diversity"; the schools' practices limit the multilingual children's home language maintenance potential as they do not see a role for themselves. The mainstream schools do not show any practical signs that could contribute to the multilingual capital of classrooms. In Modern Foreign Language classes, researchers have called for a change in teaching principles, stating that the mother tongue is "the most important ally a foreign language

can have” (Butzkamm & Caldwell, 2009:24). These researchers think that separating language in pedagogy is in contradiction with the interdependent nature of the home language and the school language. Building a wall between the two languages does not reflect the natural tendency of language users who compare and differentiate between the languages they have acquired. Cummins states that:

[L]earning efficiencies can be achieved if teachers explicitly draw students’ attention to similarities and differences between their languages and reinforce effective learning strategies in a coordinated way across languages (2007: 233).

Cook (2001) also argues that there is no cogent theoretical rationale that supports the monolingual principle. Cook believes that learning another language is not adding another separate system of signs to the first language. Cook states:

[L]earning a L2 is not just the adding of rooms to your house by building an extension at the back: it is the rebuilding of all internal walls. Trying to put languages in a separate compartment in the mind is doomed to failure since the compartments are connected in many ways (2001: 407).

Macaro (2009: 49) recognises that if multilingual pupils are deprived of their home language in their schooling environment, then, “the cognitive and metacognitive opportunities to learners [will be reduced]”. This being apart from the fact that avoiding the home language in mainstream classrooms does not only reduce opportunities to learn, but also impedes the pupils’ multilingual potential. He<sup>2</sup> observes that:

Such classroom practices [that follows the monolingual principle], which disregard the established interdependent nature of MT [Mother Tongue] and TL[Target Language] and L2 learners’ cognitive and linguistic maturity developed in MT instruction, are not only de-motivating learners, but also detrimental to the achievement of [multi]lingual literacy in learners (2012:3).

---

<sup>2</sup> ‘He’ in this refers to the surname of An. E. He and is not a personal pronoun.

In the next paragraph, I will present the current situation of multilingual education in the UK. Is the UK experiencing a pedagogical shift from the monolingual principle to multilingual tenet? Or is the monolingual principle still an important concept of the British education?

### **2.1.5.2 Multilingual Education in the UK**

The multilingual education question is significant as it has been debated much in many industrialised countries (Australia, Canada, some European countries and USA), as they experience a state of globalisation and immigration. Firstly, I will define what multilingual education means. Secondly, I will talk about the place of the French language in the UK, as it constitutes one of the home languages of the participants of my study. Thirdly, I will present different categories of multilingualism and the British government's stance on this matter. Finally, I will shed light on the concept of local, national and international dimensions in relation to multilingual pupils.

- **Definition:**

Multilingual education which is “an umbrella term [covering] a wide spectrum of practice and policy” is here defined by Baker in general terms:

At the outset, a distinction needs making between education that uses and promotes two languages and education for language minority children. This is a difference between a classroom where formal instruction is to foster [multilingualism] [...] and a classroom where [multilingual] [...] children are present, but [multilingualism] [...] is not fostered in the curriculum. The umbrella term, [multilingual] [...] education refers to both situations leaving the term ambiguous and imprecise (2011: 207).

In the UK, in most of the mainstream primary schools, mentioning multilingual education means offering classes in English only to monolingual and multilingual

pupils, with Modern Foreign Languages taught as non-statutory subjects. It is a case of educating multilingual pupils rather than drawing on multilingual education. The “language minority children” refers to:

[P]eople who speak a language other than English, whether or not they also speak English, and/or they may have grown up, or lived in, an environment where a non-English language was present and influential (whether they were born in [...] [England], or because they were born and raised in a different country). [...]. Often, there is also an ethnic dimension to these groups where language helps define identity. They are referred to as "minorities" not only because they are not a numerical majority in the nation (although they may be at more local levels), but also because they often wield little influence or power within the country. (Macias,2001:par.2)

In this thesis, language minority children will mainly be called multilingual pupils who often experience typical submersion and transitional models (Wardman, 2012). Although the English educational system deals with an increasing number of multilingual pupils (see section 2.1.2), multilingualism is not fostered in the curriculum.

The definition does not only explain the meaning of multilingual children (language minority children) but also adds an important concept, the ethnic dimension which means that these children belong to a “minority” group who has little influence within the country because they are not part of the majority group.

Despite the fact that multilingual children are often seen as members of the minority group and thus their home language is hardly promoted, the French/English children seem to benefit from the fact that their home language or one of their home languages has a high status in educational settings. Here, I intend to describe the place of the French language in mainstream primary schools.

- **French as a Second/Foreign Language in the UK and the Multilingual Child**

The French language is seen as a school subject as it is often taught as a Modern Foreign Language (MFL) in most mainstream schools in the UK, thus giving it a high status.

Traditionally, schools in this country have taught French, with German and increasingly Spanish as alternatives of second foreign languages (Tinsley and Board, 2013).

In fact, at Key Stage 2, MFL classes supply a variety of language skills such as speaking, listening, reading and writing which forms the foundations for further teaching in higher stages. The target is to enable the pupil to have practical communication with a range of audiences, using their grammatical, phonological and lexical knowledge learnt at this stage. Pupils have opportunity to learn the phonological patterns of the language studied through songs and rhymes; they are also taught the similarities and differences between English and the foreign language under study (DfE, 2013). Consequently, French lessons are designed for pupils who have no French background, are embedded within the English educational system and generally have one French period once a week. In other words, the lesson may arguably not be appropriate for multilingual children who are exposed to French on a daily basis. Despite this, its prestigious place plays a positive role in French home language maintenance (He<sup>3</sup>, 2010:76). Researchers such as Boix-Fuster and Paradis (2015: 169) confirm that “the use of a language in prestigious domains may give it also prestige in

---

<sup>3</sup> ‘He’ in this refers to the surname of Agnes Welyun He.

the private family domains”. Thus, the supportive relationship between one domain and another is significant in the preservation of the home language.

After talking about the place of the French language in the mainstream schools, I will elaborate on the types of EAL pupils and their home language in the UK.

- **EAL Pupils and their First Language in the UK**

A recent document published by the British Council claims that:

The most common first languages spoken by EAL learners include Polish, Punjabi, Urdu, Bengali, Gujarati, Arabic, French, Mandarin Chinese, Portuguese, Spanish and Tamil (Drummond, 2014: online source).

This list of languages indicates that UK mainstream classrooms are representative of diversity or even “super-diversity” (Vertovec, 2007) illustrating a wide variety of sociocultural backgrounds. This is another reason showing that my study is significant in such a diverse world.

After pinpointing the place of the French language in the British education system in primary schools and the importance of its position in relation to French/English pupils’ French language maintenance, I will clarify the concept of multilingualism and its benefits.

- **Conceptualising Multilingualism**

According to the threshold hypothesis, a description that helps understanding the development of multilingual children, being or becoming multilingual is beneficial for learning and teaching when multilingualism is “additive” (see Lambert, 1984: 19) a type of [multi]lingualism in which “children can add one or more foreign languages to

their accumulating skills and profit immensely from the experience-cognitively, socially, educationally, even economically” whereas it could be detrimental when it is “subtractive” that is to say a type of multilingualism within which children are “forced to put aside or subtract out their ethnic languages for a more necessary, useful, and prestigious national language”. Furthermore, this hypothesis advocates that the home and target language should be offered the space to be experienced if the multilingual child envisages a long-term positive effect. Whether a multilingual person falls in one category rather than another is the responsibility of any educators who need to identify the various factors that allow inclusion of every member of the classroom in order to improve the educational domain. As a matter of fact, this is the reason why multilingual education was initially instigated; thus, it could establish political, social, economic and educational justices (Akkari, 1998). Is it being implemented?

In order to clarify the national climate on multilingual education in the UK, I will state the position of the British government as for the place of multilingual pupils’ language skills and culture in the mainstream primary schools.

- **The British Government’s Standpoint on Multilingual Children’s Cultural Background in the British Educational System**

Although the Commission of European Communities have recommended to teach “in schools through the medium of more than one language” (Marsh, 2002:51) in order to benefit from multilingual situations, the British government’s message means that they are ready to pay lip service to multilingualism (Safford and Drury, 2013); however, they are not prepared to support or promote it (see section 2.2.4 below)

Nevertheless, primary and secondary schools in the UK have to cater for those children whose first language is not English. In fact, an important document ‘The importance of teaching’ in the new teachers’ standards for all qualified teachers in England applied from September 2012 stipulates that every teacher must:

[A]dapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils. [They must] have a clear understanding of the needs of all pupils, including those with special educational needs; those of high ability; those with English as an additional language; those with disabilities; and be able to use and evaluate distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support them. ((DfE, 2011) Standard 5).

The document promises that all teachers will be familiarised by the concept of EAL and made to recognise EAL as an important notion in teaching and learning.

However, even if a variety of resources is available, associations such as NALDIC (2014) pinpoint in an article on “EAL Funding” that the Department for Education does not offer a mechanism that could be responsible for the use of EAL funding. Moreover, schools are not obliged to use the allocated funding to cater for the multilingual pupils’ learning needs. But, at the end of each academic year, schools are requested to supply the amount they have used in EAL services and its effect on EAL pupils. Another fact in relation to the status of EAL in the British educational system is that, at present, EAL is conceived as an “aspect” of compulsory education and not a National Curriculum “subject” in itself. Therefore, research shows that there is no uniformity in this domain. The importance given to EAL depends entirely on each school’s practice.

After discussing multilingualism in relation to education in the UK, I will highlight the contradictions between what educational justice should be (Every Child Matters, DfES, 2003) and the reality on multilingualism and education subject to global, national and

local contingencies; the status quo indicate that educationalists and the wider society may need to switch to a different way of thinking about languages;

- **Global, National and Local Reality**

Languages defined as static, “fixed”, immobile are not suitable for the changing linguistic global, national and local landscapes. Clark (2013: 58) writes that the literature suggests that language(s) should be conceived as “dynamic, fragmented and mobile, with the focus on mobile resources rather than immobile languages”. Blommaert (2010) argues that researchers should underscore the need for a critical understanding of the forces of globalization, a temporal and contextual focus on sociolinguistic interaction as well as an insight of mobility that can capture the meaning of language in the new global village we live in. I decided to introduce the global, national and local dimensions in order to offer a better understanding of the multilingual children who are being educated in a context where the reproduction of the cultural capital of the dominant group constitutes the norm. Globalisation is a challenge for “monolingual” educational systems like in the UK because multilingual competence should officially be included in the new landscape that comprises half a million of EAL primary school pupils (see section 2.1.2). The recent and significant phenomenon needs to be explored locally, nationally and globally. In the next section, I will talk about the different concepts in regards to EAL primary school pupils taking into account the local, national and global stance.

- **Global, National and Local Conceptualisations within the Primary School Settings for EAL Pupils**

The education of EAL multilingual pupils is not only influenced by the practice of each Local Educational Authority, but it is also directly impacted by the state ideology, as well as the international stance on multilingualism and the people's mobility. In modern societies, one is tempted to believe that national identity is not so strongly marked since one is constantly reminded of the world as a global village. This is illustrated in the Council of Europe's statement:

[...][Multilingualism] is no longer simply a cultural legacy from country of origin, maintained principally for affective reasons, but a necessity-and an asset- as workers move from country to country, maintaining links with multiple "home" countries and with diasporas around the world (2007:10).

Because of a high rate of migration "from the European Union, the Middle East and other parts of the world" (McPake et al., 2007) one can imagine the number of citizens with fragmented, multiple and negotiable identities, as well as multinational economies. However, this obvious trend cannot hide the national identity strongly voiced in political discourse (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; see section 2.2.4 *language ideology in the United Kingdom*). Nationalism is still much present in many parts of the world. Even if international organisations (UNESCO, the Council of Europe and European Community) argue that the member states are responsible for teaching the mother tongue and culture of origin in the education of ethnic minority children; some individual countries have not included these notions into their school curriculum; they have not taken the responsibility for providing children with the support they need to maintain their mother tongue.

In the United Kingdom, government discourse calls for celebrating multilingualism but, in reality, underestimates linguistic diversity. For example, Sir Cyril Taylor, chairperson of the Specialist Schools Trust stated in one of the Sunday Telegraph newspapers (14 January 2007) that “the failure of parents to speak English at home was a key reason for educational failure” or “if a child does not speak English at home if it is not the language of communication with their mother or father, that is a major cause of lower results in English” (see also section 2.2.4). Blackledge and Creese (2010, 27) state that “multilingual societies which apparently tolerate or promote heterogeneity in fact undervalue or appear to ignore the linguistic diversity of their populace”. This stance leads, either intentionally or inadvertently, to the differential power relations in which the dominant language is the most prestigious one and most other languages are not valued and are projected as problematic for the home nation. Bourne (2001) argues that the multilingual education needs to be catered for and that it is not by narrating a story or singing a song in another language occasionally that we promote diversity. This only keeps other languages “outside and incidental to the learning process” (Bourne, 2001: 251).

After exploring some conceptualisations for EAL pupils at local, national and international levels, I will need to consider the theories that could guide me in my study aiming at understanding several multilingual children’s home language learning experiences. Therefore, I will overview the literature and discuss the difference between the existent research and the one I intend to conduct. The first part will be dedicated to the main topic governing the study, language maintenance in general among EAL pupils. The second part will be an explanation of the ecological model in which three-part concept (macro, meso and micro systems) fits.

## 2.2 Overview of the Literature

### 2.2.1 Approaches in Relation to the Research Question

Borrero and Yeh (2010) approach ecologically language learning in socio-cultural settings among ethnic minority youth in the United States (US). In this paper, the authors focus on the societal language learning using a quantitative methodology and investigate on students' standpoint on English language learning within the ecological layers encompassing self, home, school, peers and community. They discussed their findings that showed disconnection between the various layers of the ecology of learning emphasising that the bridging of the social settings could extend the multilingual pupils' cultural resources. The authors state that:

English language learning cannot be separated from the social contexts in which it occurs and is inextricably linked to ecology. Specially sociocultural (Nieto, 2002; Vygotsky, 1930-1934/1978) and ecological (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) theories propose that youth learn via their social interactions in the multiple contexts they navigate daily (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003; Lee, 2008; Lee, Spencer & Harlapani, 2003; Borrero & Yeh, 2010: 571).

In my research, I concentrate on home language drawing upon a qualitative method for the reasons that I am interested in understanding the participants' home language experience during a year (see section 3.2). However, even if the above research is different from my own focus, it has drawn my attention as Borrero and Yeh (2010) recognises the importance of learning (or in my case, maintaining) a language in relation to its social contexts.

The theoretical approach will be similar as the study will follow an ecological approach while investigating home language maintenance in a range of settings. The above authors acknowledge that much of research on multilingual pupils in “monolingualising” context concentrates on academic achievement (Rumberger & Tran,

2008), socio-economic characteristics (Capps et al., 2005; Garcia & Cuellar, 2006), language proficiency (Paez, 2009), language ideology of the place multilingual children develop (Blackledge, 2000), teachers and EAL children (Conteh, 2007a/b), teachers' attitude towards multilingual pupils, multilingual pupils' attitude in class (Day, 2002 and Toohey, 2000), investigation on complementary and mainstream teachers and families (Gregory et al., 2004, Kenner & Ruby, 2013), I purposefully investigated on multilingual children who have French as one of their home language and their surroundings including their home, complementary and mainstream schools and the state's standpoint on multilingual education in order to understand their issues in maintaining their home language. Among a large number of competing theories, there is a common ground that children's ability to learn languages and their emerging reading and writing skills depend partly on social settings. This is the area of research (sociolinguistics) in which I am interested. I found the research on multilingual children important especially when globalisation is an actual topic that has not often found a suitable solution either in the home or in the more formal context of schools. I am particularly interested in children who attend the same French complementary classroom once a week and diverse mainstream schools during the week days. My research is crucial as the number of francophone pupils participating in the Saturday school under study has reached more than one hundred in the Yorkshire.

Dixon and Wu (2014) examine the home language and literacy practices among multilingual families in order to see how these practices influence the target language learning. This study is important in showing the relevance of valuing the home language practices in public educational settings. These authors claim that "the interplay of different levels of influence (policies, community resources, language environment and

home practices) should be systematically examined” (2014: 445). Dixon and Wu support the need of my research question.

Cantoni (1998) asserts that language maintenance occurs when a family and a community structure are engaged in fostering home language. He goes further by adding that language maintenance is not only about language use, but it is also about “the values and knowledge associated with it” (1998:1) (culture/way of life). He concluded that “most language minority children encounter powerful pressures for assimilation even before they enter school” (1998:10). Cantoni acknowledges that finding the factors impeding home language maintenance is difficult to identify. He also recognises that multilingual families often lose their home language to be admitted into the majority language society.

A study from Safford and Drury (2013) discusses the efficiency of Hymes’ focus on the communicative competence of language users from a sociolinguistic perspective and ethnographic approach; the authors assert that the recent development of this stance conducted by contemporary researchers has contributed to pinpoint the factors influencing children’s language use. This study is important in showing that the ethnographic methodologies are appropriate for understanding the children’s point of view (Conteh et al., 2005) as well as a way to unveil ‘invisible’ complex motives influencing the maintenance or loss of the home language, which reinforces the methodology on which I have drawn in order to explore my 10-year-old participants’ home language retention. The approach allows capturing “the unheard voices” (Johnstone & Marcellino, 2010:11) by empowering the participants and making sense of their linguistic situation. This is crucial in understanding the multilingual children’s status quo.

Maguire (2005) conducted an exploratory qualitative ethnographic study highlighting the link between “language [...] [individuals], their socio-cultural worlds and identity construction” (2005: 1423) in Canada. He advances that:

[U]nderstanding the relationships between individuals, social practices and political discourses is critical [...] for children when different languages and cultures intersect in their classrooms and playground worlds and when these differences go unrecognized and cause disjunctures or even ruptures in their life worlds” (2005: 1442)

This article has shown me the importance of focussing on the socio-cultural aspect of learning, the relationship between individuals in different contexts as well as existent political discourses locally, nationally and globally.

Based on these four general studies, I conclude that the research I conducted is needed to fill the gap that these above researchers have identified. The socio-cultural aspect of my research question requests a theoretical framework that contemplates the investigation in a variety of settings and exploration of the home language maintenance through social interactions. In fact, children learn to adjust in a variety of environments by adapting their language use to their interlocutors and the situation in which they interact (Paris, 2010). Therefore, it is crucial to investigate the children’s environments in order to pinpoint the forces that foster home language maintenance. Moreover, the article states that individuals are often left alone to find their way from one cultural world to another (Borrero et al., 2010). Thus, a “thick description” of a couple or more of case studies could highlight the language experience of multilingual primary school pupils and indicate the issues they encounter.

After presenting an overview of part of the literature review, I will introduce the theoretical framework I selected for my research.

## 2.2.2 Theoretical Framework Used in my Study

The literature discussed in the previous section has led me to draw on ecological views on language maintenance. Haugen defines it as:

(T)he study of interaction between any given language and its environment... The true environment of a language is the society that uses it as one of its codes. Language exists only in the minds of its users, and it only functions in relating these users to one another and to nature, i.e. their social and natural environment (1972: 325).

Due to the fact that language only exists in the minds of individuals, language ecology is partly psychological; however, there is a second part of language ecology that relates to the use of language in society and concerns the study of interactions through the communication between interlocutors. Haugen defines it as:

(I)ts interaction with the society in which it functions as a medium of communication. The ecology of a language is determined primarily by the people who learnt it, use it and transmit it to others (ibid).

This definition has been exploited in the literature in a range of discussion in relation to “maintenance and survival of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity, language policy and planning, language, language acquisition, [...], language ideology, the ecology of (multilingual) classroom interaction and the ecology of [...] discourses” (Creese and Martin, 2003:2). My study encompasses home language maintenance within which topics such as language policy and planning, language ideology, the promotion of linguistic diversity and the ecology of classroom are thoroughly discussed. In fact, my research focuses on multilingual children’s experiences with their home language in the UK and on how their surroundings shape their beliefs and attitudes towards their multilingualism. Therefore, this study demands to investigate the interactions taking place around my participants and capture how the reciprocity among actors may contribute to home language retention or attrition.

I have selected Bronfenbrenner's theory (1979) because of its reliance on social contexts to make sense of the ways in which multilingual children retain their home language and I have also taken into account Vygotsky's concept that all human activities are determined by cultural references through language and can make sense when situated in historical contexts (John-Steiner & Mahn, 1996). Cole (1996) develops the concept of human action [...] defined by Hiles (1996) as "an active, multi-determined, culturally-channelled expression carrying meaning and significance". Cole perceives culture as an essential condition of human existence and development, an element embedded in language and expressed in communication with others. These concepts on human interactions need to be emphasised due to the fact that they explain change of behaviour according to contexts and contribute to an understanding of any particular individual's agency ("the power people have to think for themselves and act in ways that shape their experiences and life trajectories" (Cole, 2017)) and the structure ("the complex and interconnected set of social forces, relationships, institutions, and elements of social structure that work together to shape the thought, behaviour, experiences, choices, and overall life courses of people" (*ibid.*)) within which he or she evolves.

Van Lier (2000) advances that Vygotsky's and Bakhtin's work exemplifies the ecological approach to language learning. He (2000: 253) states that "in the work of Vygotsky, Bakhtin [(1986)'s dialogic view of human utterances reflecting cultural aspects], and their respective followers, the unit of analysis is not the perceived object or linguistic input, but the active learner, or the activity itself". Vygotsky asserts that:

[L]earning awakens a variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in his environment and in cooperation with his [or her] peers (1930-1934/1978: 40).

Van Lier (ibid.) goes further in arguing that professionals often rely on theories of learning that define “learning” as an activity occurring in the brain which process information received by the senses. These theoretical views on learning are interpreted differently and used by the constructivists, behaviourists and nativists. The ecological approach challenges these views as they do not take into consideration the fact that learning takes place in specific contexts that contribute to the learning process indirectly. From this example of the ecological approach, I deduce that Vygotsky’s (and Bakhtin’s studies can be adapted to my own research on home language maintenance. I believe that retaining one’s home language in a “monolingualising” context is not only a matter of using the home language on a regular basis but it is also linked to a global understanding that valuing the linguistic and cultural background of the pupils in a variety of ways may promote the development of a well-rounded individual. In addition, Van Lier claims that an ecological approach:

[A]sserts that the perceptual and social activity of the learner, and particularly the verbal and nonverbal interaction in which the learner engages, are central to an understanding of learning. In other words, they do not just facilitate learning, they are learning in a fundamental way (2000: 246)

I believe that the concept on ecological approach can be extrapolated from Van Lier’s quote and applied to my study. In fact, “the perceptual [activity]” in my study represents the home and school activities, for instance, the kind of communication verbal (implying the use of words) or non-verbal (body language, tone of voice and facial expressions) occurring between a parent and a child or a teacher and a pupil or between peers in specific environments (direct influence). “The social activity” relates to concepts such as agency (see above section 2.2.2 for definition) and social relations in which individuals engage; these activities are central to an understanding of home

language maintenance. Individuals' interactions with others, when imbued with positive beliefs towards multilingualism, should not just contribute to language maintenance, they are "fundamental ways" of remaining multilingual. In fact, what needs to be expanded is the understanding of the complex dynamic interrelations among a variety of structures of the society (layers/different levels of practice/systems) that can contribute to home language retention in a "monolingualising" (Heller, 1995: 374) context. My research puts emphasis on factors that could influence some participants' home language retention or attrition with the guidance of an ecological approach that drives the researcher to investigate on multiple systems encompassing close/direct (microsystem: schools and home, mesosystem: relationship between different entities belonging to the microsystem) to distant/indirect social forces (exosystem: parents' work, broad social, economic and political conditions; macrosystem: national language policies, general beliefs and attitudes, cultural norms/see figure 2.1 section 2.2.2.1); the closer the relationships are the more influential they are; in other words, a parent or a teacher can have the most important impact on the child. As a matter of fact, when an adult takes the time to talk, read, play with a child, he or she causes experiences that are "engines of development" for that particular child. They are proximal processes often called "the primary engines of human development" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). All the systems are related to one another in a bi-directional way. This means that social influences happen in two directions; Not only does the complexity reside in the ways parents, teachers, peers and policy makers act, influence one particular individual and "mould" his or her behaviour as he or she is socially constituted, but also in the time of an individual's choice and in the agent's actions and reactions that can enable or constrain his or her choices. For example, in a math lesson, a teacher who talks about body counting and the universal use of base ten does not forget to mention as she is

aware of the presence of a Nigerian pupil in her class that the Igbo of Nigeria do not count in base ten. This may be a positive way of including her multilingual pupil and valuing his home culture.

I needed to look into poststructuralist approaches to social theory because of their concept of resisting separating structure from agency and thus eliciting a detailed socially rich way of thinking about identity taking into consideration the individual agency as well as their social context. Pavlenko (2002) states that:

Poststructuralism is understood broadly as an attempt to investigate and to theorise the role of language in construction and reproduction of social relations and the role of social dynamics in the processes of additional language learning and use (2002: 282).

As a matter of fact, post structuralism is understood as “a context-sensitive way of theorising social impact on L2 learning and use” (2002: 295). Likewise, this theory allows the examination of multilingual reality and at the same time offers the opportunity to social researchers to see their participants taking part in multiple communities of practice showing how they maintain their mother tongue.

Here is a detailed explanation of the theory of ecology of learning that plays an important role in finding out the variety of beliefs, attitudes and practices of social actors influencing home language maintenance.

#### **2.2.2.1 An Ecological View on Language Maintenance**

The following literature revolves around ecology of home language maintenance concentrating on a system in which a certain number of actors interact with multilingual participants and thus influence their home language maintenance. These complex interrelationships between parents and children, children and siblings, parents and teachers, teachers and pupils, pupils and pupils, are negotiated through a variety of interactions impacted by the ideological, cultural and political contexts of each actor

relating to one another. This study requires an ecology approach that considers the interaction of the child with environment. The literature on ecological approaches suggests a discussion on the maintenance of languages, the promotion of linguistic diversity and language policy all of which representing key ideas in my own study.

The collected works on ecology encapsulate a variety of discussions on human development (Bronfenbrenner: 1979): ecological systems theory.

The Ecological Systems Theory is:

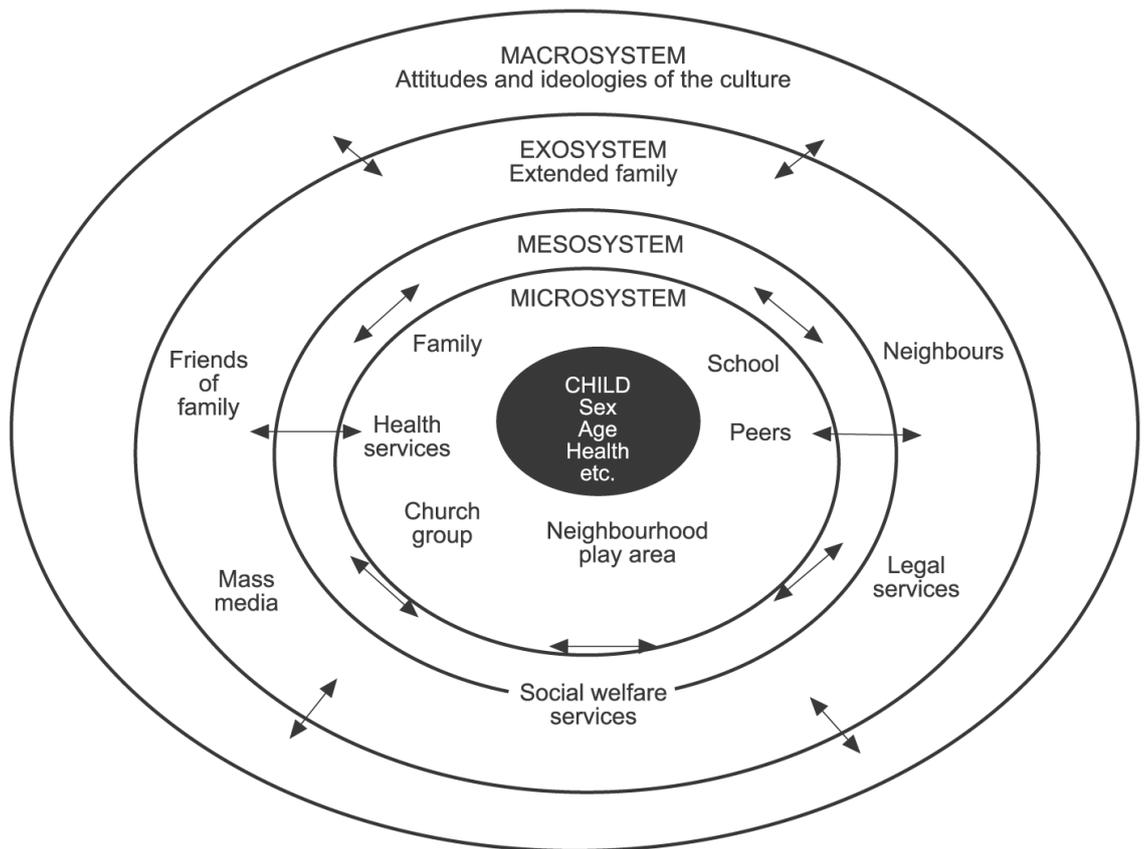
[A]n approach to study of human development that consists of ‘the scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between those settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded’ (Bronfenbrenner, 1989: 188)

This is a definition that offers a thorough explanation of a dynamic and complex phenomenon (multi-layered influences) that affects individuals in several ways. Therefore, in my research, it is appropriate to utilise such a theory to make sense of home language maintenance in specific cases and language loss in other cases. It helps to map out how multilingual children are directly linked to their close environment (home, schools and community) continuously shaping their home language maintenance/loss.

This theory aims to provide:

[A] unified but highly differentiated conceptual scheme for describing and interrelating structures and processes in both the immediate and more remote environment as it shapes the course of human development throughout the life span (Bronfenbrenner (1979:11))

It suggests that the child develops within a network of relationships that shapes his or her environment. It can be defined as complex “layers” of environment, impacting on a child’s development. The interactions among actors in the child’s growing context, his or her nuclear family, his or her mainstream and complementary schools and the societal landscape form the child’s development and play a crucial role in home language maintenance. Educators should benefit from this system as it helps highlighting the tensions between and within layers that can obstruct the children’s educational achievements. Contradictions occurring in any one layer will spread throughout other layers. Therefore, it is important to explore the child and its immediate environment as he or she exerts influence on his/her environment which, in itself, exerts influence on the child’s development without neglecting the interaction with the other more distant systems such as the macrosystem or exosystems which do not impact directly on the child. The multiple environments that have impact on children’s development are the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and the chronosystem (Paquette and Ryan, 2001).



Source: Dockrell and Messer (1999, p. 139)

**Figure 2.1: Circles of Influence in Multilingual Children’s Home Language Maintenance**

The family, school, peer group, neighbourhood and environment in which the child develops are the microsystem. The mesosystem is the relationship between the immediate environments of the children; the exosystem is the external environments that indirectly affect the children’s development; for example, the parents’ workplace; the mother returns from work and becomes irritable towards the child; this affects the child’s interaction with her or his parent and thus his or her language learning experience. The mother’s work, in this case, is part of the exosystem because the child is not in contact directly with that environment but the exosystem exerts indirect influence on the child (Tudge et al., 2009). The macrosystem is the larger most abstract and complex cultural context, which in this project could be said to be the cultural setting within which the children grow up with reference to beliefs, values, ethnicity,

socio-economic status (education/income), lifestyles, the child's gender, religion, political ideology (democratic country with monolingual schooling system), the time in which the child lives, (see Riley's definition, section 2.1.3 for a definition of culture). The chronosystem include element of time in relation to the children's environments; this may involve psychological changes in the children that make them react to the environment differently.

What this Ecological Systems Theory means is that each context individuals encounter may have an effect on their attitude in varying degrees. This can depend on the environment with which one interacts but also on the ways a person acts or reacts to situations and thus contributes to construct or modify the milieu within which he or she evolves. Therefore, this approach guides the researcher whose investigation revolves around multilingual children's home language maintenance in a "monolingualising" context. The theory leads the scientist to comprehend that if an environment is conducive to positive attitude towards multilingual individuals, children home language is valued and recognised and thus it contributes to home language retention as well as better academic achievements.

The processes of children's home language maintenance will be examined based on the immediate environments: family and schools (microsystem), the connections between the home, schools, peers, worship centres and the childcare environments (mesosystem), the wider environment: parents' workplace, institutional policy makers, school curriculum committee (exosystem), the attitude and ideologies and practices of the child's community culture (macrosystem) in an additional system that takes into consideration the notion of time (chronosystem).

The ecological view will form my broad approach to the study of child language maintenance and I will also need to consider the socio-cultural aspect of interactions between home and school and see how they develop in regards to home language maintenance.

As Bronfenbrenner (1979) included the work of other psychologists such as Vygotsky who focus on the socio-cultural aspect of interactions, it is necessary to provide an explanation for drawing upon Vygotsky's theoretical approach in this particular study.

One of the most influential theories in the late twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century is Lev S. Vygotsky (1930-1934/1978)'s socio-cultural theory which reflects the beliefs that the process of learning [may] take place when children interact with their surroundings (people and environment) but not exclusively. This theory argues that interaction and culture have substantial effects on learning. Donato and McCormick (1994:453) stated that "the sociocultural perspective views language learning tasks and contexts as situated activities that are continually under development and that are influential upon individuals' strategic orientations to classroom learning". This can be extended to the wider community in general. If children perceive that the environment values their home language, they will be encouraged to use it and thus, by participating (Lave and Wenger, 1991) in conversations in their home language, their language proficiency will emerge along with other formal learning of the semiotic system of the language and vice versa.

In this project, the participants are acquiring English and French simultaneously, but in different contexts. English is spoken at home with one or both parents, perhaps with siblings, with the extended family, the wider community and in the mainstream school; whereas French is spoken with one or both parents consistently or not, with the siblings,

the extended family in the distance and in the complementary school two and half hours on Saturdays, as well as in the mainstream school during one period a week. I have decided to avoid naming my participants' language L1 and L2, as they draw on English and French on a daily basis with different interlocutors and settings; thus, the concept of first and second language may not be appropriate in this context. De Houwer (1995: 223) uses the term "Bilingual First Language Acquisition (BFLA, a term from Meisel) to situations where the child is regularly exposed to two languages within the first month of birth, arguing that situations where regular exposure to a second language occurs later than one month after birth, but before age two, should be categorised as "Bilingual Second Language Acquisition". All the language acquisitions theories may not be sufficient in terms of multilingual education (see section 2.1.5.2), as I need to understand more about the learners multilingual children themselves who engage with their social contexts. Multilingual children engage in a variety of ways since they have a different identity, culture, history and repertoire which should be part of the theory (see section 2.1.2). So far the stress has been put mainly on the language itself more than the multilingual children within the social contexts.

Let us look closer at their whole language repertoire and its consideration in the educational arena.

Two researchers, Blommaert and Backus (2011), who have conceived the individual's funds of linguistic knowledge as a "repertoire" could be a useful concept for educators who interact with multilingual children. The next point will talk about the multilingual child and his or her specific language skills.

### **2.2.2.2 Multilingual Children's Whole Language Repertoire and its Significance in an Educational Context.**

Here, I intend to discuss new ways of thinking about language and their educational implications. Cummins et al. suggest overcoming the challenge teachers encounter when multiple languages are represented in their classrooms by introducing identity texts:

[...] products, which can be written, spoken, visual, musical, dramatic, or multimodal combinations, are positive statements that students make about themselves. Identity texts differ from more standard school assignments in both the process and the product. The assignment is cognitively challenging, but students can choose their topics. They decide how they will carry out the project and are encouraged to use the full repertoire of their talents in doing so (2005:40)

It is important to consider multilingual children's whole language repertoire which has hardly been fundamentally reflected upon. Through understanding the deployment of their language resources (repertoire), I may be able to make sense of the role of one of their home languages, French. I deliberately choose "one of the home language" since I believe that the terms L1 and L2 are not appropriate for the participants who have been exposed to French and English on a daily basis in different settings (home/schools) from birth. The theoretical view of the multilingual individual's repertoire I consider puts forward the role of the linguistic environment in interaction with children's natural abilities in developing language consciously and unconsciously. Children's language progresses as a result of a unique sophisticated interplay between individuals and several communities (schools, home and wider community). As all humans develop specific vocabulary in the course of their life time by necessity or by pleasure, multilingual children are not different, except it happens in more than one language. In a "super-diversity" (Vertovec, 2007:3) setting (an environment composed of a variety of

speakers of different languages/dialects), multilingual children engage with a wide variety of people, whose language, culture and channel of conveying information can be different from their monolingual counterparts thus affecting the speaker's language resources which range from formal language learning to informal "encounters" with language. Different ways of retaining a language cause different degrees of knowledge of language. This perspective is helpful to conceive multilingual children in line with monolingual ones and emphasizes the fact that every child has very specific educational needs. An approach to multilingualism should not only focus on the formal properties of the two linguistic systems acquired simultaneously. This study calls for an approach that pictures practices in relation to social contexts. Thus I opted to use an approach that "privilege(s) language as social practice, speakers as social actors and boundaries as products of social action" Blackledge and Creese (2010:56)

Even if awareness of linguistic and cultural diversity has increased a great deal during the last decades, it seems that research is still needed to show what is happening in the different layers of the ecology of learning and between the different institutions (mainly home and schools) for this category of participants (ten year-old children). Scholars such as Cummins (2001: 653) believe that "educators individually and collectively have the unique potential to work toward the creation of contexts of empowerment". He acknowledges that:

[S]tudents who are empowered by their school experiences develop the ability, confidence, and motivation to succeed academically. They participate competently in instruction as a result of having developed a confident cultural identity as well as appropriate school-based knowledge and interactional structures. Cummins (2001: 661)

Therefore, if all teachers and parents become aware of this dimension, they may be well-equipped for the new generation and face the challenge of multilingualism in this specific context.

Much research has been conducted on this issue. I will now survey it to show what is already known on this matter and what still needs to be found out in respect to multilingual children who are gaining education in a monolingual schooling system.

After setting the historical and present scenes in which multilingual children evolve and putting forward the theoretical framework that directs the study, I will present the literature review in relation to the layers of interaction pertaining home language maintenance (see figure 2.1 in section 2.2.2.1 ) surrounding a selection of multilingual children in the UK.

### **2.2.3 Social Forces (Beliefs, Attitudes and Practices) Impacting on Home Language Maintenance between and within a Variety of Settings.**

Much research supports the idea of Bronfenbrenner's layers (divisions). Here is an overview of the literature that underpins the importance of these settings in determining successful home language maintenance. I will initially clarify what is done at the macro level (see Table 2.1: Circles of Influence in Multilingual Children's Home Language Maintenance)/language policy/language ideology and government's policy. Secondly, I will discuss the mesosystem (interaction of an array of actors/institutions/participants from the microsystem). Thirdly, I will present the microsystem encompassing mainstream and complementary schools (institutions/actors), families (institutions/actors) and multilingual children (participants).

## **2.2.4 Macro System:**

### **2.2.4.1 Language Policy/ Language Ideology/Belief: Definition**

Generally language ideology is a “muddled and troublesome” (Wooland, 2010: 236) concept which could be defined as “ingrained, unquestioned beliefs [ideas] about the way the world is [facts], the way it should be [expectations], and the way it has to be [actions] with respect to language” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006: 9). Meighan & Harber define this as:

[A] broad interlocked set of ideas and beliefs about the world held by a group of people that they demonstrate in both behaviour and conversation to various audiences. These systems of belief are usually seen as “the way things really are” by the groups holding them, and they become the taken-for-granted ways of making sense of the world (2007: 212).

These definitions have drawn my attention, as they clearly show how the macro system (ideology) has an impact on social and linguistic practices of the individual in educational contexts. Lanza (2007: 51) suggests that “ideologies about language are of course not about language alone, rather they reflect issues of social and personal identity”. This set of fixed beliefs affect the ways individuals see themselves.

In the following section, I will elaborate on “language ideologies” in the UK, as it seems to play a significant role in beliefs and attitudes of the educators towards multilingual children in this particular setting.

### **2.2.4.2 Language Ideologies in the UK**

The United Kingdom is adapting to its new demographic profile by promoting diversity and inclusion (National Curriculum, 2000:37).

The curriculum may hint that diversity of cultures is an asset the country experiences; however, it does not give much guidance as for how schools could deal with multilingual pupils.

Another document, an ECC directive, in regards to multilingual support calls on:

[T]he host states to take appropriate measures in cooperation with the states of origin, to promote the teaching of migrants' language and culture of origin. Such teaching should be co-ordinated with the work at school, that is, to be harmonised with the school curricula. (EEC: 1977: 32)

This directive was directly intended to migrant workers' children whose family plan to reintegrate into their home countries. In reality, the multilingual pupils constitute a complex group challenging the government which has to meet the multilingual pupils' linguistic and cultural needs. In response to continuous performance issues within multilingual school population, the government published the Swann report in 1985 stating that:

We would regard mother tongue maintenance, although an important educational function, as best achieved within the ethnic minority communities themselves rather than within mainstream schools, but with considerable support from and liaison with the latter (DES, 1985: 406).

In fact, language diversity is celebrated in government policy commented by Martin who stated that:

This [concern voiced by the Curriculum, 2000] appears to be something of a step forward in the recognition of other languages aside from English, in that the school curriculum recognised the need to build on home languages (2009: 12).

Although this statement definitely shows the improvement in recognising home languages within educational settings, schools mostly acknowledge other languages and cultures by singing songs or organising cultural parties, they somewhat underplay what actually happens. In fact, a number of critics argue that the government has still a “strong homogenising ideology” (Conteh, 2007: 1). “Politicians, media commentators, and, we are told (Home Office, 2008), a majority of the UK population, believe that monolingualism in English is the natural and desirable state” (Blackledge and Creese, 2010, 6-7).

Among the aims of monolingual ideologies is the inhibition of all types of language variation and the promotion of homogeneity (Lippi-Green, 1994). The legitimisation of one language over others is tantamount to publicly endorsing discrimination on linguistic grounds (Woolard, 1998). The misrecognition of variation in languages promotes the dominant language; the speakers of the dominant language are considered superior, while those who do not speak it are considered inferior and lacking in political allegiance and moral commitment (Bourdieu, 1998). For example, speakers of Received Pronunciation (RP) are assumed people of high intellectual and personal worth (Woolard, 1998).

Blackledge (2000) tackles the notion of monolingual ideologies in multilingual societies. He indicates that these monolingual ideologies are visibly or invisibly perceivable within discourses along local, national and international dimensions. This concept leads to the important question of “inclusion” and thus social justice for part of the society who resists monolingualism or simply cannot fit in this setting. Blackledge advances that discourses from educators, policy makers, politicians revolve around equality and social justice without ever mentioning Britain’s multiple languages

(“Approximately 350 different languages are spoken by pupils in mainstream schools” (Conteh, 2013)) Blackledge believes that this status quo prevents an important part of the population from reaching high status. This reality is reflected in the school settings. Despite the fact that parents from South Asian background had a proficient knowledge in their native language, they were deemed “illiterate” by teachers because these mothers did not know how to speak English. This condition undermined the relationship home-school and thus affected the children’s learning. Monoglot standards in multilingual societies are camouflaged within an equal opportunity discourse. For example, the government encompassed a policy of inclusion in its last curriculum, whereas it proclaimed to BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) Television News (28 April 2008), for example, through an MP (Member of Parliament/leader of the Liberal Democratic Party) that “we all have to make efforts to speak the same language because without the same language you know we can’t create a glue that keeps things together”; the MP even goes further by encouraging individuals to speak English at home aiming at “real integration”. Evidently, the statement does not say, “ignore part of your identity, ignore your first language and speak only English” but anyone may evaluate the impact of this public discourse. The MP’s statement, it might be argued, allows society to continue with its drive for homogeneity of languages; which discriminates against users of other languages. Moreover, schools are guided to abide by the “ideological aspiration” of monolingual expertise (Shohamy: 2006).

Other researchers such as Vertovec (2007) illustrate the idea of “super-diversity” (reflection of the UK’s new complex and diverse setting). His study demonstrates that “policy frameworks and public understanding and, indeed, many areas of social science have caught up with recently emergent demographic and social patterns”. He maintains

that the UK's new demographic situation faces complex challenges that policy makers and researchers need to address in order to cater for immigrants, ethnic minorities and the wider community. By raising the notion of "super-diversity", Vertovec (2007: 1050) contributed to the idea of taking into account "multi-dimensional conditions and processes" impacting on immigrants.

These articles are important in my study as they describe the impact of the macro system on multilingual children and raise the emergent demographic and social situation that requires new perspectives in teaching and learning.

In the next section I intend to look at how the macro interacts with the micro and impact on multilingual children's home language maintenance.

## **2.2.5 Exosystem: Interactions between the Macro and the Micro**

### **2.2.5.1 Indirect Impacts from the Macro System on Family Language Policy (FLP)**

Despite the fact that FLP researchers are mainly interested in family language experiences within the private domain (see section 2.2.6), they are also concerned with the way families negotiate their policies with the public arena (ideology and language education policies). They (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King, 2000; King et al. 2008) have often demonstrated that language ideology (government policies (Garcia, 2012), public discourses (Garrett, 2011) and language learning experiences in schools (King et al., 2008) forms a fundamental force influencing family members' language attitude even though the impact of institutionalised communications is not always obvious. Curdt-Christiansen claims that:

Family language policy in bilingual families is highly related to macro-level political structures and strongly influenced by migration pressures, national language policy and language in education policy (2014: 37).

Schwartz and Verschik (2013:1) state that “a family faces various challenges in an attempt to bring up a [...] multilingual child”. This force at the macro system level has an impact on families who have to find solutions often by themselves to educate their children in their home language (see section 2.2.4). According to the ecology of learning, in a place like the UK, the dominance of English over other languages may constitute a daily challenge for multilingual parents who are keen on preserving their home language(s) and thus their identities.

After presenting possible indirect influences from the state’s policy on multilingual families, I will explore the direct relationships between several institutions such as mainstream schools, complementary schools and families.

### **2.2.6 Meso System: Interactions between a Variety of Institutions and the Multilingual Child**

The literature indicates that the direct environment plays a crucial role in a child’s home language maintenance process. Thorpe et al. state:

[I]n the content of what learners say, [they] see how learning is tied up with relationships with other people, how it can act as a medium for increasing confidence and esteem, or the reverse, and how important enjoyment and confidence are in influencing people to continue learning, or decide to stop. What comes out of direct accounts of learner experience is evidence of the complexity and unpredictability (both as far as ours and the learner’s expectations are concerned) of the impact on the person of the learning they undertake. Learning is a dynamic activity (Thorpe et al. 1993: np).

This statement is important in pointing out the close relation between “learning” and “relationships with other people”. Likewise, home language maintenance is determined by positive attitudes towards home language. In addition, the author emphasises the fact

that learning is a way to improve one's self-confidence. Similarly, retaining one's home language may be a way to increase one's well-being.

The tensions multilingual children may face because of lack of social and political recognition impact on their language learning (Dooly et al., 2009). Wong-Fillmore (2000) acknowledges that if a language is not used every day, the children will not be able to be proficient in that language. Minority children face challenges when forces are contradictory or are negative towards multilingualism. They may not be able to retain their home language as well as others whose identity corresponds to the majority. Cummins (2005, 290) goes even further stating that "children often internalize ambivalence and shame in relation to their linguistic and cultural heritage" may be because it does not fit in the society in which they live. In addition to the negative influences permeating children's social spaces, they may come to feel that learning their mother tongue is equivalent to boredom (for example, complementary schools have few resources, they are taught at a time when everybody else is enjoying themselves doing extracurricular activities such as sports, picnics, trips and so on). In another instance, Cummins (2005) emphasises the fact that the tension the child experiences may lead to a situation in which children cannot benefit from all the educational opportunities that are present around them, neither from the schools nor from the family. Also, multilingual children, who have sensed that one of their languages is not popular, may consider themselves as outsiders. This exclusion definitely has impact on language learning or maintaining processes. Borrero & Yeh (2010, 572) summarise Yeh et al.'s (2005) proposal by stating that "this not only influences outcomes such as their own academic achievement but also affects the communities with which they interact and the

role of English (or language more generally) for youth at home and in their neighbourhoods”.

#### **2.2.6.1 Multilingual Children in Relation to Teachers and Parents**

Pupils’ negative attitudes towards multilingualism may derive from misunderstanding of cultures from a teacher’s and a parent’s perspectives. I exemplify this idea by narrating the comprehensive story of a multilingual Chinese family who moved to Canada since the father was a post-graduate student (Li, 2004). The family who consisted of a mother, a father and a son made every effort to pass on their mother tongue to their child, Yang; however, at some point, they considered to stop speaking Chinese to him, insomuch as he was not responding well to his multilingual situation. The main point in this narrative is that no matter how much time the parents dedicated to their son’s language practice, Yang deduced from his school experience that he might have been “stupid” and that “it was not very good to be Chinese” (Li, 2004: 21). Because of the observance of his Chinese interfering with English, Yang’s parents decided to stop teaching Chinese until Yang reached fluency in English even if the mother was aware of the drawbacks it could have caused later regarding language loss. The type of interactions Yang had with his surroundings impeded his language learning process. What Fillmore (2000) puts forward may hold true that negative attitude towards multilingualism on the part of parents, teachers, extended families or the wider society will not only affect children’s language maintenance but also the relations with the rest of the family and consequently will create tension with the family because of multilingual children’s lack of communication skills in one of their home languages.

In more recent literature, Hua (2008) states that multilingual children may disagree with their parents' language policy when this is in conflict with the linguistic and cultural norms of the majority, when the target language has a higher status than the home language in the children's environment (Tuominen, 1999) or even during the children's personal identity formation. When they start prioritising the target language over their home language, language shift gradually takes place. It is against this backdrop that I will investigate the reasons why my participants lose gradually or maintain one of their home languages.

### **2.2.6.2 Multilingual Pupils and Schools**

Gonzalez et al. (2005) explore multilingual Mexican-American families longitudinally with the conviction that by drawing on the family's "Funds of Knowledge", in other words, their resources, methods of thinking and learning as well as the skills a community has and practises in their daily life, educators can capture a holistic picture of their pupils and thus, validate their cultural backgrounds in order to maximise their learning. Moll et al. define the term "funds of knowledge as:

Historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills essential for household or individual functioning and wellbeing (1992: 134)

In addition to cognitive process, "learning" is seen, here, as the consequence of social activities which refers to social interactions with and around pupils; the authors stress on the benefit of funds of knowledge for pupils and teachers. The former feel valued when their background knowledge is recognised and the latter are assisted to make sense of their pupils' funds of knowledge and by doing so, incorporate this knowledge in their classroom curriculum and thus, contribute to better achievement. While

teachers connect pupils' funds of knowledge to their lesson plan, they must think of their pupils in terms of ecology which means conceptualise them within and between layers. This signifies that children are related to parents themselves connected to extended families. The fact that these cultural communities are embedded in another target community impact on the child's language experiences. If teachers want to build on their pupils' knowledge, they need to seek the larger context from which pupils emerge. This theoretical framework is a powerful tool in my study. It affords a direction to counter deficit theorising (blaming minority pupils, their families and their cultures (Moll et al., 1992) for underachievement in schools) of multilingual pupils in "monolingualising" (Heller, 1995: 374) context by approaching community in terms of resources and by offering a way to tap into pupils' "bodies of knowledge" and marshal them in order to incorporate them in the curriculum. Gonzalez et al. (2005) show how pupils' resources are embedded in their lives and their importance in classrooms for teachers who prioritise inclusion. This piece of work has guided me towards a new way of thinking about home language maintenance and by linking home and school in order to validate pupils' background and promote healthy self-concepts. Another important concept exploited in Gonzalez et al.'s research revolves around the term "culture", a concept that should be seen as dynamic and interactive. Initially, "culture" was integrated, harmonious and unambiguous in an educational context in which "monolingualism" was and is still seen as the norm. However, as educators teach such a diverse population of pupils who are often multilingual, they are suggested to leave this out-dated notion of static culture and adopt a new perspective on the term "culture" that implies the belief "in the importance of acknowledging and including aspects of [their] students' culture in [their] classroom practice" (Amanti cited in Gonzalez et al. (2005:99)) in order to open affordances to multilingual pupils. They also emphasise the

fact that teachers are often qualified to highlight pupils' prior knowledge, however, they are not guided to elicit that background knowledge and home experiences, thus minimising learning. This study shows that teachers benefit from adopting a variety of positions such as researchers and learners. This approach leads teachers to capture multilingual pupils' cultural background and study ways to incorporate it in their curriculum. This conceptual framework is significant in researches such as mine in regards to diverse school population and their home language retention. Part of my study will investigate whether multilingual children's funds of knowledge was drawn upon in school contexts which will underpin my research's methodology. Moreover, given the fact that in my study, home language maintenance is conceived as a social activity, one must envisage additive multilingualism within the ecology of each participant. I will resort to ecological theories (Creese and Martin, 2003) in order to highlight the complexity of multilingual children's experiences in 'monolingualising' contexts by taking into consideration the different viewpoints of children, parents and teachers as well as the national and international positions taken towards multilingualism.

Other empirical studies have used the term "funds of knowledge" productively in relation to culturally diverse pupils. For example, Conteh (2015) observe multilingual complementary primary school teachers in England. She argues that multilingualism is often perceived as "a problem" by teachers and policy makers (Agirdad, 2010). In order to overcome this educational issue, the author (2015: 60) emphasises that teacher-pupils, pupils-pupils relationships are "collaborative, participatory, and interactive, with language and cultural content frequently based on the teacher's personal and cultural knowledge of the children and their families". In addition to Bronfenbrenner's

ecological framework (see section Approaches in Relation to the Research Question 2.2.1), she uses Funds of Knowledge productively in her research as a conceptual tool to explain and develop multilingual learning. She admits that the notion is useful in changing teachers' standpoints on multilingualism and families' positioning. Hence, multilingual children are empowered and can develop self-esteem.

Other researchers such as Fitts and Gross (2012: 77) also draw on "Funds of Knowledge" to show that teachers must learn from their students by developing and understanding their cultural and social background. In addition, Riojas-Cortez and Flores (2009) state that this approach in teaching leads teachers to debunk deficit thinking and devise more inclusive and culturally oriented curricula. By doing so, teachers could improve pupils' engagement and therefore, better their achievement.

Likewise, Espinosa (2015) emphasises the importance of capitalizing on the multilingual family's background. She states that:

When families are viewed as valuable collaborators and sources of knowledge, strong partnerships can be established. [multi]lingual families are a great and largely untapped resource in the United States for promoting DLL (Dual Language Learners) development and improved academic success (2015, 50).

Safford and Drury (2013) research on multilingual children and their educational contexts. They draw on Hymesian theoretical framework to highlight multilingual pupils' educational settings in England. They explore the reasons why these pupils were deemed "a problem". The authors acknowledge that multilingual pupils "have come to be 'included' in a strongly centralised, monolingual national curriculum and assessment system" (2013: 73). Therefore, the mainstream educational system does not take into account multilingual pupils' learning path that is to say that all children whether they

are monolingual or multilingual are given the same test at the young age of five in English. This indicates that these EAL pupils are sometimes pre-labelled “underachievers” simply because their “funds of knowledge” (Gonzales et al., 2005) in a different language have not been recognised. The authors tackle also the teachers’ socio-cultural practice in multilingual classrooms, one of the analytical themes of my study that is significant in understanding the social forces influencing home language maintenance. The researchers also recognise that the training programme in place does not consistently offer the same attention to “EAL” across all schools. Finally, Safford and Drury recognise that:

By investigating language learning in homes and communities as well as in schools, ethnographies can help build an evidence base to launch pilot studies in [...]multilingual teaching and assessment, develop teachers knowledge and practice, and influence policy (2013: 79).

I hope that my research will serve this purpose.

In the following section, I will turn to the relationship between the parents and schools in relation to home language maintenance.

### **2.2.6.3 Parents’ Communication with Schools and Impacts:**

Sometimes, parents from different cultural backgrounds are not informed enough on the importance of consistency between the school policy and home regarding the value of languages as well as the awareness of what the school is supposed to offer. Crozier and Davies discuss:

How dissonance can occur between the needs, values and traditions of the home and those of the schools. We argue that rather than the parents not matching up to the values and requirements of the school, it is the schools which fail to discern and acknowledge the potential that the parents could offer (2007:296).

Parents are sometimes overwhelmed with their children confused by the complexity of the issues in managing their children's experiences in a mainly English speaking society. Moreover, another challenge faced by parents of multicultural background is that they are often misunderstood by the teachers. Norton (2000) explains that in minority language environments, the identity of minority groups and individuals is often perceived as being, in some way, deficient. If features central to the group's cultural identity are viewed negatively by the dominant society, the group may incorporate a negative view of itself. In his study of literacy practices of Bangladeshi women in Birmingham, Blackledge (1999) found out that, because they did not speak English, the school assumed that they were unable to support their children's literacy learning. The school was progressive, had posters displayed in Urdu and Bengali and other Asian languages; some texts were in Asian languages as well as English language and teachers were respectful of the pupils' cultural heritage. The school also involved parents in various programs and books were sent to children's home daily. However, the women in the study felt marginalised because of the linguistic ideology of the school which promoted the use of English only. Although, they could not contribute to their children literacy in English yet they were supporting their children to read and write Bengali and Quranic Arabic. Despite the fact that they were literate in their own language, the fact that they were unable to provide English language support for the children's language development in English made the teachers consider them as illiterate and unable to support their children's education. Also the parents could not access their children's report because they were written in English. This way, the parents' attitude towards multilingualism may be affected by the community and in some cases, parents may use the target language because of the pressure exerted by the school and stop speaking to

the children in the mother tongue. In the ecology of learning, here again is an illustration of the way the outside pressure on parents shapes their own influence on their children's language attitudes and thus language maintenance.

After exploring the literature on multilingual parents' relationship with schools, I will turn to the parents' interaction with their own child and how their linguistic relationship affects the home language retention.

#### **2.2.6.4 Parents' Interaction with the Child and its Impact on Home Language Maintenance**

The parents' attitude towards multilingualism plays a significant role in their child's home language maintenance. Li (1999) describes how the parents' attitude towards language learning affects the children's language learning. Likewise, Luo & Wiseman (2000, 307) recognise that "Parent-child cohesion was an important mediating factor in the relationship between parent's language attitude and the children's ethnic language retention". All these forces can have some implications on children's language learning and thus maintenance. In Mushi's research (2002), the focus is on the parents' role in language learning in the United States. The children interacted in one language at home and in English at school. The target of the study was to identify how parents could efficiently contribute to their children's English language learning and to their home language maintenance. This researcher has used a questionnaire, interviews, observation, audio recorders and activity chart to explore her research. Mushi discussed the factors that enhanced children's language learning: parents' attitude towards multilingualism, parents' involvement in children's learning, home-school relation; a major theme in this article falls on the parents' attitude, one of the themes I have developed in my research. She concluded on the primordial role of parents in their

children's language learning process. Mushi (2002: 529) recommended that other investigation should be performed in order to determine the factors that support the children's multilingualism. This suggested further research topic will hopefully find some findings within my own study.

After mentioning the possible tensions resulting from the interactions between social actors and their impact on multilingual children's language maintenance, I will focus on the immediate institutions constraining or affording home language maintenance.

### **2.2.7      Microsystem: Schools**

The literature (Midobuche, 1999; Levine, Irizarry and Bunch, 2008; Kohl, 1994) tells us that there are a number of factors within schools that can promote or hinder children's home language maintenance.

#### **2.2.7.1   Mainstream Schools:**

##### ***Absence of National Policy for Multilingual Children***

Children from diverse backgrounds are in need of skills to survive in a world where the home language and culture are often denigrated (Midobuche: 1999), simply because there is no national policy for the education of multilingual pupils in the United Kingdom, therefore, teachers may be confused as for what is the best practice to follow. Scholars such as Kohl (1994) have acknowledged that when specific attitudes, behaviours and curricular considerations are not present towards children from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, their learning might be affected. I extrapolate this concept to home language maintenance as the environment determines the language choice and thus may contribute or impede the multilingual children's potential to remain multilingual.

In the following section, I will mention the possible teachers' perspective on multilingual pupils' needs.

### *A Variety of Teachers' Perspectives towards Multilingual Children and Families*

The defenders of multilingualism agree that valuing languages and cultures is part of the duty of any educator (UNESCO, 2003). After all, languages are tools that help in communicating with other members of the community in which we live and thus play a major role in home language maintenance. However, the literature shows that educators do not always enhance agency in minority language pupils. Dooly et al. summarise Levine et al.'s (2008) point stating that:

In many cases educators do not know how to encourage higher participation from language minority families and underestimate the economic, educational, cultural and linguistic challenges that discourage families from participating in their children's education (2009:28)

Levine et al. draw attention to the intercultural issues that play a significant role in fostering parents' participation in schools.

Among teachers, there is a variety of perspectives on multilingualism. Some still believe that mother-tongue teaching is important but should be dealt with outside the mainstream school; others show enthusiasm but become confused because of failing to reach the expected academic achievements with multilingual pupils. As stated above, the pupils are assessed on only part of their repertoire, so are systematically disadvantaged. In her study, Conteh (2003: 104) illustrates this confusion by narrating the story of one teacher at the very beginning of her teaching experience; the teacher was working in a multilingual context and initially had positive attitudes towards multilingualism, whereas towards the end of her first year of teaching, after assessing

the children, she revealed in some interviews that minority children had not reached the expected standard. Therefore, the teacher somehow acknowledged, albeit in an indirect way, that the children may be blamed for being underachievers. This kind of interpretation may have a negative impact on the children's performance in the future as they are blamed for not getting the expected results. Likewise, Agirdad (2010: 307) highlights that the multilingual minority pupils' home language ~~was~~ is understood as an obstacle in the educational arena. His study has shown the impact of the schools' misrecognition of the minority pupils' home language on the children who all favoured the usage of one language. The author explains that:

[A]utochthonous languages are supported in education (English and Welsh in the UK), while the languages of immigrant and ethnic-minority children (Turkish, Punjabi or Arabic) are largely ignored and the linguistic identities of minority students unwelcome in their schools (2010: 307).

Lee and Oxelson (2006) have researched on mainstream teachers' attitudes towards multilingual pupils' home language maintenance from nursery to high school. The study highlights the importance of this theme and shows that teachers' attitude can hinder or foster home language learning through surveys and interviews. The findings suggest that teachers' personal experience with home languages and the type of training they have received make a significant difference in their pupils' home language maintenance. The authors claim that little attention was given to this critical theme in the literature. They argue that:

[T]eachers' recognition of the importance of heritage [home] languages [home languages] in the lives of their linguistic minority students is critical to the development and empowerment of the whole child and that heritage language maintenance needs to become more visible in the agendas of educators (Lee & Oxelson, 2006:468).

After presenting a variety of teachers' stances on multilingual pupils in relation to education, I will now demonstrate how my theoretical framework can illuminate the issues faced by teachers.

### *Mainstream Schools in the Ecological Approach*

This is where the ecological views on language maintenance and socio-cultural theories are significant in order to raise awareness on real issues. One layer (Government policy sets the tests) interacts with another layer (the school: teachers are subordinates when they act upon the curriculum and they are leaders when they interpret the tests) which influences the children (self: core in the ecological approach). Consequently, this tension between the micro and macro systems may lead policy makers and some educationalists, to perceive multilingualism to be a negative feature, as the EAL pupils' academic results can be below the average expected. Researchers such as Toohey (2000) illustrate school learning experiences of a few minority background children. Toohey explores "the ways in which [the multilingual pupils'] social identities and positioning affect their participation" (2000:134) in English (as an additional language) conversations. Sometimes children are given a certain identity, for example as "needing language support", this can have an impact on their learning since the positioning in their classroom determines their role as subordinates or leaders. Norton and Toohey see in classroom settings a place for pupils to take a variety of positions that can gratify them and thus facilitate interactions. They state that:

If language educators recognize that diverse classroom practices offer learners a range of positions from which to speak, listen, read, or write, it is important for educators to explore with students which identity positions offer the greatest opportunity for social engagement and interaction. (Norton and Toohey, 2011: 429)

Acknowledging that the social context has an effect on the children is a significant step forward because it opens doors to a world in which pupils can learn how to resist the identities their schools offer them.

After presenting some literature on mainstream schools, the place they offer to multilingual children and their impact on home language maintenance, I will need to present another important institution that play a significant role for multilingual pupils: the French complementary school. I will discuss some research pertaining to the complementary schools and their position within the UK educational system in order to show what the literature proposes for the complementary schools' role in the multilingual children's learning environment.

#### **2.2.7.2 Complementary Schools**

As Blackledge and Creese (2010) maintain, complementary schooling has always been marginalised and its place “in mainstream classrooms eroded” (2010:46). The mother tongue is generally taught on Saturdays or Sundays, days in which extracurricular activities often take place; consequently, this minimizes the importance of the courses given at that particular time (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Moreover, the difference of qualification standards in teaching is another criterion that undermines the value of the mother tongue. Attending complementary schools could also cause much tension and many complaints from the child under pressure, which could be counterproductive in the long run if the gap between home, mainstream and complementary schools remains.

### ***Absence of Link between Complementary Schools and Mainstream Schools***

For about sixty years, complementary schools have been independent in their teaching initiatives even if EEC directives and Bullock Report (DES, 1975) promoted formal support. As mentioned in section 2.1.2, the then government clarified their position in the Swann Report (DES, 1985:406). Therefore, complementary schools have been promoting their cultural and linguistic capital for a significant number of years without connection with the mainstream school education.

In the following section, I will discuss some studies pertaining to complementary schools that strive to cater for multilingual children's identity enactment, social and educational needs that may not always been grasped by mainstream schools.

### ***Complementary Schools Challenge Mainstream Schools***

The literature shows that complementary schools have challenged the mainstream preconceptions (Kenner and Ruby, 2012; Mc Lean, 1985 and Tomlinson, 1984); for example, in East London, complementary teachers show the creative teaching strategies they have explored to some mainstream teachers in order to cater for their multilingual pupils. Kenner and Ruby state that:

The mainstream teacher was impressed by the strategies the grandmother used to support each child as they worked on independent reading or writing tasks at their particular level, whilst she simultaneously engaged the attention of two active toddlers also present in the room by encouraging them to look at alphabet books (2012: 517).

In a previous collaborative action research with mainstream teachers and Bengali pupils in two Tower Hamlets primary schools, Kenner et al. had already pinpointed the lack of recognition of their multilingual children's linguistic background. They argue after that:

[Teachers] realised they had previously viewed children through a monolingual filter, whereas in fact Bengali was 'part of who they are' and they had 'so much life outside of school'. Bringing these aspects of linguistic and cultural identity into school enabled children to present themselves as learners in new ways. A teacher impressed by children's response to working in Bengali said: 'It's their script...it's their language...when they see it they're very excited' (2007: 4).

Researchers such as Conteh (2007a) have illustrated the importance of valuing pupils' home language and culture and drawing a link between their home experience and the mainstream school culture. The target of these classes in a complementary school is "to develop emergent [multi]lingual children's knowledge of and confidence in their home and community languages as a means of raising their achievements in mainstream schooling" Conteh (2007a, 119). In fact, this specific teaching serves the mother tongue maintenance. The method used in these classes is multilingual. The interesting concept of using the mother-tongue as a tool for learning topics extracted from the National Curriculum bridges the two schools (mainstream and complementary) which may be beneficial for the children.

Research has been conducted on how multilingual teachers' professional roles and identities are built in complementary schools. Conteh (2007a:120) narrates her research that consists of observing a Saturday complementary school in Bradford, in which teachers were showing their multilingual approach to learning. The children were the descendants of the mill workers coming originally from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. The languages represented in the classroom were English, Punjabi, Hinko, Urdu and Bengla. The activities organised in the classroom focused on "language awareness and learning about languages". According to the observer, everyone in the classroom was empowered: "Children and adults shared teaching and learning roles" Conteh (2007a: 121). They all link their class experience with the outside world experience.

Other researchers such as Barradas (2007) focused on seven to sixteen year-old Portuguese children in London learning in complementary schools resorting to interviews with parents and pupils in order to illuminate educational achievement data of Portuguese pupils who participated in complementary schools with Portuguese pupils who did not from the same mainstream school; she concluded her study stating that a new vision pertaining to multilingual children was necessary. She advanced that those children and their educators (parents, mainstream and complementary school teachers) should be involved together to provide these children with the best practice. She suggested that training among staff in relation to multilingual children, appropriate resources and more time dedicated to this purpose should provide justice in education and participation in society

Chen (2007) demonstrates that multilingual children (thirteen to fifteen year-old) with Chinese language background are, unlike the results of many studies confirming the underachievement of ethnic minority children, successful in their education.

Both research indicated that there was no link between the mainstream and the complementary schools.

Martin et al. (2007) discuss the multilingual learning experiences in two Gujarati complementary schools in Leicester, UK. They carried out ethnographic case studies doing semi-participant observation accompanied by field notes, audio-recordings of some lessons in agreement with head teachers and participants and review of documents in relation to school life. In addition, interviews were conducted with administrators, teachers, parents and students. The outcome of their study shows that complementary schools are premises where multilingual children could appreciate the importance of their home language with regard to a variety of cultural, social and linguistic identities.

These authors talk about the macro system that encompasses the politicians' speech on multilingualism and how it reflects the society's perception on multilingualism as the backdrop of their study. They go on to emphasise that the politicians are inclined to elicit fear of multilingualism in the country (Beardsmore, 2003).

This literature represents the background of my study. In general, it indicates that the UK is definitely a multilingual place with a monolingual mainstream educational system. I am interested in knowing how multilingual children maintain their home language in such a setting. I have understood through these articles that the resort to ethnography is an approach allowing observation, interviews, informal conversations, field notes, diaries, photos, audio and video recording in a variety of settings. These researchers confirm that this methodology facilitates the understanding of young children's points of view (Conteh et al., 2005); I would say that such a procedure is necessary for the kind of data I need in view of answering my research questions. As a matter of fact, my study requires techniques that enable the researcher to hear "unheard voices" (Johnstone & Marcello, 2010:11) and by doing so empowering them and thus, offering them a space to express their experience as a multilingual child in different settings. The researchers mentioned above, have emphasised that these children are surrounded by monolingual voices for a major part of the day in a world that promotes democracy and free expression; given that the pupils are conditioned to speak English only in mainstream schools, other premises have to be investigated in order to capture how these multilingual children cope with this contradiction and tension. Safford & Drury (2013: 78) state that "an understanding of these speech communities reveals the inter-relatedness of social, cultural and linguistic learning factors, and positions [multilingual][...] children as active co-constructors of their learning"; every context

has its own culture which means specific languages, expectations, values and beliefs; that is why they are worth exploring.

As a whole, complementary schools might help to “transform, negotiate and manage the linguistic, social and learning identities of the participants in the classroom” (Martin et al., 2006). After studying what schools offer to the multilingual pupil, let us explore what multilingual parents experience when they desire that their children maintain the home language according to the literature.

### **2.2.7.3 Families in Relation to Multilingualism *Family Language Policy***

The emerging interdisciplinary field of FLP has the purpose to highlight the reasons why some families remain multilingual and others become monolingual. FLP is defined as:

explicit and overt planning in relation to language use within the home among family members, and provides an integrated overview of research on how languages are managed, learned, and negotiated within families (King et al., 2008: 907)).

In another article, King and Fogle state that:

FLP addresses child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life (King and Fogle, 2013: 172).

Therefore, if language maintenance is partly viewed as a state depending on the parents’ decision within the family, it is a dynamic process that could be placed at any time on a continuum from a strict planned policy to maintain home language to the policy of “laissez-faire”. It is surely much determined by the family’s attitudes and practices towards multilingualism within the home. Palviainen and Boyd (2014: 225) stress that

“family language policy is by its very nature dynamic and fluctuating and subject to re-negotiation during the on-going life of a family”. That is one of the reasons research in this domain is important in understanding the various positions families take in this rapidly changing world. However, research shows that parents do not generally have plans to manage their family. It is often circumstances and historical contexts that determine the ways language is used in homes. In this respect, one could argue King et al.'s (2008) definition of FLP in the sense that FLP is not purposefully planned by families (Boix-Fuster and Paradis, 2015).

This field is significant in highlighting the family's decision in language use and the impact on their offspring. The literature shows the relevance of the family's beliefs and language management within the home context in determining multilingual children's home language experience and maintenance. In summary, FLP includes parental narratives of their multilingual child-rearing, ideological, social and cultural effects on multilingual children, the family's cultural attitudes impact on the child (language proficiency, social identity, language choice and use and vice versa (King and Fogle, 2013).

It is crucial to resort to this field for my study as it contributes to the clarification of my research question raising the tensions or controversies in families and schools that obstruct home language maintenance (Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). By investigating families' background and practices, researchers manage to identify forces that foster or discourage the use of particular languages. Some scholars bring forward the importance of cultural values and activities in the home and show how families exploit their resources to capitalise on their home language (Garrett & Baquedano-López, 2002). Others such as Perez Baez (2013) investigate families' language management showing

that families may be responsible for language shift due to low confidence in promoting and supporting multilingualism at home.

In addition to a more dynamic definition of family, recent research (Giles, 2001; Gafaranga, 2010; Fogle, 2012; King and Fogle, 2013 and King, 2013) has developed the concept of child's agency and identity choices investigating on multilingual children's own perspective on multilingualism. Here is an illustration of some of the literature on the child's own position on multilingualism.

### ***Multilingual Children's Perspective***

The ultimate factor behind linguistic choices in a home is determined by the individual child's beliefs that could be identified through his or her attitudes and practices (Giles, 2001).

Fogle (2012) focuses on the importance of exploring children's agency within Family Language Policy. In fact, parents have a major role of socialising their children at a young age; however, later, children are not only "recipient" but develop their own identity and make their decision as for language choice. Agency, in this context, is:

[A]n actor's or group's ability to make purposeful choices. They consider agency to be strongly determined by people's individual assets (such as land, housing, livestock, savings) and capabilities of all types: human (such as good health and education), social (such as social belonging, a sense of identity, leadership relations) and psychological (self-esteem, self-confidence, the ability to imagine and aspire to a better future), and by people's collective assets and capabilities, such as voice, organization, representation and identity (Samman and Santos, 2009).

Agency is a significant concept in a study related to multilingual children's home language maintenance in a challenging setting since the child's "assets" and

“capabilities” (human, social, psychological) impact on his or her agency. Thus, exploring these attributes could lead to better understanding of multilingual status quo. Generally, in primary schools, researchers such as Cho, Shin and Krashen (2004), Lee (2002), Nguyen et al. (2001) indicate that multilingual children have a tendency to hold positive attitudes toward their home language as well as believe that retaining it, is important.

On the contrary, other researchers such as Agirdad (2010) draws attention on students from Turkish origin and their monolingual counterparts from Belgium who favoured the usage of one language (2010: 307) due to the impact of the school’s misrecognition of their home language.

### **2.3 Summary**

This chapter has illuminated the UK setting in relation to primary school multilingual pupils. It has clarified the meaning of multilingualism, the place of the French home language, the government stance, the local, national and international viewpoint on multilingual children education and finally, the idea of layers (macro system, exosystem, meso system and micro system) interacting with one another and influencing the multilingual child. In addition, the literature has shown the relevance of “funds of knowledge”, a concept underpinned by several studies to support multilingual children and thus their teachers.

The literature review has put a special emphasis on family language policy as it plays a crucial role in the child’s home language maintenance. Schwartz and Verschik state that:

The outcome of FLP in every case is not determined solely by language policy, status of a linguistic community, consistent OPOL (one parent one language) principle etc. Instead, we see a variety of factors, such as discursive construction of place, language attitudes among particular individuals, [parents' perception of endangerment vs stability of a certain language], space for creative language use, children's [...] ideas about multilingualism or particular languages and many others (2013: 17).

It is clear that no researcher can identify all the factors determining the maintenance or shift of a language within a family; however, I intend with the following methodology and data collection to gather relevant insights to some multilingual families in the UK and thus contribute to the "joint social venture" (Schwartz and Verschik: 2013: 17) necessary to capture a more comprehensive picture of the multilingual challenges, the way they succeed and how families and teachers or educators in general can support them.

A variety of research has flourished emphasising the benefits of multilingualism (Cummins, 2000; Portes and Hao, 2002; Blackledge and Creese, 2010). Through his study, Agirdad acknowledges that:

[V]ery few researchers have extensively investigated how the students experience their languages in a monolingual educational context such as in England [...]" (2010: 308).

This is an obvious gap in the literature that I hope my study somehow fills.

In the next chapter, I intend to describe the methodology my project requires, to be able to conduct the data collection and thus data analysis that will lead to my findings.

## **Chapter 3 Methodology and Research Design**

### **3.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I discuss the plan for carrying out my research and also talk about the reasons why I decided on a particular method rather than another. I explain the rationale for choosing the qualitative methodology within which I designed three case studies to be able to conduct my project. Within this approach, I drew on ethnography in order to capture a “thick description” (Geertz, 1973) of my participants. I also tackle the questions of data collection process, data analysis, trustworthiness, ethical concern as well as the researcher’s central roles in this ethnographic study (multiple roles (mother, assistant and researcher)).

### **3.2 Methodology:**

#### **3.2.1 Qualitative Research**

Given the focus of the study on social influences (internal and external forces) on home language maintenance and attitudes, this involves eliciting my participants’ perspectives in some depth and so a qualitative approach is more appropriate. Qualitative research allows researchers to carry out research in natural setting (Denzin & Lincoln: 2005). In this case, the qualitative research approach allows the study of my informants as they have learnt practised French and English in a naturally occurring setting. It facilitates the understanding of informants’ life experiences and the meaning they give to those experiences (Darlington and Scott, 2002). In addition, the approach allows for the use of multiple data collection tools which promote triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In the section on trustworthiness, I will show how the issue of rigour will be addressed in the research.

There are different methodological frameworks of collecting qualitative data; the ethnographic approach is one of them. Here is the definition and rationale for this selection.

### **3.2.2 Ethnography:**

Ethnography implies the close observation of different social and cultural processes. It affords important and distinctive insight that occurs in places where people share experiences. In addition to a thorough study of local issues, it allows “tying [our] observations to broader relations of power and ideology” (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 67).

Ethnography is defined by Erikson (1990:80) as a rigorous and systematic investigation on “the slippery phenomenon of everyday interaction and its connections through the medium of subjective meaning with the wider social world”. The purpose is to look for meaning in relation to French home language maintenance in the details of a fixed set of data collected on specific dates for a certain length of time during observation, interviews, diaries, photographs and video recording. Daily apparently disorganised conversation and the record of the participants’ own interpretations of what is taking place around them as well as the researcher’s perspectives should give a good understanding of the participants’ behaviour.

I carried out a comprehensive description of my informants’ attitudes, reactions, values and beliefs as well as of all the close people with whom they interacted on a regular basis and concentrated on the items that were in relation to home language maintenance. Further, I showed transparency and attempted to give a clear explanation of my relationship with the community from whom I selected my research participants. I also clarified the fact that my position and background facilitated the collection of real data.

In addition, I demonstrated that the topic under study was significant to me as I had to play the dual role of a mother and a researcher. Moreover, I benefitted from mixed background families in the same region who were interested in finding out more about policies (family, state and school) that influenced home language maintenance. Finally, I did not omit to review government documents regarding multilingual children in the primary school in order to show the importance of the context on which participants depend for their education. At last I can say that the ethnography I conducted was thick, real and trustworthy as requested of any good ethnography.

Deal (1985) wrote that the ethnographer's role is to answer questions such as "what's going on here? How does this work? How do people do this?" and he or she hopes to be told by those people about "the way we do things around here". After explaining the reasons why I selected qualitative research and ethnography methodology, I would like to give some justification on the choice of case studies as my research design.

### **3.3 Research Design: Case Study**

The case study approach was selected because it allows the use of several techniques (observation, interviews, diaries, field notes and document review) for collecting multiple sources of data (Yin, 2003), thus promoting triangulation. It also allows to study in great details (Carey, 2009) those factors that influence home language maintenance. Another significant advantage of case study is that it offers optimum opportunity for understanding complex issues (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2007 and Stake, 2005). Stake (1995: XI) defines case study as "the study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances". This is possible thanks to the restriction of the number of cases. In addition, it gives the researcher the chance to deal with relationships and social

processes in such a way that it is not accessible to other approaches (Denscombe, 2007:45). It also allows the investigator, who has little control over events as the phenomena are naturally occurring, to record events as they happen without the pressure of changing variables.

However, marking clearly the boundaries of a case study can be challenging (Creswell, 2007 and Stake, 2006). I will define the scope of my case in section 3.4 below (see data collection process). All other limitations such as issues of generalisation are addressed below and subjectivity, addressed in section on trustworthiness (section 3.6).

Another issue related to case studies is that of generalisation. I am aware that my cases cannot be generalised to a wider population; however, Stake (1995:85) claims that researchers can still achieve “naturalistic generalization”. He wrote: “naturalistic generalizations are conclusions arrived at through personal engagement in life’s affairs or by vicarious experience so well constructed that the person feels as if it happened to him/herself”. Stake (1995:102) states that the investigator “tries to provide description that would allow readers to make their own interpretations”. “Naturalistic generalisation” (Stake, 1995: 102) will be achieved in this study if it raises awareness on the influences that affect language maintenance among multilingual children in a context such as the United Kingdom, Yorkshire, primary schools, common historical location (development and changes), social location (age, social class, sex, ethnic grouping) and common institutional location (official government or local policies regarding the issues under investigation).

Finally, another challenge for the researcher is to negotiate access to case study settings. This is usually tackled by planning several visits before the proper study in order to get

familiar with the place and people. Places can be accessed thanks to many negotiations, much common sense and good conduct.

Being an assistant of my research participants for two years before the data collection phase in the French complementary school, being French and having a daughter in the school have facilitated my role as a case ethnographer mother researcher (data collection and interpretation). Over the years, children have had some contact with me, which could have helped them to feel free of all kind of intimidation and of mistrust. Moreover, other strength of my case studies is that my long term presence in the classroom may have overcome the “observer effect” disadvantage as the participants acted in a natural way in front of me. Finally, I will point out the issues connected with subjectivity.

In reality, if I had collected data solely from my perspective, the findings would have been biased. To avoid this eventuality, I decided to triangulate my data by taking the parents’, teachers’ and most importantly the children’s standpoints (see 3.6 in trustworthiness).

Originally, I transcribed the interviews of five participants. After coding all the data, I noticed that the last two respondents did not bring any additional findings to what had already been presented in the first three life experiences of Dahlia, Gabriel and Oscar. Therefore, I analysed the three case study sets of data based on 18 interviews supported by other tools such as observation, diaries, field notes and document review (see Appendicesx Ten).

Thus, I developed three linked case studies within a class in a French complementary School in Yorkshire. I undertook an in-depth research into one multilingual girl and two

multilingual boys who gathered each Saturday ostensibly for the same reason, breathing some kind of French air within a wider British “multicultural and multilingual” community, but with a strong monolingual schooling system. I grasped a comprehensive understanding of multilingual (mainly French/English multilingual) young children by concentrating on their interactions with different members of their community. Stake asserts that:

During observation, the qualitative case study researcher keeps a good record of events to provide a relatively incontestable description for further analysis and ultimate reporting...The story often starts to take shape during the observation, [but] sometimes does not emerge until write-ups of many observations are poured over (Stake, 1995:62).

This statement was implemented in my study by extending the period of investigation to one year with another year immersed in similar settings to familiarise myself, just before the data collection phase. Even if each case from a class itself part of a school (small primary complementary school in the UK) is unique, it can still be taken as one type of social phenomenon (complementary school in the UK) as defended by Hammersley, 1992; Ragin and Becker, 1992; Yin, 1994). Furthermore, the cases are particularly interesting because of the common points they share between them, (a French parent, educated family, same age, same level of education in the mainstream school; but attending different mainstream schools in Yorkshire, encouraged to join the French school, growing in more or less the same economic, political and ideological setting) and of the fact that they are different from the average children attending the mainstream school in England.

In the next section, I will present the way I have collected data for the purpose of my study.

### **3.4 Data Collection Process**

#### **3.4.1 Introduction**

Firstly, I collected and reviewed government policy documents regarding multilingual education in the UK because the first layer of the ecology of learning which influences the other layers is composed of the national economy and government policies, themselves impacting on mainstream and complementary schools, respectively the English Junior schools and the French complementary school in Yorkshire which were explored (see Data Itinerary Chart in Appendixesx Ten for more detail regarding the number of observation) because they played a major role in the children's home language maintenance. I aimed at emphasising the historical, social, cultural, political and economic dimensions that have played a role in the elaboration of the children's education. I also reviewed mainstream and complementary school documents such as English and French policy documents in relation to the ten-year-olds' education, one participant's activity books and reports to investigate her language practice. The review of various documents was for grasping what the government's message (in terms of additional language education) to schools was and how it was understood by teachers and parents.

Secondly, I carried out the ethnographic case study in three different contexts: complementary school as the nexus of the study, the place where all the participants shared the same language experience, mainstream schools through parents and teachers as informants and at home through parents. At this stage I observed the multilingual children in the complementary primary school and consecutively I conducted semi-structured interviews with them. I asked parents to write several comments regarding their child's behaviour in relation to the French language and culture in a diary at the

end of the month which was collected about three times (when parents were ready to dedicate some time to it) during the academic year under study and then I prepared semi-structured interviews to clarify the notes from the diaries with the parents. I reviewed one participant's term reports (as I had access to one participant's report only). I had to moderate visits by establishing stages of investigation taking place more or less at the same time for the three families thus I could set up consistency in the ways I accessed data in the children's home and mainstream schools in order to have a sense of equivalence of the data obtained by different parties. I had one set of interviews in the home. This gave me a sense of the environment in which each child develops. At the end of the data collection period, I also organised a visit in each mainstream school when the child, parents, head teacher and teacher agreed in order to perceive clearly the type of setting to which the child under investigation was exposed.

On 10<sup>th</sup> March 2012, I contacted one of the headmistresses in the French School in order to explain my intention to conduct a study regarding multilingual children's learning experiences in the UK in relation to their mother tongue maintenance in Year Five. She readily accepted the idea and suggested that I organised a meeting in the school on 24 March in order to inform all the parents. From that time, I immediately prepared a portfolio that was proofread by my supervisor. When it was ready, I contacted the same headmistress again and asked her to send a letter to the parents to inform them of my project and the meeting. Here is a copy of the email she sent them:

Chers parents,

Valérie Nave, assistante dans la classe de votre enfant en CE2, est également étudiante au niveau PhD. Elle étudie le multilinguisme chez les enfants évoluant dans un milieu scolaire monolingue. Alliant ses compétences de recherche à son travail d'assistante dans cette classe ; c'est dans ce cadre, qu'elle souhaiterait s'entretenir avec vous durant une réunion d'environ une demi-heure. Elle vous soumettra son projet de recherche qui prendrait place de septembre 2012 à Juin 2013 quand votre enfant sera en CM1. Valérie restera assistante auprès de vos enfants en classe de CM1 l'année scolaire prochaine.

Nous vous proposons donc une réunion d'information, samedi prochain, le 24 mars de 10h00 à 10h30. Une salle sera à votre disposition où Valérie vous attendra avec brioche/gâteau et café.

Venez nombreux!

Amitiés,

Jocelyne

**Table 3.1: Letter from the French complementary school addressed to the eventual participants' parents**

This email was sent on Wednesday 22 March 2012. We selected that date for a purpose. If we had sent the email to the parents too early they might have forgotten the event, and we also needed to give them enough time to make some arrangements.

Below is a table of all the pupils' and parents' names of the CM1 (Cours Moyen 1/equivalent to Year Four) class and their answers following a group meeting; in some cases, a letter and information sheet were sent with the pupils when the parents could not attend the meeting.

**Emilie:** Mr and Mrs Smith- the letter and information sheet were distributed. I did not receive any answer from them.

**Oscar:** Mr and Mrs Sander-the mother attended the meeting; she showed much interest. She said that this study might illuminate several issues of which she might not be aware. She also said that her husband totally agreed on this research. She signed the consent form after having been informed by the researcher. She had a request: she said “I am not academic, how would I know how to write a diary?” Following this meeting I took the initiative to prepare a booklet (diary) for the parents including some examples of what is expected from them.

**Cecile:** Mr and Mrs Robinson answered by email apologising that they would not be able to attend the meeting but they would welcome the idea and asked the researcher to send the documents through their daughter.

**Dahlia:** Mr Alkali agreed to be part of the research. The mother is the researcher and will take into consideration mainly her husband’s standpoint for this case as it is delicate to be an interviewer and interviewee at the same time.

**Frank:** Mrs Peterson attended the meeting; she will submit the form later on as she had to go back to her classroom to teach. She also welcomed my study and promised that she would read all the literature at home and would ask the researcher questions if needed. Form was returned in July.

**Emma:** No response

**Gabriel:** Mrs Dominique Dorigny (Mother agreed during a conversation after school, the child agreed later, in the following academic year).

**Table 3.2: List of Potential Participants and their Parents**

After presenting a list of potential participants and their parents, I produce a table elaborating on the three actual participants who welcome the idea of taking part in my study.

<b>Questions/Participants</b>	<b>Dahlia</b>	<b>Oscar</b>	<b>Gabriel</b>
<b>1. What is the participant's gender?</b>	Female	Male	Male
<b>2. How old was the participant when he or she moved to the UK?</b>	1:8	Born in the UK	Born in the UK
<b>3. Where was my participant born?</b>	Sharjah, United Arab Emirates	UK	Leeds, UK
<b>4. Where did he/she grow up?</b>	Leeds, UK (suburbs)	UK (village outside Leeds)	Leeds, UK (inner city)
<b>5. What is the reason for the family to move to the UK?</b>	For education and work purposes	French mother married to an English	French mother with an English partner
<b>6. What is the parents' level of education?</b>	Father: doctorate in computer science  Mother: in the process of gaining a PhD.	Father: BSc + Dipl. in management  Mother: BA + Dipl. in management	Father: GCSE  Mother: PGCE
<b>7. What languages do the parents speak?</b>	Father: Arabic, English and French  Mother: French, English and some knowledge of Arabic	Father: English and good knowledge of French.  Mother: French and English	Father: English  Mother: French and English.

<b>What are the languages mainly spoken at home?</b>	Mainly French, some Arabic and English	Mainly English, some French	Mainly English, some French
<b>8. Linguistic Context of the Family</b>	<p>Mother is a native speaker of French</p> <p>Father is a native speaker of Arabic</p> <p>The predominant language of the family is French. English is used for social life.</p>	<p>Mother is a native speaker of French</p> <p>Father is a native speaker of English.</p> <p>The predominant language of the family is English. However, the mother speaks to her children in French.</p>	<p>Mother is a native speaker of French.</p> <p>Father is a native speaker of English</p> <p>The predominant language of the family is English. French is used in places where mother and sons are alone.</p>
<b>9. Does the participant have any sibling? If yes, how many?</b>	3 older sisters	Twins: one younger brother and one younger sister	1 older brother from the same mother and 1 older brother and 1 older sister from a different mother.
<b>10. How long has he been attending the French Complementary School?</b>	Dahlia has attended the French school for the last 6 years. She started at the age	Ever since he was 4. (6 years)	French play group when he was a baby and the French school from

	of 7.		the age of 5.
--	-------	--	---------------

**Table 3.3: Table Summarising Information about the Final Analysed Three Cases**

Following this meeting, five families were willing to participate in my project. When the complementary school reopened on 15 September 2012, I emailed the headmistresses to ask permission to videotape the CM1 classroom. I asked verbally the teacher if I could videotape her class and she agreed. I then had the written agreement on videotaping. Following that, I distributed a form to my participants to get their permission to videotape them. The parents were also solicited; I finally got the agreement from all the parents. On Saturday 27 September 2012, I videotaped the French class with the permission of the parents as well as the teacher, the head teacher and the children as a trial exercise. On the 20 October 2012, I videotaped them after identifying certain classroom features on which I focused (interactions, language(s) used, attitudes, content of free speech...). On Tuesday 13 November 2012, I sent an email to my participants' parents in order to arrange a home visit and an interview with them in relation with the diary I collected on 10 November 2012.

On the 11 December 2012, I first established my interview question plan in English as all my participants are fluent in this language. After doing my first interview with one French parent, I realised that she might have preferred French language as she was used to speak French to me. I, therefore, prepare the translation of my first set of questions into French in order to dedicate all my interview time on the content and context of the interview. However, no participant had any particular preference as they were fluent in both

languages. For convenience, we did most of the interviews in English, but sometimes, “translanguaging” (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Garcia, 2009) took place when I encouraged them to do so in order to facilitate the communication flow. I have not analysed the reasons why they may have used an English word instead of a French word because it hardly happened. However, the fact that it barely takes place is another indication that the education is in essence monolingual and does hardly offer space for another language to be used for communication purposes. This observation is linked to the macro system (government ideology) that impacts necessarily on most institutions (see section 2.2.3.1)

On Saturday 1 February 2013, I planned to observe the class. On that day, the teacher had given the pupils some homework regarding the ways they learn. I wanted to make them think about whom they listened the most when they developed their language performance. I, therefore, asked permission to the class teacher to design a ‘diamond nine ranking’ in which I suggested a series of ideas in relation to people who could impact on the child. Because of this activity, I found it difficult to do my observation thoroughly. I therefore decided to redo the observation the following week, concentrated on each participant ten minutes and then interviewed each one for duration of twenty minutes approximately.

On 3 February 2013, I wrote my second set of interview questions for children, had it checked by my supervisor; I made sure that the questions were simplified to help the children visualise the situation on which they were being interviewed.

The following week on 9 February 2013, I interviewed Gabriel and Oscar. They were both willing to go to the kitchen next to the classroom to do it one after the other. We sat at a table where my interviewee was facing me and the wall. Nothing could interrupt them apart from the fact that the headmistress and two assistants came around for washing their mugs

as they did not know that I was interviewing in that particular place. The actual classroom was locked on that particular day and I had to adapt to the temporary situation to perform my interviews. I wanted to finish my second set of interviews in February; however, the children had two weeks of half-term holidays. I, therefore, completed the second set of interviews with the children participants on 2 March 2013 in the complementary school. On the week of 5 March 2013, I sent an email to the families under study, to inform them that they would receive a booklet for March and that I planned another round of interviews with them in the time and place of their convenience. Gabriel's mother responded on the spot informing me that she was busy for the following two weeks and that she could only schedule something with me later. Oscar's mother's decided to do the interview on Skype on 2 June 2013.

As soon as I ended an interview meeting with individual participants, I made sure that within forty eight hours I listened to the interview several times and then started transcribing the whole interview. Transcribing was done initially manually but as I realised how much time consuming the whole task was, I decided to listen and type the conversation directly on Word. I had all my questions typed and the participants' answers filling half of the page vertically as I deliberately left enough space to comment on every cue. A file containing 'data collection from children', 'data collection from parents' and 'data collection from teachers' within which I had two sub-files including the teacher from the complementary school and the ones from mainstream school, was created for each participant and their surrounding relevant social actors. I also created a table of record for each major phase in my data collection process; the table lists a comprehensive programme of interviews in a variety of institutions supported by field notes (observation/diaries/conversations) (see Appendicesx Ten/ Data Itinerary Chart). The next

step was to draw a table and code my data in relation to my theoretical frameworks that is to say coding the data by identifying patterns within the home culture's experience, the school culture's environment and practice, the relationship between the two institutions from three perspectives (children, parents and teachers), the influence of the exosystem (extended family and parents' work) and then the impact of the government policies or historical contexts on multilingual matters (macrosystem). The first column consists of elaborating the emerging themes (see section 3.5 Data Analysis/account on the ways themes were identified). I numbered the interview lines and referred to them in the transcription table (see table 3.4 below) in the second column called 'codes'. In a third column, I brought forward the keywords of the selected quotes. Finally, I included comments in the last column; this space was important to mention any point that needed further explanation and to add some details in relation to the context. Then I changed my strategy and selected only snippets of the interview that answered my research question. In the second version of the table, I indicated the time of the quotes in order to be able to retrieve the information in case the analysis would have necessitated more details. As the process took more time than expected, I had to delay slightly the initial schedule of the second batch of interviews. At the beginning of March 2013, I distributed a third diary to the parents after having informing them by electronic mail that I would send them a booklet via their child; at the same time, I asked them to suggest a date and a place for a second interview. Gabriel's mother could not make it in the following two weeks and wanted me to contact her after that. As for Dahlia, the second interview took place first as I had much more flexibility to question her father who was in the proximity. Moreover, the fact that I had informants to interview in my household (referring to Dahlia's case study) constantly helped me to improve the quality of consecutive interviews. I mean that I often drew on my

close participants as piloting instruments. Their reactions to my questions were good guidance for further interviews with the other participants.

The whole process developed with the guidance of the theoretical framework to which I resorted when I prepared my semi-structured interviews in order to investigate the range of my multilingual participants' experiences with one of their home languages in three different educational contexts. Thus, the analytical themes derived from the layers of the theory of ecology together with the way I elicited my participants and actors' points of view on their linguistic and cultural situations; they also originated from the fact that I considered all the data I collected without discarding any information on the grounds that it was inappropriate; in other words, all my participants' and actors' words and attitudes were taken into account even if they surprised me.

Below is an example of the table upon which I drew (one table per interview) after transcribing my interviews aiming at selecting any information that was in relation to my research topic.

Participant's name:

Interview:

Venue:

Introduction/Time/Description of the place:

<b>Themes</b>	<b>Codes (quotes)</b>	<b>Key words</b>	<b>Comments (linking)</b>
<b>Strength/possibilities/Opportunity maintain the home language</b>			
<b><u>Microsystem:</u></b>			
<u>The Home Culture:</u> <u>Communication</u>			
<b>The parents:</b>			
Parents' perspective on multilingualism			
Parents' daily practice in relation to home language			
Parental involvement in the child's life			
<b>The child:</b>			
<u>Identity construction</u>			
Child's own perspective on multilingualism			
Child's perspective on people's culture			
<u>Facing challenges</u>			
<u>Motivation</u>			

Sense of success			
Sense of belonging			
<u>The School Culture:</u> No data from the mainstream school			
<b><u>Mesosystem:</u></b> <u>The Home-School Relationship:</u> Parental involvement in the school			
<b><u>Exo system:</u></b> -Extended family involvement in the child's life  -Parents' jobs affecting the home experience			
<b>Impediment/constraints/factors that impede Home Language Maintenance/Limited opportunity to retain the home language</b>			
<b><u>Microsystem:</u></b> <u>The Home Culture:</u> -contradictions between beliefs, attitudes and Practices			
-Pressure from older generations (beliefs/ attitudes and practices)			
-'Monolingualising' culture  No space for a multilingual/multicultural education (practices)			
<b><u>Mesosystem:</u></b> <u>The Home-School Relationship:</u>			

-Parents do not know their rights (beliefs) in relation to multilingual education expectations at school. (attitudes/practices)			
---	--	--	--

**Table 3.4: One Example of a Transcription Table (Preliminary Phase)**

- **Process of the Coding Stages**

I followed Harding's (2013) process guiding researchers on steps to coding. First of all, I filed each case study and included in each folder the three interviews with the main participant, the ten year-old multilingual child, and then I added the two interviews with the mother. I also inserted the interview with the mainstream teacher and on one occasion, I could conduct one interview with the SEN specialist who was responsible for EAL pupils as well. In the nexus of this study, I collected data at the complementary school where I interviewed my three participants' common French teacher, Christine. I did a thorough reading of each piece (Neuman, 2006:461) and kept my research question at the back of my mind. This approach helped me to decide on what was important and what needed to be highlighted. As Rapley (2011: 280) mentions, it is crucial to build a holistic picture of each case. I engaged with my data by listening the audio recording several times. I proceeded to coding by selecting, separating and sorting my data (Charmaz, 2014). I devised categories in accordance with two main topics: any policy that could foster language retention or could impede it. I mainly got inspired by Pollard and Filer (1996) whose work guided me at the start of my data collection and analysis as he has developed an interest in the personal and interpersonal nature of the learning of young children and the social contexts where learning happens. I could decide whether the pupils under study were maintaining their French language as they had been part of the complementary school for several years. The ethnographic nature of my research had also given me enough time to be able to track the

multilingual children's language maintenance in reference to the French curriculum (see Appendices 12 for more details regarding the research question, its subdivisions).

### **3.4.2 Selection of Sites**

#### **3.4.2.1 Classroom:**

I have observed the literacy and cultural lessons of the multilingual children once every other month for a period of an academic year (October 2012-June 2013) in the complementary school in order to support my interview data. I took a seat at the back of the class and observed the children's communication with their mates and teacher when the lesson did not require assistance from me, and the way they felt about performing the activities during the lesson. I paid particular attention to the linguistic repertoire and took note of the actions of the teacher and other members of the class. Observing ~~five~~ three children was a constraint; therefore, I decided to observe each one for ten minutes with a minute break between each case. I videotaped the whole class in order to illuminate my research question and sub-questions; to avoid distraction during lessons which could somehow have made my participants self-conscious and thus altered the naturally occurring events, it started taking place in the middle of the data collection period just before Christmas holiday. I followed up observations with interviews to understand the observed behaviour better. When the lesson necessitated my help, I participated in group, pair and individual work. Whatever I observed, I withdrew at the back of the classroom pretending I was sorting out papers for the teachers and I took notes of what I had observed. This was done as part of my field notes. I also observed two of my participants for one hour in their mainstream schools at the end of the academic year. Another important site to consider in my study was the home. Here is an explanation of how I collected data from my participants' home.

### **3.4.2.2 Home**

I discussed with the parents what I was attempting to explore in a meeting in the complementary school and asked them to write some notes in a diary every weekend or every month according to convenience on particular events, attitudes, values, or facts regarding French language maintenance or interest in cultural items (such as “I would like to bake a cake my grand-mother did for me when I was in France”) in general. Some directions were available in a letter to parents to guide them in the diary weekly or monthly activities (see Appendixesx Two). I asked them to notice the way their children felt when they were with people and how, when and why they used any of the languages and the factors that affected the use of the languages. The aim was to generate a comprehensive description of home language maintenance and to gain an understanding of the policies that influenced their home language retention. Once, during the data collection period, I made a visit to the participants’ home when it was convenient for the parents in order to illuminate the issues raised. In the next part, I will shed light on the variety of tools I used for my study.

### **3.4.3 Selection of Tools**

#### **3.4.3.1 Document Review**

Reviewing documents has many advantages which includes triangulation of information with interviews and observations, getting information of events/facts occurring during my absence (Yin, 2003; Stake, 2006).

I obtained and reviewed the British government and mainstream and complementary schools policy tracing mention of multilingual education. As I was reviewing official documents (National Curriculum, School Curriculum, Reports, textbooks) pertaining to multilingual pupils, I questioned what the National Curriculum (1999) stated, how the diversity was dealt with, what issues led to the making of the National Curriculum, who

made the document, what influenced the making of the document and whether it was the government which was concerned about learning English only or multiple languages. These have showed government's standpoint and how the school understood and planned to put the government's strategies into practice. These documents have highlighted those policies that have affected multilingual education in schools. I recognised that obtaining and reviewing school records might have raised ethical concerns (Darlington and Scott, 2002). Therefore, I have addressed this issue under the section on ethics (section 3.7). Another issue as pointed out by Darlington and Scott (2002) is not having access to the documents. This was not the case given the fact that I had been a teacher's assistant in the French complementary school for two years before the start of the study. Most documents were easily accessible since some were available in public arena and others were viewed by the parents who gave me information during interviews (e.g. pupils' school reports, textbooks). When I reviewed a couple of textbooks, I looked at authors, texts, cultures represented and how it was interpreted. I was guided by Gee (2011)'s set of tools to guide me in the text analysis consisting of focusing on "significance, practices, identities, relationships, politics and connections". However, I resorted to thematic analysis by grouping recurrent key themes across the three case studies.

In the next paragraph, I will show how I drew on parents' diaries to contribute to the understanding of my participants' life during my absence with the parents' help as informants.

### **3.4.3.2 Parents' Diaries**

I supplied three booklets (see example Appendicesx Two) for each family in which they were asked to write comments at regular intervals during the data collection. This

collected information could supply more insight on the home culture (microsystem) and perspectives from families. The diarist could have been either the mother or father or siblings depending on the person who was mostly in charge of daily activities. In all the cases, the mothers were the only respondents. In order to guide parents who might have not known what to write, I designed a plan which was followed (by parents). By December 2012, a parent had to narrate some events regarding the reactions of his or her child when confronted to items of language or culture as he or she interacted with monolingual children. I also asked the same parent to voice their feedback on his or her child's home language retaining process as well as his or her social, emotional and physical development (in particular emphasis on social relationships). I made sure that it was given to the parent personally to keep confidentiality. I asked parents if he or she could write at least two pages- three times during the data collection period. I was aware that this task could have been burdensome; therefore, I asked a couple of parents who had always shown interest in my topic if they were ready to support me with this task. I had two positive answers at once. Diaries were followed by interviews to clarify any possible confusion in the parents' or siblings' comments. I also resorted to observation to gather more insight about each participant and to triangulate what was said in the interviews.

### **3.4.3.3 Observation**

Observation is a powerful tool in case studies as it facilitates the gathering of data as they occur (Darlington and Scott, 2002). There are many roles that the observer may adopt in an observation studies.

During observation, I listened, watched audio and video recordings and took field notes of what my participants said and did. I also described the context where the observation

occurred, the people with whom the informants were performing, the activities under study and how my participants felt about the activities. In the school, I observed my participants in the classroom. In my study, I adopted an active participation as I was a class assistant in the French complementary school, therefore, I sometimes corrected, explained a point again, gave an example, did the library record each week with every member of the class, attended the playground during break time and the cultural activities at the end of each French class.

One of the pitfalls of observation is that it can intrude into participants' privacy and make them act differently. The fact that I had been an assistant in the children's classroom for two years before I started the data collection had made them familiar with me and thus much less self-conscious. Other major limitations with observations are that I cannot always know why participants do what they do or the meaning of their particular actions (Darlington and Scott, 2002). Following the observation sessions, I clarified any notes with short interviews to find out the meaning of the observed behaviour. In the next paragraph, I would like to define interviews and show how useful they were in my research.

#### **3.4.3.4 Interviews: Advantages and Disadvantages**

Interviews are collection of information from direct one-to-one verbal exchanges (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). In my project, semi-structured interviews were used as they involved planned questions related to the research question and unplanned questions arising from the interviewees' responses to the interviews (Carey, 2009). Interview method was selected because of the many advantages; these include low cost, convenience, effective means of getting information, opportunity to seek clarity, suitable for research that explores experiences (Carey, 2009; Cohen et al., 2000;

Darlington and Scott, 2002 and Yin, 2003). The choice of interviewing the research participants- parents, pupils, teachers and head teachers- is because people who have experiences are the best to report on those experiences. The language teachers from the main and complementary schools were the best people to talk about the multilingual children's language learning. Also, the children were interviewed because they were the best people to give information about how they maintain their home language(s), the support and challenges that they faced in drawing on these languages. I once had a focus group and thus was able to explore attitudes, perceptions, feelings and ideas about their multilingual and multicultural experiences.

Since it requires care and precautions given the age of the main participants, I developed special strategies to interview them. In fact, as I was a teacher's assistant for the last two years before starting the research, it gave me and the children enough time to establish trust and comfort between us. I made sure that they were not disturbed by my interviews as I used different techniques to suit the time; for example, I drew on straightforward language and took into consideration the children's language. I also used artefacts to elicit their curiosity and break the ice. I made sure that I asked questions that were appropriate for their age (i.e.: not theoretical, not spiritual, in other words, questions in direct relation with their daily life); I sometimes drew on focus groups in order to establish a comfortable setting in which every member of the class was able to share his or her views, feelings and attitudes about a selected topic (Kruger & Casey, 2000). The semi-structured interviews for the children were conducted three times; in the first, fourth and eighth month of field work. In the first interview I asked the children questions regarding their background in order to familiarise myself more with him/her and his/her family. In the second interview I asked the children to tell me his or

her daily routine in regards to the French language. In the third interview I asked them to reflect on positive experiences and whether it was really an advantage to be multilingual. In all the interviews, in addition to pre-planned schemes, I asked my participants questions regarding any unclear points identified during observation. Also, semi-structured interviews were conducted with both multilingual children's parents in Case Study Two but with the father only in Case Study One and the mother only in Case Study Three. The purpose was to find out the factors that influenced the children's home language maintenance. Interviews were also relevant to clarify issues I saw during observation; thus helping me and my participants to jointly make meaning of the data.

The interviews also have some disadvantages such as collecting large amount of data which may be difficult to analyse; moreover, respondents may not remember the details because it involves recalling past experiences (see Cohen et al. 2000). I addressed the first issue under section on ethical concern section 3.7 on Data Storage and the second issue is discussed under the section 3.6 on Trustworthiness. Another way of addressing the issue in this research was by using documents and observations because interviews allowed the researcher to have access to what participants said they did and not what they actually did (Darlington and Scott, 2002). I audio recorded all interviews and allowed the participants to select the venue for all interviews (cafe, home, playground...) so they felt more comfortable. In ethnographic project, the data collection process occurs consecutively with the data analysis one. Here is a table on the number of interviews with the supportive field notes such as observations, diaries and conversations followed by some explanation on how I analysed my data.

### 3.5 Data Analysis

Qualitative studies require proceeding to develop a description, browsing data in order to identify themes and supplying inferences of the meaning of collected data. Data analysis process implies examination of the data in line with potential resolutions to the research question.

Types of Data/Participants' names	Dahlia's Circle	Oscar's Circle	Gabriel's Circle	Cecile's Circle	Franck's Circle
<b>Interviews</b>	<u>Parents</u> : 2 <u>Dahlia</u> : 3 <u>MST</u> : 2 <u>CST</u> : 2	<u>Parents</u> : 2 <u>Oscar</u> : 3 <u>MST</u> : 0 <u>CST</u> : 2	<u>Parents</u> : 2 <u>Gabriel</u> : 3 <u>MST</u> : 1 <u>CST</u> : 2	<u>Parents</u> : 2 Cecile: 3 <u>MST</u> : 2 <u>CST</u> : 2	<u>Parents</u> : 2 Franck: 3 <u>MST</u> : 0 <u>CST</u> : 2
<b>Observations</b>	<u>Home</u> : anytime <u>MSc</u> : 1 <u>CSc</u> : 3	<u>Home</u> : 1 <u>MSc</u> : 0 <u>CSc</u> : 3	<u>Home</u> : 2 <u>MSc</u> : 1 <u>CSc</u> : 3	<u>Home</u> : 1 <u>MSc</u> : 1 <u>CSc</u> : 3	<u>Home</u> : 2 <u>MSc</u> : 0 <u>CSc</u> : 3
<b>Nb of Fieldnotes Produced</b>	July 2011- Oct 2013 (regular diary)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• phone conversations</li> <li>• Casual chat in Complementary School</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emails</li> <li>• Casual chat in Complementary School</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emails</li> <li>• Casual chat in Complementary School</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Emails</li> <li>• Casual chat in Complementary School</li> </ul>
<b>Diaries</b>	3	3		3	2

**Table 3.5: Number of interviews, observations, field notes and diaries**

As for my project, I analysed my data by using thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006) which consisted of identifying themes by probing the data (crucial components)

in qualitative material through a coding system that was drawn on in order to account for the nature of the issues under investigation.

One of the advantages of qualitative data analysis is that it supplies the researchers with a variety of conclusions on the same topic. Another positive point is that it offers a full picture of what “real life” is about (Miles and Huberman, 1994).

However, qualitative analysis has some pitfalls which should be considered: fewer people can be studied; it is more time consuming, as I have already mentioned in paragraph 3.3; this type of research cannot be generalised; it is difficult to make systematic comparisons because a great variety of factors are at stake and every participant shows particular characteristics and routines within specific contexts. Finally, its success depends much on the researcher’s skills.

Now I will describe the steps I used in analysing the data. I first read and re-read documents to familiarise myself with what the texts said.

From the review of the children’s activity books I found out the issues the children had in maintaining their home language. In the first case, I also examined her school report (see Appendixesx Three) as I had easy access to it and in the second case, I could discuss the general results with the parents. In the third case, I discussed his mainstream report with the parents and the teacher who gave me general indications on how the pupil had performed. I reviewed the course outline, plan of work in English and French in each school as this revealed the provision for different abilities. I also considered several texts used to compare the government intentions and the actual practice. I then carried out the same process with other form of data. I then generated codes and themes within my theoretical assumptions (Pavlenko, 2007). I grouped similar topics together

and found a heading to describe them. I did the same for all the data, and then looked through the analysed data and found out whether I could get more themes under each broad heading. I asked a colleague to check whether the headings best described the themes from under a particular broad heading. When I was satisfied with the outcome I presented the report of the findings.

In the following section, I will explain how my three themes emerged or more precisely how they were identified. Below, I first present some of my data regarding Oscar's case study extracted from Agnes' diary (a); then, I will show some of my field notes taken before the interview took place (b); finally, I will insert (see Appendicesx Eleven) one of the interviews conducted in Oscar's family home in which the mother mainly responded to my questions with the father and children in the background (c). On some occasions, the father intervenes to share his opinions with me. I chose these data because they were particularly rich in meanings and relevant to my research. I also picked different sources in order to show the trustworthiness of the results and how my field notes or the diary could support my interview data with Agnes and John.

- Account on the way themes were identified

My themes, "beliefs, attitudes and practices" were identified with the guidance of Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1979), socio-cultural approach and the family language policy as well as the research question through which I could pinpoint key words while reading my notes. As a summary, I have included the following data: One diary entry (see Appendicesx Two), b) field notes (example of notes taken before the interview one with Agnes and John took place) and c) interview (Interview One with Agnes and John 27 November 2012, see Appendicesx Eleven). These data are colour-coded: blue/beliefs, amber/attitudes and purple/practices.

**a) October Booklet/Diary written by Agnes, Oscar's mother**

**Week 1: Monday 1 October to Sunday 7 October 2012:** nothing reported

**Week 2: Monday 8 October to Sunday 14 October 2012**

“Aujourd’hui, lors d’une conversation, je ne me rappelais plus du mot “pansement » en anglais. J’ai demandé à Oscar la traduction. Il a été très fier de me la donner. Je continue à profiter des opportunités offertes par mes pertes de mémoires (momentanées) pour en discuter avec Oscar et enrichir son vocabulaire. Oscar et son frère avaient perdu l’habitude de regarder des dessins animés en français. Je leur ai demandé de regarder des dessins animés en français. Je leur ai demandé de regarder la chaîne française ce samedi matin et ils l’ont choisi le jour suivant ». (This was confirmed in an interview with Oscar)

**Translation:** “Today, when I had a conversation (with Oscar), I could not remember the word “dressing” in English. I asked Oscar for the translation. He was so proud of giving it to me. I continue to take advantage of opportunities offered to me thanks to my temporary memory loss and I discuss it with Oscar, so he can enrich his vocabulary. Oscar and his brother did not used to watch cartoons in French. I asked them to watch cartoons in French. I asked them to watch the French channel this Saturday morning and they chose it again the following day”.

**Week 3: Monday 15 October to Sunday 21 October 2012**

“Oscar me parle en français de plus en plus souvent lorsqu’il s’adresse à moi. Il lui arrive toutefois d’utiliser un mot en anglais. Il semblerait que ce mot ne lui était pas

venu aussi facilement à l'esprit que son équivalent anglais. Je paraphrase ce qu'il vient de me dire et/ou lui indique le mot en français. Il accepte volontiers ceci et le prend comme une aide.

**Translation:** "Oscar talks more and more often to me in French. He, therefore, happens to use an English word. It seems that the French word has not come to his mind as easily as his English equivalent word. I paraphrase what he tells me and/or tell him the word in French. He willingly accepts this and takes it as guidance".

#### **Week 4: Monday 22 October to Sunday 28 October**

Alice a reçu une petite amie pour jouer à la maison cet après-midi. Oscar rentre de la piscine. Il m'entend parler en français à son frère et s'exclame : « **maman, pourquoi tu parles en français ? Oscar m'avait demandé de ne pas parler en français à l'école (devant d'autres camarades) (Oscar's attitude). Je veux profiter de tous les moments possibles pour parler aux enfants en français. Ceci ne m'empêche pas de m'adresser aux enfants anglais en anglais. (Mother's attitude) Oscar me demande de l'aide en anglais: « can you help me with my raspberry Pi ?**

**Translation:** Alice (Oscar's sister) has hosted a girl friend with whom she played at home this afternoon. Oscar came back from the swimming pool. He could hear me speak French to his brother and claimed: "**Mum, why do you speak French? Oscar had asked me not to speak French at school (in front of other classmates) (Oscar's attitude).** I would always like to take advantage of the situation and speak to the children in French. This does not stop me from speaking in English to the English children. (Mother's attitude) **Oscar asked me for help in English: "can you help me with my Raspberry Pi?**

## **b) Field notes:**

- In a conversation within the complementary school, Agnes told me that her father-in-law did not want her to speak French to Oscar fearing that he would be confused. (John's father's belief towards multilingualism)
- Through the exchange of emails, I agreed with Oscar's mother to visit her family on one Tuesday afternoon at the end of November 2012, to conduct a semi-structured interview regarding general information about their multilingual and multicultural family. When I first arrived, I took note of the residential house in which the family lived: a new built area where professionals resided. I was welcomed by Oscar and his mother. At first he was playing with some toys in the sitting room and his twins were doing some homework with the father on the computer. The mother invited me to sit in front of her in the dining room where she offered me some coffee and a biscuit (from the tin I had offered them). Then Oscar went upstairs for the whole interview by himself. The dining room had a piece of furniture on which the mother had hung up several photos of the extended French and English family (family practices). When I finished interviewing the mother (and the father), Oscar came down and was keen on showing me his bedroom (Oscar's attitude towards a French speaker); there, I noticed a small table on which was laid a game in the middle of which was erected an Eiffel Tower (family practices/artefacts).
- Both parents accompany their children to the French complementary school on Saturdays even though it takes place at a long distance from home (around 40 minutes).

**c) Interview One with Agnes and John, Oscar's parents, in a village near Pontefract (Home Visit: 27<sup>th</sup> November 2012) (See Appendicesx Eleven)**

- Discussion on the way I analysed the above data examples:

My process of analysis was the product of an interaction between part of my theoretical framework and a bottom up procedure as I looked through the data thoroughly in order to identify repetitions, similarities, differences, missing data with the intention to see emergent themes. In fact, I was initially guided by my interviews' schedule (see Appendicesx Five) which was based on a list of questions organised according to Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (1979). After the first reading of my data, I saw a clear cut division in my data: one encompassing the items that reinforced multilingualism and the other including the data expressing what hindered multilingualism. Then, according to the ecological theory, I placed my data in a table with respect to institutions. For example, one row of the table was dedicated to the microsystem within which I had subsections such as one subdivision encompassing interview data related to the home life, the participant's mainstream school and complementary school experiences; another row offered information in connection to the mesosystem. This involved the home-school relationship. A third row comprised the exosystem within which data associated with the extended family or the parents' work was inserted. Finally, I sometimes included a space for the macrosystem, when the actors or participants mentioned any thoughts regarding policies, national curriculum or socio-cultural and historical characteristics that could impact on the participants' multilingualism. Then I sorted out my interview data according to this pre-organised table. Consecutively, I read through the table several times and could identify many statements in relation to beliefs, many others in regards to attitudes and finally a few

comments pertaining to practices. I colour-coded the three themes. Any items linked to beliefs were coded in blue, other ones, highlighted in amber, reflected actors' and participants' attitudes towards multilingualism and finally some more information was connected to practices and coded in purple.

In the examples selected and exposed above, I had a diary, some field notes and an interview transcript (Appendix Eleven). The diary was the only source of information that was written in French (translated in English by the researcher). The literature states that "the actual analysis on any translated data is always done on the original" (Nikander: 2008, 229). I, therefore, followed this suggestion and also treated the diary as additional information to support the interview data.

A table of the interview data emphasising the model of ecology, codes/quotes, emerging themes and general comments or links with field notes can be found in Appendixes Eleven along with the full interview with Agnes and John and the way showing the way I coded them in order to analyse them.

I relied on James-Paul Gee (2011)'s tool kit. I mainly drew on tool 2 (the fill-in tool which consists on basing my analysis on what was said, what needed to be said, what needed to be filled in here to clarify the participants' and actors' perspectives. I also considered what was not said but inferred in what was said and not said. The theoretical framework helped me to link the actors' and participants' backgrounds and beliefs to their attitudes and to their practices and to link the different cultures in which the participants evolve taking on board their own agencies. I also depended on tool 3 (the making strange tool) by attempting to act as if I was an outsider and "ask myself: what would someone find strange here". For example, I found the fact that a French teacher ridiculed a French speaker was not appropriate for an educator. I also questioned the

fact that an EAL pupil whose home language was French was not challenged in the French lesson and that extension was offered in English and mathematics but not in French. Moreover, I refer to tool 4 (the subject tool) when pupils in the complementary school were asked to talk about their week's activities. I ponder over the reasons why they decided to elaborate on a particular topic rather than another one.

After discussing how I did my analysis, I will proceed to arguments that validated and made my research reliable.

### **3.6 Trustworthiness: Reliability and Validity**

Trustworthiness in this research refers to the process of ensuring that the research process is carefully planned and rigorous (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) and thus that the data are reliable and valid. By having well planned phases, drawing on several contexts and by using several data collection methods, I was able to increase the trustworthiness of my findings. Denzin (1997) holds that achieving quality in the research has to do with "legitimation". I was also able to present multiple versions of reality to legitimise the findings from this study by carrying out the research in different contexts, listening to different perspectives and using different standpoints in understanding the data whenever it was feasible; I combined observation with interviews, interviewed participants and actors to find out the true meaning of observed behaviour. Other ways of improving quality of findings were by engaging in informal conversation with my informants during break time in the complementary school and once in their home.

Additionally, arriving at quality was "to find ways to help make case study findings believable, applicable to readers and dependable and confirmable to the extent possible by our system of record keeping" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). That is, record keeping was important and I showed ways of keeping records towards obtaining believable

findings: keep field notes, audio record interviews and creating case file for each participant using Microsoft Word.

By using thematic analysis, I extracted my themes directly from the data that was pre-classified by virtue of Bronfenbrenner's theory on which the interview questions were based. Consequently, by doing so, I added to the quality of findings (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

In addressing credibility, I have demonstrated through a thorough investigation that a true picture of three multilingual ten year-old children and their respective families educated in monolingual educational system in the UK was portrayed with little intervention from the researcher. I cannot assure transferability. However, my detailed description of three case studies should allow the reader to perceive similarities with his or her own environment and thus can benefit from my findings. The literature (Shenton, 2004: 63) states that the reliability is "difficult in qualitative work although researchers should at least strive to enable a future investigator to repeat the study". I address the reliability issue by reporting in details the way I conducted my research; thus other researchers will have the opportunity to investigate on multilingual children in the UK in the same manner although no other research can have similar outcome since cases vary. My research design could be conceived as a "prototype model". By doing so, it is a way for the reader to assess the research and see if it was applied according to the research process standard (Shenton, 2004: 71). In addition, my study achieves confirmability as Chapters 4 and 5 pertaining to the three case studies illustrate that the data are real and indicates its sources, contexts and time.

### **3.7 Ethical Concern**

#### **3.7.1 The Informants**

An information sheet, a letter and a consent form (Appendicesx Seven) were distributed to all my adult informants: parents, teachers, headmistresses. The first document consisted of giving information on the title of the project, its purpose, the reason it had been chosen, the parents' involvement in the project in case of approval (the number of interviews with parents and children, number of children's observations, recordings that was conducted and ways they were used as well as some details on the researcher. In addition to the information sheet, they had to read the consent form and were asked to sign it. In the letter and the consent form, I had indicated that each participant had the right to withdraw from this commitment at any time he/she wished without providing any reason. They were also informed that a summary of my findings would be distributed to them after my thesis was over.

Child participants were selected in relation to age (children born in 2002-2003), practicality (I had been in contact with this group of children for the last two years as a class teacher's assistant), background (from a mixed couples with one parent French and one English). At the beginning of CM1 (corresponding to Year Four), I conducted a meeting with the whole class to explain the aim of my study and ask them if they would agree to be part of my investigation. (I recorded their consent on a sheet of paper). The headmistresses were approached to get their permission to collect data from the complementary school.

### **3.7.2 Ethical Review Form**

I, the research interpreter/translator had to fill a form in order to commit myself to certify that I would follow all the procedures that would ensure the participants' confidentiality and anonymity.

Even if no fixed set of ethics could be applicable since research situations were particular (specific premises, region, the participants' values), it belonged to the ethical researcher to train herself as she proceeded to new challenges by using her common sense, reflecting on her experience as a novice researcher (and saw what worked best in her area of exploration) and consulting supervisors and colleagues for further understanding of the best code of conduct in this specific research situation. Generally speaking, "honesty, objectivity, integrity, carefulness, openness, respect for intellectual property, responsible publication, responsible mentoring, respect for colleagues, social responsibility, non-discrimination, competence and human subjects' protection" (Shamoo and Resnik, 2009) are most of the values a researcher has to demonstrate.

### **3.7.3 Anonymity**

In order to protect my participants, I achieved anonymity by anonymising all the names of the participating school and respondents used in my study. In interviews, there was some information that was a bit delicate to disclose. However, I took permission from my informants to publish potentially sensitive pieces of data on controversial issues such as multilingualism and multiculturalism that were in some ways embarrassing to divulge. Each interviewee was informed that all their answers would be incorporated in the thesis while maintaining their anonymity.

### **3.7.4 Data Storage**

In addition, I made sure that my collected data were well protected. University of Leeds guidelines prescribe that data must be gathered and stored on the University of Leeds backed-up networked drive within my university account. I made sure that I did not save any data in my personal computer in case my computer needed to be repaired and unauthorised people could have accessed to my data. However, I found useful to draw on USB flash drives to allow me to work outside office when necessary. In order to minimize risks of lost or stolen data, I made sure that small amount of data saved on my USB were transferred regularly to the university network. I also checked the media I used to make sure they were in good condition and copied the data in a new media every now and then. I also ensured that my research data was password-protected.

### **3.8 Researcher's Central Roles in an Ethnographic Study: Multiple Roles (Mother, Assistant and Researcher)**

The way the research went was determined by the researcher's identity. The fact that I am a multilingual investigator who have come to the study late and have experienced different cultures (firstly French, British, Arabic as well as Pakistani) through marriage, residence and work has showed how my research strategies have been grounded in my own experiences as a multilingual individual living outside my birth territory and in my professional knowledge as a lecturer in a multilingual and multicultural setting. In addition, the fact that I was a mother of a ten-year-old during the research period ~~has~~ helped me deal with major issues such as adapting to the participants' age which was useful for the study. The most delicate role of the researcher was the dealing with impartiality. I trained myself for several months to differentiate between observing, listening or hearing and analysing. Moreover, I took the responsibility to be truthful in my conduct throughout the research. Soltis (1991:247) reminds us that the researcher

should care about “honesty, justice, and respect for persons” while exploring the informants’ personal or non-personal lives. By going into research, I had the perspective to respect all my participants, be as honest as I could, and fair to them.

After presenting my “self” in the research, I would like to expand on the limitations and affordances my positions offered me in the process of my investigation.

### **3.8.1 Limitations within the Research/Affordances Provided**

My study as a mother-researcher had limitations because of the fact that my position as an insider (I conducted my study as a member of some researched sites (Kanuha, 2000) sharing the languages in the complementary school and the homes, having common experiences through the complementary school and the French background of one of the participants’ parents who had all grown up in France (Asselin, 2003)) could have invalidated my results. In fact, when an informant interacted with the researcher, the former sometimes assumed that the latter had common characteristics with their mother and may not have unveiled his/her whole linguistic experiences. This was even more the case with the daughter-participant who was not always eloquent supposing I already had much information about her background.

Moreover, my personal interest in multilingualism could have obstructed my views as a researcher and thus affected the way I designed my interviews and the manner I interpreted my data if I had not been aware of the importance of objectivity in research. This is the case of other researchers such as Watson (1999: 98) who states that “I still remain unclear whether this is my interpretation of an actual phenomenon, or if I am projecting my own need . . . onto my participants” or Armstrong (2001:243), who says that her “empathy and enthusiasm for a subject dear to [...]her] own heart may have

kept [...] [her participants] from considering certain aspects of their experience.’ For example, the fact that I had observed many multilingual children switching from their home language to the target language in their household prior to my research had made me think that schools and other institutions might not have valued the children background or that it was such a big effort for the parents to be consistent in their home language.

During all the data collection and analysis phase, I was conscious that I was on a continuum moving from the position of an insider to the one of an outsider according to the place, time, participants and points under discussion. I remember exchanging snippets of my data with my PhD colleagues who were critical and often reiterated that I should not bring any judgement into the data collection phase and that I should simply describe what I could see and hear on one side of my notebook and leave the opposite side to extra comments, repetitions, similarities, differences between what was said or seen previously and present statements. This regular reminder was crucial to keep me in the right track.

As for the daughter-researcher relationship, I tackled the issue of the insider’s position by examining and questioning her experiences on different days, without insisting when she was not disposed of expressing her ideas. My position offered me the affordances to grasp the contradictions my daughter experienced thanks to the fact that I was in contact with some classmates, mothers, teachers, head of the school, SEN-EAL specialists who contributed to define gradually the school politics in regards to multilingual pupils during the full year of data collection. My daughter-participant was secretive on some occasions and did not want me to talk to her mainstream teacher in regards to French language. She thought she might be treated differently from the rest of the class. My

position as a mother-researcher has also helped me to handle this predicament which on the one hand provided crucial information and on the other hand could work against my daughter if I had drawn on my expertise in “multilingual England in a monolingual educational system” and blame the teacher for not accommodating my daughter. The case was complex; thus, while I was communicating with the participants and actors, I was always conscious that my questions or statements had to be neutral or raised in a suggestive tone. For example, I would ask one of the monolingual teachers whether she believed that the educational system could benefit more from multilingual children or on the contrary, diversity had caused many problems for the teaching staff as well as the children themselves. As I was myself a foreigner, I had to bear in mind that the teacher might not have given me her honest opinion as she might not want to offend me. For that reason, I drew on one strategy: in the interview session, I made sure that I was one of them reminding teachers that in my own country the educational system was monolingual as well. I also resorted to other sources in order to clarify any contradictions between what she said and what she practised in her classroom. One observation, one interview with the SEN-EAL teacher, interviews with the participants and conversations with other multilingual parents of the same school were sufficient data to validate my points in relation to the school policy.

My position offered me the opportunity to see children’s participations in a variety of settings (home, mainstream school and complementary school as well as in the playground) which was a way to capture even some detail that meant much in the overall picture I, as a researcher, was attempting to erect. My multi-identity position facilitated access to data collection through photographs, videotaping, audio-taping and field notes. Moreover, my participants and actors were free with me because of my open

attitude with them. They did know that I did not judge them but that we were here to exchange opinions. They gained the trust in me even before the investigation had started and thus were open with me, an attitude, which was necessary for gathering data with greater depth on their language experiences. For example, mothers could have been reluctant to talk freely about mainstream teachers' misunderstanding of multilingualism if I had been myself a monolingual teacher in the mainstream school. Another illustration to the openness of parents is when case study two showed disagreement between the mother and the father who reported to me on the phone that the couple negotiated together the chance to allow me to contact Oscar's mainstream school. The mother insisted that I investigated the mainstream school whereas the father disagreed fearing the reaction of the school and the peers. I discussed the situation on different occasions without pressurising the family; on the contrary, I attempted to understand their issues and highlight, in the thesis discussion, the possible reasons for obstacles to occur.

After presenting the limitations and affordances of my position as a mother-researcher, I turn to discuss a couple of dilemmas I had to face and the way I reconciled them.

### **3.8.2 Dilemmas/Reconciliations:**

When you have accessed to personal places because your research area occurs partly at home, researchers may encounter some dilemmas. The fact that I was exposed to a great variety of insights through my daughter has caused some discomfort as a mother on some occasions. I had to reflect upon this negative feeling in terms of my study. In the situation of a parent/researcher, there is always the risk that the parent will take sides. It is practice that gives the researcher clearer idea of justice. Here is a high principle to follow in all circumstances: listening to different social actors whenever controversial

arguments take place in order to avoid bias. It is surely a sensitive area since it is often parental love that surpasses researcher's role.

However, the training I have received as a researcher has brought a kind of balance into the parent/researcher's existence. It is much an on-going process that makes the researcher an expert. I consciously decided through discussions with experts (supervisors, lecturers and PhD students) to negotiate with teachers or when it was not possible I looked for an explanation at different levels (government policy, school policy, teachers' attitude, parent-teacher relationship) in order to deal with "bias". I was aware that I was responsible for reporting data without preconceived judgement on teachers' attitude even if I had experienced some teachers' negative behaviours towards home language(s). I bore in mind that every teacher must have received different training and that their backgrounds should be explored individually.

As I have just indicated, my type of research involved dilemmas that I attempted to confront. It also entailed several challenges that were overcome.

### **3.8.3 Challenges/Opportunities**

My position as an insider on some occasions and an outsider at other times brought with it some challenges. Maintaining objectivity by identifying ways to move from the position of an insider to the position of an outsider in order to be able to detach myself from the collected data and adopt a neutral stand while analysing them was probably the most difficult task. This predicament encouraged me to reflect constantly on my position and my perspectives on multilingualism. I was actually ready to conclude that the monolingual system accommodates multilingual children even if I started the research on a frustrating note due to my own experience as a multilingual mother in a

“monolingual educational system”. I was actually open and ready to welcome a variety of perspectives whether positive or negative on multilingualism in a series of settings. In the process of the research, I also had to learn how to interview participants and actors without influencing them in one way or another. I deliberately did not voice my opinions on multilingual pupils’ experiences during the research phase.

Secondly, I encountered the challenge of organising interviews at suitable time for actors, participants and for me within the research timeline. I admit that my position also facilitated arrangements with parents as we readily communicated either face to face, by phone messages or by emails.

When the unique position of a parent as a researcher is understood, it can supply opportunities for conveying positive experiences from the research process. In fact, the nature of my research demanded much observation in natural environments, which required adopting a series of positions such as the one of a friend, observer, leader or supervisor artificially. However, the location shows only one phase of the children’s life. There are many other settings, time when I could not have access to appreciate and capture a full picture of the participants’ life. In fact, parent/researchers are exposed to an array of social settings with a wide variety of members (teachers, friends, grandparents, siblings, neighbours, peers...). Consequently, the parent/researcher should be able to draw a comprehensive picture of at least his/her child’s experience, influences and impacts on the surroundings thanks to his/her presence during a multitude of interactions. This close to constant presence around one informant facilitated data triangulation, a substantial phase in data validation.

The elements that contributed to the insider’s position were easy access in participants’ homes and complementary school and two mainstream schools, communication with

participants facilitated due to familiarity and good rapport with them. When I was in the French complementary school and at home, I was an insider and when I dealt with mainstream schools, participants' home and my office at the university, I was somehow an outsider except in one of my participants' school in which I was a parent researcher. This variety of positions demanded some flexibility. The research process forced me to adapt to the place investigated. For instance, I interviewed informants when they were ready to receive me or abstained from investigating places when a parent would not give me the opportunity to gather more data to support my cases for the reason that one particular parent did not want me to draw more attention on his child's French identity (see case study two: 5.1).

Furthermore, I did not need to pretend I was a multilingual or a mother or a researcher or a member of the school or a French citizen... because I was all that. As a matter of fact, I could enter the children's world through my own child; that is what Adler and Adler (1997) means when they talk about naturally occurring "complete membership role". Moreover, I interacted with participants with whom I had been familiar for a long period of time before the study started.

After discussing my role as a mother/researcher, I will summarise my methodology chapter in order to bring forward the main points that transpire here.

### **3.9 Summary**

In this chapter, I have shown that I started my data collection with five case studies and that I have developed three linked case studies generating data from multilingual informant contexts in West Yorkshire, UK on the grounds that the later cases were sufficient to illustrate important tensions/contradictions and that the other two were simply repetitive. I drew on three participants to do my research through interviews

supported by observation, diaries and document review and analysed the data using thematic analysis. I dealt with trustworthiness carefully all along the study. I made sure that I got permission from all my participants before beginning the research.

I also discussed the significant issues that occurred during the research process and how I overcame them as a mother researcher and an assistant in the complementary school. In the following chapter, I intend to present my first case study.

## **Chapters 4 and 5**

### **Introduction to Chapter 4 and 5**

In the previous chapter, I gave a comprehensive account of the design and methodology of the study, focusing particularly on the gap identified in the literature, the reason to choose case studies, data collection process, selection of tools, data analysis, trustworthy issues, ethical concern and the researcher's essential role in the study.

The following is a set of three case studies whose main participants are: Dahlia, Oscar and Gabriel. My purpose is not only to introduce, describe and analyse researched participants but also to explore the multilingual experience of children in authentic contexts and link them to the macro system in which government policies and ideologies influence citizens and professionals who themselves have impact on young pupils. I will show that young multilingual learners' attitudes towards their mother tongue have as well strong consequences on their home language maintenance. My data collection has encompassed a wide variety of data, including interviews, observations, diaries, photographs, videos, audio-recordings, official documents with the intention to capture a holistic picture of the participants with longitudinal tracking. I have decided to present my three case studies in a manner that follows Bronfenbrenner theoretical framework (1979) as the data collection and interpretation were appropriate for this outline. I would also like to explain the reason I started with Dahlia as case study one. As a matter of fact, I dedicated a full chapter to Dahlia because as a mother researcher, I had access to much more information than for the other two participants. I, therefore, thought, at first, of offering a holistic picture of one of my participants and indicate that the nature of the data was different because of the unique perspective and relationship

with the participant. For example, Dahlia did not spell out her insight the way the other participants did for Dahlia did not have to give details about herself whereas other participants were more comprehensive and introspective in the way they talk about themselves. Dahlia talked mainly about other members of her family did whereas the other participants voiced their feelings about a variety of situations.

Each case study is organised as follows: introduction, microsystem (The microsystem: the home: a brief description, the participants' immediate family, the parents' view on multilingualism and role in the participants' language experience, the siblings' role in the participants' linguistic experience, the mother-researcher's role, parents' common ground in relation to multilingualism, the parents' divergence on the child's upbringing (the last three points concern only Dahlia's case study); the mainstream school: the school represented by the teacher, the teacher's background, the teacher's current understanding of EAL pupils, the teacher's current training in EAL, the teacher's practice; the complementary school: the teacher's background, the multilingual pupil's participation in class. The mesosystem: the participant in relation to the parents, the siblings, the teachers, the peers; the mainstream school in relation to parents/parents in relation to mainstream school. The exosystem: the extended family in relation to the family, the work in relation to the family and the policy in relation to both parents and teachers. The macro system: government policy, ideology and wider community have an important to play in encouraging or discouraging the use of the home language).

## **Chapter 4 First Case Study: Dahlia**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this case study, I will introduce Dahlia to my reader, her immediate family: Marwan and Valérie (her parents), Maya, Sonia and Luna (her sisters), as well as her teachers: Mrs Smith, Dahlia's Year Five teacher, the SEN specialist, Mrs Beaker, from her English mainstream school and Christine, her CM1 (Cours Moyen 1/equivalent to Year Four) teacher from the French complementary school. I will then discuss the mesosystem, the layer of the ecology of learning that concerns the relationship between the different entities of the microsystem in relation to home language maintenance and its impact on the core participant, Dahlia (see Chapter 2 section 2.2.2).

### **4.2 The Microsystem**

#### **4.2.1 Dahlia**

##### **4.2.1.1 A Brief Description**

Dahlia is a ten year-old girl who can speak French, English and has some knowledge of Arabic as it is a language she hears every day. Dahlia lives in a city in West Yorkshire and attends Bilton School, an independent institution of above 400 pupils of which in the region of sixty children including Dahlia are registered as English as an Additional Language (EAL) (Independent Schools Inspectorate: 2011). The school not only collects information on children's linguistic background from parents, but it also works with all the teachers and all the EAL children in school to investigate their experiences with languages (Interview with Mrs Beaker, the SENCO, Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator teacher, 26 September 2013).

Dahlia is part of a Year Five classroom of eleven boys and five girls of which two are from a Pakistani background, one girl from an English background and one girl with a

mixed background of English and Indian parents. In general, parents of the school are of professional backgrounds.

Dahlia communicates in French at home and English at school. She consistently speaks French to her sisters, father and her mother and would correct her mother whenever she draws on English language, (“Why do you speak English?” she always says in any context. Field notes during the data collection period) often because acquaintances around them do not understand French. Dahlia has shown that French and Arabic are the two languages with which she identifies; she uses another language than English:

When I go to another country; I use Arabic when I go to visit my paternal grand-mother. I speak French mostly to my mother. I speak French in the French complementary school once a week. I use French in my prayers and in monologues. With my sisters, I try to speak in Arabic but it is a bit hard, so I usually end up speaking French. (Interview with Dahlia on 01 December 2012)

Dahlia shows through this extract that Arabic and French are the two languages that constitute her family language daily experience. By deduction, English is the language she draws upon in the mainstream school. She is used to speaking French with her immediate family; when they switch to English in special circumstances, Dahlia reacts and questions the reasons why English is used with her (see section 2.2.6 Family Language Policy). This shows that individuals are socially constructed.

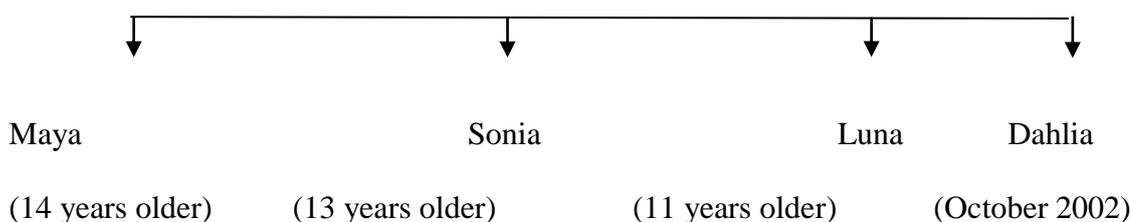
At times, Dahlia mentions disappointment for not being fluent in Arabic. However, she often objects when she is asked to take a language lesson whether they are in French or in Arabic (see literature review section 2.2.5, Curdt-Christiansen (2014)). Because the funds of knowledge of the multilingual children are often not exploited in schools, the motivation to learn further in their home language(s) can be jeopardised.

#### 4.2.1.2 Dahlia's General Attitude towards Learning from her Teacher's and Parents' Point of View

According to Dahlia's final report (Dahlia is 10:08/See Appendicesx 3) and her parents' feedback, her achievement is pleasing. She has achieved a reading age of 12:03 (which means a year and half above her actual age). She works at a level which exceeds national year group expectations in spelling, mathematics, English and Reading assessments. Her form teacher, Mrs Smith, commented on Dahlia's general attitude as a pupil (see June 2013 Appendicesx 3) in the final report.

#### 4.2.2 Dahlia's Immediate Family:

Marwan Biribi and Valérie Nave



Mr Biribi and I live in a semi-detached, five-bedroomed house located in a pleasant and quiet area in West Yorkshire about five miles away from Dahlia's school. They have lived there since they arrived in the United Kingdom in 2004.

Marwan, Dahlia's father, was monolingual in Arabic until he left his country at the age of twenty-one and became multilingual in English and French by necessity. He completed his BSc (Bachelor of Science) in Iraq, and studied the equivalence of a Master and pursued a doctorate in computer science in France, he also undertook a PhD on artificial intelligence in England in the late 1980s. Marwan has had experience as a university lecturer in Arabic countries. When he moved from academic life to administrative position at the age of forty seven, he became a vice president of a university in the Middle East, which he established with a local sponsor; now he is a retired vice chancellor of a university abroad. In the

present project, Marwan was the only person interviewed, as the mother is the researcher and thus, the father's point of view seemed highly relevant to offer a different perspective and bring more objectivity to Dahlia's case study.

Marwan has four daughters; the first three were born in France and the last one in the United Arab Emirates. His first daughter, Maya, is a doctor, the second one, Sonia, is undertaking a degree in Pharmacy, the third one, Luna, a degree in medicine and the fourth and last one, Dahlia, the participant of the study, has already been introduced above (see section 4.2.1.1). Dahlia has been in the same school for the last eight years, she has also joined a French complementary school on Saturdays for the last three years and half. This has been consistently encouraged by the mother who encountered much resistance from Dahlia; if the home language is only valued by the home and the complementary school, the child may need more consistency in order to keep his or her motivation (See section 2.1.5.1). Dahlia complains that she does not like the school and that she hardly learns anything. However, the mother regularly discusses with Dahlia the importance of joining a community with common backgrounds (field work during the one year data collection period, September 2012-September 2013) and manages to convince her.

I am French. I spent the first nineteen years of my life in France and left the country when I married Dahlia's father. I studied English language and linguistics to Master's level after which I taught English as a second language abroad for eight years in the language centre of a local university. I have some informal knowledge of Arabic as I have learnt it through my interaction with my children's paternal grand-mother. In 2004, I came to the United Kingdom with the intention to educate my children without knowing exactly whether they would work locally, nationally or internationally after completing their study. I was open to any eventuality. I was committed to childcare until I had the opportunity to start a PhD in

language education. I have been the person most involved in Dahlia's school life particularly in subjects pertaining to languages ("Dahlia's mother is French; she has got concentrating in French language teaching her child" Interview One in January 2013 with Marwan). Marwan has also relied upon me to ensure that school-based involvement (teacher/parents meetings, homework, occasional assemblies, school events and so on) is achieved. I have checked whether homework is done on a daily basis; in other words, I have been more involved in the daily process of Dahlia's school life, whereas the father is more interested in the end product, Dahlia's academic results. Dahlia started to live with her both parents again full time from the age of nine because from 2006 to 2011 her father worked abroad. Dahlia's father used to telephone the whole family on regular basis and was regularly concerned about everyone's health and satisfactory academic results at school. In the next sections, I will present the different family members' perspectives on multilingualism. I will start with Dahlia's fathers'.

#### **4.2.2.1 The Father's View on Multilingualism and Role in Dahlia's Language Experience**

Marwan had a positive perspective on multilingualism, he believed that it:

[E]nriches the children to have a good future and give them the personality [suitable] to manage to work in many countries in the world (Interview One in January 2013 with Marwan).

However, speaking and teaching his daughters his mother tongue has not been consistent so far. In reality, Marwan gives priority to scientific subjects and believes that languages are not major issues. He points out in the first interview I have had with him that:

The child needs a weekend off school and it is counterproductive to send Dahlia to school every single day (Interview One in January 2013 with Marwan).

He also believes that it is not the mainstream school's responsibility to offer languages that do not benefit the country:

Because if the English school takes that responsibility, they will have more work for the teachers which means they will need more money, more budget and the government is not willing to spend more for multilingual children in its own country which is English language speaking. This is what I think (Interview One in January 2013 with Marwan).

This statement shows that Marwan understands the government's position and thus does not question the political system or even his multilingual children's needs. He assumes that they can succeed by working hard; he does not see the language as a problem. Even if he states in the same interview when he is asked about what Dahlia has learnt regarding languages:

If you want multilingual children, the school should help but we cannot force the school to help. So more effort should come from the family and the child as well (Interview One in January 2013 with Marwan).

Marwan does not consider negotiation with the school. He does not challenge the educational system (see section 2.2.5). He believes that the school "should help"; however, he does not discuss these issues with the school. This fact shows how individuals are socially constructed and do not always act as leaders in situations that require awareness among educators because the child's identity needs are not catered for.

In Dahlia's family, home language policy is mainly to interact in French with every member of the household (father/mother/sisters) which compensates a little for the absence of French language speaking at school (see section 2.2.5). Occasionally, she draws on Arabic. In fact, she sometimes draws on "translanguaging" (Blackledge &

Creese, 2010; Garcia, 2009) using Arabic, French and English words to communicate with her immediate family when it facilitates her communication with her surroundings. The father essentially draws on French to speak to his wife. He explained that French is the only common language they had when they met. Then it became a habit (“and we have continued that way” Interview One in January 2013). However, when he talks to Dahlia’s siblings, he draws on Arabic language quite consistently. All these years, Dahlia has felt the need to speak Arabic (“I feel my dad does not want me to learn Arabic”, “I want to learn Arabic”, “can you, please, call a private tutor to teach me Arabic?” Diary December 2012) as her sisters speak the language fluently but cannot obtain the suitable teaching she needs (see section 4.2.2.5). Towards the end of the data collection, a new phenomenon occurs. She insists on having private Arabic tuitions, but, the father does not believe in private tuitions and for about a year, negotiations has been frequent in the family between the mother, the father and Dahlia in search of a practical solution. It is suggested to Dahlia that if she starts speaking Arabic to her father, he may answer in Arabic to her. In fact, this is exactly what has started to happen. The three languages are valued in the household that is the reason why Dahlia is interested in speaking French, Arabic and English when the situation is suitable or necessary. After elaborating on Marwan’s point of view on multilingualism, I will switch to Dahlia’s older sisters contribution in home language maintenance.

#### **4.2.2.2 Sisters’ Role in Dahlia’s Linguistic Experience**

As Dahlia’s mother is in the process of doing a doctorate, her participant daughter does many activities with her sisters and thus interacts mainly in French with them but also uses English and Arabic words. It is an asset for Dahlia to have older sisters who has already the fluency and confidence in speaking French. This is demonstrated by

numerous exchanges between them in French which gives space for Dahlia to maintain her French home language. Even when the mother uses English to speak to them because of people around speaking English only, all the children answer in French as years of consistency in speaking in French can be testified; the children associate a person with a language and become consistent as well. When the mother is around, she systematically says the foreign word in French so that the child eventually becomes familiar with it (see section 2.2.6 in relation to language policy within the family). Now, I will turn to Dahlia's mother's contribution in valuing French language within the home.

#### **4.2.2.3 The Mother's Role in Dahlia's Home Language Maintenance**

At a young age, I introduced Dahlia to the French complementary school on Saturdays. I resisted so much that her mother stopped sending her there. Meanwhile, I did activities in French with Dahlia on a regular basis. I taught her how to read in French. Later on, in 2010, Dahlia went back to the same complementary school accompanied by me (assistant in the same class). At first, she did not show much enthusiasm, but then she carried on her effort as I was convinced that regular contacts with multilingual children would contribute to language maintenance. Moreover, I was often in search of resources to maintain the home language: numerous films in the mother tongue, books, songs, complementary school and so on. Dahlia nearly read ten minutes of French every day with her mother. This happened following the English literacy program consisting in reading ten minutes in English with an adult. This is an example of a mother who acknowledges to be socially constructed and thus be influenced by the English educational system for reading routine she applied with her daughter to help her with

her home language (see section 2.2.6). In Dahlia's case, priority has been given to communication; she has never been asked to use a language rather than another.

After stating the mother's role in Dahlia's home French language maintenance, I will describe both parents' support available to Dahlia.

#### **4.2.2.4 Parents' Practice: Common Ground in Relation to Multilingualism**

Both parents have always been keen on their children pursuing their studies as they are both convinced that is the key to success. They also both value family bonds; the study showed that contacts with family members contribute to maintain their home languages. Parents also ensure that their children enjoy holidays every year in the home country even if they are short holidays. Regular trips were organised to France where the whole family interact with the grand-mother, aunty, great-grand-mother and neighbours. Marwan and myself both value multilingualism as they agree that it is such an asset in somebody's life. Marwan states:

I found that multilingualism enriches the children to have good future and give them the personality that they can manage to work in many countries in the world not stick to the country that has got only one language (Interview One with Marwan in January 2013)

The father had mainly relied on schools to teach the first three daughters his mother tongue. It was only later when the children started mastering Arabic that he has communicated with them in Arabic. The father's attitude towards multilingualism is positive; however, he has a tendency to accept the status quo and does not consider negotiation; thus, his multilingual children's linguistic needs do not seem to be catered for. This attitude indicates that the environmental ideology impacts on some parents' practices and reflects that parents are socially constructed and are not always ready for

challenges. This example shows also the importance of each actor's agency, itself influenced by his or her life journey.

#### **4.2.2.5 Parents' Divergence on the Child's Upbringing**

A clear distinction between the mother and father appears as the mother is strict with rules whereas the father is much more lax; for example, Marwan allows Dahlia not to go to Arabic school as she complains that she has not learnt anything for quite a while even though there is much negotiation with the mother as she is not convinced that it is the right decision. Marwan believes that the child is overloaded. He admits that:

She used to go to Arabic school on Sundays. I stopped her from going, because it was too much for her to go every day to school" Interview One in January 2013 with Marwan).

However, the mother believes that regular exposure to the language and language teaching is necessary to maintain the mother tongue. She benefits from a variety of research articles and, therefore, has gained confidence in the way she approaches language acquisition. In fact, before she had a thorough understanding about multilingualism, the mother had always felt the fear of transmitting her mother tongue "partially" to her children. Now that she is multilingual herself, she actually has a different understanding from the time she was monolingual; she then perceives how multilingualism works thanks to her language experiences. She acknowledges that the study of multilingualism has contributed to more confidence in the way she conceives multiple cultures. This may have facilitated Dahlia's language acquisition and maintenance process. In reality, a big change in attitude is exemplified by the fact that Dahlia's siblings have been brought up with more of trial and error techniques. At the early stages of motherhood, I insisted that my daughters started their sentences in one

language and finished them in the same language. I was forceful somehow and reflected much anxiety because of little knowledge regarding bringing up children multilingually. The French language was not taught outside home and I felt I was the only one responsible for conveying my mother tongue to my children.

In summary, Mr Biribi and myself form a conservative family with strong educational perspectives although we diverge sometimes as the importance of the social element in the success of our child.

Another significant social factor influencing Dahlia's language maintenance is her mainstream school. As she spends seven hours a day in school five days a week, it is important to analyse the teacher's role in Dahlia's home language maintenance. Here, I will focus on the mainstream school represented by the teacher in regard to multilingualism, the teacher's background, the teacher's current understanding of EAL pupils, the teacher's current training in EAL and the teacher's practice.

### **4.2.3 Her Mainstream School**

#### **4.2.3.1 The School Characteristics and Dahlia's Teacher's Standpoint of the School in Regards to Multilingual Education**

What I notice at once is the school's diversity and how important it is to the school to show through their pictures on school websites, prospectus and school literature that "it has a Christian foundation but welcomes pupils of all faiths or none" (Independent Schools Inspectorate: 2011). The school aims to:

Offer pupils a friendly and caring community of learning in which their abilities and talents are developed by superb teaching, and to produce confident and versatile young people, capable of high achievement and of rising to any challenge (Independent Schools Inspectorate: 2011).

The report informs the reader that the school pupils' parents are mostly professional and of mixed cultural backgrounds. Fifteen per cent of the children are EAL but only five per cent receive additional help. I notice that children with particular talents, such as skills in a foreign language, are not exploited consistently. At the beginning of the year, I contacted the class teacher to remind her that Dahlia's home language was French and that Dahlia would be happy to attend EAL lesson as she did in Year Three and that it was beneficial to her. The Year Four teacher answered that Dahlia was "too good" to attend EAL class (do EAL lessons provide pupils with a deficiency?). My intention was to attempt to have her child more exposed to English during the French lesson, which was not designed for Dahlia's educational needs. Finally, Dahlia has attended the French lessons from Year Four onwards without any appreciation that she is exposed to French language every day. In other words, she has attended a period a week for three years with lessons that teach the seasons, numbers, colours and so on. This point is raised in the Independent Schools Inspectorate 2011 report but at different level, the Senior School. Mrs Smith confirms during an interview (28 June 2013 with Dahlia's form teacher) that "nothing huge [is] [...] done" when asked about multilingual children's cultural activities; the participant herself mentions in informal conversations (June 2013) that nothing is designed for talented children. Moreover, the same point is discussed in the report in which parents' concern emerges in pre-inspection questionnaires. However, in another part of the report, it states that:

In the Junior School the more able pupils and those with particular talents are given excellent levels of additional challenge through more extended tasks and activities; generally, pupils are set tasks which are designed to meet the needs of pupils of differing abilities through varied challenge, and this enables them to progress well (Independent Schools Inspectorate: 2011)

This refers to some subjects such as English and mathematics but did not include French (field notes 2012-2013).

In the corridor, near the language laboratory, lies a display board which celebrates all the different languages present in the school with the name of the multilingual children. In addition, through assemblies, the school “deliver[s] spiritual, cultural teachings through religious assemblies and throughout the year, the school look[s] at the culture and different religions” (Interview 28 June 2013 with Mrs Smith). The teacher who is responsible for teaching French organises a French Day and invites people from other schools. Mrs Smith mentions that:

Pupils “experience French dancing, singing, making a card, trying the French food” (Interview 28 June 2013 with Mrs Smith).

Mrs Smith mentions that the school may plan a European Day and have a register in different languages. She admits that “nothing huge [is] done but children [are] exposed to such activities”. Pupils’ talents developed in music, cooking, sport or art are often celebrated in assemblies and praised in school newsletters as well as exhibited on corridor walls (Fieldwork during a visit to the school; 28 June 2013). However, no comments have ever been mentioned in regards to the pupils’ home language.

In the next section, I intend to describe the mainstream teacher’s background in order to draw attention to the relation between her education and her practice with the perspective of the multilingual pupil. This link is important as her educational background may have shaped her belief in relation to multilingualism.

#### **4.2.3.2 The Mainstream Teacher’s Background**

Mrs Smith, an experienced teacher, studied locally. She undertook four-year Bachelor of Education fifteen years ago. She was trained to teach Key Stage 2 (Year 3 to 6: 7 to

11 year-old pupils). She studied French at A-level and Spanish and English for GCSE. Her training included “very little if any EAL (English as An Additional Language) teaching”. The school in which she teaches gives priority to first aid and dyslexia training. She is aware that the number of EAL pupils who has registered in Bilton School has grown immensely; therefore, she realises that the school has “to look at addressing [the issue or their EAL pupils’ needs]”. Some procedures such as filling forms and writing the number of languages every pupil uses in their daily lives are taken when he or she first enters Junior School. By doing this, the EAL coordinator, Mrs Beaker (a newly appointed teacher with SENCO training rather than EAL) can build a better profile of EAL pupils; during an interview with her, she shows much interest in EAL and mentions that she has attended an informative meeting regarding EAL and that she is planning to organise meetings with teachers to familiarise them with EAL pupils’ educational needs.

However, Mrs Beaker has also realised that it is not always easy to identify the children who can speak another language than English at home when parents are not transparent. Parents do not always admit that their children can hear or speak their home language. Mrs Smith believes that this phenomenon takes place because parents do not see that it is significant whereas Mrs Beacon explains that it may be due to the fact that parents assume that the school prefers monolingual speakers.

This year, Mrs Smith teaches Year 5, a class of sixteen pupils. However, the class I observed is composed of twenty pupils (fourteen boys and six girls) because Dahlia’s teacher also teaches mathematics to pupils of Year 5 whose level is the highest in mathematics. When asked to talk about her EAL pupils, she says that she has a couple

of them and adds that they also speak English at home. She thinks that Dahlia is the only one who attends a complementary school and speaks her home language at home.

#### **4.2.3.3 The Teacher's Current Understanding of EAL Pupils**

Through her experience with Dahlia, Mrs Smith has realised that EAL children can have a broad range of vocabulary; they can understand the meaning of quite common words and their understanding of some words can be better than some children who are not EAL. Her explanation is that EAL children may benefit from the teacher's repetition (interview with Mrs Smith on 28 June 2013). Thanks to her own experience, Mrs Smith believes that an EAL pupil has to proceed what the teacher teaches, differently from monolinguals. She states that:

They may process information more slowly sometimes as they maybe need to translate what has been said (Interview with Mrs Smith on 28 June 2013)

before he or she actually resolves an issue. It is evident here from her answer that her understanding of EAL pupils comes from her personal experience as she mentions her lack of formal training [my training programme includes "very little if any EAL"] and by using words like "probably, new things..." she acknowledges that her strategies with the EAL pupils develop as she attempts to understand their educational needs.

#### **4.2.3.4 The Teacher's Current Training in EAL**

Until now, the school funds used for training has exclusively been spent on dyslexia and SEN courses as well as child protection and first aid and these certificates have had to be renewed every three years. So the teacher has used her own understanding of the situation and developed her own strategies to be able to deal with her EAL pupils. Recently, there has been a slight change in the way the school values EAL because the

number of EAL pupils has increased within the school. Consequently, a new SENCO teacher, who has hardly received a day of EAL training, has been lately employed.

#### **4.2.3.5 The School's Practice**

During the hour observation in the mainstream school at the end of the academic year, English was the only language used in the classroom. There was no incidence when the home language of the EAL pupils (two acknowledged in the class on the teacher's lesson plan; however, the classroom observation showed me that other children were multilingual but were not declared so) was referred. Even if Dahlia's mainstream class teacher has not received any formal training to support her EAL pupils, she has attempted to cater for Dahlia's educational needs by focusing on her several times in the lesson to check whether she has requested more explanation. The teacher is fully aware that Dahlia speaks French at home. In fact, she included in her lesson plan in the category of "Learning differences and disabilities" (differences were associated with disabilities/does "being different" a negative state?) that Dahlia was a pupil with English as an Additional Language and thus she was most likely to need support. This is surely a sign of a caring teacher but the plan was not specific on the kind of help Dahlia might have required. In addition, when Mrs. Smith was asked about the kind of support she granted to her EAL pupils, she responded that she had supported them through the principle of trial and error. In fact, she is not sure that her provision is appropriate. A review of one lesson plan showed that the teacher was aware that my participant was an EAL pupil but did not incorporate any specific strategy to include the EAL pupil or her "funds of knowledge" that could have been connected to the taught lesson. In fact, during class observation, the teacher did concentrate on her two EAL pupils by checking they understood the new concept taught; however, when pupils were asked to

do some team work, there was little communication between pupils. The setting, encompassing circles of pupils on a mat discussing answers, showed that my participant had a revealing position, sitting slightly outside the circle; although this attitude was not managed by the teacher, she was aware that Dahlia could "be happy sometimes for others to take the lead" (see section below 4.2.5.2). After the observation, when I interviewed the teacher, she mentioned that Dahlia was not confident enough despite the fact she had the ability to achieve well in the highest group.

I attempted to intervene at the beginning of the academic year as she was convinced that an EAL assistant could support her daughter (with the daughter's enthusiasm to attend one to one EAL sessions) but the class teacher (field notes: September 2012) was convinced that Dahlia did not need EAL tuitions as "she [was]... very good at English". It seems that there is a misunderstanding of what EAL support is.

Out of little experience, the teacher systematically repeats the explanation to cater for her EAL pupils' educational needs. Mrs Smith ensures they understand the purpose of the activity (during observation on 28 June 2013, the teacher asked Dahlia how she obtained her results as "she can rely on others a little bit to get the answer"). I also questioned Dahlia on the teacher's attitude to hear about her perspective on the teacher's practice checking Dahlia's acquisition of the new taught concept. This practice followed my intervention at the beginning of the year after the first teacher- parent meeting when I heard from the teacher that Dahlia could occasionally be anxious.

Following the parents' meeting, I investigated about Dahlia's anxiety and discovered that she was embarrassed to ask the teacher to explain again when a point was not clear to her. I send an email to the teacher and ask to see her sometime after school. She answered promptly and was given the chance to talk to her clarifying that Dahlia was probably anxious because she did not want to ask in front of everyone for more explanation fearing her peers' mockery. From there, the teacher was very responsive and checked regularly that Dahlia was following up (Mrs Durand, parent's diary, November 2012, Year 5).

In March 2013 diary, Dahlia responded to me when I attempted to encourage her to attend the French school:

My English teacher said that I was not registered in the best group in Math because I speak three languages and that the wording of problem solving may have been difficult otherwise they would have opted to put me in that group.

The way Dahlia words her answer indicates that she understands that being multilingual is a problem (see Agirdad, section 2.2.5). Has she used this answer to argue with me and attempt to avoid going to the French school? Or is it really the way she perceives her multilingualism? My field notes shows that Dahlia is proud of her background as she speaks French to me in any settings in front of everybody, whether they are teachers, peers, neighbours. This is definitely a characteristic she does not try to hide. However, she loses the motivation to participate in French speaking activities within the French school and does not negotiate with her French teacher to be recognised as a resource and not as a threat. She may not want to be different. If "difference" was given a valued place in the classroom, children would be more at ease to take this position. Comments like "do you want to show off?", if she (talking about Dahlia in front of the class when one English classmate mentioned loudly that Dahlia should know whether the word "nose" is masculine or feminine in French as she speaks French to me every day) was French, she would not make such mistakes". In fact, the teacher had given the wrong

gender. Following this incident, Dahlia was hiding under the table feeling embarrassed” (field work during the one year data collection period, September 2012-September 2013). These field notes are probably sufficient to prove that educators are not always aware that such comments can discourage children to voice their whole identity. This refers to the Ecological framework and explains that the macro system (monolingual policy/see section 2.2.4) influences the microsystem (school policy) which itself impacts on the child by offering her an uncomfortable position (See Toohey, section 2.2.6.)

After explaining to the reader the content of one of the lessons as well as some incidences during French lessons in the mainstream in relation to the teacher’s attitude towards multilingual pupils, I will turn now to the complementary school and highlight the teacher’s and school’s practice there.

#### **4.2.4 Her Complementary School**

##### **4.2.4.1 The Setting**

Called a ‘learning club’, the French complementary school located in Yorkshire welcomes all francophone children of this region. It first started in 2005 thanks to a couple of French mothers’ initiatives as a playgroup (see section 5.2.1.5) and has evolved into a school in which around one hundred pupils are registered. The aim is to meet the needs of the French speaking families who are not given the opportunity to fully develop their [multilingualism] in the British education system. In this rented Saturday school, children are between three to fifteen years old and are divided into nine classes in accordance to the French primary school system. Two and half hours are dedicated to a curriculum for CM1 (equivalent to Year Four) in a classroom rented for

that purpose which implies that tables, chairs, white board, data show, light and heating only could be used.

#### **4.2.4.2 The School's Linguistic Practice**

The Saturday complementary school concentrates solely on the French culture and language. The school's staff members communicate consistently in French with one another within their premises; it should be said that occasionally, an English word is inserted in the conversation to facilitate the communication. For example, translanguaging ((Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Garcia: 2009)) happens in pedagogical meetings because the French Primary consultant works in the UK and does not systematically know the corresponding word in relation to pedagogy in French. What is noticed is that she constantly asks the rest of the group how to translate the word in French as if it is not appropriate to use an English word even though everybody in the room is Anglophone (see section 2.2.4 on the macro system).

In addition, in classrooms, the teaching team mostly resort to the French language to teach their pupils. The data has shown that one of the school criteria to recruit their teachers is to be French/francophone or have good command of the French language. Once, an English father (field notes 18 December 2012) mentioned to me that "what was striking when I dropped my daughter to the French school on Saturdays was that it felt like a French territory" as French was the dominant language.

After introducing the French school practice, I intend to focus on my participants' French complementary school teacher: her background in relation to the languages she uses in different contexts.

#### **4.2.4.3 The Teacher's Background**

Christine, the complementary school teacher, is a French citizen who herself is the offspring of a mixed-background couple, a French mother and a Tunisian father. She is a secondary teacher in a girls' school whose majority of pupils are from Asian origins. She has been married to an English man for several years and has two children, a boy (seven years old) and a girl (four years old). She teaches French and Spanish in a mainstream school dominantly populated by children of Pakistani origin. Until the age of three, the children mainly spoke their mother tongue, French, but when they started school, they were exposed to much more English and thus mostly spoke in English to their mother, who admitted speaking more in English to them than before; moreover, the father does not speak French. An additional reason is that the family does not have many opportunities to visit France. The mother sometimes feels that English is overwhelming.

She states that:

Some people do feel threatened by it [by the fact that I speak French and they do not understand] [...]”that is why English sorts of creeps in you speak more English than you should really”) (Interview One on 23 November 2012).

However, recently, because of family circumstances, she has resorted to a French au pair who speaks French to her children. “An immediate improvement has taken place”, confirmed the mother.

In the following section, I will emphasise on the complementary French teacher's practice in relation to Dahlia.

#### **4.2.4.4 The Teacher's Practice**

The complementary school teacher concentrates mainly on oral skills the whole year long. She had a calm attitude. She gives every pupil the chance to express themselves

and encourages everyone to voice their perspectives, feelings and personal experiences for the first thirty minutes of the French class. I have always noticed that French is used consistently by the French native speaker teacher as well as by the pupils. However, when a pupil is stuck because of not having the right word at hand, the teacher helps by suggesting a word on some occasions or gives the child the chance to say the word in English and Christine repeats after him to familiarise the class with the unknown French word. This practice is consistently adopted. Homework is given on a regular basis. Assessment is fluid as the school has not imposed any kind of scoring scale. It is up to the teacher to establish a grading system. In my participants' Saturday class, the teacher does not grant any mark on work done either in class or at home. At the end of the academic year, she decides overall whether the child is able to move to the next level. It is done according to the teacher's understanding over the child's ability to fit in the upper class.

This institution offers a space to multilingual children to express themselves in their home language. The fact that the pupils only use French in front of the teacher illustrates the home language ideology. As a matter of fact, the teacher's upbringing took place in France where monolingual educational system was in place. This section indicates the importance of ecology (see section 2.2.2.1 ) illuminating the social forces (macrosystem/culture) impacting on multilingual pupils' home language maintenance. What is noticeable in the complementary school practice is that connection with mainstream schools is inexistent and that the child is occasionally given the chance to draw on English language when he or she does not know the French corresponding word. The complementary school teacher's experience as a multilingual individual, a mother of multilingual children and a teacher in a mainstream school seem to have given her the skills (flexibility/value given to both culture, English and French) needed

to cater for multilingual pupils even if the children believe that in the French school, it is the rule to speak French.

In the following section, I shall look at the relation between Dahlia, her family, her mainstream and complementary schools within the meso system.

#### **4.2.5 The Mesosystem**

##### **4.2.5.1 Dahlia in Relation to her Parents/Siblings**

According to Dahlia's close family, she is someone who initiates, likes to contribute in conversations and asks any questions to anyone around whether she has previously met the people with whom she interacts or not. One of her sisters said about Dahlia:

She is very kind to me and love helping me. Sometimes maybe too much and does never want to tell me "no" which I would love her to do sometimes when she feels tired or can't help (Fieldwork/conversation with Maya, Dahlia's eldest sibling, in June 2013).

Dahlia relates well with all the members of her family especially her sisters with whom she interacts on regular basis mainly in French but also mixes French, English and Arabic when it suits her. She often positions herself in terms of her family and talks about them whenever she is given the opportunity to express her ideas or narrates her weekends or holidays. She either relates a film she has enjoyed watching, a book she has loved reading or a match in which she has participated in her mainstream school or an activity she has shared with her sisters, all discussed enthusiastically in French (Observation 19 October 2012, 23 November 2012, 8 February 2013, 16 March 2013).

When I am upset with her often because she takes her time to do things and risks to be late, she gets really sad. The parents often hear that Dahlia is a polite girl and kind to everyone around her. She proves to have much patience with younger children and the

elderly. Her relationship with her parents is respectful and close. She confides to her family whenever she faces obstacles with peers. Whenever Dahlia encounters any kind of difficulty, she talks to me who calms her down by explaining the reasons why children or adults act the way they do. As for her relationship with her siblings, Dahlia is helpful and plays much with her nephew on a regular basis. She gets into a habit of speaking French to him. Dahlia's sisters compliment her in her written work and her physical ability and appearance:

I love the fact that you love learning and that when I teach you something, you are very attentive and interested; I love it when you share your work and efforts in school with us. (Fieldwork/conversation with Maya in June 2013).

#### **4.2.5.2 Dahlia in Relation to her Mainstream Teacher and the Mainstream Teacher in Relation to Dahlia.**

Dahlia has often been described as an anxious, shy little girl by her mainstream school teachers ("in terms of confidence, she is quite nervous at times anyway I don't know whether it is an EAL barrier or it is her personality" Interview with Mrs Smith on 28 June 2013). Her Year 5 class teacher, Mrs Smith, believes that Dahlia is the only child who goes to a complementary school ("I think it is only Dahlia/she goes on Saturdays, doesn't she?") in the class. The teacher sees Dahlia as an EAL pupil "to some extent" and she adds that she is also aware that Dahlia has quite a broad range of vocabulary.

She understands the meaning of quite common words and her understanding of some words are better than some children who are not EAL but obviously she benefits from the repetition she has to process what I am saying before she actually resolves an issue or answer a question (Interview June 2013 with Mrs Smith).

The teacher understands that the pupil does not have any specific learning needs. She assumes that Dahlia translates from French to English ("she probably translates it in her own head"). Mrs Smith just has to make sure that Dahlia understands everything. It is

her first experience with a multilingual child (“it is quite a new thing” the teacher said).

She admittedly believes that:

Dahlia is developing confidence all the time and she is putting her hand up and answering questions. [To Mrs Smith] that shows that she is confident, listens, understands and processes information. She has got a good understanding of what she has been taught (Interview June 2013 with Mrs Smith).

However, as she has moved up a group in mathematics in the course of the summer term, Dahlia does not feel she is as good as the others in her group. The teacher acknowledges that there is a slight gap between her and her peers which can be filled when she gains confidence.

The teacher carries on by asserting that Dahlia is not a dominant person at all because she is “just very polite” and that she prefers to let everybody else take their turn. She is “not forceful and that is part of her character”. At times, the teacher has to distribute roles to the members of Dahlia’s team. The teacher makes sure that her pupil put her point across as she realises that Dahlia “[could] be happy sometimes for others to take the lead”. By asking Dahlia how she obtains the answer to a particular problem, the teacher ensure that her pupil does work out the answer and does not just rely on someone else (“because she can rely on others a little bit to get the answer to this”).

Dahlia explains the feeling of anxiety in terms of peer pressure as she is aware that she takes longer to complete a task in mathematics than the other members of the group (fieldwork June 2013).

#### **4.2.5.3 Dahlia in Relation to her Peers**

The social condition in which a pupil evolves plays a significant role in language learning as positive interactions with peers can act as motivation and cooperation in the child’s determination to learn or vice versa. In this particular year of investigation, Dahlia is disturbed with a new pupil at school.

That child clearly tells Dahlia that she wants her to stay away from certain children. Dahlia says “OK” and walks away. The next day, the same little girl approaches Dahlia and frankly tells her “I was jealous of you”. Dahlia starts understanding what is going on. She is told that at this age, children are insecure and can attempt all sorts of strategies (pleasant or unpleasant) to attract attention. From this experience, Dahlia understands the situation better and can stand her ground when other incidents occur. In fact, Dahlia is a victim of being excluded by a circle of mates on several occasions. She often accepts it and walks away. However, the other children are used to seeing Dahlia as polite and accepting the cruelty that the day she is firm and resists the mockery, the children are shocked and treats her as a nasty child. This period is difficult for Dahlia and her family as they worry about her self-esteem. The father de-dramatised the situation by affirming that what counts is Dahlia’s performance at school. He believes that Dahlia will succeed socially if she achieves well academically. I have a different attitude. I believe that at this young age when a child builds his or her “foundation”, the peer pressure can jeopardise a child’s self-confidence.

From the observation I did at the end of the academic year, in the mathematics period (see Appendicesx 10), I could clearly see Dahlia as a pupil who did not impose herself when she worked in a team. At this point, I attempted to investigate a bit more and questioned her teacher on their point of view regarding Dahlia’s attitude and relationship with her study group in the afternoon of my observation session. On several occasions, she had the right answers which showed that she followed up the objective of the lessons. However, the cooperation within the group was poor. I could see the girls somehow reserved and whenever, they had an answer, they did not show any excitement. On the contrary, I noticed the boys who were much organised to divide the exercise and distribute part of the question to every member of the group. Two

explanations were given by Dahlia and the teacher. First, Mrs Smith admitted that

Dahlia:

[D]oes not feel that she is as good as the others in that group because she moved up a group and so there is a slight gap but she is more than capable of staying in that group and will stay in that group in Year 6 (interview 28 June 2013 with Mrs Smith)

Dahlia says that she sees that “everybody in the group [is] much faster than her and it [makes] her feel odd” (Fieldwork 28 June 2013).

Another explanation that may give an answer to the distance between Dahlia and her peers is the fact that Dahlia has the reputation to be the teacher’s pet. This was pointed out to me in an informal conversation with Dahlia’s friend who admitted that “everyone [said] that Dahlia [was] Mrs Smith’s pet”. At this point, Dahlia responded that she was “not the only one but another girl in the class was as well” which confirmed the former statement.

At the beginning of the year, I took note in a diary (October 2012) regarding Dahlia’s comments from school that a small incident made Dahlia refuse to go to school. She actually wanted to move to another school. She claimed that she did not relate to her peers the way she hoped to. On several occasions, she felt isolated.

In the next section, I would like to emphasise the relation between the parents and the mainstream school pertaining to multilingual education.

#### **4.2.6 Mainstream School in Relation to Parents/Parents in Relation to Mainstream School**

I was informed by Mrs Smith that when the child first entered Junior School, parents gave an outline of their child on the way they perceived him/her (whether they were confident or shy or they spoke different languages at home). This background information might have been exploited in some areas such as giving opportunities to

pupils to gain more confidence by granting them the chance to practise certain roles. However, as for the linguistic background of the child, no teacher has exploited Dahlia's French language background. In fact, Dahlia admits that she sometimes speaks French to her French teacher but "I prefer to speak English to her as I feel I am showing off" (Interview One with Dahlia 1 December 2012). Therefore, the rare opportunities to value her French language within the mainstream school are not even exploited; this is demonstrated by the fact that Dahlia sees herself as a "show off"; in fact, if this experience is valued and conceived as a resource for the whole class, Dahlia will not have felt this way. She believes that using her mother tongue is inappropriate. My multi role in this research has helped me making sense of this situation (see section 3.8); the variety of exposure to different settings with an array of actors has contributed to a comprehensive understanding of the reason why Dahlia draws on the phrasal verb "show off". In fact, a French teacher in Year 4 (Field notes Year 4: 2011-2012) had scolded Dahlia and called her a "show off" because she was not concentrating on the task the teacher had assigned to the class.

During that year, Dahlia also experienced a few sessions with the SEN teacher with whom she was really pleased (see section 4.2.6)

After the first parents' meeting, when I discovered that Dahlia was anxious in class, I investigated the reasons why Dahlia felt this way. I understood that Dahlia did not always understand the lesson and that she did not ask for more explanation because of fear that classmates would make fun of her. At that point, I contacted the teacher by email and explained the difficulties faced by her daughter. Following that, the teacher cooperated and repeated key questions and made sure that Dahlia could assimilate new concepts.

This made a difference in Dahlia's achievements; however, it might have triggered some jealousy among her peers (see section on Dahlia and her peers).

On another occasion, I contacted the class teacher again by email to inform her of the family concern about social school situation (see the following section on Dahlia and her peers) and the impact on Dahlia in the long run. The teacher was accommodating and welcomed Dahlia and I after school club to grasp the full meaning of what my daughter was going through. The teacher suggested some strategies to make Dahlia comfortable with voicing any kind of issues she would face in the school such as writing bullet points regarding her feelings on a post-it. Following that the teacher called Dahlia and discussed the points privately with her. That was what she did for a while until Dahlia showed that she could cope better with the situation. What was reassuring in Dahlia's social school experience was that her year report constantly showed improvement and that Dahlia was achieving, that her attainments in core subjects such as Mathematics, English spelling and reading were above the national standard (see Appendicesx 3). However, no sign of teachers adapting or valuing Dahlia's cultural background was noticed. Teachers put stress on Dahlia's school achievement but did not see any link between curriculum taught in English and Dahlia's French and Arabic background. In fact, Arabic was never mentioned.

After analysing the relation between the mainstream school and the family, I intend to talk about the connections between Dahlia and her peers.

In the following section, I will examine the data that has shown indirect influence on the participant's home language maintenance or shift from the parents' work and the extended family.

## **4.2.7 The Exo system**

### **4.2.7.1 The Child and the Parent's Work**

The nature of the mother/researcher's research activity on multilingualism in a "monolingualising" society seems to have influenced the family's perspective on the mainstream schools' position in multilingual education. It seems that a thorough study in relation to the literature on multilingualism in the world and particularly in the UK gave Dahlia's family some knowledge helpful to resist the process of assimilation. It is also the monolingual background and the immersion in multilingual societies that have given me the experience of both worlds. Moreover, my reading on multilingual cases in monolingual countries and the understanding of a variety of attitudes towards multilingual education have granted the family with a wider scope on this particular topic and thus has made possible not only the successful maintenance of the home language but also good results in the target language (school report is available in Appendixesx 3). The belief in negotiation rather than hatred and the positive attitude in persevering in the home language even when Dahlia was not enthusiastic in attending the French Complementary School or was not willing to do extra homework with me have led her to decide for herself the time and the amount of French she would do on a daily basis (Fieldwork/ conversations in December 2012) and thus assure consistent teaching and learning in a relaxing atmosphere.

After describing the parent-researcher's attitude and practice influenced by the exo system, I would like to mention other benefits that may have contributed to Dahlia's home language maintenance.

#### 4.2.7.2 The Child and the Extended Family

Dahlia benefits from regular trips to France where she interacts with members of my family. She develops close relationships (field work July 2013) with her grand-mother, her great-aunt and her great-grand-mother with whom she always interacts in French as they are monolingual. At times, she asks me for a word in French as, at the beginning of her sojourn in France, some English words emerge first (field work in July 2013).

This case study indicates that Dahlia values all the languages on which she draws in her daily life. She asserts that:

I value both languages but use them according to the habits I have built up with my family;[for example, she says:]I quite like Tintin and I prefer to read it in French because I am used to it (interview three with Dahlia 30 June 2013).

In this sentence, Dahlia shows some understanding that she has been socially constructed and that her linguistic experience depends mostly on the routine she “has built up” with her family. As a whole, in Dahlia’s case, her family has played an important role in the maintenance of her home language, a fact that is demonstrated by Dahlia herself (see quote above) and her father, who recognizes that:

What I feel is that the children like to talk to their own parents in the parents’ mother tongue. This encourages the child to learn these languages. And the children naturally like to know the culture of the parents. She always likes me to talk about my childhood” (Interview one with Marwan on 1 January 2013).

These interview extracts illustrate the concept developed in the literature review in relation to language policy within the family (see section 2.2.7-Families in Relation to Multilingualism)

## **Chapter 5 Second Case Study: Oscar /Third Case Study: Gabriel**

### **5.1 Introduction to the Second Case Study: Oscar**

Following the first case study, I shall go further by introducing my reader to my second participant, Oscar. I will extend and relate him to his immediate family: Agnes and John (his parents), Thomas and Alice (his twin siblings), as well as her complementary teacher: Christine, Oscar's CM1 (see microsystem, section 4.2.4) teacher from the French complementary school. This particular case study will omit an important section on the mainstream school as one of the parents insisted that I would not contact Oscar's school for reasons explained below. I will focus on the relationships between different institutions (see mesosystem, section 5.1.3) and see if the extended family had any influence on the family and particularly on Oscar (see exosystem, section 5.1.4). Finally, I will extract data that explained the government's influence on schools and the society at large through policies (see macrosystem, section 5.1.5).

#### **5.1.1 The microsystem**

##### **5.1.1.1 Introducing Oscar**

Oscar is a ten year-old boy who can speak French and English fluently. He is exposed to both languages every day at different levels although English is definitely the language he hears the most. Oscar has lived in a village in South Yorkshire since he was ten months and attends a local state primary school. During the investigation, he is in Year six, probably one of the youngest of his class since he was born at the end of the academic year.

### 5.1.1.2 Personal Agency

Oscar is the eldest son of Agnes and John. The identity he has developed at home with a caring mother must be quite different from the school culture where he is teased by his peers. He finds himself bullied and he relates it to the fact that he is French. His relationships with his peers are limited: “I don’t have any friend in England, really. I don’t know how to make friends. I kind of have friends, but I play with, this might sound a bit strange but I prefer younger people, small people” (Interview Two with Oscar: 9 February 2013). Oscar feels safer in a circle of younger people where he can position himself as the eldest. It seems that Oscar wants to replicate the home culture he experiences as the eldest. In his complementary classroom, he takes initiatives (observation in the French complementary school on 20 April 2013); Oscar suggests doing a debate on technology which is implemented. In class, he shows caring attitude towards others. He often comes to the school with an artefact and distracts himself and the others. He needs to have a sense of control over a task for him to keep focused (observation and interview one with John on 27 December 2012). When the teacher assigns a task, he usually does not want to do it. In the complementary school, he positions himself as a leader. At home, his mother asserts that “it takes so much to make him do something; I can be there for two hours to try to convince him to do something” (from interview one with Agnes 27 December 2012). It is confirmed by the father in the same interview, when he says if:

[H]e (Oscar) has got an idea in his head of doing something else and you try to make him do something, he doesn’t want to do it; it is like a pre-decision made and then that’s it” (See section 5.1.3.2 ).

This indicates that in some spaces, Oscar wants to lead and refuses to be led. Oscar shows that at time, he takes initiatives to learn. He claims: “I must help the (French)

teacher”. The word “must” in this sentence connotes responsibility and taking ownership as well as the pronoun “I”. It also shows that Oscar has opportunity to learn French by being given chance in the French lesson to act as an assistant. Moreover, Oscar looks for occasions to draw on the French language. He says:

And when I see the people [francophone] in England and other countries I speak French with them as if I could see someone who wanted to speak French in England or in America or something like that. I wanted to talk to my mother very loudly. (Interview One with Oscar 15 December 2012 in the French complementary school)

The fact that when Oscar knows that francophone people are around, he wants to let them know that he can speak French shows that his French identity is prominent in these circumstances. The word “loudly” illustrates the concept of “pride”, pride to be able to speak that language. He wants to portray himself as “expert in French” to others. The strategy adopted in getting people to communicate is creative and indicates that Oscar is confident in that language. He speaks French to his maternal grand-father as the latter “can somehow speak English but not much” which means in his interaction with his grand-father, Oscar had the opportunity to learn French especially as he had a good relationship with the latter. In addition, Oscar was critical of language level and resources. The resources (television/film for adults) provided do not always meet his level of French language learning. His answer implies that children films are below his level of French language learning as he says that “films for adults” could help him to improve his French (interview one with Oscar on 15 December 2012). As a whole, in both interviews, whether the one I had with Oscar or with his parents, there was a noticeable characteristic in terms of language acquisition or maintenance. Oscar shows that he is not a follower but has his own idea about home language maintenance; in

other words, he looks for opportunities to speak or listen to French. His attitude proves that he does not learn when he is forced to do something; if his learning style is not identified, Oscar develops his own strategies and distracts the rest of the class (field notes during data collection/November 2012 to June 2013). For instance, in a videotape on 23 November 2012, Oscar initiates to tell a story. He suggests that he could start with “il était une fois” (once upon a time) and that each classmate would carry on one by one, adding a sentence until completing the story. Oscar often intervenes when he is not pleased with the current classroom activity. He acts as a leader rather than a follower.

He wants to have a choice. This is the crux of the matter with everything, with the negotiating. He wants to have a choice. He doesn't want to be told what to do (interview one in November 2012 with Agnes and John).

Oscar loves cooking with his mother; this is another opportunity to practise his French as when mother and son are together, they drew on French. These collected data illustrate the importance of Oscar's agency in regards to home language maintenance and the value he gives to the French language (see microsystem/family policy section 2.2.7).

As a whole, the mother's overview on Oscar's multilingualism is positive. She states that:

Oscar has an extensive vocabulary in both languages and has learnt to translate quickly as well as expressed himself satisfactorily in both languages (interview one in November 2012 with Agnes and John).

Another of Oscar's characteristics is being a late speaker. His mother tells me that “Oscar was a late speaker. He didn't speak until he was three and half in either language”. (Interview one with Agnes on 27 November 2012). This has caused some

anxiety to the mother which may have impacted on Oscar’s language acquisition (see sections below 5.1.1.5 and 5.2.2).

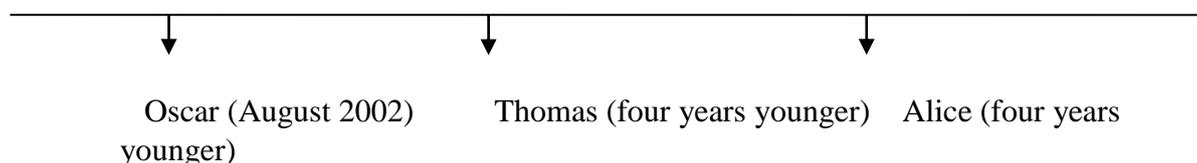
Finally, the first interview with the parents inform that Oscar is not “a big reader” even if the mother attempts to encourage him; she usually ends up reading magazines to him in French.

He is not a big reader. I do try and encourage him. He does get a magazine, twice a month. More often than not I have to read it to him (Interview One with Agnes on 27 November 2012).

These are again opportunities for Oscar to listen to some French in a comfortable manner and thus, a favourable way to home language maintenance. This is linked to the literature on language policy within the family (see section 2.2.7) indicating the importance of the home in preserving the home language.

### 5.1.1.3 Oscar’s Immediate Family:

John and Agnes



Agnès, Oscar’s mother, is an educated French woman who has lived in England for the last 18 years. She was given an opportunity to further her studies in England which she grasped and from then on, she decided to stay there. John, her husband, received a liberal education; he is the younger of a family of two children.

He had a very caring mother and a father who “hardly followed him. He went to a university in North London. He did a BSc in Geography and in Manchester a post-grad in quality Management (Professional Institute-Open University). He got a diploma in management. This led to his job as a

quality responsible manager (quality control chemical engineer in aluminium) (interview two in June 2013 on Skype with Agnès).

John's father was a headmaster of a primary school. Oscar's family background also contributes to home language maintenance but differently (see ecology section 2.2.2.1). In fact, both parents grew up with two unique experiences. The mother was influenced by an English family who inspired her to educate her family multilingual whereas the father received the impact of parents who believed in education within a monolingual system. I wrote in my field notes while I had a conversation with Agnes that her father-in-law was reluctant that she spoke French to Oscar believing that multilingualism would confuse him.

#### **5.1.1.4 The Parents' Views on Multilingualism and Role in Oscar's Language Experience**

Both parents show interest in transmitting French and English to their children. Agnès claims that:

It has always been very important to me that my children speak two languages (interview one in November 2012 with Agnès).

In reality, they both accompany their children to the French complementary school on Saturdays even though it takes place at a long distance from home (around forty minutes). They both contribute to the school's social events by organising meetings with francophone speakers on Saturday mornings and a picnic one Saturday afternoon every month (data from observation and field notes). They both take part in raising money for the school by organising social activities such as coffee mornings. This participation in the French complementary school creates a link between home and the

Saturday school which is favourable to Oscar's French language maintenance. This way of school-based parents' involvement (see section 2.2.2.1 on ecology) gives Oscar opportunity to exert his French identity in a safe environment where French is mostly expected. In addition to the parents' support to the school, the father had a positive perspective on the French educational system:

In France, they make sure you get the grade, which I think is a very good thing too" interview one in November 2012 with Agnès and John).

The family home language practice and link with the complementary school exemplify the literature on family policy contributing to the family key role in maintaining the home language (see sections 2.2.7)

The fact that Agnès and her husband deliberately have "chosen their children's names to be easy to say in French and in English" also shows the importance they both give to their mixed background. Their selection reflects that they have not only thought of facilitating integration in their place of residence but also in francophone lands (see section 2.2.7 family policy).

Another practice in the family's daily life has also been relevant in the contribution of the home language maintenance:

Aujourd'hui, lors d'une conversation, je ne me rappelais plus du mot "pansement" en anglais. J'ai demandé à Oscar la traduction. Il a été très fier de me la donner. (Diary October 2012 by Agnès)

Today, during a conversation, I could not remember the word "dressing" in English. I asked Oscar for the translation. He was proud to give it to me.

The mother attempts consciously to enrich her son's vocabulary by taking any opportunity to empower him offering him the position of an expert; she jokingly writes:

Je continue à profiter de mes pertes de mémoires (momentanées) pour en discuter avec Oscar (Diary October 2012 by Agnès)/ I continue to take advantage of my temporary memory loss to discuss [some words] with Oscar.

In addition, she sometimes reminds her children to watch French cartoons on French channels, an instruction they usually follow.

By speaking in French on a daily basis to Oscar, the mother consciously or inadvertently assists him in his maintenance of the French language. When he does not know the French word, Agnès simply paraphrases him and ensures herself that Oscar can hear the corresponding word in French. The child accepts this practice and takes it as a helpful exercise (“Il accepte volontiers ceci et le prend comme une aide” diary October 2012 by Agnès/he accepts it willingly and takes it as a helpful practice). It is confirmed by Oscar:

Normally, if it is my mum, sometimes, if the words are really hard I like replying in English, but if the words are really easy I like having a conversation in French and then she says the word in French (in Interview two on 9 February 2013).

Agnès has identified that often Oscar chooses to speak French to her for emotional reasons:

I think it is becoming the language French when we are close to each other and we are discussing nice things and when we are discussing things that are more academic, he uses English” (interview one with Agnes on 27 November 2012).

This selection seems evident as Oscar’s daily life is somehow divided into school time where only English is spoken in the mainstream school apart from the time when French is used in the French lesson (fifty minutes a week) and the Saturdays’ classes where

French is used as a means of instruction but English still dominant among peers during break time and home life where both languages (English and French) are used.

#### **5.1.1.5 The Mother's Attitude/Impact on Oscar's Home Language Maintenance**

I found out from the interview that the mother had a strict attitude towards Oscar's early speaking experience at home; when Oscar was a toddler, Agnès insisted that he only spoke French to her ("Non, tu parles en français à Maman/No, you speak in French to Mummy" (interview one with Agnès on 27 November 2012), an attitude she regrets much as she has realised through interactions with friends that she should have given more freedom to her child to speak the language he wanted especially if she had made the choice to consistently speak in French with him. This attitude might have affected Oscar's home language maintenance (see ecology section 2.2.2.1).

#### **5.1.1.6 The Siblings' Role in Oscar's Home Language Maintenance**

Oscar's brother and sister are twins. They are four years younger than Oscar. The three of them attend a local primary school in their village. They also go to the French complementary school on Saturday mornings. On Fridays, the mother encourages them to do their French homework (fieldwork/in a conversation on the phone with the mother in June 2013). They attended the complementary school at a young age of about four when they were at nursery and have consistently been part of the school since then. They interact mainly with Oscar in English; when they are in France, they all use French and occasionally English when they do not want people to understand them (Interview with Agnes in 27 November 2012). This is the concept discussed in the literature under the ecological approach (section 2.2.2.1) illustrating the idea that the micro system (home for instance) has a direct influence on the key participant.

Therefore, the more exposed Oscar is to the French language by virtue of contacts with his siblings, the better he can preserve his French home language.

## **5.1.2 Mainstream and Complementary Schools**

### **5.1.2.1 Mainstream School**

No interview could be organised with the members of the mainstream school as Oscar's father did not grant me the permission to further the studies within the primary school Oscar attended. The tension that Oscar had to face because of bullying made the father aware that the presence of a French researcher in the classroom could have drawn more attention on Oscar's French identity. The father did not want extra pressure on his child. As the child had had to deal with anti-social behaviour such as calling names, exclusion due to emphasis on differences ("French fry" "they don't like the food [...] I don't eat the disgusting food. But they don't believe me" (interview two with Oscar on 09 February 2013)). Some peers were convinced that Oscar ate frogs' legs as they are a French dish. During an observation in the complementary school (observation in the French complementary school on 20 April 2013), Oscar mentioned that he would have opportunities to be interviewed on television. The teacher immediately asked him to let her know when the broadcast took place as she was interested in watching him on television. Oscar mentioned again that children at school did not believe what he said. There was a contrast here between the trust the teacher demonstrated and the lack of trust peers had proved at different times. The relationships with some classmates were represented by lack of trust and lack of tolerance towards people who had different practices. Oscar father's mentioned in interview one on 27 November 2012 that he had contacted the school several times for bullying issues. Several years later, Oscar still suffers from the same social problem. This section has shown that society members' beliefs and values are socially constructed and that Oscar's parents cannot avoid the

consequences of many prejudices that are built in families in the village in which they live. This example can be linked to the literature review on ecology (section 2.2.2.1) indicating the community's socio-cultural influence on Oscar that could have discouraged him in maintaining his French home language.

The following section is common to the three case studies.

### **5.1.2.2 Complementary School**

In order to have a clear idea about the educational setting my three participants share every Saturday morning in the French Complementary School, I elaborate on the school and teacher once in details in Case Study One (section 4.2.4).

Oscar is an assiduous attendee. His absence is rather rare even if he is not keen on coming to the French school. When asked whether he likes joining it, he says: “no, I would have rather play football” (observation and classroom conversation on 20 April 2013). However, he often initiates activities such as debating, doing presentations, playing games (see example 5.1.1.2). His main choice is mainly doing things and not so many academic tasks. Therefore, when the teacher responds to his needs, he is an active pupil and when she concentrates on theoretical work, Oscar loses focus. This point is directly connected to the literature on funds of knowledge (see section 2.2.6) commenting that teachers should understand the importance of linking the pupil's background to the curriculum in place.

After analysing each actor (the parents, siblings, extended family and complementary school teacher) around Oscar, it is important to examine the relationships between them and show their impact on home language maintenance.

### **5.1.3 The Meso System**

#### **5.1.3.1 Mainstream School in Relation to Parents/Parents in Relation to Mainstream School**

The data, in this section, illustrate the British father's perspectives on British education. This mainly reflects the fact that John grew up in a household of teachers; His beliefs are also in tune with John's experience with Oscar when he registered him at school and had to face the headmaster's point of view on multilingualism. The relationships between the school and the father have particularly played a significant role due to the fact that John was often present in the house during my investigation. This part of the data collection indicates again that the father's beliefs and values have been constructed step by step in accordance with the daily experience John undergoes and have influenced his opinion and the way he negotiates with the school.

John, who has been the parent mostly involved with Oscar's upbringing in the last eighteen months, finds the mainstream school not cooperating with him when it comes to accepting his bi-national children. Agnès states that:

[I]t tends to be in turn but John has always had a quite big father's role and that really started when Thomas and Alice were born because there were two of them he really had to step in and help and because he has been unemployed a few times. (Interview one with Agnès in November 2012)

The headmaster made it clear to him that the school only wanted to know about English ("The headmaster was kind of like: Oh, you are just like the Pakistani; they manage it, and we only want to know about the English" from interview one with John in November 2012). According to the father there is a misunderstanding among some British educationalists regarding "the richness of culture the pupils may have". He goes further by stating that "teachers [had] no concept of that at all". It is John's British

background and experience with his French wife and children that have impacted on his concept on British educators (see section 2.2.2.1).

In the following section, I will focus on the relation between Oscar's attitude and his parents' in relation to home language maintenance.

### **5.1.3.2 The Parents in Relation to Oscar**

At home, the parents show exhaustion when they create opportunities for Oscar to learn:

It is so frustrating. Everything is negotiable with him. Absolutely everything. It is torture. (Mother's Interview One on 12 November 2013)

I've often thought if he has got an idea of doing something else, if he has got an idea in his head of doing something else and you try to make him do something he doesn't want to do it. It is like a pre-decision made and then that's it. (Father's Interview One on 12 November 2013)

Whenever Agnès plans to support Oscar with his homework, she admits that:

It [takes] so much to make him do anything. I can be there for two hours to try to convince him to do something (from 12 November interview one with Agnès in their home context).

This characteristic may have jeopardised the parents' enthusiasm in offering opportunities to learn. Anything that is dictated to him is not often implemented because Oscar decides for himself whether he will carry on with the task. He sees himself as a leader and not a subordinate in the home context; this might be due to Oscar's position as the eldest of a family of three children. This is narrated by the parents at home and in other contexts (see section 5.2.1.5) but also by himself when he mentions that he teaches French to his brother and sister when his mother is at work during the holiday (interview two with Oscar on 09 February 2013). These data indicate a dissonance between Oscar's characteristics and his parents' expectations. Tensions or miscommunications can lead to a negative outcome (see section 2.2.7 on family language policy).

Following the relationship between Oscar and his parents, I turn towards the interactions Oscar and his peers maintain that impact on Oscar's home language maintenance.

### **5.1.3.3 Oscar and his Peers**

Language maintenance also takes place when opportunities to express oneself are offered. The interviews recorded with Oscar and his parents show that his peers have caused pressure to Oscar to the point that he thinks:

[W]hen I get into High School, it will be easier because I will not have to say I am French, then not everybody will bully me; they won't know (Interview Two with Oscar on 09 February 2013)

This long term incident may have brought about obstacle to Oscar's language development. Oscar realises that friendship with his peers is not accessible; however, his entrepreneurial attitude leads him to bond with younger children. ("I kind of have friends but I play with ... this might sound a bit strange but I prefer younger people, small people" interview two with Oscar on 09 February 2013). Oscar comprehends that when he moves to high school, he will hide his French identity as he associates it with anti-social behaviour. One more time, the snippet above illustrates the way Oscar's socio-cultural experience has shaped his belief and attitude (see section 2.2.2.1)

## **5.1.4 The Exosystem:**

### **5.1.4.1 Oscar's Extended Family/Family's Friends and Impact on the Home Culture**

Agnès' motivation in bringing up multilingual children originates from her adolescence.

She admits that:

I believe as a teenager, I was influenced by an English lady, and English family, in France” from Interview One in 27 November 2012 with Agnès and John).

She has actually experienced multilingualism through the example of an English family who employed Agnès’ mother as a child-minder. This experience has been powerful in her determination to bring up her children multilingually. Another characteristic of this home culture is that the family lives more according to the father’s philosophy as Agnès explains her cultural adaptation and questioning regarding her own culture by the daily living with her husband who is “very gentle”.

He is not forcing me to do it [thinking like he thinks] but he lives by it and it seems right to me now. This may be a British trait (from Interview One on 27 November 2012 with Agnès and John).

This example clearly suggests that the family’s beliefs and values are socially constructed. At the beginning of the couple’s married life, Agnes attempted to live with her husband with her French lenses. After fifteen years of common life, she says:

I have changed by no longer see the world as I used to see it. At first I could not understand some of the views [John’s family] had. There are a lot of prejudice I came to understand it wasn’t always said but against Catholics and the French people. That is very English. I could not understand it and I was not aware of it (from Interview One on 27 November 2012 with Agnès and John).

As Agnès mentions, it has taken her several years to understand her new context and adapt to it. Her husband has highlighted to her the historical context that has caused much “prejudice” against her own culture. By understanding the situation, she can adapt to her life in England more peacefully and thus, bring harmony in her household by adopting what suits the family without minimising her French identity. This ecology,

funds of knowledge and language family policy have determined Agnès' family language status quo (see sections 2.2.6 and 2.2.7).

In the following section, I will explore the ways British culture, British government and policies have influenced my participants' language experience.

### **5.1.5 The Macro system**

#### **5.1.5.1 British Culture: Impact on the Home Culture**

In the interviews with Oscar's parents, an important issue that transpires is the ways Agnes and John perceive the covert rejection of their child's French identity in a village with few immigrants. Agnès justifies her cultural initial confusion by the prejudices of which she was not aware at first because they were not brought forward or declared.

They are a lot of prejudice I came to understand; it wasn't always said but against Catholics and the French people. That is very English. I could not understand it and I was not aware of it (from Interview One on 27 November 2012 with Agnès and John).

The father steps in, reiterates and adds:

That's very English. There have basically been a lot of wars in Northern Ireland. It is very much seen as a separate thing. (Interview One with Agnes and John on 27 November 2013)

The father has a clear idea on the historical and cultural issues impacting on the ways some English people perceive the Catholics and the French in particular. However, he differentiated between a small group of English people who were "liberal" like his family:

My family is very liberal, so they have been really accepting of Catholicism, but not everybody is like that in this country. (Interview One with Agnes and John on 27 November 2013)

and the others who have a narrow-minded view on other cultures. John also sees a difference between the Catholic Church in France and the one in England which he judges stricter. He says that:

And also the Catholic Church in France is incredibly moderate compared to some of them here” Interview One with Agnes and John on 27 November 2012).

This means that not only is there a difference between the French people’s religion and the British people’s religion, but also the difference between British Catholics and French Catholics is also significant in the degree of moderation which enhanced the degree of differences in the societal beliefs. This seems to have played a significant role in Oscar’s positioning in the mainstream school according to the family’s understanding. As a summary, I can say that the concept on ecology is seminal in this study (see section 2.2.2.1); the fact that the father has understood the reasons for rejections of his child’s French identity in the village in which the family lives has probably not impeded the parents’ persistence in sending their children to the French complementary school even if the latter are reluctant. However, what has happened at the macro level and meso level can be factors that hinder home language maintenance.

In the next part of the chapter, I will present my third and last case study: Gabriel

### **5.2 Introduction to the Third Case Study: Gabriel**

I will present my third case study whose main actor is Gabriel and relate him to his immediate family: Dominique and Richard (his parents), Nicolas (his brother), Matthieu and Shella (his half English brother and sister/Richard’s first children) as well as, Christine, Gabriel’s CM1 teacher from his Saturday French complementary school (Cours Moyen 1: Year Four; see case study 1 section Her Complementary School) and Mrs. Pelan, his class teacher, from his English mainstream school. I will examine the

relationships between the different schools and the family (see figure 2.1 in section 2.2.2.1) and its impact on Gabriel's French language maintenance and learning. Finally, I will talk about the government policy and its influence on schools and the wider society.

## **5.2.1 The Micro System**

### **5.2.1.1 Introducing Gabriel**

Gabriel is a ten year-old boy who is fluent in French and English. He mainly hears English every day, but he is also exposed to some French on a daily basis when he interacts with his mother (Interview with Gabriel on 10 November 2012)). Gabriel lives in a city and attends a local state primary school which has fifty per cent of multilingual children:

Generally, we have got about fifty per cent [of multilingual children] in the school; here [in my class] I think it is a bit less; it is about ten children (Interview with Mrs Pelan on 02 July 2013).

During the investigation, Gabriel is in Year Five.

### **5.2.1.2 Gabriel's Personal Agency**

Gabriel's first language is French. When he started nursery:

He used to confuse both languages, mix them both; I remember that and that led me to think that I need to stick to French" (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

Gabriel is motivated to learn French as he has plans to take his GCSE French early, at the age of twelve years old. In his English mainstream school, during the French lesson, Gabriel is given the position of a fluent speaker of French which makes him feel good ("they [French teachers in the mainstream school] are not very expert, not as good as me" Interview Three with Gabriel on 22 June 2013). He is even aware of the difference

between him and the teacher. He positions himself as the expert; he is “the only one in the class” who is fluent in French. He sees his position as an advantage.

I am the only one who speaks French every day in the class, and then the teacher asks me to help them [classmates]. (Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2012)

The fact that the teacher has drawn on Gabriel’s multilingualism as a resource boosts his confidence and value one of his home languages. This shows that funds of knowledge, explained in section 2.2.6, are key concepts when they are understood and appreciated by educators; this practice can contribute to multilingual children’s confidence and home language maintenance.

When compared to his monolingual classmates, Gabriel sees himself privileged as his mother spoke to him in French every day; no other child has the same benefit in the class; therefore, he has the satisfaction to help the rest of the class. However, Gabriel is reluctant to attend the complementary school on Saturdays and complained that he has to wake up early or that he finds the language difficult:

“I am stuck in French because it is difficult”; “I must go to school six days a week whereas my other friends go five days a week”; “I am forced, I don’t like to come to the French school”; he reiterated his complaint stating that “I don’t like to go to the French school and in France neither. I must wake up and go to the French school” (Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2012).

Here in this environment, Gabriel is not the expert anymore. He only goes there because he is forced by his mother. On the other hand, he claims that he would be pleased to know:

Spanish because it is easy and it looks like French. This way, I could say that I speak three languages (Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2012).

There is some kind of pride he exhibits in being a multilingual speaker. There are here some contradictions between the fact that he perceives French as a hard language but at the same time he enjoys his multilingual position and he sees Spanish as easy, a language that looks like French.

Gabriel has a preference for the English system because of longer breaks, no bag to carry and no homework to do:

They [French pupils] only have ten minutes [of break] and we have to bring a bag like in the French school [complementary school in the UK] and you also have homework, yes, a lot of homework”) (Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2012).

On the contrary, he admits appreciating the French culture more as it seems to him that French people have more festivals.

Sometimes, Gabriel positions himself as an English boy (see quote above “They [French pupils] ... homework”) and talks about “them” [the French pupils], at other time, he says “we have to bring a bag”, which means that he includes himself in this French pupils’ group and then moves to the pronoun “you” as he generalises the situation and talks about it with some distance; here he only describes facts without including himself. On another occasion, he differentiates between the English-English or English-non French friends from the mainstream school and the English-French friends from the complementary school (see quote above: “I must go to school six days a week whereas my other friends go five days a week”). However, he likes his multilingual ability but does not like the extra effort he has to make in the French complementary school in the UK and the French mainstream school in France.

Gabriel draws on opportunities to practise French by default; he takes the initiatives to learn new words by asking his mother for the suitable words he needs when conversing

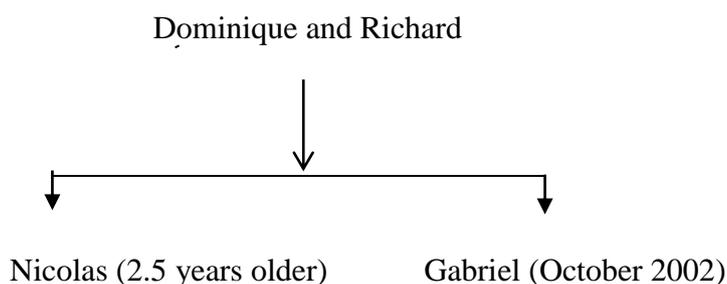
in French with native speakers who do not speak English. He develops strategies to overcome his communication challenges;

I ask my mother because she can speak English and French” (Interview with Gabriel on 10 November 2012).

Gabriel’s agency that is to say, his positive attitude towards his French background could be due to the fact that he attends a multilingual school in an inner city in which dealing with EAL pupils is a common phenomenon (see ecology section 2.2.2.1). It is also the French teacher’s practice, offering him the position of an expert that has encouraged Gabriel’s satisfaction of his multilingual ability, thus contributing to his home language maintenance.

After elaborating on Gabriel’s agency, I will present his nuclear family.

### 5.2.1.3 Gabriel’s Immediate Family



(The nuclear family also consists of half-siblings (Matthieu and Shella: Richards’ adult children from a previous partner) who visit Dominique and Richard’s household on regular basis.)

Dominique moved to England twenty-two years ago. She did part of her education in France. At the beginning of her life in the UK, she worked in transport and then qualified as a yoga teacher; following that, she specialised in the same field for children. Finally, she did primary school teacher training. Then, she has worked as a primary supply teacher (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

Gabriel's father is a musician. He teaches music, but prefers to practise it. He had some GCSEs and has managed to get through the college of music:

[B]ut though applying, he went through the back door; he is a graduate. At the time, they called it a degree, but I don't think it is seen as a degree now (Interview Two with Dominique on 16 May 2013).

The parents talk to each other in English.

But we don't speak to each other in French, very occasionally but not enough (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

Following the immediate family's background, I turn now to the parents' perspectives on multilingualism and the impact on their child's home language maintenance.

- **The Parents' Views on Multilingualism and Role in Gabriel's French Home Language Experience**

Dominique perceives the importance of bringing up her children as multi-linguals. She takes initiatives to accommodate her children's linguistic needs. When asked whether she is concerned with Gabriel's home language maintenance, she answers:

It is definitely an issue for me. Yes, I support him with his homework; I try to encourage him to read regularly as much as possible; it is not always regular; well, my work is to take him to France to the French school three years in a row that was a big move. That shows how much I wanted him to be [multi]lingual really. (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013)

The mother believes that if the mainstream school could supply a French-English multilingual teacher, it would be beneficial:

It would be fantastic if there was a [multi]lingual teacher in his normal school (interview one with Dominique on 11 January 2013)).

She thinks that, in the short term, home language (French) could make language learning difficult, but in the long term, it could be beneficial because:

The more you grow up, the more you mature, the more you start understanding languages are linked and the more you can make conscious connections”(Interview One with Dominique on the 11 January 2013).

For Dominique, the link between the languages on which Gabriel draws on every day should be established with his maturity and thus, benefit his language maintenance.

She also believes that proficiency in home language could contribute to the multilingual child’s social development at times. For example, Dominique states that when Gabriel is given the teacher’s role in the mainstream school, his confidence and social skills improve. Sometimes, if Gabriel speaks English with his brother in France within a group of French children, his multilingual position can be taken against him as he isolates himself from the rest of the group. The monolingual context where he sojourns in France does not offer Gabriel and his brother spaces for speaking a different language.

This summer, when we went to France, Gabriel and Nicolas were talking a lot in English to each other, there was a little bit of animosity between the two groups, I heard the other group saying “the English”, I don’t think Gabriel and Nicolas did realise they were speaking English, they were isolating themselves from that group. In that case, it works against them. (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

Because both countries have a monolingual language policy, drawing on another language as Gabriel is used to communicate with his brother in English while sharing time with monolingual speakers of French creates clans: the French vs. the English although Gabriel and Nicolas may have not realized the issue they initiated. This matter illustrates section 2.2.2.1 on ecology. Indeed, the macro system, the state’s language ideology, can impact on the micro system- individuals, communities and institutions- and affect the relationships between minority and majority children.

Richard, the father, does not object to the trips his wife organises in France for maintaining their children's French language. However, Dominique admits that with the father staying in the UK while they are in France:

[I]t was a bit of an issue [she] suppose[s] with the family splitting up just for the purpose of that. He did find it hard. The second year, he didn't really want us to go but he did encourage us and the children didn't want to go. (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013)

In fact, the children have to face different types of emotional issues. The separation with their father and the difficulty they remember to have faced in previous years when they joined a French school in France as French children without having the same education as the rest of the class made the children unwilling to travel. Even in these circumstances, the father and mother supported the idea of a linguistic trip for maintaining their French language:

So he [Richard] didn't encourage in that point but he said it is very good for you. Although he did find it hard, he did support me in that way but not really speaking French. Sometimes, he plays games with them. He opens a dictionary, and it is up to them to give a translation. So he does support a little bit. It is more of a moral support. He never complains if I speak French to them. (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

The data shows that both parents offer much opportunity to maintain Gabriel's home language to the point that the mother and children live sometimes away from the father to achieve their target. Here is certainly an issue for the family's well-being that could be sorted while keeping the whole family together if more awareness on multilingual children's language needs were raised in the UK.

Here, I will expound how the mother's attitude and practice help Gabriel retain his French language (see sections 2.2.2.1 (ecology) and 2.2.7 (family policy))

- **The Mother's Support in Gabriel's Home Language Maintenance**

Dominique started speaking French to her sons from their birth until before they started school. Now, she draws more on English.

It is quite hard to speak French all the time, I speak French and they answer back in English. Most of the time that's what happens. But quite often I slip into English" (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

She realises that the best moment to speak French is when mother and son are together and it is usually in happy circumstances and evidently after a long stay in France especially when the father is not around. She states that:

It makes a big difference. Because they have a good relation with their dad, they speak a lot to him in English and therefore it is not that obvious (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

The mother means that when the father is around, the children do not improve in French as fast as when he is absent. The fact that the father does not speak French fluently may be taken as a negative impact on the French language maintenance because boys of this age often identify themselves to their father. Thus, Dominique admits that it is a constant effort to keep the French going. The mother also encourages her son to read in French:

I try to encourage him to read regularly as much as possible (interview one with Dominique 18 January 2012).

This data indicates that raising a multilingual child in a context where monolingualism is the norm can be burdensome for parents due to tensions within the ecological system in which he lives (see section 2.2.2.1).

The following section will deal with the relationships between Gabriel and his brother, Nicolas, in terms of interaction in French.

- **The Siblings' Role in Gabriel's Home Language Maintenance.**

Gabriel lives every day with his elder brother, Nicolas, with whom he speaks English most of the time. Gabriel claims that:

Ah, tu sais, c'est mon vrai frère. Lui, il sait parler français mais je parle anglais avec lui parce que c'est plus facile "(ah, you know, this is my real brother. He knows how to speak French but I speak English with him because it is easier", Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2012).

When Gabriel is given the choice, he always chooses the easier one. It is clear that he has more facility with English than with French. As for his half-brother and half-sister, with whom he only speaks English, he sees them once every fortnight. Consequently, the only person with whom Gabriel uses French in the household is his mother. Gabriel's daily practice in French is explained in section 2.2.7 in relation to language policy within the family.

After expounding Gabriel's interaction with his immediate family, I will turn towards Gabriel's environment in schools.

#### **5.2.1.4 Mainstream School: its Role in Gabriel's Home Language Maintenance**

Dominique has planned opportunities for her son to maintain French in a mainstream school in France. She states that:

Well, euh... three months, that was once, then one month and then two weeks (Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2012).

Three years in a row, the family left England a bit before the end of the academic year, joining the mainstream school again in the UK, three months later in October in order to have the chance to refresh their French language knowledge. The mother had to face the school when she decided to move the children to France for a few months.

The problem comes from the head master and it was to do with attendance; the teachers have always been supportive of that project. It was mainly because he was worried about his attendance. (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013)

The mother had to negotiate with the Local Education Office to understand what her rights were, concerning her children's long absence in the mainstream school and the possibility to resume their place once they returned to it in October.

I had to have some arguments with him saying you support him and you are proud of having a diverse school; basically I had to argue my case to make sure that when he comes back, he has a place for him. I argued that it was important for him to keep his mother tongue. I rang the Education office where I live; it is to do with attendance; schools have got a lot of pressure with attendance. The Education department said: "We have never heard of this case before, at the end of the day it is the head teacher's decision and you don't want to fall out with the head teacher". I just want to know where I stand for this year and next year and consequently, the head teacher sent me a letter saying that I could go and that I had the best chance in the world; (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013)

Apart from this small incident, the mainstream school's teachers are supportive. However, when it comes to accommodating multilingual pupils, the school organises occasionally some stand-alone cultural activities such as international week or an African day but "not an awful lot" (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013). From Dominique's perspective, the French teacher in the mainstream school is supportive as she draws on Gabriel's potential and gives him the task to pronounce or read or translate some words which makes Gabriel "reasonably proud". Nevertheless, Dominique understands that the mainstream school's class teacher cannot consciously create "safe spaces" (Conteh et al., 2007:10) for multilingual pupils as "[she] knows less than the multilingual people usually" (Interview Two with Dominique on 16 May 2013).

Dominique has a degree in education and has pinpointed that monolingual teachers/educators are not trained to understand multilingual pupils. Even if cultural

activities take place in the school, nothing is in place to value the multilingual children's cultural background on a regular basis through the curriculum. This is illustrated in the literature section 2.2.5). It is also linked to the paragraph on funds of knowledge (section 2.2.6) expounding that when teachers explore their pupils' funds of knowledge they can make a connection between the curriculum and the pupil's cultural background; this way, the pupil will be empowered and could develop the skills, confidence and motivation to maintain his home language. In addition, the mother's skills in negotiating with the teaching body have contributed to Gabriel's home language maintenance.

In the following section, I will present the complementary school role in Gabriel's home language maintenance.

#### **5.2.1.5 The Complementary School and its Role in Gabriel's Home Language Maintenance (see section 4.2.4)**

Dominique initiated the idea of a francophone playgroup with some French friends to accommodate their children. She states that:

Chloe set up the French playgroup. Pierrette came in and then I was studying and I didn't want to carry on because it was too much for me going on" (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

Gabriel has been attending the French playgroup on a regular basis from nursery. As the group increased considerably (around 100 children), it is called a school, a complementary school. Gabriel is an assiduous attendee even if he is occasionally absent because of important events outside the school such as end of the year party in the mainstream school or sickness or long sojourn in France (due to a linguistic immersion in mainstream school there) (field notes 2012-2013). Gabriel sees the complementary school as a place to obtain more French resources. When he is asked

about the place he likes the most to practise his French, he admits that it is in the complementary school. He claims that:

My mother does not explain more than you (Interview One with Gabriel on 10 November 2014).

However, he does not show enthusiasm for the French school for the reasons explained above (section 5.2.1.2). After analysing each entity (Gabriel, parents, siblings, mainstream and complementary schools) and their influence on Gabriel's French language maintenance and acquisition, it is important to examine the relationships between them impacting on home language.

## **5.2.2 The Mesosystem**

First, I will explore the relationships between mainstream school and parents in terms of multilingual educational needs.

### **5.2.2.1 Mainstream School in Relation to Parents/Parents in relation to Mainstream School**

Gabriel was in a mainstream diverse school in an inner city. His classroom had five multilingual pupils with different home languages. Mrs Pelan, Gabriel's class tutor seemed to have a good relationship with Gabriel's family.

Gabriel's parents are very supportive. Because I taught Dominique's first son in Year two and again in Year Five. And now I teach Gabriel in Year five. I have known Dominique for a very long time. And also when she did her teaching degree, she did yoga and basketball. You can chat with Dominique about everything; she is great (Interview with Mrs Pelan on 02 July 2013).

The teacher's and the mother's responses show that they have a good link and understanding between them.

Gabriel's mother had a good insight into the teachers' pressure thanks to her position as a primary teacher. However, she questioned the sincerity of schools in general in

whether they introduce another language in order to familiarise pupils to another culture and language or just to say that they offer another language as a mark of distinction. She believed that Modern Foreign Languages were not given priority as they were non-statutory.

As a primary school teacher, I am only newly qualified, I know the pressures they have got; they have got such a high pressure with very very busy curriculum. It seems as though that French is not the priority number one. Although a lot of primary schools do care about introducing another language, I don't know if it is about saying we do offer another language or if they really want children to learn another language and follow this commitment because it is not compulsory; it is as simple as that (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

Dominique, as a mother and teacher, believes that Gabriel's mainstream school accommodates multilingual children by "including them as much as possible". It is clear that multilingual children are supported with their English. Dominique states that:

They do get support from assistants to support them with their English; they were taken in another class and supported (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013).

She is assertive when she says that the school "helps at a cultural level, not so much at a language level". Here, she means home language. She mentions that in another school, when Gabriel was in Year One, she disagreed with the teacher who had seemingly concerns about Gabriel's achievement in English language.

When we told her [Year One teacher] we were going to a French school and things like that, the teachers told me: "Let them learn English first". I didn't listen to that because he was going to the French school and I didn't agree with that. (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013)

She acknowledges that "if someone from another culture brings something new to the class, they will try to share that richness (different religion, habits...) so that other children can learn from it" (Interview One with Dominique on 11 January 2013). The school gave the pupils opportunities through many different subjects to voice their home

culture. (When asked whether the school offered a space to children to express important events from home, Dominique answered: “Yes, definitely, there are a lot of subjects it is very much valued and celebrated”).

As it is mentioned in the literature on Global, National and Local Conceptualisations within the Primary School Settings for EAL Pupils (section **Error! Reference source not found.**), it is not an occasional reminder of multilingual children’s culture in the class that can promote diversity.

### **5.2.2.2 Relationship between the Mainstream and Complementary Schools**

It is obvious from the interview I had with the mainstream school teacher on 2 July 2013 that there was no connection between the two schools Gabriel attended. Mrs Pelan claims that:

I didn’t know that Gabriel was going to Saturday school” Interview with Mrs. Pelan on 2 July 2013).

This means that the teacher had never had the curiosity to ask or that Gabriel did not find it important to mention to his mainstream school teacher that he attended a French school every Saturday.

The complementary school did not have any record of their pupils’ mainstream schools. However, the school granted a significant part of the lesson to the children to express what had happened in their week. Gabriel either talked about sport he performed outside school, gatherings at home or events that took place in his mainstream school (Field work 2012-2013). It seems that the complementary school attempted to link the two institutions. Since the class teacher did not know about Gabriel’s French school

attendance, I can conclude that she has never asked him what he does there or the interesting activities that take place in the premises (see section 2.2.4 and 2.2.6).

### **5.2.2.3 The Complementary School and the Family**

As mentioned above (section 5.2.1.5), Dominique played a significant role in the establishment of the French complementary school. This has indicated how important her home language is to her. She confirms that this institution is helpful in terms of resource and homework as the pupils take the task assigned by the teacher more seriously than when it is allocated by the mother.

### **5.2.3 Summary**

This chapter has presented two case studies in which two families are the main positive social forces influencing home language retention. They show that the involvement of mothers in the complementary school has bridged the two institutions, the home and the complementary school, in favour of the child's language maintenance. It also talks about the good relationships Dominique has established with the mainstream school without real communication over French home language. It is partly due to the fact that Dominique does not have any expectation from the mainstream school teacher as for her child's multilingual educational needs (see section 5.2.2.1). Her educational and professional background has shaped her understanding that teachers in "monolingualising" schools (UK and France) do not usually have any concepts about multilingualism. However, she has negotiated the long absence of her son with the Local Educational Authority because she took her son abroad for a linguistic trip in order to maintain his home language. This was her way to compensate for a lack of multilingual education in the mainstream school. This contrasts with Oscar's case study that shows that parents had expectations for their multilingual child when they first

registered him in their local school. However, they have soon understood that negotiations with the mainstream school have been difficult.

After presenting my case studies, I would like to highlight the issues that this study has unveiled between and within the home, the schools and the wider community. The following chapter will synthesise my research process and my findings; then, the discussion will encompass the study's outcome confirmed or contradicted by the literature and each issue deriving from the data analysis will be followed by suggestions opening up multilingual spaces.

## **Chapter 6 Synthesis of the Three Case Studies and Discussion**

### **6.1 Introduction to the Synthesis and Discussion**

In the two previous chapters, I described the findings obtained through a series of interviews, observations, fieldwork, official documents and diaries. The results track the multilingual experiences of three ten year-old children in a monolingual educational system and the way the children maintain French home language in environments that either promote or impede it. In summary, my research shows how three multilingual children in Yorkshire have been influenced by a variety of social forces in the development of one of their home languages. I have given a detailed presentation of three families because all the main themes (beliefs, attitudes and practice in regards to multilingual experiences at home, schools and in the wider community) that emerged in the three cases I have conducted, also appeared in the others. I have only chosen these three because together they offer a more comprehensive picture of my multilingual participants' experience. The other two cases have contributed to my understanding of multilingual ten year-old experience in educational settings, but did not add any new thematic concept that was not raised in the three previous ones. In this chapter, I first present the synthesis of my research process followed by the definitions of my analytical themes showing how one links to the others. Secondly, I intend to summarise the three case studies and structure my discussion by listing and highlighting the main issues three participants and actors around them face in relation to multilingual learners' home language experience in educational systems (home, complementary and mainstream schools) in order to address my research questions. Then, after illustrating the theme on "beliefs", I will discuss the reason why it is important in understanding the ten-year-old children's multilingual experience. Consecutively, I will show the link with

the second theme (“attitude”), define it and then link it to the third theme (“practice”) which I will define as well.

## **6.2 Synthesis**

### **6.2.1 Research Process towards the Identification of Issues**

In this section, I intend to present a synthesis of my research process through a diagram together with an explanation of it.

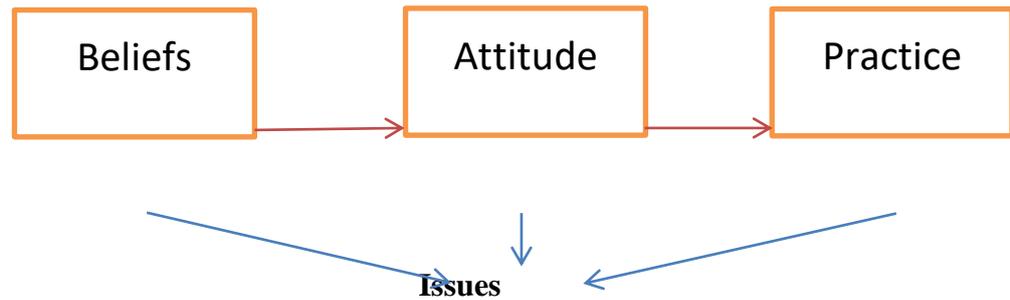
1. In search of a theory in agreement with my research topic, I draw on Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of learning (1979) combined with Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory (1930-1934/1978) and the concept of repertoire by Blommaert and Backus (2011) (see Figure 2.1 in section 2.2.2.1 and Section 2.2)  

2. Focus on the main actors interacting with participants (as explained in Chapter 2)
  - Child (participant), teachers and parents (actors) (Microsystem)
  - Relationship between child-teacher, child-parent, teacher-parent (Mesosystem)
  - Extended family/parents' job/media/neighbours (Exosystem)
  - Government policy (Macrosystem)  
  

3. Construction of data collection process (see section 3.5)
4. Data collection and analysis of three case studies (see
- 5.
- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

11. Chapters 4 and 5)

12. Data classification in Three Analytical Themes (discussed below in this



**Figure 6.1** Research Process towards the Identification of Issues

1. As a result of my study, I found that an appropriate theoretical approach to address my research question (social forces that impede home language maintenance) is Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of learning (1979) combined with Vygotsky's socio-cultural theory (1930-1934/1978). The details of these theories are explained in Section 2.2 and Figure 2.1 ).

2. My theoretical framework based on Bronfenbrenner's ecology of learning argues that the many systems interacting directly or indirectly with the multilingual child impact on his or her home language maintenance.

3. I drew on the following tools- semi-structured interviews (Appendicesx Five), observation, diaries (Appendicesx Two), fieldwork, the review of official documents (such as the National Curriculum (2000)) and school textbooks-, to conduct my study for data collection.

4. Following the process of data collection (an example of data collection from an interview can be found in Appendixesx Eleven), I categorised the data within each case study and within each interview regrouped the data under emerging themes. I consecutively analysed the data and wrote three case studies (findings in the three case studies,

Chapters 4 and 5) in the light of the theoretical framework.

The analysis of the variety of data I collected over a full academic year have shown that the analytical themes I elicited are important aspects of how parents, teachers and other members of the community understand their child or pupil's multilingualism in the social and educational UK context and thus influence their child/pupil's home language maintenance.

5. In this chapter, I will discuss the data analysis and the issues arisen from these data in order to answer my research question.

Before embarking on my discussion, I would like to define my three emergent themes that are grounded in my data: beliefs, attitudes and practices in relation to home language maintenance.

### **6.2.2 Definition of the Analytical Themes and their Relationship**

After classifying my data into different categories: micro system, meso system, exo system and macro system, I pinpointed, within each grouping, recurrent statements in relation to the participants' beliefs as well as their parents', teachers' and wider community's. The classroom observation sessions brought much detail concerning the children's, parents' and teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism. A thorough analysis of all the statement of participants' and actors', together with the observation sessions led to a third developed theme, the participants and actors' practice at home, at school and in the wider community in relation to the spaces created for the multilingual children to exert their identity and thus maintain their home language.

- **Beliefs:** Firstly, part of the data reflects the “beliefs” (in relation to multilingual matters) of the participants and actors in different contexts. Therefore, it is important to explain what I mean by this term (see section 2.1.2.2). I understand “beliefs” as the assumptions and convictions that an individual holds as true even if it is not rational in

relation to self, languages, and respondents' background in regard to French home language learning.

- **Attitudes:** I have also pinpointed the importance of the participants' attitudes in the consistent analysis of the data; this second theme is linked to the first ('beliefs') one in the sense that attitudes reflect what people think or are convinced of, about their French language and identity (see section 2.1.2.2 ). By attitudes, I mean the ways an individual expresses his or her beliefs. Analysing the participants' attitudes mainly through observations, the data has indicated that common and regular attitudes towards the multilingual child form a culture, a classroom culture, a home culture where specific 'practices' take place; The literature review has emphasised the importance of the exploration of this theme (see section 2.2.7)

- **Practices:** by this term, I mean (see section 2.1.2.2) the application of multilingual families' attitudes as well as of the attitudes of all the people interacting regularly with multilingual learners on a daily basis and thus forming a culture shaping the participants' home language maintenance, learning and identity.

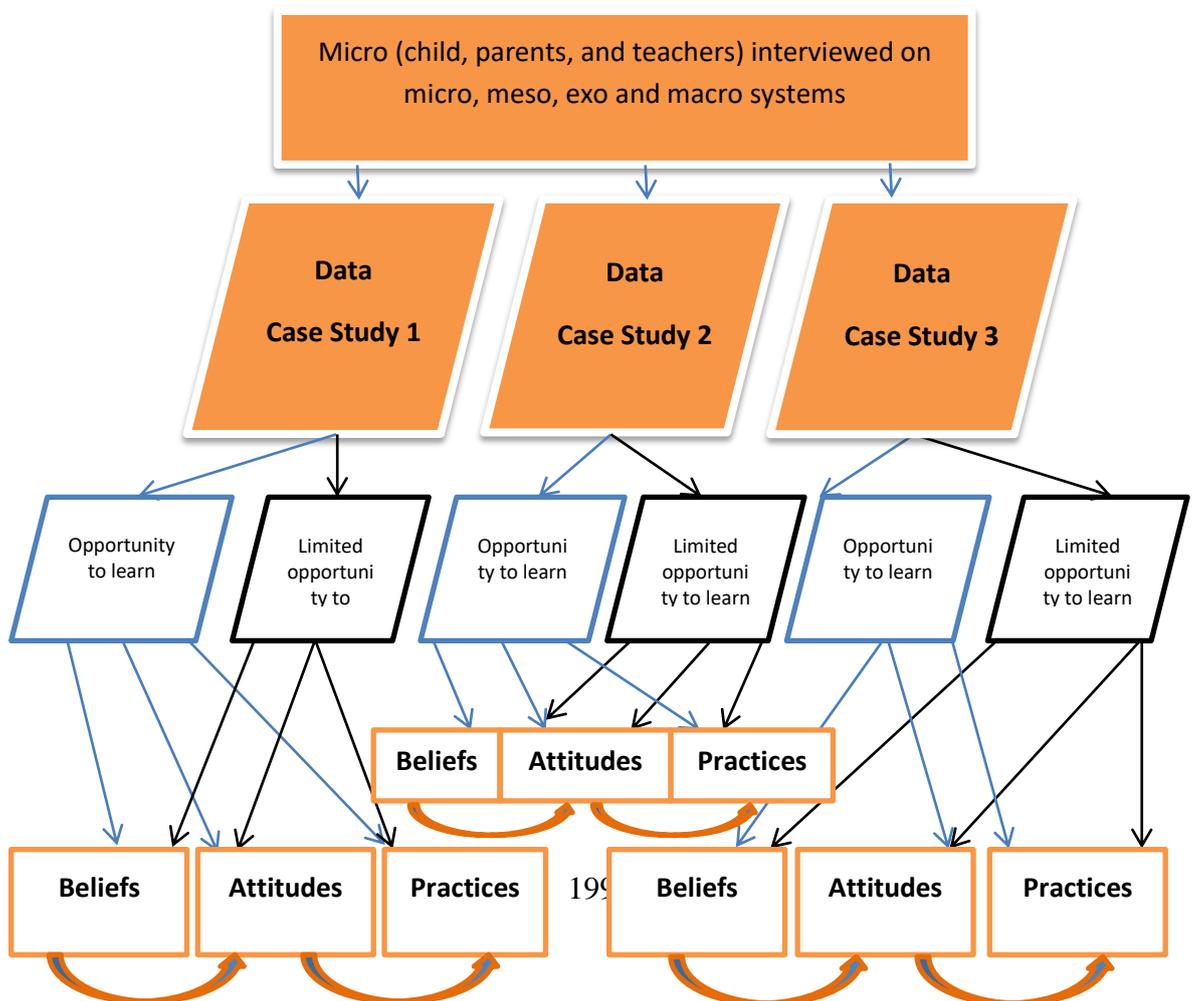
Within these three themes I could pinpoint contradictions between beliefs, attitudes and practices that can constitute issues, challenges or obstacles in a multilingual child-pupil's home language retention. The literature confirms these paradoxes, for example, in a different context, in Greece, Gkaintartzi & Tsokolidou argue that:

[A]lthough the teachers seem to acknowledge the value of [...] [multilingualism] in rhetoric, they hold immigrant parents responsible for the children's [...] [multilingual] development and they do not seem to be at all aware of its role in the children's language and academic development (2011: 598).

The authors go even further when they pinpoint the importance of including their EAL pupils in the teachers' testimony, but they do not have the tools for doing so:

Confusion, ambivalence and ambiguity are revealed from contradictions that emerge in their discourse concerning their desire to encourage the full-inclusion and academic progress of immigrant children and the assimilative agenda that underlies their practices (2011: 598).

In the next section, I have designed a diagram to show the way I have brought out the issues that occurred in the set of data in order to construct a better understanding of multilingual children's home language experience in Yorkshire. This constitutes my contribution to research.



## **Figure 6.2: Diagram Used in the Three Case Studies to Extract the Issues**

The data showed two tendencies: a set of data expressing the opportunity to maintain French home language and a set of data voicing the limited opportunity to do so (see section 3.4). Within each data set emerge three themes: beliefs, attitude and practice. These concepts capture a holistic picture of my participants in relation to their home language learning experience in the UK and thus show if there were any paradoxes or confusion in and within layers (micro, meso, exo and macro) that could affect home language learning.

I used this diagram, in the three case studies, to extract the issues that families, teachers or pupils faced and contradictions between beliefs, attitudes and practices that were not identified by either parties but were the researchers' contribution to the intricate situation multilingual children experienced.

In the following section, I will summarise my findings and show the importance of my analytical themes in identifying the issues multilingual learners face, either consciously or unconsciously.

### **6.2.3 Summary of the Case Studies**

In summary, I chose these cases because I had access to a French complementary school where all my participants shared the same classroom, together with three different mainstream schools in accordance with the ecological approach. Moreover, their parents had shown consistent interest in my research project. I also understood that a familiar context and a long experience with the pupils would minimise the researcher's effect during observation and interviews which is a major advantage to achieve authentic data

(see section 3.4). Furthermore, the nature of the research necessitated a longitudinal study that was feasible in the selected contexts. The fact that I shared some cultural background with the mothers also facilitated my interaction with them. My role as a mother researcher has also and mainly brought precise information specific to my position thanks to a prolonged relationship established with Dahlia's school, based on trust. The cases were chosen because they were appropriate examples of multilingual learners in monolingual educational settings. I used Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory of learning to highlight the variety of contexts in which the multilingual child interacted with other members of the community and consequently shaped his or her own attitude to learning.

From the outset, by investigating my participants' gender, ethnicity, socio-economic status, I was able to describe their background. In fact, my three participants have grown up in similar contexts as their both parents were professionals, educated and Europeans, apart from Marwan, Dahlia's father (See case study one, Chapter Four). The participants had all been raised in the north of England where they attended school at a young age, two and a half years in Dahlia's case and three and a half in Oscar's. Dahlia, Oscar and Gabriel all happened to know at least two languages by default. In addition, the three participants' mothers were all French and had a desire to convey their home language to their children. Parents and children all agreed that the maintenance and learning of French language and culture might widen their career options. In addition, all three families were positive towards multilingualism. Due to a lack of multilingual formal educational opportunities, all the families had chosen an English mainstream school with as little as one period of French as a modern foreign language subject a week, together with a Saturday school where French language and French culture were

taught with French as a means of instruction. The parents would have wished to send their children to multilingual mainstream schools if they had been available nearby. However, as the children grew up with French communicative skills, both developing at home and in the complementary school, the participants' parents hoped to be able to convey the French culture to their children. Indeed, the study showed the pivotal role of the home as well as the French complementary school in supporting French language learning. From the parents' perspective, it was a substantial assistance, as children often only did their homework if a teacher with authority asked them to do so.

Nonetheless, what made them different were the particularities of their daily language use, their social relationships with members of the family, teachers, friends and peers, their own personal interests and motivations, their agencies. Each case deals with different social forces, as my participants go to different mainstream schools in different parts of a city in Yorkshire, one private school in a middle class area, one inner-city multicultural school and one primary state school in a village located thirty minutes away from the city.

In the section below, I will discuss the importance of “beliefs”, “attitudes” and “practices” in understanding the multilingual learners' home language maintenance. I will also reflect on the theoretical framework I suggested in my literature review and show how it helped me in my data analysis. From the understanding of my theoretical framework and my research processes, I have drawn out commonalities and differences across the case studies and have underscored the tensions at different levels I considered significant to answer my research question. The issues appearing through the cross-layer findings, in coordination with the analytical themes identified across the data of the three case-studies, will be discussed to finally illuminate the findings and thus lead in

the conclusion to implications for children, parents, teachers, policy makers and researchers.

### **6.3 Discussion**

#### **6.3.1 Highlighting the Issues**

In the following sections, I intend to present the issues that may have impeded the participants' home language maintenance. I first explain the issues, support them by citing the data sources in the case studies; secondly, I show how the theoretical framework helped me to reach that point, then, state whether the literature corroborates my findings and finally bring forward some suggestions that would foster home language maintenance in the UK context.

##### **6.3.1.1 Families' Beliefs and Attitudes, Impact on the Three Multilingual Participants' Beliefs**

All the family members I interviewed, around the participants, value the home language and all the participants believe that knowing French is important to them (see Case Studies One, Two and Three, section 4.2.2, section 5.1.1.3 and section 5.2.1.3). For example, in all the case studies, the fathers and mothers agree that knowing another language and another culture is enriching and is an advantage in the global world we live in. This belief is translated by the parents' attitude towards expanding the opportunities to learn French by taking their children each week to the French complementary school in order to practise more of their French home language within a bigger group, a classroom, and experience linguistic exchange with children with similar cultural identities. My theoretical framework has led me to examine the link between the parents' beliefs and the impact on the children (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). In fact, Chapters Four and Five describe how the parents' assumptions on the advantage of

multilingualism have influenced their offspring's home language maintenance. The interviews with the participants showed that they all believed that knowing French would be beneficial for their future occupations, to obtain a French GCSE and to communicate with their families in France (see section 4.2.2.4, section 5.2.1.2).

The parents' beliefs in maintaining French language in the UK is important in the lives of multilingual families.

Further, the findings show that the parents' beliefs about the mainstream school culture influence the child's beliefs and attitude towards schooling. For example, when a family had a negative insight about the teachers' and peers' understanding of culture (see section 5.1.3.1) it affected one of the multilingual participants who decided to hide his French identity in the school environment, believing that this is the cause of bullying. In case study two, the child is influenced by the father's interpretation of bullying. Thus, he decided to position himself as an "English boy" in the future in order to avoid the issues he had to face at school. This belief and attitude shape the multilingual child's identity at school and therefore limits his French language development. In the other two case studies, the mothers have demonstrated that they have a positive attitude towards the school culture even if they face objections in their support for home language maintenance, as they understand that negotiating can open spaces for multilingual education. This tendency seems to facilitate the process of learning as the two class teachers I encountered mentioned the successful performance of both children. In these two cases, both children have never hidden the fact that they were partly French.

These findings result in encouraging the parents to interact and negotiate with the school to overcome the child's difficulty in positioning himself or herself as a French/English child.

I would argue that the social actors' attitudes towards multilingual children in the UK derive from a misunderstood concept on multilingual pupils' social and cultural needs among educators. These pupils may require a system that consistently values their background culture. Further, the fact that the two schools (mainstream and complementary) did not collaborate may have prevented a coherent process contributing to the elaboration of a partnership in favour of the multilingual learners. The literature supports this interpretation stating that collaboration between institutions "can play a crucial role in constructing a space for multilingual learning in a monolingualising society" (Kenner and Ruby, 2013: 2). It is also validated by my theoretical framework that draws a connection between the main institutions interacting with children/pupils.

After showing the link between the parents' beliefs and the children's beliefs in regards to home language maintenance, I intend to present the findings that highlight the contradiction between the participants' beliefs and their attitudes towards home language in the school.

#### **6.3.1.2 Children's Beliefs in Contradiction with their Attitudes and Practices**

The participants' beliefs towards maintaining a French home language seem to contradict their attitude of being reluctant to go to the French Saturday class. Further, the pupils systematically spoke English among themselves, except when they were involved in class activities under the supervision of the teacher. This practice seems to reduce their chance to maintain their French home language. This means that even if

French was important to them and that it was understood by all the pupils, two participants resorted mostly to English because they found it ‘easier’, whereas Dahlia preferred to speak French but would abide by the group’s language practice in the playground. In general, I would explain this systematic dominance of English in all conversations outside the French ‘classroom territory’, as a consequence of overpowering social forces in favour of English only. Firstly, the home culture showed that the French language was not spoken consistently in two of my participants’ household, even by the mothers; secondly, in one participant’s case, the father had a significant role at home because of his unemployed situation, which increased the exposure to English language at home; this is where the exosystem (mother’s job impacting on the child’s learning) makes sense in limiting the opportunity to maintain French. The father’s job situation affected the balance of language exposure at home. The fact that the mother was less present and had to work more to cater for the family’s financial needs play a role in the child’s French home language maintenance. Thirdly, although the interaction with the extended family was consistent through technology and via regular trips to France, the children only had daily exposure to French through their mothers; it was only in Dahlia’s case study that the exposure was more significant, as she interacted with all the members of her nuclear family in French.

Based on the variety of family’s configurations, the contradictions between the multilingual participants’ beliefs and attitudes could be addressed to the families, because the children already believed that learning French was an asset and the parents resorted to French on a daily basis; therefore, I argue that coordination between significant social actors such as members of the complementary and mainstream school as well as parents need to be initiated; this could take place thanks to a well-informed

EAL teachers whose job description could encompass regular workshop and meeting with the above mentioned major institutions. I suggest that it is important that the effort could come from the mainstream schools as they are, according to my study, the most monolingual in their practice.

After explaining the contradictions between beliefs about home language and the pupils' attitudes of being reluctant to attend the French complementary school, I would like to show the link between the families' beliefs and attitudes in this study and their impact on their home culture.

### **6.3.1.3 Families' Beliefs and Attitudes Impacting on their Practices**

The parents' beliefs and attitudes towards home language maintenance impacted on their practices. They resorted to a variety of strategies to maintain their home language: reading of magazines and books, films, home language classes, family trips to home country and daily home conversation (see Case Study One, Section 4.2.2, Case Study Two, Section 5.1.1.3 and Case Study Three, Section 5.2.1.3). However, my findings show that parents' beliefs were influenced by the language ideology within which they had grown up. The three families commented that they insisted that their children used French only when they talked to their mothers, or they started worrying when their child mixed up languages (see section 4.2.2.3, section 5.1.1.5 and section 5.2.1.3). Even if their attitudes changed through the discovery of more flexible techniques, such as prioritising communication in a mixture of languages (English and French) over the choice of one language only, the parents were still somehow influenced by the monolingual principle (see section 2.1.5.1 ). This may result from the home language

ideology (see literature review section 2.2.4) that impacted on the parents' beliefs and restricted the intercultural space the children required.

Families' beliefs, attitudes and practices varied from one home to another. Consequently, regular meetings around educational themes, in relation to social and cultural children's needs and activities within the complementary schools inviting members of the mainstream schools, should take place to explore multilingual families' practices with successful stories.

In the next section, I intend to show the beliefs, attitude and practice of the participants' mainstream schools in regards to home language and how these aspects can affect the multilingual child's attitude.

#### **6.3.1.4 The Mainstream Institutions' Culture in Contradiction with School Curriculum: Impact on the Multilingual Pupils' Attitudes**

During observations in the mainstream schools, or during interviews, teachers did not show any evidence of reference to pupils' minority cultures; my findings indicate that one mainstream school (see Case Study Three, section 5.2) had a well-established school EAL policy which stipulated that:

[T]he home languages of all pupils and staff should be recognised and valued. Pupils should be encouraged to maintain their home language and use in the school environment wherever possible and it should be explicitly valued (Name of the Head of the School: 2011 agreed by staff and by governors).

Although the document existed and was explicit, it did not tell the teachers how to proceed. What was striking in this study was the fact that several official documents (National Curriculum/School Curriculum) showed that the individual's background should be taken into account in the teaching and learning process when aiming at

efficient learning. However, the study has indicated that teachers did not link the English language with their pupils' home language; they often understood (an idea that was pointed out to me in interviews) that if they wanted to do so, they would need to know all their pupils' home languages, a condition that was not feasible. They did not consider that asking the child what he or she would say instead of an English word, or if he or she did not know it to ask the child for the help of a parent, or request that the child looked at the similarities and differences between his or her home language and English (see section 2.2.6). This strategy has the advantage of encouraging the child to link the new language to his or her home language, to show him or her that the teacher values his or her background knowledge, and further, it could benefit other children who could gain motivation to learn foreign languages and could therefore establish and encourage cooperation between learners. But this attitude has to be initiated and consistent for action to take place. The teacher's role is significant as it establishes links between teacher and pupil (see Case Study One, section 4.2.5.2), between peers (absent in the three Case Studies, section 4.2.5.3), between parents and children (see Case Study One, section: 4.2.5) and between teachers and parents (see Case Study One, 4.2.6); my literature review has shown that the importance of the teacher is now well-established; one of the most important results is the fact that home language, when valued by significant social agents around the child, could be learnt in coordination with other languages and contribute to increase the multilingual pupils' potential as well as his or her classmates'. Researchers such as Cummins have demonstrated this point stating that:

[L]earning efficiencies can be achieved if teachers explicitly draw students' attention to similarities and differences between their languages and reinforce effective learning strategies in a coordinated way across languages. (Cummins: 2007: 233)

In one of the classrooms, the class teacher did check regularly if her pupils had understood the concept newly taught with a special focus on the multilingual children (one of the lesson plans indicated the status of my participant in brackets (EAL); but no other explanation was given, see Case Study One, Section 4.2.3.5). Consequently, the lesson was not delivered in a well-informed manner.

My data also show that in the mainstream schools, multilingual children were not given the space to use their home language (see Chapter Four, section 4.2.3.5 , and Chapter Five, sections 5.1.2 and 5.2.1.4) which is also supported by the literature (ESRA Seminar Series: Complementary Schools, University of East London, Goldsmith and King's College London: 2009) that states: “ many second and third generation children want to be seen as [...]multilingual but there is often no social space for this at mainstream school”. It is a territory for English only, apart from the occasional celebrations such as the European Day that happen once a year when pupils with home languages different from English are offered the chance to recite a poem in different languages (see Case Study One, section 4.2.3.1 and see literature review 2.2.4). This is a way to include children with different home languages but it occurs on occasional circumstances only and thus does not sufficiently promote the multilingual pupils' funds of knowledge in order to foster the maintenance and motivation to learn the home language (see section 2.2.3)

This suggests that educators must adapt to their pupils' diversity and the diversity of society more widely; they should not only consider their pupils' English language skills and English culture, but also their linguistic aptitudes they have developed outside mainstream schools.

I would argue that if the school culture is not in accord with the school curriculum, it may be because of lack of teacher training or a lack of documents to inform teachers on different strategies that include multilingual learners.

In the following section, I intend to show how the mainstream schools are influenced by the macro system.

#### **6.3.1.5 The Societal Beliefs Shape the Main Institutions' Practices.**

My findings (see Case Study Two, section 5.1.5.1) show that learners' everyday experiences are influenced by wider social and political forces; for example, one family realised that the societal culture could harbour prejudices against French people and Catholics. The historical context seems to play a role against some multilingual pupils. The fact that there was a history of conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland was believed to be a source of discrimination against pupils with different backgrounds especially in places mostly populated by "white British". The study indicates that in more diverse schools, discrimination was not been pinpointed by parents.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecology led me to see that the societal culture permeated with historical and political discourse has an impact in educational arenas.

I propose that this issue can only be addressed when sufficient research shows the economic benefit of moving towards multilingual education with the genuine intention to teach pupils to value their cultural backgrounds. It is a consensus at macro level that could eventually make a change. If this does not happen in the upper echelons (see section 6.3.1.5), it could happen at a lower level when university lecturers/researchers include EAL training in the PGCE (Postgraduate Certificate in Education) programme; researchers like Cummins (2000) or (Helot and Young, 2006: 85) "believe that real

changes happen at the school level, and that educators have a choice even within a constricted context”; teachers would be informed about how they could capitalise on home language in their classroom. The research conducted by Pollard (2005) calls on “Reflective Teaching”, an action every teacher should be doing on a daily basis.

In the next section, I will show the teachers’ and parents’ attitudes in supporting EAL pupils/ multilingual children with the obvious challenge of dealing with confusing societal tensions.

#### **6.3.1.6 The Parents and Teachers in Lack of a Clear Message to Support Multilingual Children Pupils**

My findings indicate that parents and teachers were not informed about the ways to open spaces for their multilingual children and pupils respectively. They often proceeded by trial and error techniques hoping that they were supporting their children/pupils. They had all heard of inclusion and EAL support but had neither background nor received any training (See Case Study One 4.2.3.4, Case Study Three, 5.2.1.4) to have enough convictions on how to open multilingual spaces. In fact, the study suggests that the National Curriculum might not have supplied enough details to support teachers and even less parents. Other studies have produced similar findings (see Costley and Leung’s comment on the government document for Schools (‘Aiming High’):

The focus of the publication is not on pedagogy, but more on providing managerial direction regarding staffing. The document contains a lot of advice about the need to identify members of staff who are to take charge of EMAG provision with the implicit idea that better management leads to better provision (2009: 154).

The document would seem to be encouraging more understanding and managerial leadership for better provision in an EAL context, but does not concentrate on

instructive strategies. In government documents such as ‘Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils (DfES, 2003:1, see literature review, section 2.1.4.1) key concepts to establish the conditions for multilingual learners to reach their potential are raised. In the same document foreword, Stephen Twigg, the then Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Schools, shows dedication to fair education; he has pinpointed the importance of matching high expectations with parental and community support among multilingual learners. Other significant projects relevant to multilingual pupils such as ‘Excellence and Enjoyment: learning and teaching for [multi][...]lingual children in the primary years’ (DfES, 2006) have been implemented and are still used today although they are no longer official policy (McPake et al., 2007).

It would seem that educators have good intentions to help their pupils or children to perform well; however, the lack of understanding and coordination revolving around multilingual matters still requires more attention from all educational stakeholders.

In the next section, I will highlight the complementary school’s teacher’s attempt to open up spaces where English and French can be used for a more intercultural context to take place.

#### **6.3.1.7 The Complementary French Teacher’s Practice: Attempt to Open up Multilingual Spaces**

During observation, the complementary school teacher showed that making use of English language was occasionally a teaching and learning strategy to facilitate learning. The complementary teacher’s practice allowed the pupils to resort to English occasionally when they did not have the corresponding words in French (Case Study One, section 4.2.4.4). The teacher’s agency might have benefitted the multilingual

pupils who took interest in explaining their week events and thus, had the space to express themselves, listen and respond to the teacher and classmates mainly in French with the help of English language when it facilitated the classroom communication. In fact, it seems that the teacher's background and numerous experiences with multilingual pupils in mainstream schools gave her a sense of multilingual learners' educational needs. The teacher often discussed with her pupils subjects tackled in history in the mainstream school, such as Henry VIII's reign or beautiful places in the UK and so on; she also talked about neutral subjects such as sports or films that could be of English production. When she talked about *départements* (divisions of regions) and post codes, she compared the French divisions to the English system. In reality, this practice is important in catering for the pupils' multilingual needs and in raising the children's interest. There was a tendency in using "translanguaging" (Garcia, 2009) (see section 4.2.4.4), but the findings indicate that this practice was limited as the staff still seemed influenced by the traditional system of learning two languages in a separate way.

The findings show that the complementary school teacher adapted to the multilingual pupils' educational needs by bridging occasionally the French culture with the English one. This seems to have facilitated the children's language learning.

After arguing the important position of the complementary school in the multilingual children's educational needs, I will discuss the findings in relation to relationships between home and the mainstream schools and how the multilingual children's language needs were negotiated.

### **6.3.1.8 The Home-School Practices: Attempts to Negotiate for Affordances**

The study shows that some multilingual homes hesitate to inform the school that another language, is used at home (see Case Study One, section 4.2.3.2). It also indicates that one of my participants did not inform the mainstream school teacher as he did not see it as important; this status quo might derive indirectly from the government policy that was problematical because of a variety of political positions in terms of multilingual issues (see literature section 2.1.5.2). The fact that official documents designed for supporting multilingual learners within the mainstream schools have been discarded by the coalition government (2010-2015) raised concerns, as it could mean that the Department of Education did not value these pedagogical challenges. This finding enhances our understanding of the challenges multilingual families faced when they valued their home language. A lack of alternative vision for the actual multilingual and multicultural society triggered confusion among educators who, according to the findings, showed contradictions between their beliefs and their practices (see section 6.3.1.4).

These controversial insights on conceptualising multilingual society and including every child within the educational arena may persist and form a barrier for learners until an alternative “suit all” policy is conceived. Proving how the British educational system could capitalise on multilingualism would seemingly move the government vision forward. Researchers such as Kramersch (2014) recognise that changes must occur in language education. She states that:

In our late modern era, scholars are concerned that globalization is bringing about deep changes into our ways of thinking, learning, and knowing that educational institutions are not prepared to deal with. Language and language education are at the forefront of those concerns. (Kramersch: 2014:297)

My study shows that parents who had experiences with the British educational system (Case Study One, the mother researcher and Case Study Three, Section 5.2.1.3) attempted to negotiate with the mainstream schools and challenged their limits in different ways. For example, in case study three, the mother obtained a positive response from her son's school's headmaster after contacting the Local Educational Authority to whom she explained her home language situation and the request to leave the school early, claiming for a place after the family's return to the UK. Whereas in case study one, the mother researcher abides by her daughter's school's rules; however, she raised issues in relation to her multilingual child's specific language needs with the form teacher face to face and by email to the French language teacher who acknowledged that she did not challenge her French speaking learner. At the same time, the mother informs her daughter about the school's status quo pertaining to multilingual matters; thus, she can have a positive attitude towards the system and gain opportunities to open spaces for herself.

I would suggest that the school-parents practices observed in this study indicated that the negotiations with the schools might have benefitted the children's new "affordances for acquisition and learning" (Aronin & Singleton, 2008).

#### **6.3.1.9 Contradictions between Mainstream School Teachers' Beliefs and Teachers' Attitudes**

The result of my study indicates that the mainstream school teachers believed that knowing another language was a 'fantastic' asset; however, my multilingual participants did not receive consistent French home language support for their specific needs in French language within their mainstream schools. The literature affirms that the beliefs

and attitudes of teachers are significant in developing inclusive education (Beacham and Rouse, 2012).

The study suggests that adequate materials and spaces would have boosted the multilingual learners' confidence. In fact, in Dahlia's case study, the French teacher faced the challenge of including a French speaker pupil in a lesson designed for second language learners; even though the French teacher was not included in my research schedule, I incorporated, in my field notes, the exchange we both had concerning Dahlia's home language background. During my meeting with the teacher, I commented on the fact that a learner's skills in a home language different from English should be credited, just as with talents in music, sports or any other skills are acknowledged. The teacher responded that it would be 'weird' to celebrate the pupils' home language. The French teacher from Dahlia's mainstream school did not see the necessity to value the home language. The contradiction here is expressed in two opposite beliefs. There is no doubt that all teachers from my research sample praised multilingual pupils' language skills but at the same time they did not include their EAL pupils' cultural background in their lesson plan.

I would argue that although the teachers were caring and attempted to enhance their pupils' achievements, the concepts of inclusion and challenging the multilingual pupils with more appropriate resources were not fully understood by the interviewed educators. I would suggest that more discussions should take place between teachers and parents supported by an EAL teacher who could highlight the ways to open up multilingual affordances.

One SENCO teacher from Dahlia's mainstream school was the only one who showed awareness about the multilingual pupils' language situation.

The following section will illustrate the issues that emerged during this study between a significant number of EAL learners in one of my participants' schools and the unique SENCO teacher, responsible for EAL learners, with hardly any training in EAL and recently employed to cater for SEN and EAL learners (see Case Study One, section 4.2.3.4) and the overall school practice in regards to multilingual learners.

#### **6.3.1.10 Teachers' Attitudes in Contradiction with their Practice**

In Oscar's and Gabriel's case studies, the two pupils were given a special status that they enjoyed as the teachers empowered them (see section 5.2.1.2), which apparently constituted a positive social force in favour of French home language maintenance. However, Oscar's French teacher had set expectations which he could not reach, a fact that was critical for the pupil ("He felt bad about it" Interview with Agnes, June 2013). In the first case study, apart from the fact that Dahlia attended and participated in the occasional French day, organised to celebrate the French culture, and from the fact that her picture was hung in one of the corridors indicating her name and the languages she could speak, she was not given any challenging tasks to do (see section 4.2.3.1). French teachers' attitudes show that they want to empower the multilingual pupil but do not have the necessary tools to evaluate the level of their EAL learners. They had not made any differentiation between their monolingual pupils' language educational needs and her multilingual pupils' educational needs. Even if the government (see literature review section 2.2.4) stated in the Swann Report (DES, 1985) that multilingual education is not the responsibility of the mainstream school, the multilingual child should be treated as a whole, as seen in the ecology of learning. My findings as well as other researchers such as Borrero and Yeh (2010: 578) show that the pupils' cultural backgrounds (family's background, community, extended family and so on), knowledge arising from the layers

of the ecological theory, play a key role in maintaining the home language with limitations because obstacles such as lack of funds and confusion identified in and within institutions puzzle parents and teachers all together. There is certainly a complex dynamics that requires disentanglement. Educating part of a learner's identity on one day and another part on the other day, as it has happened during the course of my study, is not appropriate for multilingual learners or indeed, any other learner. As the literature confirms, a multilingual child is not a combination of two monolingual children although they are approached this way (see section 2.1.5.1 ). I argue that it is the French and British education systems that have shaped all institutions' beliefs and therefore schools do not offer space for these children to take advantage of their cultural background in the process of learning of the National Curriculum. These findings of the current study are consistent with those of Conteh (2007a) who stated that "there was no way that [teachers] could recognise [the languages their pupils used outside school] their importance for their learning of the National Curriculum in school". The explanation for not involving the multilingual children could be because of teachers not being informed about the ways in which they could use these children's background knowledge as resources. In fact, during the interviews with the teachers, it was mentioned that teachers could not learn all the languages of their multilingual pupils. There is here an obvious misunderstanding among teachers.

I would argue that the teachers are not expected to know their pupils' home languages but they are expected to include every member of the classroom. In reality, the National Curriculum has requested to cater for all pupils' educational needs. However, the financial (funds for suitable training), physical (time), political and ideological

(monolingual language ideology) means are not fully adapted to teachers' teaching needs. Moreover, EAL is not seen as a recognised subject in the National Curriculum.

In the next section I will turn to the school practice to show how it varies from the home practice.

#### **6.3.1.11 Home Practices and Home-School Relationship practices in opposition to the Family's Beliefs and Attitudes**

The study shows that the home and the home-school relationship practices are not always in agreement with the family's convictions on French home language maintenance. In fact, in two of my participants' domestic routines, English was often used more at home than French (according to the parents' testimony) because of the children's use of English and the fathers having little knowledge of French; the mother had to make much conscious effort to draw on French language while interacting with her child. This has been raised as well in Schechter and Bayley's (1997) study.

Another example of tension between one parent's beliefs about multilingualism and about the British educational system, imbued by the father's background and his personal understanding of his son's school's perspective on multilingual pupils, shows how the father positions himself (see section 5.1.1). The father experiences contradictions because of the fact that he believed that knowing more than one language and being part of several cultures were beneficial but recognised that the system was not helpful in adapting to his multilingual child; actually if he had pursued it more, he might have found different interpretations about the school; the fact that he declined the researcher's request to observe one of his son's lessons in the mainstream school confirms that he constructed his belief in accordance with his interaction with the head

master and his child's experience with peers. Therefore, he did not only believe that the school was monolingual and was not interested in any other culture, but he also acted upon his convictions. His attitude towards the school forms an obstacle in enlarging the space where multilingualism and multiculturalism could have taken place through negotiation. This belief that he actually put in practice in the way he mediated the relationship between himself and his child suggests that he abided by the country's language ideology (see section 2.1.5.1) even if he did not agree with it (see section 5.1.1). This parent's belief together with a combination of other factors (French teacher's attitude, headmaster's attitude, school assessment) influenced his child who interpreted that his peers classified him as a French boy and made fun of him (see section 5.2.1.4) and thus decided to hide his French identity when he moved to high school. This experience in the mainstream school and the parent's interpretation of the facts led the whole family to construct an understanding that might have impeded the child's home language development. This might be one of the reasons Oscar rejected any kind of French academic activity in the complementary school. He only participated when he was given an oral task within which he could voice his French cultural experience (Food experiment in the kitchen with his mother, trips in France and so on). In this atmosphere, Oscar benefitted from positive social forces where French oral language could be maintained. However, the clear division between educational institutions and the lack of coordination between them do not raise the multilingual child's academic potential.

After discussing all the main points that emerge in my study impeding and fostering home language learning, I will summarise, in the next chapter, the purpose of this piece of research as well as the key findings. I will also show the benefits of my theoretical

framework in the understanding of three multilingual children's complex dynamics tracking the ways home language was maintained. Then I intend to present the implications of this study for pedagogy and policy as well as the suggestion for future research. Further, this conclusion will include the limitations and contribution of my study.

## Chapter 7 Conclusion

**My conclusion encompasses five parts:**

1. Limitations of my study
2. The Research Question: summary of what I did to approach it and how I addressed it, including:
  - i. Synthesis of the literature review and the gap I identified
  - ii. Synthesis of the theories used and my modification or addition to address my research question
  - iii. Synthesis of the reasons why my research design and methodology addressed my research question
3. Synthesis of my key findings/Implications for Pedagogy and Policy
4. Advice/Recommendations and future research
5. Concluding remarks

### 7.1 Limitations of my Study

By deciding to explore three multilingual children's language learning experiences in the UK, I have limited the scope of the study. However, I have prioritised 'thick description' of a few cases over superficial exploration of a greater number of subjects. My cases' findings are not generalisable and they are not representative of all multilingual ten year-old children who can speak French and English in the United Kingdom. Rather, my case studies' aim was to investigate the variety of viewpoints on their multilingual daily experiences in one location and see how the main participants responded to a curriculum that might not have been in accordance with their "funds of knowledge" (see section 2.2.5/and below for more detail on the purpose of my research).

Research on the question of social forces aiding or impeding language learning can never be generalised as the number of factors interfering in the maintenance of the home language is numerous and complex. No research outcome can be definite in deciding whether monolingual educational system is detrimental to multilingual learners' language learning because the negative effect not only depends on the context in which they are and the social forces with whom learning happens, but also on the participants' agency that is to say the way each respondent understands the language situation in which he or she is and whether he or she decides to resist the country's monolingual language ideology in order to retain part of his or her identity. Given that every setting is different, the thorough exploration of multilingual children's language learning experience at a small scale has the advantage of raising issues for a variety of members of the society as I have shown at macro, exo, meso and micro levels (policy makers, extended family, relation between micro entities/social units (parents-child, parents-teachers, teachers-child, child-peers, child-siblings) and every member of the child's school life and home life). Research on multilingual learners also has the benefit to demonstrate that each home culture is different, each classroom culture is different; therefore, it is important to conclude that there is no simple answer to a complex problem. There are as many answers as there are pupils.

My study is also limited by the fact that I only focused on French home language. I assume that children with other European backgrounds such as German, Spanish or Italian may face similar challenges as they have home language with special status within the UK. However, children with South Asian, Somali or Middle Eastern communities should face different types of challenges as their home language is often overlooked in schools.

Finally, another limitation is in relation to the selection of my participants. My three participants' families are professionals who belong to the 'middle class'. Therefore, the study is not applicable in totality to other types of children although some of my findings can give insights for children from other socio-economic, cultural and linguistic groups.

After explaining the limitations of my study, I intend to summarise the purpose of my study and focus on the ways I addressed my research question.

### **7.2 The Research Question: summary of what I did to approach it and how I addressed it**

The purpose of this research was to examine how three multilingual children (see section 6.1), who were growing up in Yorkshire, managed the maintenance of their French home language, taking into consideration each participant's point of view on their multilingual situation, as well as the social actors such as teachers, policy makers and parents who had a crucial role in the participant's educational life. The whole thesis answered the following research question:

*How do multilingual families and different schooling contexts shape young children's beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism?*

In order to approach this enquiry, I immersed myself in different settings to grasp a sense of the culture in place in one of the mainstream schools, a considerable amount of time before the start of the data collection; I also reviewed a variety of official documents (government, school and textbooks) to see if educational policies were in accordance with what I could observe in schools. After gaining the trust of all my participants and the social actors around them I planned to interview, I was ready to investigate the homes and schools. My thematic analyses presented in this thesis led to

findings that have allowed me to reach the following conclusions, implications for pedagogy and policy as well as recommendations for future research.

In the next section, I intend to synthesise the literature available in terms of multilingual learners' position and show how my research contributed to the body of knowledge in terms of home language maintenance in the UK.

### **7.2.1 Synthesis of the Literature Review and the Gap Identified**

Bronfenbrenner (1979:12) states that “acceptable research designs involving school-age children, [...] observed in extra familial settings are few”. In the last few decades, the increase of multilingual learners in primary schools in this country has led researchers to further explore the state of multilingual education. However, it seems that no consistent studies relating a French/English multilingual child's several worlds (a multilingual home/a monolingual schooling system, wider community) have as yet to come into existence. Researchers (see section 2.2.1) such as Borrero (2015), also portray the language experiences of young multilingual people with successful academic results, the study was conducted in the US with Latino participants in a climate of relatively negative empirical research and focused on multilingual learners' societal language learning, Dixon and Wu (2014) concentrated on the home language and literacy practices among multilingual families in order to see how these practices influence the target language learning, Rumberger & Tran (2008) on their academic achievement, Capps et al. (2005) on their socio-economic characteristics, Paez (2009) on their English language proficiency, Blackledge (2000) on language ideology and how it affects the multilingual child, Conteh (2007b) on ethnic minority teachers and the mainstream schools, Day (2002) and Toohey (2000) on agency as a situated negotiated and active attitude to learning (see literature review section 2.2.1). In terms

of my research, I have sought to capture and share the experience of three multilingual English/French (and Arabic) children living in Yorkshire and investigated what the UK Department for Education advanced in multilingual education issues, the family's beliefs, attitudes and practices and teachers' beliefs, attitudes and practices in relation to home language maintenance, as well as the possible coordination between a variety of key actors, institutions and participants.

The literature also includes parent-researchers who have investigated their own children. For example, Barron-Hauwaert (2010) has an interest in the language multilingual siblings use, Cunningham-Andersson (2011) focuses on family multilingualism, in this sense it seems that my study is complementary as it explores the relation between siblings and participants, parents and participants, but also between peers and participants as well as between teachers and participants in a place, at a time and within languages that may not have been investigated up to now. Moreover, the fact that I had access to information on a regular basis as a mother and a researcher, with the delicate task to develop an insider's insight (emic) of multilingual learners' home language experience, as well as an outsider's (etic), has provided me with more awareness on some multilingual learners' status quo; thus, the positions have enabled me to highlight some of the issues faced by a multilingual child which would not have otherwise been possible. This has been a strength in the study. In addition, the mother-researcher has experienced both worlds: monolingual (life in France and the UK) and multilingual (life in the UAE) for a significant period of time (see section 3.8). The numerous points of view that provide the richness of this study have contributed to a more nuanced outcome, even if the researcher's positive opinion on multilingualism is

clearly voiced. In the next section, I will highlight the significant role of the theories I used and how my study added modifications to the initial framework.

### **7.2.2 The Role of the Theories Used and my Contribution**

The theories I drew upon (Bronfenbrenner's ecology of learning and Vygotsky's socio-cultural approach to learning) were useful in guiding me investigating and explaining the issues the participants faced with the maintenance of their home language.

This study has been possible with the guidance of the socio-cultural theory (see literature review section 2.2.2) which has helped me explore home language maintenance taking place or being impeded through the interaction between the participants and others, often agents with more knowledge on a particular subject (parents/teachers). The study has also shown that it was not sufficient to have more knowledgeable individuals interacting with my participants when the latter decided not to engage in the interaction. In addition, often the cooperation was limited between children of opposite gender. This was found in both settings, the mainstream and complementary schools.

The theory, the ecology of learning, has also been useful to explore each agent or institution's point of view, in and within the multiple environments that exerted influence on the children's home language educational development. However, what was partly missing in this theory was the way the researcher approaches the significant role of agents' actions and reactions to the status quo in regards to the value home language is given in educational contexts. It is also the enterprising aspects of how a multilingual child acts and reacts to his local, regional and national frame that is needed. After finishing my study, it can be concluded that in addition to the results obtained in relation to Bronfenbrenner's layers influencing the children-participants, the theory can

be updated by supplementing systematic questioning of the beliefs, observation of the pupils/children's attitude and practices on different occasions which is crucial to complete the ecology of learning. The degree of resilience has also been overlooked in this theory given the fact that Bronfenbrenner does not define the individual as an independent agent, but rather someone who is receiving constant socio-cultural influence and himself or herself impacting on others. In the latest version of Bronfenbrenner's theory of ecology (Bronfenbrenner, 2005), it is a fact that he included agency but the critique that could be drawn from it is that no specific approach was explicit to guide the researcher. Therefore, I had to develop my own strategy that consisted of taking numerous field notes in regards to my daughter-participant, that have led me to comprehend the British educational system in practice with a regular exposure to a school through my daughter, direct conversations with parents, teachers and head of school as well as the support of my supervisor, who is a British teacher trainer. This is the nature of ethnography that has allowed me to capture a 'thick description' of the challenges of three multilingual learners investigated for detailed and definitive presentation. Moreover, the position of the mother-researcher has strengthened the study thanks to continuous access to information in relation to my research topic.

In summary, the result of my research has allowed me to update the theories used by systematically addressing all the agents or institutions included in the ecology of learning and finding out each individual's beliefs, attitudes and practices in order to make sense of complex situations and experiences.

In the next section, I will discuss the reasons why my case studies were appropriate to address my research.

### **7.2.3 Synthesis of my Research Design and Methodology**

At the end of my research, I can conclude that the case studies were appropriate to address my research question as they encompassed the most important social actors that interacted with my participants and thus offered the opportunity to capture the spheres of influence around my participants. The numerous standpoints of significant actors in a variety of sites and the long daily access of crucial information in relation to multilingual education in one mainstream school thanks to my position as a mother-researcher have contributed to the understanding of some rich and “thick description” of three multilingual learners’ home language experiences. In addition, the ethnographic approach has enriched the study in a way that the research could be carried out producing a thorough systematic explanation of the multilingual participants’ cultural experiences from their point of view. Moreover, the examination took place on several occasions during a year which could even give a more thorough insight of the informants’ linguistic views and practices.

In the following section, I will synthesise my findings.

### **7.2.4 My Findings and the Research Question**

It seems that numerous agents (teachers, parents, members of the wider community) praise multilingualism; however, the British educational system has not yet found the flexible ‘mould’ that could be approved for adapting to the pupils with diverse backgrounds. In the cases I have explored, no school had taken advantage of the fact that they had multilingual children who could speak another language every day. These are important “funds of knowledge” (see section 2.2.4) that could benefit the whole class. The little importance granted to multilingual pupils’ language and cultural backgrounds was mostly explained by a lack of EAL training, but are also due to the

country's language ideology that permeated through all the institutions and social actors in direct and indirect contact with the participants. It is with the help of a variety of tools, observation, interviews, diaries, field notes that it was possible to pinpoint the obstacles faced by some multilingual learners who wish to maintain their home language.

Occasionally, in the French lessons in the mainstream schools, in two of the cases, the teachers asked my participants to help the rest of the class which gave the multilingual pupils a favourable position that boosted their confidence. However, this positive initiative was contradicted by other practices impeding the value of the home language and thus its retention (see discussion 6.3.1.10).

In the complementary school under study, findings on home language retention were positive when the teacher attempted to open up multilingual spaces for their multilingual pupils. On several occasions, she bridged the English and French curricula, when this was the case, the pupils responded well.

The parents showed positive perspective in retaining the French language during the whole data collection period; however, one of the case study's home culture with negative beliefs regarding monolingual teachers and the wider community in this country affected the child's interpretation of his relationship with peers, which itself impacted on the identity he planned to portray, in order to overcome his social relationships with classmates and thus indirectly impede his home language maintenance.

As for the children's attitudes towards home language, two of the participants found French "difficult" and all are reluctant to attend the complementary school even if they are quite proud to be able to communicate in an additional language.

The findings also show no coordination between important institutions, although their common and main aim is to contribute to the child's learning.

This small-scale study has confirmed many recent findings on multilingual education in monolingual educational settings; for example, teachers' lack of knowledge on EAL learners' needs (see literature review 2.2.7 and discussion 6.3.1.4), the teachers' 'monolingual mind-set' (see literature section 2.1.5.1 and discussion 6.3.1) or the parents' little understanding pertaining to their level of expectations as for the support with the home language they are entitled to receive from their children's school (see literature review, section 2.2.6 and discussion section 6.3.1.8) and the country's language ideology (see literature review, section 2.1.5.1 and discussion 6.3.1.5).

My findings show that numerous measures have taken place in the British educational sector to accommodate multilingual learners; however, teachers, parents, the Secretary of State and the wider community, as a whole, still need to go further and "challenge their cultural assumptions" (Barter, 1994) by bridging the gap between their culture and others'.

### **7.3 Synthesis of Findings/Implications for Pedagogy and Policy**

#### **7.3.1 Synthesis of Findings**

The study has highlighted the effect of the macro (ideology) onto the micro (pupils, parents, schools) and vice versa. Many researchers such as Blackledge, Creese, Conteh, Bourne, Gregory, Helot, Wei and De Houwer have attempted to raise the same issues at micro-level giving way to numerous academic discussions and open conversations. However, the outcome of my study shows that the educational arena takes a variety of directions in terms of multilingual pupils, some enhance language learning when teachers and parents operate as partners, others impede language learning when the

notion of multilingualism is not understood and that social agents still rely on false assumptions as for valuing the home language, thus weakening the pupil's "funds of knowledge" (see section 2.2.6) that is rarely exploited; presently, the Coalition government (2010-2015) did not give much importance to multilingualism in education (see section 2.1.5.2 and also an email a senior officer in the research section of the Department of Education dispatched to a PhD student on 13 March 2013 in response to a query about current research plans:

The focus you propose on "multilingual pupils", is a really niche topic and as such it is not something with which the Department would want to engage at the present time.

This may mean that the Department of Education has decided that the multilingual education is not part of their agenda. Therefore, parents may have to face more challenges if they expect schools to accommodate their multilingual children unless the change comes from the bottom and more negotiations take place between parents and schools intending to open up multilingual spaces. When the child and all educators around him or her grasp the concept of multilingualism and do not see two monolingual learners in one person, but a more unique being with his or her specific repertoire made up of French, English and other languages and does not have to face the challenge of being like an English monolingual in addition to learning his or her home language, it offers him or her an opportunity to perform better in the mainstream and to maintain her home language promoted by a variety of institutions with a common target: raising the child's potential. It is by investigating the agency of the learners and allowing the curriculum to adopt some flexibility that schools can respond to their multilingual learners' language and cultural needs in particular and all their learners in general.

Parents of other cultures should be encouraged to criticise the system. The study shows that schools are still in early stages of multilingual awareness because it seems that the “top-down” management is not consistent. Important official documents have indicated that:

[L]essons are planned and delivered as effectively as possible, with support provided for [multi]lingual pupils, and teachers are able to reflect the cultures and identities of the communities represented in the school in their lessons (DfES, 2003: 5).

However, the study has shown that this is not consistently implemented. Some monolingual teachers still behave in a ‘monolingual’ fashion and do not often receive the appropriate training to grasp the ways multilingual learners work. It is crucial to understand that there is not one truth but a variety of perspectives with respect to social and cultural contexts. Hence the significant findings in this research on the importance of exploiting the pupils’ “funds of knowledge” and the power of well-informed social actors and participants, who showed ability to overcome the monolingual ideology in different ways: trips to the home country after negotiation with the Home Education Office, counteracting the negative French teacher’s comments which indicate little understanding of the resourceful child are only a few examples of resisting the pressure that can jeopardise home language maintenance. However, the study also shows the obstacle formed by the peers when a participant thought of hiding his identity to avoid bullying (see Chapter Five, section 5.2.1.4); if only more research similar to the present one develops, parents could understand that denying negotiations with a population of educators that has surely good wishes but are not sufficiently informed about the richness of a multilingual classroom, often because they associate EAL learners to a

problem. This will neither help the nation to benefit from this resourceful part of the society, nor will it boost the EAL learners' confidence.

My research shows that in places where flexibility in expressing themselves with the entire repertoire pupils had developed throughout their education, they persisted in using their home language and reached the highest band possible in their year group. Kramersch (1993: 236) suggests to envisage "third spaces" that "grow in the interstices between the cultures the learners grew up with and the cultures he or she is being introduced to" for multilingual learners. Using the theory on the ecology of learning, my study has shown that the pupils' biographies have an impact on the way they learn their additional language(s). In fact, these particular learners already have an awareness of the culture with which they can compare the target culture. Kramersch (1998: 27) states that the most important skill a multilingual learner should have in the twenty-first century society is to adapt and "select those forms of accuracy and those forms of appropriateness that are called for in a given social context of use" and not only "the ability to speak and write according to the rules of the academy and the social etiquette of one social group". Therefore, in the world in which we live, a successful language learner is an 'intercultural speaker' who has the capacity to adapt to our new global village and thus can understand his or her own culture as much as other cultural environments.

In summary, this study has attempted to voice the proposal that linguistic knowledge is essential to communication, but one must not neglect the cultural element that acts as a referential function in communication. Unfortunately, although numerous researchers have raised the issue of multilingual pupils' educational experience in the monolingual school system on several occasions, some educators still do not have the requisite

training that may consist of awareness of different cultures and languages experienced outside school. It is a significant notion to internalise as it will allow the teachers to develop empathy for their multilingual pupils and to empower all their pupils without feeling threatened, but rather seeing them as a resource.

Moreover, this process of empowering multilingual pupils will develop a sense of multilingualism and multiculturalism in the classroom. Exploiting the “funds of knowledge” (see section 2.2.6) the multilingual children bring to school is a way to understand the children’s difficulty they face in their additional language. Thus, the teacher can develop the position of a learner; their culture should not be taken for granted anymore, it should be challenged and questioned.

Finally, the idea of empowering the pupils whether they belong to the majority society is a worthwhile concept that should be exploited in any educational setting. They should not be pressurised to follow the ‘truth’ of the conventional society but rather be given the space to express their fundamental beliefs that should not be undermined.

### **7.3.2 Implications for Pedagogy/Policy**

In this section, I will emphasise two main points:

- Parents, who have shown the most determination in transmitting their mother tongue, are in need of support from mainstream schools, and government policy for home language maintenance to be facilitated and reinforced.
- Coordination between core institutions should be developed to reduce the tension families have faced to preserve a key element of the pupil’s achievement and attainment, his or her home language.

If future initiatives revolve around coordination between homes, mainstream and complementary schools, as well as government support through language policies, then multilingual families will be able to maintain their home language with less challenge and thus contribute more to the child's academic achievement.

In the discussion, I have mentioned a range of issues that may limit multilingual learners' opportunities to maintain or develop their home language, putting them at a disadvantage in comparison to monolingual learners who are offered extension work when they show ability in a subject. In order to do so, the concept of multilingualism will need to be understood by all teachers and an inclusive ethos, environment and curriculum will need to be developed in all schools.

Another strand on which to focus concerns the relationships between parents and teachers and how they should develop in the child's educational interest. Misunderstandings, intimidation and assumptions are often observed between parents and teachers to the detriment of the pupils. Parents are often diffident about talking to teachers about practices as they often feel they know less than them. Acting individually is something of a challenge especially for multilingual parents. I suggest that each class could have a parent delegate that represents the class whenever a parent has an issue. This role could be distributed to all parents of the class, one by one, covering a certain period of time. Before starting this initiative, parents could be trained in one or two workshops on how to handle delicate issues such as cultural concepts that lead to misunderstandings. By "breaking the ice" between parents and teachers, and by reminding both parties the significance of partnership in the interest of the pupil-child, teachers and parents will be able to capture a more holistic picture of the child-pupil. Thus they will be able to develop an understanding of what to do and how to help the

pupils. Working side by side with other parents will help them develop skills that are helpful in understanding their own child in a context different from home. This will develop cooperation and team work not only among parents but also between teachers and parents. It should not be seen as “us v them”, but rather like two bodies who share the same interest: the child’s achievement. From the teachers’ point of view, being recognised as the best practitioner is what counts and from the parents’ standpoint, it is being a caring parent who contributes to his or her child’s well-being socially and academically.

It is not only among children that the concept of being different is often a difficult experience, it is also found among adults especially when they do not belong to the majority of people in the country. Therefore, if the government has always encouraged and seen an asset in parental involvement, it is time that a powerful parent acts in favour of the multilingual learners, a parent who has understood that the mainstream schools have not adapted to the multilingual children’s educational needs when they ignored their funds of linguistic and cultural knowledge.

The curriculum might encourage the connections between topics, but the system does not allow it because teachers are often under too much pressure and do not have the time or the knowledge to investigate their pupils’ background. Teachers are forced into not recognising the child as a whole individual, but merely having to think about the child in relation to literacy or numeracy. Even if efforts have been made in using foreign names in textbooks or foreign authors, the practice of recognising the pupil with his or her cultural particularities is still limited and the content of the classroom lesson does not often reflect the (positive) aspects of the cultures of others. The fact that a certain

child speaks another language is just ignored, only to be remembered in specific days such as the European Day or the French Day and so on.

Another important point that needs to be raised here, in the conclusion, is that I have shown in the discussion that EAL is often part of the SEN department even if it is two distinct subjects. However, the politics of SEN over recent years could inspire the EAL field. Now SEN starts to be understood as part of the child and not pathology anymore. The argument is we are all individuals with our languages, our special needs in other words with our strengths and weaknesses. We are good at music, sport, and communication and so on; this idea has been much more accepted in the SEN field and by policy makers because the funding has allowed researchers to build this kind of political identity. If the educational stakeholders start seeing EAL pupils as a resource in the classroom instead of an obstacle, EAL pupils and their teachers will likely benefit from better circumstances to develop learning and teaching.

The overall lesson one can draw from this study can be summarised via a small number of points. Firstly, every child must be given the opportunity to develop critical attitudes towards the status quo and not be forced into a 'mould' that can jeopardise his or her educational achievement and thus his or her well-being. Every child's background must be valued by teachers and schools in a consistent way and incorporated in the curriculum, even if their home culture is different from the majority. When cultural values are contradicting one another, it is a good practice of the teachers to discuss and negotiate with the parents the way to overcome the difficulty teachers or parents may encounter. Secondly, teachers must be introduced to approaches that can allow them to conduct an ethnographic exploration of their pupils' language experience in order to form a well-informed teaching perspective on how to relate their pupils with diverse

backgrounds. Thirdly, it is also important to learn how to incorporate their pupils' "funds of knowledge" (see section 2.2.6) in their class programme. Moreover, being an educator must be associated with being a model of social justice and equity. Finally, I would add that the more members of the community search for commonalities between cultures, the better individuals will see a space for them to express their multi- identities and thus limit their struggle and increase their self-esteem. In order to work towards a more inclusive school community, pupils, parents, families and wider communities need to be empowered; thus, educational stakeholders will act according to the community's educational needs.

- **Contribution of Study**

My study has shown that my participants' environment is defined by a political ideology that still value monolingualism even if diversity is promoted everywhere; the educational system has not systematically adapted to the multilingual pupils who come to school with a cultural background different from the English-speaking majority. My contribution to research was to raise several issues that cause difficulties to pupils and families who do not always capture where the problems lie and how to overcome them; The findings often confirm what the literature has asserted in different contexts. As I have shown, the family deciding for their children to be multilingual face extra tensions when the political, social, cultural and linguistic issues are not grasped. Among the majority of the British society, there is a belief that "monolingualism in English is a natural and desirable state (Blackledge and Creese, 2010: 6-7, see section 2.2.4). My study has supported that quote showing that the British educational system adopted by politicians and policy makers in place affect many educators' beliefs with reference to the only language used, English, as a means of instruction in mainstream schools. This

is what Heller (1995:374) means by “monolingualising” society in a multicultural territory. By ignoring the home language within mainstream schools, the multilingual children do not immediately see the reasons for persevering in their home language and thus could lose it within a couple of generations (see Chapter 1, Fishman, 1966). Because “young children learning L2 (a second language) are one of the fastest growing segments of the global population” (Kan & Kohnert, 2005: 380), there is much need for research that pinpoints the contradictions and thus impede multilingual learning potential as well as home language retention when they are not understood and thus cannot be negotiated by educators.

- **Outcomes for Users**

Children through the parents’, teachers’ and government policies’ influence may grow up with more self-esteem if all the members of the society (from the simple citizen to the head of state) understand that languages are tools and should not be associated with conflicts, inferiority, underachievement, religion... and that actors of the global village should cooperate to educate children and see the benefits of multilingualism. These developed concepts much present in the society are not words engraved in stones or symbols of truth. Researchers may see data emerging that may help educational policy makers, multilingual and monolingual families and teachers influence the curriculum, syllabus and material writers in order to capitalise on inclusion. This has been feasible following research outcome on multilingual matters and started influencing teachers through initial teacher-education and Continuing Professional Development in terms of teacher knowledge that a culture and a language must be seen as a neutral framework and tool respectively in a culturally-aware way.

After concluding on the implications for pedagogy and policy, I will finally indicate my recommendations for future research.

#### **7.4 Recommendations for Future Research**

Given the fact that we have an understanding of the tensions different institutions have to face and the lack of consensus for dealing with multilingual pupils' language support, it would be interesting to go further and explore, in a longitudinal study, the way parents, teachers and other members of the wider community integrate multilingual content on a wider scale encapsulating several regions in order to gain more significant outcomes. It is also important to research the ways EAL specialist teachers manage the negotiations with subject teachers when the latter have seldom been exposed to multilingual pupils or have seldom tapped into their "funds of knowledge".

My long-term study has shown me the considerable further research that could still be carried out to support the learners' multi-identity and to see in their rich cultural backgrounds a way to widen the community's perspectives on education. By highlighting the issues some multilingual pupils face, educators at home, in schools and in governments have many resources to reflect upon the full meaning of 'inclusion'. Further research should concentrate on sites in the UK or elsewhere where multilingualism is seen as a resource and not a liability; exploring the agency of teachers who deal with multilingual learners successfully should be fostered as models which could be explained, thus inspiring teachers with determination to contribute to a fairer system of education.

I have two recommendations;

- The first one is at school level. From this study, I have a clear understanding that funds are limited and certainly not available for multilingual learners' language

educational needs at the present time. However, the government could be pressurised by parents' associations who have understood the crux of the matter (see suggestions in section on implications above). By doing so, the teacher will value her or his pupils' cultural background knowledge and thus contributes to his or her self-esteem and therefore, extends his or her academic potential. At present, there is some urgency in finding ways of supporting the teachers who are overwhelmed with an overloaded curriculum; thus, I would recommend every school has a connection with NALDIC (National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum) activities and research in order to develop an ethical base that aid understanding interculturalism. The EAL teacher should be able to mediate the complex concept of multilingualism at school. In addition, further research could be conducted regarding the impact EAL teachers can exert on class teachers. A research conducted on the ways EAL teachers can influence monolingual class teachers in their beliefs on multilingualism and successful achievement should be a topic that could bring prosperous changes among all learners. My study has shown that some schools are in the beginning of a process of better understanding the issues multilingual children encounter. However, if the support only comes from the EAL teacher and if the school does not share the same beliefs, teachers may once again face confusion. It is vital that research in relation to multilingual learners and their achievement in the UK increases to be able to convince the majority of educators that experts in multilingualism should be supported in sharing their expertise with them.

- My second recommendation would be to encourage research in multilingual education that do not only target the transitional programme but also include the maintenance of home language by bridging the gap between parental culture and school culture. I believe that researching on more EAL learners in a variety of communities

and investigating their linguistic and cultural experiences with special attention on mainstream schools could be beneficial to all the learners. For example, researching the ways monolingual teachers cope with their EAL learners is important as it raises issues they face with multilingual learners together with the awareness the investigation itself could achieve. It is often by raising tensions experienced by parents and children to teachers, I partly tackle in this study, that the multilingual children's home language could be maintained, negotiated and thus could improve the general well-being of the children who would have the space to exert his or her full identity. This type of research could be expanded to all the languages spoken in the UK. Therefore, teachers could have access to knowledge regarding several types of EAL learners and their cultural experiences. As mentioned in the literature review, the UK government has claimed that the home language other than English maintenance was not the remit of the mainstream schools; however, it is well known that teaching pupils without incorporating their "funds of knowledge" (see section 2.2.6) cannot promise best outcomes. This idea, in fact, cannot only be applied to multilingual learners who have an important part of their repertoire pervaded by their home culture and language but also to any learners because even though it is less obvious, every individual has a specific background with specific beliefs and do not necessarily follow the main trend of the dominant society.

### **7.5 Concluding Remarks**

It is the end of my journey as a PhD student; however, it is the beginning of another journey, a journey which will enhance my ability to present and extrapolate my ideas in a more confident way after experiencing the variety of skills a PhD student needs to acquire in order to provide a thesis with appropriate quality. It has been a rewarding journey for my personal, academic, social and professional life, and has taught me to be more critical and more attentive to details. It has also taught me to be circumspect when

it comes to judging situations. It is only after observing, interviewing, discussing concepts and triangulating the diverse data during a sufficient period of time, that some certainty can appear with reservation that another argument could change the course of action.

The journey is a slow process that demands much expertise that one can acquire, at least on the condition that regular work is supplied and serious contact with a variety of academics is made, together with contribution to different seminars that has helped with the confidence I developed during the course of studies. At the beginning of my journey, I faced the fear that other researchers may have already dealt with my research question. I assumed that my work had to be original and was quite convinced that in a world of so many inhabitants, I could not be the only one who has researched on multilingual learners in the UK. I quickly understood the notion of originality. In having the support of my supervisors, I discovered that the originality of my work could be a combination of a subject, maybe already explored in different countries, but with the particularity of the researcher and the specific way the study would be conducted. I was fortunate enough to attend an important conference in Birmingham which introduced me to important concepts in ethnography. From there, I understood that my interest corresponds with the way important researchers such as Adrian Blackledge, Jean Conteh, Angela Creese, Eve Gregory, to name a few, have pursued their passion in understanding multilingual pupils' home language experience in the UK. The hard work of such researchers has left a positive impact on me.

During my professional life, I have always dealt with multilingual students and pupils who learnt foreign languages with ease. However, it is only in places like France and the UK where I used to sympathise with children who had a home language different

from the majority. While analysing the variety of social forces that could encourage or impede the home language maintenance, I began to understand the tensions that can play against children's achievement when little awareness of the issue is grasped by the main social actors around the multilingual children.

This journey has also impacted upon my personal life. I believe that I have learnt how to address issues in a more positive way, taking into account several points of view before negotiating with societal agents. My study encouraged me to listen and observe attentively before analysing a situation. As a mother, I could appreciate the value of this skill for improving the quality of life of the whole family. Furthermore, time management has been another factor that I had to learn during my doctorate, probably one of the hardest skills for me given the fact that I was diagnosed dyslexic during my PhD journey. In addition, I have found that my study has helped me to develop more patience and confidence thanks to regular support (workshops) from the University of Leeds in dealing with emerging issues.

## Bibliography

- Agirdag, O. (2010) Exploring bilingualism in a monolingual school system: insights from Turkish and native students from Belgian schools, *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, **31**:3, 307-321
- Akkari, A. (1998) Bilingual Education: Beyond Linguistic Instrumentalization. *Bilingual Research Journal*, **22**:2, 3 & 4 Spring, Summer and Fall 1998.
- Armstrong, M. S. (2001). Women leaving heterosexuality at mid-life: Transformation in self and relations. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- Aronin, L. (2008). Review. In D. Lasagabaster and Á. Huguet (Eds), Multilingualism in European bilingual contexts: Language use and attitudes. *Sociolinguistics Studies* (pp 291-298). Equinox Publishing. [Accessed 20/03/2017]  
<https://journals.equinoxpub.com/index.php/SS/article/download/4462/4057>
- Aronin, L., and Singleton, D. (2008) English as a constituent of Dominant Language Constellation. Paper presented at the GlobEng conference, 2008, Verona.
- Asselin, M. E. (2003). Insider research: Issues to consider when doing qualitative research in your own setting. *Journal for Nurses in Staff Development*, 19(2), 99-103.
- Beardsmore, B.H. (2003). Who's afraid of bilingualism? In J. Dewaele, A. Housen & Li Wei (Eds.), *Bilingualism: Beyond basic principles* (pp. 10-27). Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C.(2011). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 5<sup>th</sup> Edition Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Barradas, O (2007) Learning Portuguese: a tale of two worlds. In Conteh, J, Martin, P and Robertson, *LH Multilingual Stories from Schools and Communities in Britain*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Barter, R. (1994). Multiculturalism and Multilingualism: What It Means in Practice. *International Schools Journal*, **27** pp.31-40.
- Beacham,N. and Rouse,M. (2012) Student teachers' attitudes and beliefs about inclusion and inclusive practice. *Journal of Research in Special Educational Needs*, **12** (1), 3–11.
- Blackledge, A. (1999) Language, Literacy and Social Justice: The Experiences of Bengladeshi Women in Birmingham, UK, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, **20**(3), pp.179-193

- Blackledge, A. (2000) *Literacy, Power and Social Justice*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Blackledge, A. and Creese, A. (2010) *Multilingualism: A Critical Perspective*. London, Continuum.
- Blommaert, J. 2010. The sociolinguistics of globalization. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press
- Blommaert, J. & Backus, A. (2011) Repertoires revisited: ‘Knowing language’ in superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, **67**, pp.1-26. Tilburg University.
- Boix-Fuster, E. & Paradis, A. (2015) Ideologies and Trajectories of “New Speakers” in Bilingual Families in *Catalonia Revista de Llengua i Dret*, **63**, pp. 165-185.
- Borrero, N. (2015). Bilingual and Proud of It: College-Bound Latinos/as and the Role of Interpreting in Their Success. *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*. **38** (1) pp. 6-22.
- Borrero, N. & Yeh, C. (2010) Ecological language learning among ethnic minority youth. *Educational Researcher*, **39**(8), pp.571-581.
- Borrero, N. Yeh, C., Cruz, C. & Suda, J. (2010). School as a context for “othering” youth and promoting cultural assets. *Teachers College Record*. Available at <http://www.tcrecord.org/Content.asp?ContentId=16246>.
- Bourne, J. (2001). Doing “What comes naturally”: How the discourses and routines of teachers’ practices constrain opportunities for bilingual support in UK primary schools”. *Language and Education*, **15**, (4):pp.250-68.
- Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, **3**: pp.77-101.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The Ecology of Human Development*. Harvard University Press.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1989) Ecological systems theory. *Annals of child development*, **6**, 187-249.
- Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (1998). The ecology of developmental processes. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 1. Theoretical models of human development* (5th ed., pp. 993-1028). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (2005). *Making human beings human: Bioecological perspectives on human development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Butzkamm, W, and Caldwell, J. (2009). *The Bilingual Reform: A paradigm shift in foreign language teaching*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing grounded theory*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition. London, UK: Sage Publications Ltd. Available at: <http://www.books.google.com.au>

Cantoni, G. (1998). The role of cultural factors in the maintenance of indigenous languages. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, **8** (1), 1-12.

Capps, R., Fix, M., Murray, J., Ost, J., Passel, J., & Herwanto, S. (2005). *The new demography of America's schools: Immigration and the No Child Left Behind Act*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute.

Carey, M. (2009). *The Social Work Dissertation. Using Small-Scale Qualitative Methodology*. OUP.

Chen, Y. (2007) Contributing to success: Chinese parents and the community school. In *Multilingual Learning: Stories from Schools and Communities in Britain*, J. Conteh, P. Martin & L.H. Robertson (eds), 63–86. Stoke on Trent: Trentham.

Cho, G., Shin, F. and Krashen, S. (2004) What Do We Know about Heritage Languages? What Do We Need to Learn About Them? *Multicultural Education*, 11(4): p23-26.

Choi, J.K. (2003) Language Attitudes and the Future of Bilingualism: The Case of Paraguay *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* April 1 pp81-94 · Volume 6 (2)

Clark, U. (2013). A sense of place: Variation, linguistic hegemony and the teaching of literacy in English  
<http://education.waikato.ac.nz/research/files/etpc/files/2013v12n2art4.pdf> .*English Teaching: Practice and Critique*. Volume **12**(2), pp. 58-75.

Clyne, M. (2005) *Australia's Language Potential*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press. Pp.xii +208.

Cohen, L., Manion L., & Morrison K., (2000) *Research Methods in Education*. 5<sup>th</sup> Edition. London: Falmer.

Cole, M. (1996) *Cultural Psychology: A once and future discipline*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.

Cole, N. L. (2017) [Accessed 17/03/2017] Available at :  
<https://www.thoughtco.com/agency-definition-3026036>

Conteh, J. (2003) *Succeeding in Diversity*. Trentham Books.

Conteh, J., Gregory, E. Kearney, C. & Mor-Somerfield. (2005) *On writing educational ethnographies: the art of collusion*. Stoke-on-Trent, UK: Trentham Books.

Conteh, J. 2007a. *Multilingual learning*. Trentham Books.

Conteh, J. 2007b. Opening Doors to Success in Multilingual Classrooms: Bilingualism, Codeswitching and the Professional Identities of Ethnic Minority Primary Teachers, *Language and Education*, 21:6, 457-472.

Conteh, J., Martin, P., & Helavaara R. (2007) *Multilingual learning stories in schools and communities in Britain*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

Conteh, J. (2013) *New Opportunities and Challenges for EAL and Bilingual Learners* [PowerPoint presentation]. NALDIC 21 annual Conference, 16 November, at King's College, London.

Conteh, J. (2015) 'Funds of knowledge' for achievement and success: multilingual pedagogies for mainstream primary classrooms in England. In: P. Seedhouse and C. Jenks (eds.) *International Perspectives on ELT Classroom Interaction*, pp. 49-63. Palgrave Macmillan.

Cook, V.J. (2001). Using the first language in the classroom. *Canadian Modern Language Review* 57 (3): pp. 402–423.

Costley, T. and Leung, C. (2009) "English as Additional Language across the curriculum: policies in practice" in *Culturally and Linguistically Diverse Classrooms. New Dilemmas for Teachers*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, Chapter 9 pp. 151-171 Miller, J., A. Kostogriz and M. Gearon.

Council of Europe. (2007). Valuing All Languages in Europe [accessed on 15 May 2012] Available at <http://archive.ecml.at/mtp2/publications/Valeur-report-E.pdf>

Creese A, Martin P. (2003). Multilingual Classroom Ecologies: inter-relationships, interactions and ideologies, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 6, 3-4, 161-167. ISSN: 13670050.

Creese, A., Bhatt, A. Bhojani, N. and Martin, P. (2006) Multicultural, Heritage and Learner Identities in Complementary Schools. *Language and Education*. 20 (1):pp.23-43.

Creese, A. (2009). Building on Young People's Linguistic and Cultural Continuity: Complementary Schools in the United Kingdom. *Theory into Practice*. 48(4), pp.267-273.

Creswell, J. W. (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among five traditions* (2nd Ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crozier, G. & Davies, J. (2007) Hard to reach parents or hard to reach schools? A discussion of home–school relations, with particular reference to Bangladeshi and

Pakistani parents. *British Educational Research Journal*, **33**(3), June 2007, pp. 295–313  
Routledge.

Cummins, J. (2000) *Language, Power, and Pedagogy: Bilingual Children in the crossfire*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Cummins, J. (2001) *Bilingual Children's Mother Tongue: Why Is It Important for Education?* [Accessed 18 January 2012] University of Toronto. Available at: <http://iteachilearn.org/cummins/mother.htm>

Cummins, J. (2005) A proposal for action: Strategies for recognizing heritage language competence as a learning resource within the mainstream classroom. *The Modern Language Journal*, **89**, pp. 585-92

Cummins, J. (2007) *Promoting Literacy in Multilingual Contexts*, Research monograph No. 5, *What Works? Research into Practice*, A research into practice series produced by a partnership between the Literacy and Numeracy Secretariat and the Ontario Association of Deans of Education. [Accessed 11 June 2015] Available at: <https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/literacynumeracy/inspire/research/Cummins.pdf>

Cummins, J, Bismilla, V, Chow, P, Cohen, S, Giampapa, F, Leoni, L, Sandhu, P, Sastri, P (2005) Affirming identity in multilingual classrooms. *Educational Leadership*. **63**:1 pp. 38-43.

Curdt-Christiansen, X.L. (2009) Visible and Invisible Language Planning: Ideological Factors in the Family Language Policy of Chinese Immigrant Families in Quebec. *Language Policy*, **8** (4), PP.351-375.

Curdt-Christiansen, X.L. (2013) Family Language Policy: Sociopolitical Reality Versus Linguistic Continuity. *Language Policy* **12** pp.1-6.

Curdt-Christiansen, X L, (2014) "Family language policy: Is learning Chinese at odds with learning English?" In Curdt-Christiansen, Xiao, and HanCoCk, Andy (eds.) *Learning Chinese in Diasporic Communities*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 35-55.

Darlington, Y. and Scott, D. (2002). *Qualitative Research in Practice*. Open University Press.

Day, M.E. (2002) *Identity and the Young English Language Learner*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Deal, T.E. (1985). The symbolism of effective schools, *Elementary School Journal*, **85**, (5), 601-620 - reprinted in Westoby, A. (Ed.) (1985) *Culture and Power in Educational Organisations*, Buckingham, Open University Press.

De Angelis, G. (2011) Teachers' beliefs about the role of prior language knowledge in learning and how these influence teaching practices, *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 8:3, 216-234

De Houwer, A. (1995) Bilingual Language Acquisition. In P. Fletcher & B. MacWhinney (eds.) *The Handbook of Child Language*. Pp.219-250. Oxford: Blackwell.

Denscombe, M. (2007). *The Good Research Guide: for small-scale social research* (3rd Ed.). Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Denzin, N.K. (1997). *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3<sup>rd</sup> Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Department of Education and Skills (DES) (1975) *The Bullock Report: A language for life* [accessed 23 May 2012] Available at:  
<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/bullock/bullock24.html>.

Department of Education and Skills (DES) (1985) *Education for All. Report of the committee of Inquiry into the Education of Ethnic Minority Groups. The Swann Report*. London: HMSO. [Accessed 21/03/2017]  
<http://www.educationengland.org.uk/documents/swann/swann1985.html>

Department for Education (DfE) (2011) [accessed 27 February 2015]  
[https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment\\_data/file/301107/Teachers\\_Standards.pdf](https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/301107/Teachers_Standards.pdf).

Department for Education (DfE) (2013) [accessed 24/01/2015] *The statutory programmes of study and attainment targets for languages at key stages 2 and 3*.  
<https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/national-curriculum-in-england-languages-programmes-of-study/national-curriculum-in-england-languages-programmes-of-study>.

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2003) *Every Child Matters; Change for Children: Making it Happen, Working Together for Children, Young People and Families*. Nottingham: DfES

Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2006) *Excellence and Enjoyment: learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years. Unit 3: Creating an inclusive learning culture*. (Ref: 2134-2006 DCL-EN)  
[http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/2134\\_06\\_unit\\_3.pdf](http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20130401151715/http://www.education.gov.uk/publications/eOrderingDownload/2134_06_unit_3.pdf).

Dixon, L.Q. & Wu, S. (2014). Home Language and Literacy Practices among Immigrant Second-Language Learners. *Language Teaching*, **47**, pp. 414-449.

Donato, R & McCormick, D. (1994). A Sociocultural Perspective on Language Learning Strategies: the Role of Mediation *JSTOR: The Modern Language Journal*, **78**(4) pp.453-464.

Dooly, M., Vallejo, C. and Unamuno, V. (2009) Educational Policies that Address Social Inequality. University of Barcelona. Available at: <http://www.epasi.eu/ThematicReportLIN.pdf> [Accessed on 07 May 2015].

Drummond, C. (2014). How can UK schools support young children learning English [accessed on 03/05/2015] British Council <http://www.britishcouncil.org/blog/how-uk-schools-support-young-learners-english>.

EEC Directives [Accessed 21/03/2017]  
<http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/ALL/?uri=CELEX%3A31977L0486>

Erikson, F. (1990). Qualitative Methods in Research in Teaching and Learning. In R.L. Linn and F. Erickson (Eds.), New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

Espinosa, L. M. (2015). Challenges and benefits of early bilingualism in the United States' context. *Global Education Review*, 2(1), 40-53.

Fishman, J. A. (1966) *Language Loyalty in the United States*. (Ed.) The Hague: Mouton.

Fishman, J. (1994). What do you lose when you lose your language? [Accessed 27 May 2012] Available from: <http://www.eric.ed.gov/PDFS/ED395732.pdf>.

Fitts, S. and Gross, L.A. (2012) Teacher Candidates Learning from English Learners: Constructing Concepts of Language and Culture in Tuesday's Tutors After-School Program. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, Fall 2012

Fogle, L.W. (2012) Second Language Socialization and Learner Agency: Adoptive Family Talk. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Foucault, M. (1980). Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977. London: Harvester Press.

Franson, C. (2011) Bilingualism and Second Language Acquisition. [accessed on 23 May 2012] Available from <http://www.naldic.org.uk/eal-initial-teacher-education/resources/ite-archive-bilingualism>.

Gafaranga, J. (2010). Medium request: Talking language shift into being. *Language in Society*, 39(02), 241-270.

Garcia, E. & Cuellar, D. (2006) Who are these linguistically and culturally diverse students? *Teachers College Record*, **108**, 2220-2246.

Garcia, O. (2009) Bilingual education in the 21st century: A global perspective. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

Garcia, O. (2012) Ethnic Identity and Language Policy. In B. Spolsky (Ed.), *Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy* (pp.79-99). Cambridge and New York: CUP.

Garrett, P.B. (2011) Language Socialization and Language Shift. In A. Duranti, E.Ochs, & B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Socialization*. pp.515-535. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.

Garret, P. B., & Baquedano-López, P. (2002). Language socialization: Reproduction and continuity, transformation and change. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, pp339-361.

Gee, P.J. (2011). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis*. (3<sup>rd</sup> Edition) Routledge. New York and London.

Geertz, C. (1973). *The Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books.

Gkaintartzi, A. & Tsokalidou, R. (2011) ‘‘she is a very good child but she doesn’t speak’’: The invisibility of children’s bilingualism and teacher ideology. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43, 588–601.

González, N., Moll, L., & Amanti, C. (Eds.). (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities and classrooms*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Greenspan, S. (1985) *First Feelings: Milestones in the Emotional Development of Your Infant and Child from Birth to Age 4* with Nancy Thorndike Greenspan. Viking Press.

Gregory, E., Long, S. & Volk, D., (Eds.). (2004) *Many Pathways to Literacy: Young Children Learning with Siblings, Grandparents, Peers and Communities*. New York: Routledge Palmer.

Gregory, E. and Kenner, C. (2013) How Faith Settings Contribute to Children's Learning. *Race Equality Teaching*, 31(3), pp. 10-13.

Gutiérrez, K. D., & Rogoff, B. (2003). Cultural ways of learning: Individual traits or repertoires of practice. *Educational Researcher*, 32(5), 19–25.

Hall, D. (2001) *Assessing the Needs of Bilingual Pupils. Living in two languages*. 2nd Ed. David Fulton Publishers, London.

Hammersley, M. (1992) *What’s wrong with ethnography: Methodological explorations*. London: Routledge.

Harding, J. (2013) *Qualitative Data Analysis from Start to Finish*. London: Sage Publications.

Haugen, E. (1972) *The Ecology of Language*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

He, An. E. (2012). Systematic use of mother tongue as learning/teaching resources in target language instruction. *Multilingual Education*, 2(1). Department of English. The Hong Kong Institute of Education, 10 Lo Ping Road, Tai Po, New Territories, Hong Kong

- He, A.W. (2010). The Heart of Heritage: Sociocultural Dimensions of Heritage Language Learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, **30**, pp. 66–82. Cambridge University Press
- Heller, M. (1995) Language choice, social institutions, and symbolic domination. *Language in Society* **24**, pp. 373-405.
- Helot, C. & Young, A. (2006) “Imagining Multilingual Education in France: A Language and Cultural Awareness Project at Primary Level”. In O. Garcia, T. Skutnabb-Kangas, M. E. Torres-Guzman (Editors) *Imagining Multilingual Schools: Language in Education and Globalization (Linguistic Diversity and Language Rights)*. Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Hiles, D. (1996) Cultural Psychology and the Centre-ground of Psychology. [accessed on 11 May 15] <http://psy.dmu.ac.uk/drhiles/CPpaper.htm>
- Home Office, The. (2008) *The Path to Citizenship: Next Steps in reforming the immigration System*. London: Home Office
- Howatt, A. (1984) *History of English Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hua, Z. (2008) Duelling languages, dueling values: Codeswitching in bilingual intergenerational conflict talk in diasporic families. *Journal of Pragmatics* **40**: 1799-1816.
- Independent School Inspectorate. (2011). [Accessed on 27/03/2015] Available at <http://www.isi.net/schools/6638/>
- John-Steiner, V. & Mahn, H. (1996). Sociocultural Approaches to Learning and Development: A Vygotskian Framework. *Educational Psychologists* **31** (3/4) pp.191-206.
- Johnstone B. and Marcellino, W. (2010) Dell Hymes and the Ethnography of Communication. [Accessed 12 June 2015] Available from <http://repository.cmu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1013&context=english>
- Kan, P.F. and Kohnert, K. (2005). Preschoolers learning Hmong and English: Lexical semantic skills in L1 and L2. *Journal of Speech, Language, and Hearing Research*, **48**, pp.1-12.
- Kanuha, V. K. (2000). “Being” native versus “going native”: Conducting social work research as an insider. *Social Work*, **45**(5), 439-447.
- Kenner, C., Ruby, M., Gregory, E. and Al-Azami, S. (2007). How research can link policy and practice: bilingualism as a learning resource for second and third generation children Ed. Simon Murison-Bowie. *NALDIC Quarterly*, **5** (1), pp.10-13. [Accessed 11 June 2015] Available at <http://www.gold.ac.uk/media/How%20research%20can%20link%20policy%20and%20practice.pdf>

- Kenner, C. & Ruby, M. (2012) Co-constructing bilingual learning: an equal exchange of strategies between complementary and mainstream teachers, *Language and Education*, **26**:6, 517-535.
- Kenner, C. & Ruby, M. (2013). Connecting children's worlds: creating a multilingual syncretic curriculum in partnership with complementary schools. Goldsmiths, University of London.
- King, K.A. (2000) Language Ideologies and Heritage Language Education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, **3**(3), pp.167-184.
- King, K.A., Fogle, L. & Logan-Terry, A. (2008) Family Language Policy. *Language and Linguistics Compass* **2**: 5 pp.907–922
- King, K.A. & Fogle, L. (2013) Child agency and language policy in transnational families. *Issues in Applied Linguistics*, **19**(1),1-25.
- Kohl, H. (1994) "I won't learn from you": Confronting Student Resistance. In *Rethinking our Classrooms: Teaching for Equity and Social Justice*, pp.134-135. Milwaukee, WI: Rethinking Schools.
- Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kramsch, C. (1998). The privilege of the intercultural speaker. *Language learning in intercultural perspective* pp.16– 31. M. Byram & M. Fleming (eds.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kramsch, C. (2014). Teaching Foreign Languages in an Era of Globalization: Introduction. *The Modern Language Journal*, **98**, 1.
- Krueger, A. & Casey, M.A. (2000) *Focus Groups. A Practical Guide for Applied Research* (3rd Edition.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Lambert, W.E. (1984). An overview of issues in immersion education, in California State Department of Education (ed.), *Studies on Immersion Education. A Collection for United States Educators*, California State Department of Education, Sacramento, 8-30.
- Lanza, E. (2007) Multilingualism in the Family. In handbook of multilingualism and multilingual communication, ed. A.Peter and W. Li, 45-67. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lasagabaster, D. and Huguet, A. (2007) *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Contexts: Language Use and Attitude*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Lee, J.S. (2002). The Korean language in America: The role of cultural identity in heritage language learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, **15** (2), pp117-133.
- Lee, J.S. and Oxelson, E. (2006) "It's Not My Job": K-12 Teacher Attitudes toward Students' Heritage Language Maintenance. *Bilingual Research Journal*, **30**, pp. 453–477.
- Lee, C. D. (2008). The centrality of culture to the scientific study of learning and development: How an ecological framework in education research facilitates civic responsibility. *Educational Researcher*, **37**, 267–279.
- Lee, C. D., Spencer, M. B., & Harpalani, V. (2003). "Every shut eye ain't sleep": Studying how people live culturally. *Educational Researcher*, **32**(5), 6–13.
- Levine, T.H., Irizarry, J.G., Bunch, G. (2008) Opening schools, homes, and hearts: Promoting cross-cultural understanding among teachers and language minority families. *Journal of Staff Development*, 29(1), pp.29-33.
- Li, L. (2004) Education for 1.3 Billion. Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press.
- Li, X. (1999) How Can Language Minority Parents Help their Children Become Bilingual in a Familial Context? *Bilingual Research Journal*, **23** (2&3), pp. 211-224.
- Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1994) Accent, standard language ideology, and discriminatory pretext in the courts. *Language in Society*, **23**(2), pp. 163-198.
- Macaro, E. (2009) Teacher use of codeswitching in the second language classrooms: exploring 'optimal' use. In First Language use in Second and Foreign Language Learning, ed. M. Turnbull and J. Dailey-O'Cain, Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Macias, R.F. (2001) Language Minority Students - SCOPE, IMPACT ON EDUCATION [accessed 11 June 2015] Available at: <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2157/Language-Minority-Students.html>
- Marsh, D. (2002). The European Dimension. [Accessed 03 May 2012] Available from [http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/doc491\\_en.pdf](http://ec.europa.eu/languages/documents/doc491_en.pdf).
- Martin, P., Bhatt, A., Bhojani, N. and Creese, A. (2006) Managing Bilingual Interaction in a Gujarati Complementary School in Leicester. In Jean Conteh, Peter Martin and Leena Helavaara Robertson (eds), *Multilingual Learning*. Trentham Books.
- Martin, P., Bhatt, A., Bhojani, N. and Creese, A. (2007) "Multilingual Learning Stories in Two Gujarati Complementary Schools in Leicester". In Conteh, J., P.W. Martin, L.H. Robertson (eds) *Multilingual Learning Stories in Schools and Communities in Britain*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham.

Martin, P. (2009) 'They have lost their identity but not gained a British one': non-traditional multilingual students in higher education in the United Kingdom", *Language and Education*, **24**:1, 9-20.

Mc Lean, M. (1985) Private supplementary schools and the ethnic challenge of state education in Britain. In: C. Brock and W. Tulasiewicz (Eds) *Cultural identity and educational policy*, pp. 326-345. London: Croom Helm.

McPake, J, Tinsley, T. and James, C. (2007). "Making provision for community languages: issues for teacher education in the UK", *the Language Learning Journal*, **35**(1), 99-112.

Meighan, R. and Harber, C. (2007). *A Sociology of Educating*. 5<sup>th</sup> edition. London: Continuum.

Midobuche, E. (1999) Respect in the classroom: Reflections of a Mexican American educator. *Educational Leadership* **56** (7), pp.80-82.

Miles, M.B. and Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*. SAGE

Milroy, L and Gordon, M. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Moll, L.C., Amanti, D., Neff, N. & Gonzalez, N. (1992) Funds of Knowledge for Teaching: Using a Qualitative Approach to Connect Homes and Classrooms *Theory into Practice* **31**, 132-141.

Mushi, S. (2002). Acquisition of multiple languages among children of immigrant families: Parents' role in the home-school language pendulum. *Early Child Development and Care*, **172**, 517-530.

NALDIC. (2014). [Accessed 28/10/2014] Numbers pupils with EAL in state funded schools 2014  
<http://www.naldic.org.uk/Resources/NALDIC/Research%20and%20Information/Documents/D ata%20for%20NALDIC%20website.pdf>.

Neuman, W.L. (2006) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Pearson Education. *Qualitative Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn. London: Sage (1<sup>st</sup> ed., 2001)

Nguyen, A., Shin, F., & Krashen, S. (2001). Development of the first language is not a barrier to second-language acquisition: Evidence from Vietnamese immigrants to the United States. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* **4**(3), pp159-164.

Nieto, S. (2002). *Language, culture, and teaching: Critical perspectives for a new century*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

- Nikander, P. (2008). Working with transcripts and translated data. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, **5**, 225-231.
- Norton, B. (2000). *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*. Singapore: Pearson Education.
- Norton, B. (2011). The practice of theory in the language classroom. *Issues in Applied Linguistics* (special issue on Linguistic Diversity in American Classrooms), 18, (2) pp. 171-180
- Norton, B. and Toohey, K. (2011) Identity, language learning, and social change *Language Teaching* **44** (04) pp. 412-446 Copyright © Cambridge University Press.
- Nwulu, S. (2015) Beyond the School Gates: Developing the Role and Connections of the Supplementary Schools. [Accessed 06/04/2015]  
<https://www.thersa.org/discover/publications-and-articles/reports/beyond-the-school-gates/>
- Paez, M. (2009) Predictors of English-Language Proficiency among Immigrant Youth. *Bilingual Research Journal: The Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, **32** (2), 168-187.
- Palviainen, A. and Boyd, S. (2014) “Unity in Discourse, Diversity in Practice: The One Person One Language Policy in Bilingual Families” (Chapter 10). In M.Schwartz and A.Verschik, (Eds.) (2013), *Successful Family Language Policy. Children and Educators in Interaction*. New York: Springer, pp223-248.
- Paquette, D and Ryan, J. (2001). Bronfenbrenner’s ecological systems theory. [Accessed 25 June 2014] Available at: <http://pt3.nl.edu/paquetteryanwebquest.pdf>
- Paris, D. (2010) “The second language of the United States”: Youth Perspectives on Spanish in a changing multi-ethnic community. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, **9**, 139-155.
- Pavlenko, A. (2002). “Poststructuralist Approaches to the Study of Social Factors in Second Language Learning and Use”. In Vivian Cook (Ed.) *Portraits of the L2 User* pp275-302. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pavlenko, A. (2007) Research methods in the study of gender in second/foreign language education. In King, K. (Ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Education*, Volume 10. Springer. pp. 165-174.
- Perez Baez, G. (2013) Family language policy, transnationalism, and the diaspora community of San Lucas Quiaviní of Oaxaca, Mexico. *Language Policy*: **12** (1) pp. 27-45
- Pollard A. and Filer, A. (1996) *The social world of children’s learning; case studies of pupils from four to seven*, ( London, Cassell).

- Pollard, A. (2005) *reflective teaching* (2<sup>nd</sup> Edition). Continuum, London.
- Portes, A., Hao, L. (2002) The price of uniformity: Language, family and personality adjustment in the immigrant second generation, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 25 (6) pp 889-912.
- Ragin, C.C. and Becker, H.S. (1992). *What Is a Case? Exploring the Foundations of Social Inquiry*. CUP
- Rapley, T. (2011). Some pragmatics of qualitative data analysis. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research* (273-290). London, England: Sage Publications.
- Riojas-Cortez, M., & Flores, B.B. (2009). Sin Olvidara los Padres: Families collaborating within school and university partnerships. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 8(3), 231-239.
- Rumberger, R. W., & Tran, L. (2008). Investigating state, district, and school variability in the English learner achievement gap (Final report submitted to the Institute for Educational Sciences, U.S. Department of Education). Santa Barbara: University of California.
- Safford, K. and Drury, R. (2013) The ‘problem’ of bilingual children in education settings: policy and research in England, *Language and Education*, 27(1), pp. 70- 81.
- Samman, E. & Santos, M.E. (2009). Agency and Empowerment: A review of concepts, indicators and empirical evidence. <http://www.ophi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/OPHI-RP-10a.pdf> [accessed on 24/06/2016]
- Schechter, S., & Bayley, R. (1997). Language socialization practices and cultural identity: Case studies of Mexican-descent families in California and Texas. *TESOL Quarterly*, 31, 513-541.
- Schwartz, M. & Verschik, A. (2013) Achieving Success in Family Language Policy: Parents, Children and Educators in Interaction. In M.Schwartz and A.Verschik, (eds.), *Successful Family Language Policy*. Springer.
- Shamoo, A.E and Resnik, D.B. (2009). *Responsible Conduct of Research*. Oxford University Press.
- Shenton, A. K. (2004) Strategies for ensuring trustworthiness in qualitative research projects. *Education for Information* 22 pp. 63–75. IOS Press.
- Shohamy, E. (2006) “Imagined multilingual schools: How come we don’t deliver?” In *Imagining Multilingual Schools. Languages in Education and Globalization*. Ofelia Garcia, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Maria Torres-Guzman (eds), 171–183. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Soltis, J.F. (1991). The Ethics of Qualitative Research. In E.W. Eisner and A.Peshkin (eds.), *Qualitative Inquiry in Education: The Continuing Debate*. New York: Teachers College Press, pp. 247-257.
- Spolsky, B. (2004) *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Stake, R.E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Stake, R.E. (2005). Qualitative Case Studies. In N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), pp.443-466). London: Sage Publications Limited.
- Stake, R.E. (2006). *Multiple Case Study Data Analysis*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Thorpe, M, Edwards, R. and Hanson, A. (Eds.) (1993) *Culture and Processes of Adult Learning*. Routledge, London.
- Tinsley, T. & Board, K. (2013). Which Language the UK needs and Why. [Accessed on 26/10/2014] Available from <http://blog.britishcouncil.org/2013/11/20/which-languages-the-uk-needs-and-why/>
- Tomlinson, S. (1984) *Home and school in Multicultural Britain*, London: Batsford.
- Toohy, K. (2000) *Learning English in School: Identity, Social Relations and Classroom Practice*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.
- Tudge, J.R.H., Mokrova, I., Hatfield, B.E. and Karnik, R.B. (2009). Uses and Misuses of Bronfenbrenner's Biological Theory of Human Development in *Journal of Family Theory and Review* 1. pp. 198-210 The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.
- Tuominen, A. (1999). Who decides the home language? A look at multilingual families. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 140: 59-76.
- UNESCO (2000). Education for All. Status and Trends 2000. Assessing learning achievement, International Consultative Forum on Education for All. Paris: UNESCO. [Accessed January 15, 2011]. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001198/119823e.pdf>
- UNESCO (2003) *Towards a Multilingual Culture of Education*. Edited by Adama Ouane [Accessed 15 May 2012] Available from <http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/pdf/uiestud41.pdf>
- Van Lier, L. (2000). From input to affordance: Social-interactive learning from an ecological perspective. In J. P. Lantolf (Ed.). (2000). *Sociocultural Theory and Second Language Learning*. pp. 245-60. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vertovec, S. (2007) Superdiversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30:pp.1024-1054.
- Vonnegut, K. (1974) Afterword, in F. Klagsburn (Ed.) *Free to Be... You and Me*. (New York: McGraw-Hill).

- Vygotsky, L. S. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes* (A. R. Luria, M. Lopez-Morillas & M. Cole [with J. V. Wertsch], Trans.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. (Original work [ca. 1930-1934])
- Vygotsky, L.S. (1978) Interaction between Learning and Development. In Gauvain and Cole (Eds) *Readings on the Development of children*. New York: *Scientific American Books* pp. 34-40.
- Watson, K. D. (1999). "The way I research is who I am": The subjective experiences of qualitative researchers. Unpublished master's thesis, York University, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.
- Wei, L. (2006) Complementary Schools, Past, Present and Future. *Language and Education* 20, 1: 76-83.
- Wei, L. (2011). Moment analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, **43**, 1222-1235.
- Williams, R. (1983) *Keywords*. 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Oxford University Press. New York.  
<https://tavaana.org/sites/default/files/raymond-williams-keywords.pdf>
- Wolfram, W. and Schilling-Estes, N. (2006) *American English: Dialects and Variation*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Woolard, K. (1998) Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry. In B. Schieffelin, K. Woolard & P. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory*. New York
- Wooland, K.A. (2010) Language Ideology: Issues and Approaches. *Pragmatics* **3**(3) pp. 235-249 International Pragmatics Association.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (2000) Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice*, **39**(4), pp.203-210.
- Yeh, C. J., Ma, P.-W., Madan, A., Hunter, C. D., Jung, S., Kim, A., et al. (2005) The cultural negotiations of Korean immigrant youth. *Journal of Counselling and Development*, **83**, 172-181
- Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case Study Research*. (3rd Ed). London. England: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.) Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing.

## **Appendices**

Appendix One: Trial Methodology

Appendix Two: Example of a Diary Distributed to Parents

Appendix Three: Example of a School Report

Appendix Four: Interview Schedule

Appendix Five: Interview Schedule for the main study

Appendix Six: Ethical Approval

Appendix Seven: Information Sheet for Participants and Actors

Appendix Eight: Participant Consent Form for Parents/Relatives

Appendix Nine: Children Consent Form

Appendix Ten: Programme of Observation and Interviews in a variety of Institutions

Appendix Eleven: An Example of Data Collection: An Interview with Oscar's Parents

Appendix Twelve: Table Including the Main Research Question with its Sub-Divisions as well as the Place, Time and Tools of Data Collection

## Appendix One Trial Methodology

### *Introduction*

Some part of my apprenticeship as a researcher has been the conduction of my trial methodology. Yin (2003:77) associates the trial methodology with the “final preparation for data collection”. Nunan (1992:151) claims that “it is important for all elicitation instruments to be thoroughly piloted before being used for research”. I have decided to practise my interview skills by designing a semi-structured interview. The purpose of the trial methodology is to find out the best techniques that should ease the actual process of interviewing later on during the actual data collection.

### *The setting*

In 2006, on a sunny day, three French mothers met in a playground in Yorkshire. They remembered having a conversation about preserving their children’s French language. They suggested that they should do some regular activities in French with a group of young francophone speakers. They finally started with twelve children in a community hall and moved to a mainstream school in 2008 as the number of children had reached approximately 100. Originally, the three initial mothers had few means to operate this “complementary school”; in the same year, one of the headmistresses (French mother who initiated the school) looked for French government funding that could cater for the children’s multilingual needs. They started benefitting from the following programme.

In fact, in 2001, a programme called FLAM (Français Langue Maternelle) has helped “complementary schools” to develop their activities. Their initial target was to offer French families living away from London real French language learning and cultural sensitivity. In most cases these French complementary schools have taken place thanks

to a couple of French enthusiastic mothers. In 2008, this programme financially contributed to 22 “petites écoles” in the UK.

Apart from financial challenges, the school has also to face a variety of difficulties as the children have various language needs. Therefore, funds are also required to establish programmes and to prepare graded books that can be suitable for multilingual children, who, often, have parents from mixed backgrounds.

### *Selection of Participants and Site*

I selected one French mother (who is also one of the headmistresses of the school) with a British partner who sends her children to an English mainstream school during the week and to a French complementary school on Saturdays as she represents a sample of the type of participants I will interview next academic year during the data collection phase. I decided to carry out the interview with her because of personal interest, proximity and convenience. I talked to her about my trial study regarding an interview about multilingualism and French language learning in the United Kingdom. She immediately supported me by suggested that she could contact me later on to find the most suitable time for the interview. She took my phone number and contacted me three weeks later. I suggested different places and she chose to come to my place.

### *Data Collection Tool*

- *Interview*

On Friday 30 March 2012 at 3:30, I interviewed this French mother who had three children, a ten year-old daughter and two sons, one is seven and the other is nearly six. The interview lasted forty-five minutes. Its aim was to discover a French parent’s

perspectives and beliefs on her children's French language use as well as elicit some of her insight into the place of French language in the mainstream school.

### *Reflection on the Trial Methodology*

In this section, I will discuss how the trial methodology taught me the ways to set up an interview schedule with a list of questions that had to be thought of carefully a while before the interview. I devised my questions in relation to my research question: (see Appendicesx three for the interview schedule and the three different steps that show the learning process of my interview skills)

### **What social forces influence my multilingual learners' home French language maintenance?**

As my research question encompasses different institutions such as home, schools and the wider community, I decided to write a list of questions under these three categories. Then, I learnt that the questions had to follow a certain sequence and that I needed to order my questions from the most general to the most specific. I also had to work on the technicality of the questions as I had to bear in mind the type of interviewees to whom I would address and I had to make sure that the questions were phrased in a way that did not influence the interviewee in one direction or another. The aim was to obtain responses that were as close to reality as possible by giving the interviewee the choice of the place, the language (French or English) and the time. In the main study, I will use observation and interviews because an interview following an observation proves useful in terms of clarifying information and gives opportunity for the researcher to probe for the motives behind actions. I will also use document review as this would provide a

value tool in knowing the participants' progress and government's provision for foreign language learning.

In the course of the trial methodology, I came to understand that I should write notes soon after the end of the interview in order to pave the way to the analysis phase in further stages of the study. I also realise the importance of breaking the ice with the interviewee at the beginning of the interview in order to set a proper atmosphere and elicit relevant answers to my questions. I believe that the semi-structure interview should be well rehearsed before the actual exercise since the interview should flow from one question to another taking into consideration the answers given. I audio taped the whole interview and transcribed it soon after it; therefore, I could somehow live the experience of my participant as it is a preliminary phase when I move to analysis. The interview has also helped me to understand the family's linguistic priorities and beliefs as well as the family relationships and background which are substantial points in comprehending the child's general position and achievement. In addition, this trial has taught me that one powerful tool like interviewing needs to be completed by other standpoints from other members of the family as well as other educators around the child under study completed by some observation and document review in order to validate my data.



# University of Leeds

**Parents' Concern about Languages and Cultures in the UK**

**December Booklet**

**Remarks Taken from School/ Home/Wider Community**

▶

- Votre support dans ma recherche m'est tres precieux. Je prie pour que vous trouvez satisfaction dans tout ce que vous entreprenez. J'aimerais ajouter la participation de votre fils ou fille c'est a dire que vous pourriez peut-etre lui demander de vous narrer un evenement significatif qui leur est arrive en tant que bilingue lors de l'apprentissage du francais.
- Mots cles: regularite (au moins une fois par semaine ou si possible juste après que l'événement prend place (pour plus de fiabilité)/ personnel (chaque entrée doit être suivie du nom de la personne qui a écrit le message(pere/mere/soeur/frere/grand-parents/

**Date: 01/12/2012**

## **Appendix Three Example of a School Report**

### **Form Teacher Report**

Dahlia has a positive attitude towards learning and sets an excellent example with her behaviour. She has enjoyed all aspects of the curriculum and played an active role in school life. Dahlia has attended a variety of sports clubs as well as attending Handball Group and Samba. She is always helpful and willing to undertake jobs around the classroom. She is a quiet member of the class, who has a considerate and thoughtful nature. Dahlia relates very well with adults but it would be lovely to see her socialise more with her peers. Her good-natured and helpful disposition has been an asset to the class. I am sure that the challenge of a year six curriculum will inspire Dahlia to realise her full potential. She has had a very prosperous year and should be proud of all that she has achieved both personally and academically.

### **Comment from Head of Junior School**

A super set of reports. Well done.

### **PE & Games Report**

Dahlia has worked with enthusiasm and interest this year. Her confidence has grown markedly and she is beginning to show that she has some ability in this subject.

She has the potential to be a good team netball player. The improvement in her play this season has been impressive. She covers the court well and feeds excellent balls into the circle. Her movement with the ball in hockey has been equally good and her knowledge of basic positioning has increased. Her gymnastics work was very pleasing indeed. She is a neat performer who knows how to use extension in her body to improve the quality of her sequences.

She has made good progress in swimming although she is still unhappy putting her face in the water.

Her timing in breaststroke is much improved and her back crawl just needs a faster leg kick. A good year's work! Well done!

### **ICT Report**

Dahlia has made pleasing progress over the year and has worked with quiet confidence in ICT lessons. She makes a prompt start to activities; navigating the school system and software programmes with increasing confidence. Dahlia is always keen to produce work of a high standard but sometimes needs reassurance that she is clear about the task. She has experimented with data loggers; reading the display easily, answering questions on graphs displayed on screen and using data to support arguments. In our 'Graphical Modelling' unit, Dahlia used tools in Word and Dazzle to create shapes and

used the grouping tool to design a classroom plan. Her Photo story presentation was well presented with a wide range of effects and transitions. In Excel, Dahlia has completed tasks using spread sheets quickly. In independent work, she demonstrated she could format cells and use formulae she had practised. Well done, Dahlia!

### **Music Report**

Dahlia is a delight to teach. She has taken a quiet interest in music this year and has produced some excellent work such as her work on Drunken Sailor and Country Dance. Dahlia takes an active part in whole class singing and has enjoyed rehearsing World War II songs as well as the many songs for the Harvest and Christmas productions. Dahlia enjoys working on both individual and paired tasks and she is confident when categorising orchestral instruments. She has produced good work on our study of form, in particular, her short ternary form composition. Dahlia recently performed Hurt with a backing track to the class as part of the House Music Competition. This was a good performance and her pitching of the notes was excellent throughout the song. Well done.

### **Geography Report**

Dahlia shows a very good understanding of the processes active within the Earth, and the movement of surface plates. She presents her work very well, and has an interested, intelligent approach. She has good geographical knowledge to help her understand world problems, but approach. She has good geographical knowledge to help her understand world problems, but could contribute more readily to class discussions.

### **History Report**

Dahlia has an evident enthusiasm for learning about history and often asks pertinent questions. She is able to put events in chronological order and understands the impact that the Second World War had on the people involved. Her ability to take notes from different sources is good.

### **Religious Studies Report**

Dahlia's work in RS this year has been very pleasing. She has made valuable and thoughtful contributions in lessons and has appeared to enjoy the topics we have studied. Her written work has been completed very nicely indeed and shows a very good understanding of the material studied.

## **Design Technology Report**

Dahlia is a keen and enthusiastic designer who has generated a good range of ideas and produced clear and detailed designs. She shows attention to detail and has persevered in practical sessions to achieve the result she wants. Dahlia can carry out her work with little teacher intervention but will listen to advice when offered to her. She confidently and honestly evaluates her own work but rarely contributes to class evaluations. A pleasing year's work.

## **French Report**

Dahlia is a capable linguist who participates well in lessons, overcoming her natural shyness to make valuable contributions. Dahlia is beginning to develop the skills to work independently in the classroom, for example by successfully using a bilingual dictionary. She is happy to join in with the rest of the class when necessary and to extend her personal work to take advantage of, and to further develop, her advanced French knowledge and ability. Dahlia also understands how work in French lessons can also contribute to learning in other aspects of school life, which demonstrates a very positive attitude and maturity.

## **Science Report**

Dahlia listens attentively in class and contributes during lesson time. She welcomes the opportunity to take part in investigative work and can make valuable contributions to group activities. Her investigations show an ability to make predictions, record events and draw conclusions although, at times, she needs to be encouraged to explain these scientifically. She tries hard to provide accurate written records and can draw and annotate diagrams effectively. She has enjoyed learning about the earth, solar system, sun and moon and found the mobile planetarium workshop informative and fun. Dahlia welcomed the opportunity to see how chicks hatch from their eggs. She enjoyed observing the chicks and seeing how they change. Dahlia played an active role in Science Week and produced pieces of high quality work. Her ability to explain things scientifically has improved. Her end of topic assessment results demonstrates a secure knowledge and understanding of key facts.

## **Art Report**

Dahlia is a delight to teach. She listens well in class and receives constructive criticism graciously. Dahlia has produced some pleasing work as part of the Aztec Art topic including a beautiful patterned tile print on fabric. Dahlia has seemed to enjoy the recent Still Life topic in which she developed her drawing skills using a variety of mediums including oil pastels, pencil and chalk. I have seen a marked improvement in her work.

## **English Report**

Dahlia reads independently showing good expression and understanding. She has an affinity with books and enjoys silent reading. Dahlia can talk about what she has read, showing a depth of understanding. Dahlia has a lively writing style and her work is often very imaginative. She has shown an interest in words and their meanings. Dahlia must read her work through to check that the grammar and punctuation make sense. She should edit and improve her work where necessary. Dahlia has tried hard to achieve her targets and will take on board advice that she is given. Her handwriting has improved over the year and her letter formation is much more consistent. Dahlia is beginning to participate more during discussions and can express her point of view clearly, often making perceptive comments. Her results are very creditable and demonstrate that she has made good progress in all areas of this subject.

## **Mathematics Report**

Dahlia enjoys working in all areas of Maths and shows good application. She has made good progress throughout the year and as a result was a welcome addition to my Maths set this term. Whilst in my group she has not found all concepts easy to assimilate and retain but works hard to gain mathematical understanding and skills. She asks for help readily and benefits from individual explanations. As her confidence has grown, so has her ability to tackle new work. She is a capable mathematician and must have more faith in her ability. She works steadily and always strives to produce her best. She is making good attempts to apply her maths knowledge to problem solving and has gained a number of mental strategies. She has made excellent progress this year and achieved a very satisfactory end of year assessment result. Keep up the good work in Year 6.

## Appendix Four: Interview Schedule

### Steps in elaborating the semi-structured interviews

#### Step 1: Questions in Relation to The mainstream School:

- Does the teaching program help the child in both languages?
- What about the support he/she is given during class or exam time?
- What support do you receive as a parent from the school?
- What about the school ethos? Does it accommodate your language?
- What opportunities does the school offer to your child to get better outcomes?
- What is your school's policy/practice on helping children to fit in the school and to have a sense of belonging?
- What experiences at school can promote your child's language learning?
- What kind of relationship does your child have with her/his teacher? In the French school/in the English school?
- According to your knowledge, how does the teacher approach your child? Does she show concern about your child?
- How helpful is she/he with your child?
- What are your views about schools promoting multilingualism?
- What support have you had when your child encountered difficulties?
- What services does the school have to support your child's acquisition of basic additional language vocabulary for communication?

- “Every child matters”: do you think it is a statement that is implemented in your child’s schools?

**Complementary School:**

- What is your child’s experience in the complementary school?
- Do you see him/her happy, stressed or simply neutral when it comes to language learning?
- What problems does your child face in language learning?
- How and when does the family happen to be around?
- What support does he/she have in learning French/English?

**Home:**

- What support do you give your child?
- Who is more involved in the child’s bringing up?
- What language do you use with your child?
- Who does your child interact mostly in the house?
- What language do you use between husband and wife?
- Tell me about your family circumstances, cultural and educational background?
- What opportunities to learn languages do you offer your child at home?
- What are your challenges as a multilingual mother in the United Kingdom?
- What kind of relationship does he or she have with the rest of the family abroad and inside the country?

### **General Questions:**

- Are you monolingual or multilingual?
- What are your plans for the future regarding languages?
- Tell me about your experience as a multilingual in the UK and back home?
- What are the differences in the experiences of language learning of the different family members?
- For what purposes does your child use other languages than English?
- What would promote better language learning for your child? (your needs and your child's needs)
- How satisfied are you with your child's language learning?
- What are your opinions about government policy regarding multilingualism in the United Kingdom?
- Does your child like to speak one language more than another? Why?
- Which one he/she performs better, according to you?
- What factors promote their learning?
- What barriers does your child face in learning?
- What kind of people interacts with your child?  
Foreigners/British/leaders/subordinates
- What language does your child speak with his/her siblings?

- How does your child experience his/her difference?

## **Step 2:**

### **1. Questions regarding mainstream school:**

- What opportunities does the school offer to your child to get better outcomes?
- Does the teaching programme help the child in both languages?
- What about the support he/she is given during class or exam time?
- What are your views about schools promoting multilingualism?
- What about the school ethos? Does it accommodate your language?
- What experiences at school can promote your child's language learning?
- What services does the school have to support your child's acquisition of basic additional language vocabulary for communication?
- What kind of relationship does your child have with her/his teacher? In the French school/in the English school?
- According to your knowledge, how does the teacher approach your child? Does she/he show concern about your child?
- How helpful is she/he with your child?
- What support have you had when your child encountered difficulties?
- What is your school's policy/practice on helping children to fit in the school and to have a sense of belonging?
- "Every child matters": do you think it is a statement that is implemented in your child's school?
- What support do you receive as a parent from the school?

- How does your child learn English?

## **2. Questions regarding the complementary school:**

- What is your child's experience in the complementary school?
- Do you see him/her happy, stressed or simply neutral when it comes to language learning?
- What problems does your child face in French language learning?
- What support does he/she have in learning French?
- How does your child learn French?

## **3. Questions regarding Home?**

- Who is more involved in the child's bringing up?
- How and when does the French extended family happen to be around?
- Who does your child interact mostly in the house?
- What language do you use between husband and wife?
- How does your child learn languages at home?
- What opportunities to learn languages do you offer your child at home?
- What support do you give your child with learning languages?
- What are your challenges as a multilingual mother in the United Kingdom?
- Tell me about your family circumstances, cultural and educational background?
- What are the differences in the experiences of language learning of the different family members?
- What language does your child speak with his/her siblings?

## **4. Questions regarding general issues**

- Are you monolingual or multilingual?

- Tell me about your experience as a multilingual in the UK and back home?
- What are your opinions about government policy regarding multilingualism in the United Kingdom?
- What are your plans for the future regarding languages?
- How does your child learn languages?
- For what purposes does your child use other languages than English?
- Which settings are most helpful to him/her?
- What would promote better language learning for your child? (your needs and your child's needs)
- Does your child like to speak one language more than the other? Why?
- Which one he/she performs better, according to you?
- What kind of relationship does he/she have with the rest of the family abroad and inside the country?
- What kind of people interacts with your child?  
Foreigners/British/leaders/subordinates
- How does your child experience his/her difference with the monolingual learner?
- What barriers does your child face in learning?

### **Step 3:**

#### **1. Breaking the ice: My participant's background**

- Tell me about the languages you can speak/write?

- How long have you been in the United Kingdom?
  - Tell me about your experience as a multilingual or monolingual (be aware of = technicality of the terms) in the UK and back home?
- How many children do you have? Boy(s)? Girl(s)?
- Where were they born in the UK?
- How old is the eldest child? And the youngest? Are they all in school?
- What is the name of the school? and how long have they been in that school?
- How long have they been in the complementary school?
- Tell me about your family background? Educational background? Cultural Background?

## **2. Questions regarding Home?**

### -Learning styles

- How does your child learn languages at home? Spontaneously or initiated (this is an interesting Q as from it I will be able to discern what the parent think “language learning” means) what support do you give your child with learning languages? What opportunities to learn languages do you offer your child at home?

### -People involved

- Who is more involved in the child’s bringing up? In what way? Why is/isn’t your spouse involved?
- How and when does the French extended family happen to be around?
- Who does your child interact mostly in the house? In which language?

## -Language attitude/behaviour

- What language does your child speak with his/her siblings?
- What language do you use between husband and wife? Why?
- What are the differences in the experiences of language learning of the different family members?

### **3. Questions regarding mainstream school:**

What opportunities does the school offer to your child to get better outcomes?

- How does your child benefit from the English school? In what way does the English school help in developing French/English? What about the support he/she is given during class or exam time? What services does the school have to support your child's acquisition of basic additional language vocabulary for communication? (be aware that when you speak about services you may trigger in the person's mind a negative association with SEN). How helpful is she/he with your child? What support have you had when your child encountered difficulties? What is your school's policy/practice on helping children to fit in the school?
- What support do you receive as a parent from the school?
- What are your views about schools promoting multilingualism?
- What about the school ethos? Does it accommodate your language?
- What experiences at school can promote your child's language learning?
- What kind of relationship does your child have with her/his teacher? In the English school? According to your knowledge, how does the teacher approach your child? Tell me about the concern the teacher shows your child?

- How much do you think she feels she belongs to this school?
- “Every child matters”: do you think it is a statement that is implemented in your child’s school? (this is too technical)

#### **4. Questions regarding the complementary school:**

##### -General comments

- Tell me some “stories” about your child and his/her multilingualism and multiculturalism. I remember you told me a story regarding your daughter and her name. It was very interesting to see how she perceives her experience.
- What is your child’s experience in the complementary school?

##### -Feelings and languages

- How would you see him/her while learning language? Happy, stressed (self-conscious) or simply neutral?

##### -Challenges

- What problems does your child face in French language learning? Why do you think?

##### -Support supplied

- What support does he/she have in learning French?

##### -Learning styles

- How does your child learn French?

## 5. Questions regarding general issues

- What are your opinions about government policy regarding multilingualism in the United Kingdom? (too technical)

### -Purpose

- For what purposes does your child use other languages than English?

### -Setting

- Which settings are most helpful to him/her?

### -Ways to improve?

- What would promote better language learning for your child? (your needs and your child's needs)

### -preferences

- Does your child like to speak one language more than the other?  
Why?

### Performance

- Which one he/she performs better, according to you?

### Relationship

- What kind of relationship does he/she have with the rest of the family abroad and inside the country?
- What kind of people interacts with your child? Family members/classmates/friends...

### -Challenges

- Which challenges do you face as a multilingual mother? What barriers does your child face in learning? How does your child experience his/her difference with the monolingual learner?

### -Future plans

- What are your plans for the future regarding languages?

## Appendix Five

### Interview Schedule for the main study: semi-structured interview

- **Macrosystem:**

This system contains the attitudes, values, policy, ideologies of a particular culture

-Society/Media:

Does English/French society value childhood language learning?

Is society as a whole working to address issues of class and race disparities in opportunities to learn?

What does the society do to support activities that undermine learning?

How do you think society values language learning for all children?

-Policies:

What kinds of policies have been implemented to involve families in language learning?

- **Exosystem:**

It relates to the wider community, neighbours, family friends, workplaces, social welfare services...

-Community:

How is learning valued and encouraged in the community?

How does the community provide opportunities for youth to be involved in learning?

Does the community offer opportunities for youth to take leadership?

Is there quality accessible out of school time opportunities?

Does the community offer parent education opportunities?

-Neighbourhood:

Does the child have relationships with other caring adults?

Are there neighbours/adults friends who are or can be mentors/friends for the child?

-Extended family:

Are grand-parents involved in the child's life?

How and when does the French extended family happen to be around?

- **Mesosystem**

The connection between the child, home, schools, peers, worship centres and the childcare environment

Does **school** encourage involvement of **parents** in and out of school?

Does the **school** recognize the individual learning needs of the **child**?

Are **community** volunteers used to enhance the **child**'s learning?

Are **parents**' activities involved in child's **school** or **child care**?

- **Microsystem**

The environment where the child lives.

**Schools:**

Are **schools** culturally aware and sensitive?

Does the **school** (or district) encourage (and pay for and reward) professional development for teachers?

Is there a safe, orderly and welcoming climate in the **school**?

Are there high expectations and sources of support for all students?

Do human service agencies (health service) take a holistic/ecological approach when they work with children and families?

Do service agencies involve families as partners?

Are physical and mental health screening and related services available for all children?

Do service agencies provide parent education/skill development?

**Faith community:**

Does faith community support public education?

Does faith community value education for all children?

Does faith community provide learning opportunities for kids, parents and kids and parents together?

Does faith communities value learning equally for boys and girls?

Do child care providers in the community understand their role in children's learning and development?

**Child care:**

Do child care providers in the community understand their role in children's learning and development?

**Family situation:**

Are parents or guardians physically and/or emotionally present in the child's life?

Is there sufficient household income to meet basic needs? (Socioeconomic status)

Is the physical environment stable, safe, comfortable?

Is the emotional environment supportive or stressful?

Do children have a place to study?

Do the parents have a positive healthy relationship whether they are together or apart?

**Parents/home:**

- (General/biographical questions)

Tell me about the languages you can speak/write

How long have you been in the United Kingdom?

Tell me about your experience as a multilingual or monolingual in the UK and back home?

How many children do you have? Boys/Girls?

Where were they born?

How old is the eldest child? How old is the youngest? Are they all in school?

What is the name of the school? How long have they been in that school? How long have they been in the complementary school?

How long have they been in the complementary school(s)?

Tell me about your family background? Educational background? Cultural background?

- (Questions regarding home/learning styles)

How does your child learn languages at home? (Spontaneously or initiated) What support do you give your child with learning languages?

What opportunities to learn languages do you offer your child at home?

-People involved in language acquisition:

Who is more involved in the child's bringing up? In what way? Why is/isn't your spouse involved?

Who does your child interact mostly in the house? In which language?

-Language attitude/behavior

What language does your child speak with his/her siblings?

What language do you use between husband and wife? Why?

What are the differences in the experiences of language learning of the different family members?

- (Questions regarding mainstream school)

What opportunities does the school offer to your child to get better outcomes?

How does your child benefit from the English school? In what way does the English school help in developing French/English? What about the support he/she is given during class or exam time? What services does the school have to support your child's acquisition of basic additional language vocabulary for communication? (Be aware that when you speak about services you may trigger in the person's mind a negative

association with SEN). How helpful is she/he with your child? What support have you had when your child encountered difficulties? What is your school's policy/practice on helping children to fit in the school?

What support do you receive as a parent from the school?

What are your views about schools promoting multilingualism?

What about the school ethos? Does it accommodate your language?

What experiences at school can promote your child's language learning?

What kind of relationship does your child have with her/his teacher? In the English school? According to your knowledge, how does the teacher approach your child? Tell me about the concern the teacher shows your child?

How much do you think she feels she belongs to this school?

"Every child matters": do you think it is a statement that is implemented in your child's school? (This is too technical)

- (Questions regarding the complementary school)

-General comments

Tell me some "stories" about your child and his/her multilingualism and multiculturalism. For e.g. I remember you told me a story regarding your daughter and her name. It was very interesting to see how she perceives her experience.

What is your child's experience in the complementary school?

-Feelings and languages

How would you see him/her while learning language? Happy, stressed (self-conscious) or simply neutral?

-Challenges

What problems does your child face in French language learning? Why do you think so?

-Support supplied

What support does he/she have in learning French?

-Learning styles

How does your child learn French?

- (Questions regarding general issues)

What are your opinions about government policy regarding multilingualism in the United Kingdom? (Too technical)

-Purpose

For what purposes does your child use other languages than English?

-Setting

Which settings are most helpful to him/her?

-Ways to improve?

What would promote better language learning for your child? (Your needs and your child's needs)

-preferences

Does your child like to speak one language more than the other? Why?

-Performance

Which one he/she performs better, according to you?

-Relationship

What kind of relationship does he/she have with the rest of the family abroad and inside the country?

What kind of people interacts with your child? Family members/classmates/friends...

-Challenges

Which challenges do you face as a multilingual mother? What barriers does your child face in learning? How does your child experience his/her difference with the monolingual learner?

-Future plans

What are your plans for the future regarding languages?

## Appendix Six Ethical Approval

Performance, Governance and Operations

Research & Innovation Service

Charles Thackrah Building

101 Clarendon Road

Leeds LS2 9LJ Tel: 0113 343 4873

Email: [j.m.blaikie@leeds.ac.uk](mailto:j.m.blaikie@leeds.ac.uk)



**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

Valerie Nave

School of Education

University of Leeds

Leeds, LS2 9JT

### **AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee**

#### **University of Leeds**

20 May 2017

Dear Valerie

**Title of study:** **Exploring the Social Factors that Support or Impede  
Multilingual Children's Language Learning: Six Case Studies**

**Ethics ref:** **AREA 11-136 response 2**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a

favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

<i>Document</i>	<i>Version</i>	<i>Date</i>
AREA 11-136response2.pdf	1	25/05/12

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at [www.leeds.ac.uk/ethics](http://www.leeds.ac.uk/ethics).

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited.

Yours sincerely,

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator

Research & Innovation Service

On behalf of Prof Anthea Hucklesby

Chair, AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

## **Appendix Seven: Information Sheet for Participants and Actors**

### **A. for Parents**

Research project: Exploring multilingual children's language learning in a monolingual schooling system

This sheet will be read together in a meeting that I will organize around mid-September with the main participants' parents 2012.

I wish to invite you to take part in this research project. Could you, please, take time to read the following information to help you decide if you wish to take part? If you have any questions, please get in touch (my details are at the bottom of this information sheet)

#### **What is the purpose of the project?**

The purpose of my project is to engage in a study of a variety of social relations (child-parent, child-sibling, child-grand-parent, child-peer, child-teacher; child-head teacher...) to get an understanding of how 9-10 year old children (who were born in 2002-2003) live their multilingualism and multiculturalism in the United Kingdom. I am focusing on the socio-political factors that support or impede children's language learning in a multilingual context. I am doing this research with the intention to obtain a PhD. It is a four month case study; I want to get data from your child's classroom (CM1) from October 2012 to April 2013.

**Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen because you and your child are interested in the French Complementary School. My main criterion for selecting children who can speak English and French was to have a range of children with parents from different backgrounds who are multilingual and multicultural and are about 9-10 year-old. (Since few studies have been conducted on children around that age).

**What will happen if I agree to take part?**

If you agree to take part, I will ask you to be interviewed in October, December 2012, February and April 2013 following the handing in of the diary and the home visit in a place and time of your choice, to keep a diary of significant events (once a month) during the four month period of research, for your child to be observed, interviewed, photographed, possibly audio taped or even videotaped once a month during the four months. I will keep you up to date on my observation and interviews transcripts. I will also ask you the permission to contact your child's mainstream school in order to organise one visit and one interview with the class teacher. In addition, I may ask you if there is any possibility to pay you a visit in your own home.

**Will I be recorded, and how will the recordings be used?**

With your permission, I will record the interview so that I will have a good record of what you have said. I will be the only person to listen to the recording, and I will transcribe it for doing my data analysis. I will change all the names so that no-one else will be able to identify you or your child or

any other member of your surroundings. When my thesis will be over, I will send you a summary of my findings. The recordings will be destroyed at the end of my PhD.

### **Who is organising and funding the research?**

This research is being organised by Valerie Nave, a PhD student in the school of Education at Leeds University supervised by Dr. Jean Conteh

If you wish to speak to me, please reply by email or phone me. Here is my email's address and telephone number:

vale\_nave@hotmail.com

Tel: 07429218880

Home number: 0113 2940965

Thank you very much for reading this information sheet. We hope that you will enjoy taking part in this project, and thank you for your time and interest.

### **B. for Others**

Research project: Exploring multilingual children's language learning in a monolingual schooling system

This sheet will be read together with whom it may concern, thus I will be able to clarify any technical words

I wish to invite you to take part in this research project. Could you, please, take time to read the following information to help you decide if you wish to take part? If you have

any questions, please get in touch (my details are at the bottom of this information sheet)

### **What is the purpose of the project?**

The purpose of my project is to engage in a study of a variety of social relations (child-parent, child-sibling, child-grand-parent, child-peer, child-teacher; child-head teacher...) to get an understanding of how 9-10 year old children (who were born in 2002-2003) live their multilingualism and multiculturalism in the United Kingdom. I am focusing on the socio-political factors that support or impede children's language learning in a multilingual context. I am doing this research with the intention to obtain a PhD. It is a four month case study; I want to get data from your child's classroom (CM1) from October 2012 to April 2013.

### **Why have I been chosen?**

You have been chosen because you and your child are interested in the French Complementary School. My main criterion for selecting children who can speak English and French was to have a range of children with parents from different backgrounds who are multilingual and multicultural and are about 9-10 year-old. (Since few studies have been conducted on children around that age).

### **What will happen if I agree to take part?**

If you agree to take part, I will ask you to be interviewed after my present observation for 10 to 15 minutes; during the observation, I may take some

photos, videotape, audiotape and write field notes. Attached to the information sheet, there is a consent form that I will kindly ask you to fill in. You will have the full freedom to accept some of my data collection activities and decline others.

**Will I be recorded, and how will the recordings be used?**

With your permission, I will record the interview so that I will have a good record of what you have said. I will be the only person to listen to the recording, and I will transcribe it for doing my data analysis. I will change all the names so that no-one else will be able to identify you or any other member of your surroundings. When my thesis will be over, I will send you a summary of my findings. The recordings will be destroyed at the end of my PhD.

**Who is organising and funding the research?**

This research is being organised by Valerie Nave, a PhD student in the school of Education at Leeds University supervised by Dr. Jean Conteh

If you wish to speak to me, please reply by email or phone me. Here is my email's address and telephone number:

[vale\\_nave@hotmail.com](mailto:vale_nave@hotmail.com)

Tel: 07429218880

Home number: 0113 2940965

Thank you very much for reading this information sheet. We hope that you will enjoy taking part in this project, and thank you for your time and interest.

## Appendix Eight: Participant Consent Form for Parents

Title of Research Project: Investigation on the Factors that Support or Impede Multilingual Children's Learning.

Name of Researcher: Valerie Nave

Initial the box if you agree with the statement to the left

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the letter and the information sheet dated 15/09/2012 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
2. I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the principal investigator should my contact details change.
3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. Moreover, I will distribute a mini consent form before each activity.

4. to give you the freedom to accept or reject any research tool. This will consist of a list of tools such as

- observation
- interview
- photographs
- audiotaping
- videotaping

And you will simply have to tick the box with which you are comfortable for you and your child.

Contact Valerie (tel: 07429218880)

5. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I

give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or

identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

However, I would like to inform you that the French complementary school is the only one in Leeds and that some of my data may be recognised by very few people who are familiar with the place.

6. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

7. I agree to give consent for my child to be observed, interviewed and

audio taped once a month from October 2012 to May 2013.

.....

.....

Name of participant

date:

Signature

(or legal representative)

.....  
.....

Lead researcher                      date:                      Signature

To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

Date:                      Name of Applicant: .....

## **Participant Consent Form for outsiders and teachers who will have interactions with my main participants**

Title of Research Project: Investigation on the Factors that Support or Impede

Multilingual Children's Learning.

Name of Researcher: Valerie Nave

Initial the box if you agree with the statement to the left

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the letter and the information sheet dated 15/09/2012 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

2. I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the principal investigator should my contact details change.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. Each time, an activity regarding the research project will take place; you will be given a mini consent form asking whether you could tick the box with which you are comfortable? You have the full freedom to accept or reject any research tool within any activity.

- Observation
- Interview
- Photographs
- Audio taping
- Videotaping

Contact Valerie (tel: 07429218880)

3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised

4. responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research. However, I would like to inform you that the French complementary school is the only one in Leeds and that some of my data may be recognised by very few people who are familiar with the place.
5. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

.....

Name of participant                      date:    Signature

(or legal representative)

.....

.....

Lead researcher                      date:    Signature

To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

Date:    Name of Applicant: .....

## Participant Consent Form for Relatives

Title of Research Project: Investigation on the Factors that Support or Impede Multilingual Children's Learning.

Name of Researcher: Valerie Nave

Initial the box if you agree with the statement to the left

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the letter and the information sheet dated 15/09/2012 explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.
  
2. I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the principal investigator should my contact details change.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences.  In addition, if I do not want to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to refuse.

Could you, please, tick the following boxes only if you are comfortable with the tools used in this project?

- Observation
- Interview
- Photographs
- Audio taping
- Videotaping

And you will simply have to tick the box with which you are comfortable for you and your child.

Contact Valerie (tel: 07429218880)

- 3. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research. However, I would like to inform you that the French complementary school is the only one in Leeds and that some of my data may be recognised by very few people who are familiar with the place.
- 4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.



.....

Name of participant                      date:    Signature  
 (or legal representative)

.....

Lead researcher                      date:    Signature

To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant

Date:    Name of Applicant: .....

## Appendix Nine: Children Consent Form:

Apart from being an assistant in your class, I am also learning to be a researcher. Do you know what it means to be a researcher? Have you ever done research yourself? It is very captivating as you learn loads of information about previous research and get in touch with many people. One of those people is YOU. Because you are “the best sources of information about [yourself]” I am very keen on knowing your ideas about my subject. In fact, I am interested in understanding how children learn.

My name is .....and I am a pupil from .....

- I would really like to hear about how you would describe yourself and what other people might say about you. Who am I? /J’aimerais vraiment que tu me dises comment tu te décrirais et comment les autres te voient.



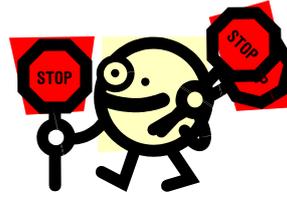


-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

- Our talk would be private. I will not tell your teachers or your family what you say. /Notre conversation sera privée. Ton professeur ainsi que ta famille ne seront rien de tout ce que tu vas me dire.



- You can ask for the interview to stop at any time. It will take no longer than 10 to 15 minutes. / Tu as tout le droit de me demander d'arrêter la conversation a tout moment. Cet entretien ne prendra pas plus de 10 a 15 minutes.



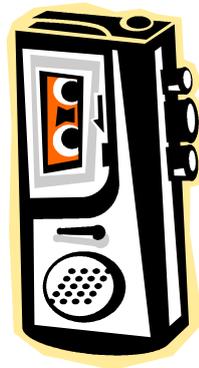
- If you would like to take part in my research activities, I would be very grateful if you could sign the attached form. For each research activity, I will ask you to tick the suitable square only if you wish to participate/Si tu veux bien participer à mes activités de recherché, je te serais très reconnaissante de bien vouloir signer le formulaire au bas de la page suivante. Pour chaque activité (observation et interview) de recherche, je te demanderai de cocher la case qui te convient.



- Thank you for taking the time to answer my questions and for your help/Merci beaucoup pour toutes tes reponses qui se sont averees tres utiles.



- I understand that the interview will be recorded/je comprends que la conversation sera enregistrée.



If you understand the statements above, you now need to decide whether you would like to take part in the project. Anyway, as soon as you feel that this project somehow bothers you because you do not understand what I am trying to do, do not hesitate at all, ask as many questions as you want, I'll be here to answer them. /Maintenant que tu connais un peu mieux mon projet, tu peux me dire si tu es intéressé (e) à y participer. De toute façon, dès que tu sens que ce projet te dérange un peu parce que tu ne comprends pas bien ce que je suis en train de faire, n'hésite pas une minute, pose autant de questions que tu veux. Je serai là pour y répondre.

- Please put a circle round No or Yes/Entoure le oui OU le non en fonction de tes souhaits.



No



Yes

Signed/signature:.....

Please print your name: écris ton nom, s'il te plaît:.....

Please write today's date/écris s'il te plaît la date d'aujourd'hui: .....

## Appendix Ten: Data Itinerary

<b>Date/Time</b>	<b>Data Collection Activity</b>	<b>Setting</b>	<b>Comment</b>	<b>Analysis</b>
13/10/2012 10:00-12:30	<b>Observation:</b> 2 hours	Complementary School	Field notes recorded/familiarisation	
20/10/2012 8:00-8:30	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Interview</b> with Dahlia: 30 min	Complementary School	Familiarisation with participant	×
20/10/2012 10:30-10:50	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Interview</b> with Oscar: 20 min	Complementary School	Familiarisation with participant	×
20/10/2012 10:50-11:15	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Interview</b> with Gabriel: 25 min	Complementary School	Familiarisation with participant	×
20/10/2012 11:30-11:56	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Interview</b> with Frank: 26 min	Complementary School	Familiarisation with participant	
20/10/2012 12:00-12:15	<b>1<sup>st</sup> Interview</b> with Cécile: 15min	Complementary School	Familiarisation with participant	
24/11/2012 11:15-11:30	<b>1<sup>st</sup> interview</b> with Christine: 15 min	Complementary School	Familiarisation with Complementary School teacher	×
27/11/2012 4:00-5:00	<b>1<sup>st</sup> interview</b> with Agnès (and John's	In their home 312	Familiarisation with Oscar's family	×

	intervention at times)			
11/12/2012 5:00-5:50	<b>1<sup>st</sup> interview</b> with Suzanne: 50 min	In her home	Familiarisation with Cecile's family	
19/12/2012 5:00-5:41	<b>1<sup>st</sup> interview</b> with Nicole: 41 min	In her home	Familiarisation with Frank's family	
18/01/2013 9:00-9:30	<b>1<sup>st</sup> interview</b> with Marwan: 30 min	In his home	Familiarisation with Dahlia's family/researcher's home	×
18/01/2013 5:00-6:00	<b>1<sup>st</sup> interview</b> with Dominique: 1 hour	In her home	Familiarisation with Gabriel's family	×
02/02/2013 10:00-12:30	<b>Observation:</b> 2 hours	Complementary School: classroom, corridor and playground	Field notes recorded: Capture the participants' and actor's attitudes towards French language lesson	
09/02/2013 8:30-9:00	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> interview</b> with Dahlia: 30 min	In her home	Capture his daily routine in regards to the French language	×
09/02/2013 10:30-11:00	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> interview</b> with Frank: 30 min	Complementary School	Capture his daily routine in regards to the French language	
09/02/2013	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> interview</b> with Gabriel:	Complementary	Capture his daily routine in regards to the French	×

11:40-12:10	30 min	School	language	
09/02/2013 12:10-12:30	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> interview</b> with Oscar: 20 min	Complementary School	Capture his daily routine in regards to the French language	×
02/03/2013 12:20-12:30	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> interview</b> with Cecile: 10 min	Complementary School	Capture his daily routine in regards to the French language	
03/03/2013 14:15-14:45	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interview</b> with Christine: 30 min	In her home	Capture her perspectives on her multilingual pupils/participants	×
19/04/2013 18:00-18:50	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interview</b> with Suzanne: 50 min	On skype	Clarify previous misunderstanding on observation, diary, interviews + understanding perspectives on Cecile's mainstream school	
27/04/2013 16:00-17:00	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interview</b> with Nicole: 1 hour	In her home	Clarify previous misunderstanding on observation, diary, interviews + understanding perspectives on Frank's mainstream school	
27/04/2013 18:00-19:00	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interview</b> with Marwan: 1 hour	In his home	Clarify previous misunderstanding on observation, diary, interviews + understanding perspectives on Dahlia's mainstream	×

			school	
16/05/2013 18:00- 19:00	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interview</b> with Dominique: 1 hour	In her home	Clarify previous misunderstanding on observation, diary, interviews + understanding perspectives on Gabriel's mainstream school	×
02/06/2013 9:00-10:15	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> Interview</b> with Agnes:1:30 hour	On Skype	Clarify previous misunderstanding on observation, diary, interviews + understanding perspectives on Gabriel's mainstream school	×
22/06/2013 10:30- 11:06	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Interview</b> with Oscar: 36 mn		Reflection on positive/negative experiences when it was really an advantage/disadvantage to be multilingual	×
22/06/2013 11:30- 11:57	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Interview</b> with Gabriel: 27mn		Reflection on positive/negative experiences when it was really an advantage/disadvantage to be multilingual	×
30/06/2013	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> Interview</b> with Dahlia		Reflection on positive/negative experiences when it was really an advantage/disadvantage to be multilingual	×

<p>28/06/2013</p> <p>10:00-11:00</p> <p>15:15-15:45</p>	<p><b>Observation</b> followed by an <b>interview</b> with the Year 5 class teacher: 1 hour/30 mn</p>	<p>Dahlia's Mainstream School</p>	<p>Observation of a mathematics lesson (interaction, negotiation, teacher led classroom or pupils led classroom, kind of talk/interview with Mrs Smith</p> <p>Interview designed to capture an overview of Dahlia's multilingual experience in the mainstream school as well as the teacher's perspective on multilingualism and her multilingual pupils.</p>	
<p>26/09/2013</p>	<p><b>Interview</b> with Mrs Beaker, SEN teacher</p>	<p>Dahlia's Mainstream School</p>	<p>This one time interview supplemented the early interview I had with Mrs Smith as it was kindly offered by the head master.</p> <p>Capture Mrs Beaker (who covered EAL as well)'s standpoint on multilingualism and multilingual children in the school.</p>	<p>×</p>
<p>02/07/2013</p> <p>11:00-12:00</p> <p>12:15-12:45</p>	<p><b>Observation:</b> followed by an <b>interview</b> with the Year 5 class teacher: 1 hour/30mn</p>	<p>Gabriel's Mainstream School</p>	<p>Observation of a mathematics lesson. (interaction, negotiation, teacher led classroom or pupils led classroom, kind of talk/interview with Mrs Pelan</p> <p>Interview designed to capture an overview of Gabriel's multilingual experience in the</p>	

			mainstream school as well as the teacher's perspective on multilingualism and her multilingual pupils.	
11/10/2013 9:30-10:00  11:00-12:00	<b>Interview</b> with Mrs. Allerton, Cecile's Year 5 class teacher  Followed by classroom <b>observation:</b> 30mn/1hour	Mainstream School	This one time interview with Mrs Allerton was designed to capture an overall view of Cecile's multilingual experience in her mainstream school.	
11/10/2013  10:00-10:30	<b>Interview</b> with Mrs Bentley (SENCO specialist): 30 mn	Mainstream School	This one time interview supplemented the early interview I had with Mrs Allerton.  Capture Mrs Bentley (who covered EAL as well)'s standpoint on multilingualism and multilingual children in the school.	
10/2012-06/2013  10/2012-03/2013	<b>Fieldnotes</b>  <b>Diaries</b>  Dahlia: 2 diaries  Agnès: 3 diaries  Nicole: 2 diaries		My fieldnotes encompass diaries, conversations, phone calls, emails with parents and teachers, photographs, videos (3 videos) and classroom observations notes.  These diaries were written by mothers who narrated events in relation to home	

			language and culture.	
			Total:	<b>Analysis of 18 interviews</b>

## Appendix Eleven: An Example of Data Collection: an Interview with Oscar's Parents

**With Agnes and John in a village near Pontefract (Home Visit: 27<sup>th</sup> November 2012)**

**A: Agnes**

**J: John**

**V: Valerie**

### Interviews with Parents:

#### 1. General Questions:

**Can you, please, tell me about yourself, particularly in terms of your experience as a mother/father of multilingual children? (The languages you can speak/write? /how long have you been in the UK? /Tell me about your experience as a multilingual or monolingual in the UK and back home? How many children do you have? Where were they born? How old is the eldest child? How old is the youngest? Are they all at school? What is the name of the school? How long have they been in that school? How long have they been in the complementary school? Tell me about your family background, your educational background and cultural background?**

**A:** I have been in the UK for 18 years. *It's always been very important to me that my children would speak two languages* and I would go as far as saying that I realised a few years ago that it was actually what drove me to come to England. I believe as a teenager I was influenced by an English lady, an English family in France because my mother is a child minder. And *she was looking after the child of an English family in France* and this child could obviously speak English because she spoke English at home with her parents and also French which she spoke at my house with my mum and other children. So I only realise that quite recently. I think this family was a big influence. And When I was studying in France I was given the opportunity to go and further my studies in England. And I decided to do that. I didn't want to go back to France. And I think I purposely was looking to meet an English man and start a family because I wanted to copy what I had seen, I think

**2. V: How old were you when you saw this?**

**A:** I was at the age when you get influenced. I was probably 15, 16, or 17. I was quite close to that family because I did babysitting for them. And also I did a work placement. So I was a bit older. I was still in contact with them when I did at polytechniques. I did a work placement in the company where this English lady worked. I had to speak English there. You have your first child who is 10 and the other two other children are six, they were six in July. *And we chose all the names to be easy to say in French and in English.*

**3. V: OK. Very interesting. How long have they been in the complementary school? Are they all in the same mainstream school?**

**A:** Yes, they all go to the same local school here in the village.

**4. V: and the complementary school?**

**A:** They have been going to the complementary school since the beginning when they could start. *Oscar was 4 that is when he started going.* Thomas and Alice started at 3 1/2 or something like that.

**5. V: OK. You have told me a bit about your educational background. You went to Uni. in France.**

**A:** I went to Polytechniques: IUT in France in Burgundy for 2 years. I studied logistics and at the end of it, some people from the University of Huddersfield, in England came to visit us and they said that there had so many places for students who would be interested in doing a BSc so I was very interested in that and then I stayed.

**6. V: then you got married**

**A:** I did not get married straight away. First of all, I got a job. And then I met John in the first job when we were doing a diploma with the Open University. We got married after a few years.

**7. V: So when you had Oscar, were you here?**

**A:** We were in the South. Oscar was born in Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire; south of Oxford between London and Oxford.

**8. V: How old was he when you came here?**

**A:** He was 10 months when we came to this house. He took his first steps in this house, in the garden. Practically all his life, he has been in this house.

**9. V: Do you feel you are conveying the French culture? I can understand that the French language is important to you. What about the culture, is it something you try to celebrate at home? Or you give less importance to the French culture?**

**A:** I still give it some importance but over the years, it has lessened because I spent the first 10 years of being with John trying to convince him to go to France and I wanted everything to be like it is in France. Maybe 15 years has been quite a turning point when I started to adopt more the English ways. And when I go back to France now I can get quite annoyed with the way people are. I don't approve of all that is French, but having said that it is still my culture and it is still something that I want to transmit to the children.

**10. V: Mm... But you started questioning it. You started knowing more about your identity. After 15 years you thought that something happened.**

**A:** I have changed by no longer see the world as I used to see it.

**11. V: Do you know what triggered that, do you have an idea?**

**A:** It is just being with John, I guess. He is very gentle. He is just kind of not force me into thinking like he thinks but gradually I have adopted it. He is not forcing me to do it but he lives by it and it seems right to me now. It doesn't seem.

**V: OK. That's very interesting, (laugh)**

**A:** because there is a big big difference, as I am sure there is in all families, between my family and his family background. it is the same in other families (not necessary related to the language 8:41). At first I did reject it, the way his family were.

**V: It is very typical.** It is not necessary; at first I could not understand some of the views they have. There are a lot of prejudice I came to understand it wasn't always said but against Catholics and the French people. That is very English. I could not understand it and I was not aware of it.

**The father steps in:**

**J:** that's very English (9:00) there have basically been a lot of wars in Northern Ireland. It is very much seen as a separate thing. The fact that we were both Christians did not come into it. My family is very liberal, though so they have been really accepting of Catholicism, but not everybody is like that in this country.

**A:** it takes a long time to understand. And also the Catholic Church in France is incredibly moderate compared to some of them here. Not everybody is like that in this country. And also the Catholic Church in France is much more moderate.

The British are terrible like that. When we said we have French children, when they started at the school. The headmaster was kind of like oh you are just like the Pakistani, they manage it,

and we only want to know about the English. It is an attitude. What they don't understand is the richness of culture the children have but the teacher doesn't have any concept of that at all (14:15). Some of them speak French for their job, but they have not actual concept of culture, they are really in lack of it. They just don't have it.

**V: It is very interesting.**

**12. Please tell me who is more involved in the child's bringing up. In what way? Why is/isn't your spouse involved?**

**A: His dad is much more involved in looking after him at the moment.**

**13. V: So you do the homework in English mainly?**

**J: Because we found that the French words and the language don't work with the school.**

**A: no, because you are at home as well.**

**J: it is very different from a French school, I think.**

**A: Very different; I really struggled at the beginning because there is...**

**J: Do you know, there are many differences in the way they operate. They never hold a child back for a year. They never do that. They will tell you there are some problems and you must go and find some help. In France, they make sure you get the grade, which I think is a very good thing too.**

**A: So John looks after him in that way. It's been like that for how long have you been doing the homework? (Mother addressing the father) When Thomas and Alice were born, I was at home for a year. So then I was looking after the children and John was working. Even when you were working in Wakefield, I was doing the homework, wasn't I? I think it has been like that for the last 18 months. It tends to be in turn but John has always had a big quite a big father role and that really started when Thomas and Alice were born because there were two of them he really had to step in and help. And because he's been unemployed a few times. Every time he has been unemployed, I have been trying to work more. He has been taking the role of taking care of them at home. We have been sort of swapping. It does seem to work best when John does the HW with them.**

**V: Obviously the language help, I suppose. Maybe your strategies.**

**A: He has got some skills in that.** His father was a headmaster for a primary school. When they were babies, I was looking after them mostly. The father steps in: I think with the French homework it is slightly different, isn't it?

**A: with French homework, I tend to help a bit more but I haven't really got the patience. Ahahah! I can do Alice's level, Oscar's level,**

**J: it is too advanced. He can pronounce so much better.**

We are hoping that he goes to a specialist language school next year, you know. He is going to go to secondary school. He needs to step up a bit his French. It is just trying to do something. **It takes so much to make him do anything. I can be there for two hours to try to convince him to do something.**

It takes a lot of effort.

**V: for the teacher.**

**A:** and the parents.

**J:** I've often thought, I have often thought if he has got an idea of doing something else, he goes to the math tutor, if he has got an idea in his head of doing something else and you try to make him do something, he doesn't want to do it. It is like a pre-decision made and then that's it.

It is so frustrating. Everything is negotiable with him. Absolutely everything.

**V: It is the same with Dahlia.**

**A:** but this is torture.

**J:** Even from a baby, he doesn't sleep much.

**A:** he never slept very much. The doctor said they are supposed to cry for half an hour and then they stop and then they go to sleep. Not true. He has a break for 10 mn and then he starts again. He has a little break, a bit tired and then he starts again.

**A:** that's because I was really cuddling him all the time for 10 months and then suddenly I had to go back to work. I realise I had to learn to put him down and get him to sleep.

**J:** Until now he doesn't sleep

### **15. Who does your child interact mostly in the house? In which language?**

**A:** It is about 50/50. It is usually in English but he will switch into French. I am consistent, I always speak to him French but he will switch to French but I do not know why and when there is no reason why it must be emotional or but it is mostly in English

**J:** When they go to playgrounds in France, they will talk to other children, sometimes they speak French and sometimes they speak English, they decide between themselves. There is no rational reason for it.

**A:** Well, the strategy I was hoping to achieve was that the children would speak English to their dad, and speak French to me. I speak French and he speaks English. But what happened is we speak English together, so English is the dominant language in this house. But Oscar was a very late speaker. He didn't speak until he was 3 and half in either language. I was very strict with him because when he was starting to utter a word speaking back to me which was at the time when I was the main carer. If it was in English which it was all the time, I said: 'Non, tu parles en francais a maman', very strict and very...so it actually delayed his speech. Which I feel terrible about and I have learnt from that and I spoke to other people and they said to me what matters is you are consistent why should it matter which language he speaks to you in so I felt I gave in on that and gradually I have given in a lot of things. He wants to have a choice. This is the

crux of the matter with everything, with the negotiating. He wants to have a choice. He doesn't want to be told what to do.

**J:** In France, I speak French, so it is different.

**A:** You speak French to other people. A little bit, Father: I speak French to the children. I do.  
Mother: Alright, Ok, then.

**J:** they are in France and everyone speaks French so they don't really speak English.  
Mother:

**16. What language does your child speak with his siblings?**

**A:** They mainly speak English.

**17. What language do you use between husband and wife? Why?**

**J:** the relationship

**A:** at the beginning, John never spoke any French, whatsoever.

It is just a habit, now it is easier. His level is not going to be as good as my English. It would be a bit of an effort for both of us.

**V: it is not natural, isn't it?**

**A:** No, it wouldn't I think it would be funny for a little while... but you know when you have to discuss serious matters.

**J:** I think I would need to do a lot of learning. That's what it is. And then if I did...

**18. V: You didn't do French A-level or French GCSE.**

**J:** I did at GCSE (27:48). I did not get very far.

What I did do is I worked for Habitat and I had some lessons in business French and furniture French, if you like. That is how it came about. I took a qualification level two bi-tech course.

**19. V: So Had you had some knowledge before you got married?**

**J:** I had something and my father spoke French.

**20. V: Was he fluent?**

**J:** Well, what would you say (looking at his wife)?

**A:** No, I wouldn't say he was fluent. His father was an academic. What he did just to give you an idea, he never ever spoke to me in French. However, when he met my mum and dad he went through the effort of preparing a speech. He said it without reading anything. And it was something he would write not something he would say.

**J:** I had some knowledge of French.

**21. When does Oscar talk to you in French/English? Can you tell me whether he associates a person with a language or a place with a language, for instance? (In relation to for what purposes do you use languages other than English in England?)**

**22. Why do you think Oscar has changed his attitude towards French ('Oscar me parle en francais de plus en plus souvent lorsqu'il s'adresse a moi)? Are there any particular reasons?**

I think it is emotional. I think it is becoming the language French when we are close to each other and we are discussing nice things and when we are discussing things that are more academic, he uses English.

**23. Why do you think Oscar is embarrassed ('il m'a demande de ne pas parler Français a l'école') when you speak French to him?**

**A:** Because he is teased by other children at school, he gets called 'French fry' there is a little bit of bullying going on. The teachers are aware. It started again recently, but last year and the year before it is always the same children but if it is not something has to be done about it. It can escalate and get much much worse. In terms of him, they call him names it is not silent at all, it is young boys they end up fighting (32:05), the teacher has been made aware, we've written a letter. It is always the same children. The teacher has been made aware.

**24. V: Have you spoken to the teacher about it?**

**A:** We approached the teacher last year, informally. Just recently last few weeks I had to put it in writing to the school that it keeps happening. We have to be firmer to say that's not on. It keeps happening. Maybe he helps the teacher at school. He is very much seen as the French boy. He has been very high profile with his school. Mother: yes, he has.

**J:** Something that they have picked on. These boys would exclude him from playing. Nobody wants to play with him. It is quite bad for him.

**25. In the diary, you gave me a clear idea of what you do with your child but did not say much about your husband's attitude?**

**26. Which setting do you think Oscar like the most to practise French?**

**A:** In terms of where he would be and with whom, with his grand-parents I would say, he likes his “papy”, his grand-dad.

He is not a big reader. I do try and encourage him. He does get a magazine, twice a month. More often than not I have to read it to him. I do try to encourage him. He likes to cook with me; that is another opportunity to speak French.

**27. What does he feel when you correct him? How does he respond?**

**A:** I have not noticed anything. I correct him all the time. He does not seem to sink in because he will make the same mistake again. Probably in and out, he ignores me I think because I tell him off so much, that he ignores me.

**28. Do they know what could help him to improve his language?**

**A:** What could help him is to have more contact with children; it’s the peer pressure or the peer influence. It would have to be more visits to France. Because even the children he sees at the French school, they don’t speak French to him. That’s something I have been a bit disappointed about really is that they aren’t very many families who actually speak French on regular basis, I don’t think. That’s the impression I get. I see some parents even some French mums, they would speak to their children in English and they think that miraculously on Saturday morning, they will be able to speak and also even when I have been in the class, the class I am referring here is the class when they start foundation, the children would answer in English the questions. I would have thought the teacher should say no like I did to my child you should reply in French, why should you accept that they reply in English in that setting.

**29. V: Sometimes they fear, they struggle.**

**A:** The very young children there it was just continuous all the time just only in English as a result my children who could speak to me in French were starting speaking English there.

**V: In Oscar’s class, the children speak French all the time; they only occasionally use English when they don’t know the word in French.**

**A:** I am pleased to hear that.

**30. What advantages and disadvantages do you think Oscar has here in the UK as a multilingual child? I think you have a big list ahahah!**

**A:** Well, the disadvantages are that he has being seen as different; he has been bullied at school. So he struggles to make friends. I wouldn’t say that it is purely because of that but I

am sure that there is a role to play because of the village we live in and there aren't many foreigners.

The advantage, we are hoping that it will open doors for him. He has the benefit of knowing about the two cultures as well.

**The following questions were answered in writing as I could not finish the interview. It may need to investigate more to clarify some answers.**

**31. In what way do the mainstream/complementary schools support you with the maintenance of Oscar's mother tongue? In your opinion, is it from the remit of the mainstream teacher to encourage multilingual children to maintain their mother tongue?**

**A:** When I spoke to the school, they don't really help with French. When I request that he assists the teacher in his school .....they will do this.

**J:** English schools will not allow pupils to go back 1 year to help them catch up in the same way as French ones do.

**32. Please, tell me how you support him? How does your child learn languages at home? (spontaneously or initiated) What support do you give your child with learning languages?**

**A:** I speak to him in French. I encourage him to watch TV in French but this is quite occasional. I correct him when he makes mistakes. He receives a magazine in French which he enjoys looking at. He enjoys cooking and speaking in French with me then.

**33. In your opinion, what more could you do to help your child with home language maintenance?**

**A:** This could be another approach such as the use of computer software in French.

**34. When you look back at your child, what would you say he has learnt?**

**A:** He has an extensive vocabulary in both languages and has learnt to translate quickly as well as expressed himself satisfactorily in both languages.

**35. In your view, are there any ways you think the schools could have helped your child more efficiently?**

**A:** They could have provided additional support/extra classes.

**In mainstream, does the teacher give him a chance to say something in French when he does not know the word in English?**

A: I don't believe they do.

**36. Can you tell me if children's home language instruction could be beneficial or detrimental to your child's English language learning/acquisition? In other words, what is your belief regarding the use of home language in England? Do you believe that frequent use of home language slows down or facilitate the acquisition of the English language?**

A: I think it depends on a child's aptitude. Some multilingual children need to concentrate more on their main language (English for my son). This is the case for my son and his sister but not my youngest son who strives.

**37. If you compare monolingual children to multilingual children, do you think that multilingual learners have some more or less opportunity to be more successful than monolingual homologues?**

A: Yes.

**38. What about proficiency in home language contributes or impedes the child's social development?**

A: It usually contributes to it especially in cities but less so in the village we live in. Initially, it generates some interest but it can be a reason for him being called names.

**39. What do you think about the multilingual child's identity development when he can speak an extra language? Do you agree or disagree on the fact that home language maintenance is important for the child's identity development?**

A: It is important to let the child learn about both cultures through regular visits, contacts with cousins, grand-parents, friends and also to keep some little traditions/ways of life. We eat in a French way as the children are offered a snack of biscuits/fruit and a drink after school before we have a family meal later on.

**40. In your opinion, how helpful is it for the child to attend two different schools? Can you think of any other solutions/hope?**

A: It is very helpful in giving him the motivation (peer pressure) to learn another language as he meets other multilingual children.

**41. When does Oscar talk to you in French/English? Can you tell me whether he associates a person with a language or a place with a language, for instance? (For what purposes do you use languages other than English in England?)**

A: When we cook together, when we talk about “when he was a baby”, he sometimes speaks in French as I was the main carer then (mum) when doing the French homework.

**42. Can you tell me a bit more about your village? (Village and school). Why did you choose this particular place?**

A: We moved here when I was relocated for work to another village nearby in South Kirkby. There was a new estate with houses for sales and it seemed to tick all the boxes for a family. The village is a mining village which is deprived as the mine shut around 1984. There is very little immigration.

**43. Could you also tell me a bit more about John’s background? For instance, where he grew up etc...?**

A: He grew up in the .....area. His family was very keen on education. Indeed his father was a headmaster and also his grandmother.

**44. Are there other multilingual children in Oscar’s classroom? School?**

A: There is a boy from Lithuania who arrived to England last year. There is now a boy in year 2 who arrived last month from Switzerland. His mum is English so he already speaks English. There are two Chinese sisters whose parents run the local take-away.

**Here is a table showing how I divided the interview data emphasising the model of ecology, codes/quotes, emerging themes and general comments or links with field notes**

<b>Model of Ecology</b>	<b>Codes/Quotes</b>	<b>Keywords/Emerging themes</b>	<b>General Comments</b>
<b>Strengths of multilingualism</b>			
<b>Microsystem</b> <b>• Family</b>			

<p>-Mother's childhood and educational background</p>	<p>-“My mother was looking after the child of an English family in France”.</p> <p>-“I spent the first 10 years of being with John trying to convince him to go to France and I wanted everything to be like in France.</p> <p>After 15 years, “I started to adopt more the English ways.”</p> <p>-“And when I go back to France now, I can get quite annoyed with the way people are”.(Agnès)</p>	<p>Mother's cultural beliefs and values during her married life.</p>	<p>Phases in cultural adaptation</p> <p>Influenced by the British culture/Social construction</p>
<p>-Father's childhood and educational background</p>	<p>-“he never ever spoke to me in French”; “when he met my mum and dad he went through the effort of preparing a speech. He said it without reading anything. And it was something he would write not something he would say” (mother talking about her father-in-law).</p>	<p>French seen as a subject by Agnes.</p> <p>Father understood that his father could speak French.</p>	<p>I obtained information through chat with the mother on a different occasion.</p> <p>The mother who is multilingual defines multilingualism as a person's skill in speaking fluently at</p>
<p>-Mother and father's</p>			

<p>difference in their conception of multilingualism</p>			<p>least two languages. The fact that the paternal grand-father was an academic and the fact that he memorised a speech in French on Agnes and John's wedding day do not make him fluent in French according to Agnes/<u>In my field notes</u>: the mother said to me that her father-in-law did not want her to speak French to his grand-child for fear of confusing him.</p>
<p>-Family's life/habits/practices/experiences</p>	<p>‘and we chose all the names to be easy to say in French and in English’. (Agnes and John)</p> <p>-‘It is important to let the child learn about both cultures through regular visits, contacts with cousins, grand-parents, friends and also to keep some little traditions/ways of life. We eat in a French way as the children are offered a snack of biscuits/fruit and a drink after school before we have a family meal later on’ (mother)</p>	<p>Belief/attitude/practice</p> <p>Practice that contributes to preserve the French culture adopted by the all family</p>	<p>“Regeneration is in process as a housing overflow for the more expensive areas of <u>Doncaster</u> and Pontefract.</p> <p>In the 1960s the village was in its prime due to the strong mining community and retail outlets such as "<i>Mr Farthings</i>" Chemist and "<i>Mr Kings</i>" news agents” (from Wikipedia).</p>

<p>-Family lives in a village in Yorkshire</p>	<p>-‘Practically all his life, he has been in this house’.</p>	<p>Facts/sense of belonging? Stability</p>	
<p>-Child’s characteristics/behaviours seen by the parents (The way/s he deal with adversity/differences)</p>	<p>-“It takes so much to make him do anything. I can be there for two hours to try to convince him to do something” (Mother).</p> <p>-I’ve often thought if he has got an idea of doing something else, he goes to the math tutor, if he has got an idea in his head of doing something else and you try to make him do something he doesn’t want to do it”. (Father)</p>	<p>Oscar has lived in the present house since he was ten months.</p> <p>Oscar’s attitude/Oscar shows leadership</p>	<p>Oscar does not like to be told what to do. He believes he should decide for himself. (mother and father’s point of view)</p> <p>Parents see the situation as a “torture”.</p>
<p>-Parents’ views on multilingualism</p>	<p>-“He ignores me. I tell him off so much that he ignores me”. (Mother)</p> <p>-‘It’s always been very important to me that my children would speak two languages” (Mother).</p> <p>-‘hoping that it will open doors for him’</p> <p>-‘the strategy I was hoping to achieve was that the</p>	<p>Mother’s attitude towards Oscar/Oscar’s response</p> <p>Mother’s belief towards multilingualism</p> <p>Mother’s Belief</p> <p>Mother’s attitude towards the status</p>	<p>Tone of disappointment/apparently the mother attempted different strategies to bring up a bilingual child who could have communicated in one language with his father and another language with his mother. The mother was interested in my research to understand the</p>

	<p>children would speak English to their dad and French to me'.(Mother)</p> <p>-“the class I am referring here is the class when they start foundation; the children would answer in English the questions. I would have thought the teacher should say no like I</p>	<p>quo because her expectations do not correspond to the actual linguistic outcome.</p> <p>Mother’s beliefs (and background language ideology) take over.</p>	<p>complexity of multilingual children in the UK. Too high expectations? Why would she conceive that a multilingual child should be able to speak his mother tongue according to a predefined standard? Where does this come from?</p> <p>After several interactions with a variety of people, Agnes started giving priority to communication over the choice of languages.</p> <p>Here the mother somehow contradicts herself. Her background of separating the two languages takes over. At some point, she realised that she had to “give in” and prioritise the communication between her and her son (“I feel so bad”, “I was so strict”) whereas she reiterates that the complementary school teacher should not allow children to answer</p>
--	---	---	---

<p>-Parents' support towards multilingualism</p>	<p>did to my child you should reply in French, why should you accept that they reply in English in that setting” (Mother).</p> <p>“He has the benefit of knowing about the two cultures as well”. (Mother)</p> <p>-‘gets a magazine, twice a month’. ‘He likes to cook with me’. (Mother)</p> <p>-‘I speak to him in French. I encourage him to watch TV in French but this is quite occasional. I correct him when he makes mistakes. (Mother)</p> <p>He enjoys cooking and speaks to me in French then’. (Mother)</p> <p>-“This could be another approach such as the use of computer software in French” (Mother)</p> <p>-“that the school provides additional support/ extra classes” (Mother)</p> <p>-‘Oscar was 4 when he started going [to the French school on Saturdays]</p>	<p>Mother’s belief and attitude towards multilingualism</p> <p>Practices</p> <p>Anticipation on how to help her child maintain one of his mother tongues.</p> <p>Mother’s belief about what the school could have provided.</p> <p>Practices</p>	<p>in English.</p> <p>Child regularly exposed to French</p>
--	---	--	---

<p><b>• Other institutions</b></p> <p>-Mainstream School</p> <p>-Complementary school</p>	<p>-“Even the children he sees at the French school, they don’t speak French to him”. (Agnes)</p>	<p>“</p>	<p>-Mainstream school is a Local school in a village in West Yorkshire with a population over 3000. (coal mining community)</p> <p>Agnes does not consider negotiation with teachers or if she does, she does not receive much help.</p> <p>Oscar does not benefit from them (see another interview)</p>
<p><b>Mesosystem:</b></p> <p>• Home and School relationship (meso)</p>	<p>-‘When we said we have French children, when they started at the school. The headmaster was kind of like oh you are just like the Pakistani, they manage it, and we only want to know about the English’. (Father).</p> <p>-‘When I request that he assists the teacher in the school, they will do this”</p>	<p>• Headmaster’s attitude</p> <p>• Teacher’s attitude</p>	<p>Conversation between the parents and the mainstream headmaster. (We only want to know about the child’s English identity. In other words, there is not space for his French identity. Manage yourself</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oscar’s opportunity in school to use French words.</li> <li>• Mother’s change of attitude due to wider community’s influence</li> </ul>	<p>(Agnes).</p> <p>-‘I don’t believe that they do’ (Agnès).</p> <p>-“I spoke to other people and they said to me what matters is you are consistent why should it matter which language he speaks to you in so I felt I gave in on that and gradually I have given in a lot of things” (Mother).</p>	<p>Mother’s belief towards school opportunity for multilingualism</p> <p>Mother’s attitude influenced through socialisation</p>	<p>like the Pakistani do)</p> <p>(Could be an obstacle and be seen very much like the French boy-to be related with other data)</p>
<p><b>Exosystem:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>setting Oscar likes the most to practise French</b></li> </ul>	<p>-‘In terms of where he would be and with whom, with his grand-parents I would say, he likes his “papy”, his grand-dad. (Agnes)</p>	<p>French grand-father’s attitude and practice</p> <p>Caring, warm, and thoughtful?</p>	<p>Grand-dad plays a key role in the child’s life. (evidence: from fieldnotes/Oscar often talks about his maternal grand-father in the complementary school)</p>
<p><b>Macrosystem</b></p>	<p>-“There are a lot of prejudice I came to understand, it wasn’t always said but against Catholics and the French people. That is very English. I could not understand it and I was not</p>	<p>Mother’s evolving belief regarding the target society. Prejudices explained by her</p>	<p>The mother is Catholics and the father is Protestant.</p> <p>-The father refers to a variety of wars in Northern</p>

	<p>aware of it.</p> <p>-‘The fact that we were both Christians did not come into it’.</p> <p>-‘My family is very liberal, though; so they have been accepting of Catholicism, but not everybody is like that in this country.</p>	<p>husband.</p> <p>Father’s Beliefs about the British society.</p>	<p>Ireland/Separation between Catholics and Protestants/Separation reflected in the society.</p>
<p>•Hindrane to multilingua lism</p>			
<p>Microsystem</p> <p>• Family</p> <p>-The father’s important role in supporting Oscar with his homework.</p>	<p>-“It usually contributes to it especially in cities but less so in the village we live in. Initially, it generates some interest but it can be a reason for him being called names”. (Mother)</p> <p>“His dad is much more involved in looking after him at the moment”.</p> <p>-“He does not seem to sink</p>	<p>The village where the family lives is monocultural and monolingual</p> <p>New multilingual children</p> <p>practice</p>	<p>The mother believes that the environment her husband and her had chosen for their children is a disadvantage because Oscar has been seen as different.</p> <p>The mother recognises the father’s skills in supporting children with HW/This means that the child is more exposed to English speaking parent at home.</p> <p>The mother is aware that her</p>

<p>-The mother's attitude towards Oscar's linguistic practice</p>	<p>in because he will make the same mistake again". "He ignores me I think because I tell him off so much, that he ignores me". (Mother)</p> <p>-I was very strict with him [Oscar] because when he was starting to utter a word speaking back to me which was at the time when I was the main carer, if it was in English which it was all the time, I said: "Non, tu parles en français à Maman"(No, you must speak French to Mum) So it actually delayed his speech. (mother)</p> <p>-"What they don't understand is the richness of culture the children have but the teacher doesn't have any concept of that at all". (Father)</p>	<p>Belief, attitude and practice</p> <p>Mother's attitude influenced by her educational system.</p> <p>Father's belief towards the British educational system</p>	<p>strategy is on the face of it not working. Is this attitude compromising his opportunity to express himself in French?</p> <p>It seems that the father draws upon his background (his own father was a head of a primary school and knew some French as an academic. He was not fluent in French) to make sense of the educational system his child experienced.</p>
<p>• Other institutions -Mainstream School</p>	<p>"When I spoke to the school, they don't really help with the French. When I request that he assists the</p>	<p>Mother's attitude</p>	<p>The mother admits that there is no</p>

<p>-peer pressure</p>	<p>teacher in the school, they will do this”. (Mother)</p> <p>-‘Being seen as different’ so he struggles to make friends. (Mother)</p> <p>-‘These boys would exclude him from playing’. ‘Nobody wants to play with him. It is quite bad for him’.</p>	<p>and practice (in interaction with the mainstream school)</p> <p>Mother’s belief</p> <p>Parents’ beliefs towards British village mentality.</p>	<p>space for the home language in the mainstream school although it had offered the position of an assistant. Is this position a positive experience for Oscar?</p> <p>I see some contradiction between the fact that the school listens to the parents by giving the child a role in the French lesson and at the same time this role is an issue to be accepted by some of his classmates. It would have been interesting to observe the teacher and see how he proceeded towards this challenge.</p> <p>This peer pressure could have affected Oscar’s home language performance and self-esteem. The evidence is that he often asked his mother not to speak French in front of English people.</p>
-----------------------	---	---	---

<p>Complementary school</p>	<p>-“The children he sees at the French school do not speak French to him. That’s something I have been a bit disappointed about”. (Agnès)</p> <p>-“they aren’t many families who actually speak French on regular basis, I don’t think”.( Agnès)</p> <p>-“as a result my children who could speak to me in French were starting to speak English there” (Agnès)</p>	<p>Practice/ Mother’s reaction/attitude towards complementary school</p> <p>Practice and belief within the French families met in the French complementary school (Agnès’ point of view).</p> <p>Practice</p>	<p>Lack of tolerance/relation with the place (hardly any foreigners). This seemed to have reduced his social contacts.</p> <p>Mother’s disappointment</p>
<p><b>Mesosystem</b></p>	<p>-“Because we found that the French words and the language don’t work with the school” (John)</p>	<p>Father’s belief</p>	<p>Father aware of the monolingual system giving no space for other languages even though he attempted to negotiate with the school when he first registered his child there. By asking what the school offers for multilingual children, he raised an important</p>

			educational point.
<b>Exosystem</b>	<p>-“no, because you are at home as well” (Mother)</p>	<p>Mother’s objection (no).</p> <p>Believes that due to the fact that the father spends more time than the mother at home, he can support his children with homework.</p>	<p>The fact that the father is redundant offers him more time to supervise his children.</p> <p>Reasons for the father to help his son with homework drawing on English language. This means more exposure to English</p>
	<p>-“John has always had quite a big father role and that really started when Thomas and Alice were born because there were two of them he really had to step in and help and because he’s been unemployed a few times”. “It does seem to work best when John does the homework with them”.</p>	<p>Mother acknowledges that her husband is good at this position. (practice)</p>	<p>Father’s skills related to his background (father: primary school headmaster)</p>
	<p>-“He has got some skills in that”.</p>	<p>Mother’s belief</p>	
<b>Macrosystem</b>	<p>-“There are many differences in the way they operate. They never hold a child back for a year. They never do that. They will tell you there are some problems and you must go and find some help. In France, they make sure you get the grade, which I think is a very good thing too”. (father)</p>	<p>Father’s belief in relation to the French and English educational system</p>	<p>-The father compares the British and French systems. He values the French system as much as the British system. (this is evidenced by his expression: “a very good thing too”</p>
	<p>-“ English schools will not allow pupils to go back one</p>	<p>Mother’s belief</p>	<p>-Supported by the mother but mentioned in a</p>

	<p>year to help them catch up in the same way as French ones do”.</p>	<p>about the English and French educational system</p>	<p>negative tone when she evoked the British system.</p> <p>-John sees the difference between his family who is liberal and most of the rest of the English society. He does not say my country. He clearly wants to show that he does not belong to the majority of the people who believe in the separation.</p> <p>In France, people grow up with the idea that we should not mix up languages. There, the educational system follows the monolingual principle.</p>
--	---	--	---

Appendix Twelve:

**Table Including the Main Research Question with its Sub-Divisions as well as the Place, Time and Tools of Data Collection.**

<u>Research Question</u>	<u>Data Collection</u> <u>Sites/Participants</u>	<u>Data Collection</u> <u>Tools</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Data Analysis</u>
<i>How do families and different schooling contexts shape young children's beliefs and attitudes towards multilingualism?</i>				
<p><u>Here is a list of sub-questions on which I focused at different levels:</u></p> <p><b>A. <u>Macro level</u></b></p> <p>What are the attitudinal and ideological forces of the English/French culture and English/French policies?</p>	-Internet/books from school/school reports from mainstream school	Document Review	July-August 2012	Thematic analysis

	-Complementary and mainstream schools/teacher and pupils/headmistress	Interviews	-October 2012-June 2013	
<b>B. Exo level</b>				
What policies among extended family, neighbours, friends of family, mass media, work, social welfare services and legal services may influence families and thus multilingual children's home language maintenance?	Diaries/parents	Interviews	-October 2012-June 2013 Once every other month  During term time (after observation)  3 times every other month  October, December and March	Thematic analysis

<p><b>C. <u>Meso level</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What are the attitudinal and ideological forces of the home and schools impacting on one another in relation to home language maintenance?</li> </ul>	<p>-Field notes of – the relations between home/schools/ wider community (informal conversations)</p>	<p>-</p>	<p>October 2012-June 2013</p>	<p>Thematic analysis</p>
<p><b>D. <u>Micro level</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How is the <b>family</b> influencing on the child’s home language maintenance?</li> <li>• How is the <b>mainstream school</b> impacting on the multilingual child’s home language maintenance?</li> <li>• How are <b>religious groups</b> around the child influencing home language maintenance?</li> <li>• How are the <b>peers</b> influencing the informant’s home language maintenance?</li> </ul>	<p>-At least one home visit when possible</p> <p>-Another interview with the parents where suitable for them (home and Skype)</p>	<p>Observation and Interview</p>		

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How is the <b>neighbourhood</b> influencing home language maintenance?</li> </ul>	-Mainstream school (one visit)			
<b>E. <u>The Child</u></b>  What are the child's personal characteristics?		-Observation followed by  -Interviews	October 2012-June 2013	Thematic analysis