"You just sat there."

A collaborative research project exploring the identities and agency of bilingual learners within an English speaking secondary school.

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Abstract

This study set out to ensure that the experiences of secondary school students who speak more than one language were listened to and valued. As a monolingual teacher, I felt that my own analysis of such students' lived lives would be lacking. Therefore this study was undertaken in collaboration with eleven secondary school students. The students all speak more than one language fluently.

Over the years there has been a paradigm shift in qualitative research methods. Education researchers have moved away from the positivist archetype to more pragmatic, participatory models. Such methods view the researched not as subject but as participant. In this study, eleven teenage researchers were trained in participatory data collection methods, ethics and data analysis. The research team developed their own questions, collected the data themselves and analysed that data collaboratively thus going some way to ensuring the integrity of the findings.

The project therefore was twofold. The student researchers considered the identities of bilingual learners within school and the learners' understandings of and approaches to being bilingual. The second part of the project deals with collaboration. I consider whether or not such collaborations are able to deconstruct entrenched power inequalities and empower bilingual learners.

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Chapter 1 The background to the project

1:1 Introduction

In 2014 the British Conservative Government introduced new criteria into Section 78 of its 2002 Education Act. The new requirement was to explicitly teach "British Values" as part of the spiritual, moral, cultural, mental and physical development of pupils. This was included as a reaction against the perceived radicalisation of Islamic pupils and according to Nash (DFE, 2014) directly used the values first set out by the government in the 2011 'Prevent' documentation which deals with prevention of terrorism and promotion of cohesion (Home Office, 2011, p.32).   The Department for Education specifically called for teachers to encourage pupils to "regard people of all faiths, races and cultures with respect and tolerance" (DFE, 2014, p.4). Whether one believes tolerance is a specifically British value or not, the policing of what is deemed to signify Britishness seems, in the new Section 78 criteria, to betray or perhaps even galvanise, social anxiety towards those who do not identify as British.

British values were further emphasised by the Home Secretary who, in outlining Britain's "partnership to defeat extremism", spoke about a "step change in the way we help people to learn the English language" including "incentives and penalties" (Home Office, May, 2015). Here British values are aligned with proficiency in the English Language; a level of proficiency which is set and tested by the Home Office and which changed in 2015, no longer accepting English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) qualifications or the General certificate of Education (GCSE) or Advanced Level qualifications as proof of proficiency (Home Office, 2015).

I have been an English teacher for 13 years within a Comprehensive School with a fluctuating migrant population whose members speak 74 different languages. Given the current context, never before has the impulse been stronger to inquire into language and identity. The students that I teach, and their families, are directly affected by the circulating Discourses of immigration as well as by the decisions made by the Home Office and the Department for Education (DFE). My imperative, even before this current project, therefore has been to engage students in language and identity debates and ensure that they have had the space to critically explore language and identity within our school community.

In a school one cannot talk about language without using the term literacy. Students from primary school are still used to the term 'literacy hour' and the term 'literacy across the curriculum' is well used in our secondary school. Literacy is commonly understood to be the ability to read and write;

however, in English schools, literacy has become ubiquitous for the ability to write formally in the English language. Far from being the "social practice" seen by Gee (2012, p.21) and the New London group (2000, p.1) for students in school, literacy is something to be taught and measured. For bilingual learners, the notion of schooled literacy is problematic; literacy and fluency seem to be interchangeable in today's assessment driven curriculum.

Because literacy as a concept is far more exciting than this "autonomous" (Street, 1984, p.20) schooled model and because identity is instantiated within such practices (see Chapter 2:4), I felt that students deserved a space in which to consider not only their status as bilingual learners but to draw conclusions about the literacy practices in which they participated both inside and outside of school. These conceptualisations of literacy and language are ones I unpack later in this work (see Chapter 2).

1:2 Project Context

Over half the students at Jack Hunt School speak English as an additional language (EAL). The largest cohort is third generation Pakistani heritage (35.6%), many of whom speak a combination of Urdu, Punjabi, Mirpuri or Pashtu and English fluently. However, over the past decade, the numbers of students arriving in school with no English and occasionally no background of formal education has increased dramatically. Such students arrive throughout the year and the amount of Key Stage 3 (11-14years old) and Key Stage 4 (14-16years old) minority ethnic new arrivals are similar. Of the Year 7 (first year in senior education) admissions, every year there have been at least 50 minority ethnic new arrival students who have either arrived in UK in the summer holidays or spent less than two years in an English primary school. Overall 138 students, accounting for 9% of Key Stage 3 and Key Stage 4 have been, or currently are, new arrival students with no English at all or extremely limited understanding of the language. (Jack Hunt School Self Evaluation, 2015, p.2)

New students with English as a second language, or very often no English at all, arrive in school throughout the year. Often students arrive in the year before or the year of their external examinations. The school then has to decide whether or not to enter these students for their externally verified GCSE (General certificate of Secondary Education) examinations with students of their own age or whether to hold them back for one year with younger students. Demie's (2013) longitudinal research into fluency (Figure 1) shows the time it takes for 6-11 year olds to acquire academic fluency; that is a fluency reaching beyond informal conversational English. She shows that it takes an average of 6.2 years for a student to cope with the primary academic curriculum.

However this fluency acquisition theory is based on non-immigrant learners. It therefore seems incredibly unfair to ask new arrival students in the secondary sector to sit an examination in such a short period of time, which is accorded so much weight for the rest of their academic careers. The effect of test results have a sustained and important impact over time since without a C grade at English or Maths GCSE many doors of higher learning are shut. Moreover, as noted above, the DFE (Department for Education) has announced that GCSE does not count as a measure of English proficiency for migrant children. It seems also that no recognition is given to incoming students' pre-existing proficient communication ability in their own languages.

As I began my foray into research possibilities for this EdD, what I saw as the injustice accorded to young bilingual learners by the examination system was as much at the forefront of my mind as the immigration Discourses. However, I did not want to carry out this research within a deficit model which positioned the vibrant and exciting young people with whom I work, as victims.

I had previously assisted in an internal research project with bilingual learners, detailed below. It was this first piece of research which was the stimulus for this project. Explaining the inspiration for the project will also give an insight into the values of the secondary school in which the project takes place.

Figure 1 Fluency in English (Demie, 2013, p.64)

Number of years at each stage of fluency in English					
Languages spoken by years 6-11 EAL Students in 2011	Stage 1 Beginners and New to English	Stage 2 – Becoming familiar with English	Stage 3 – becoming confident as a user of English	Total years in Stages 1-3	Number of speakers
Year 6	1.3	1.7	2.2	5.3	162
Year 7	1.5	2.1	2.8	6.3	137
Year 8	1.5	2.2	2.2	6.0	136
Year 9	1.6	2.4	2.7	6.8	134
Year 10	1.5	2.3	2.9	6.7	209
Year 11	1.5	2.0	2.7	6.2	162
Years 6-11 average	1.5	2.1	2.6	6.2	940

1:3 The Advanced Bilingual Learner (ABL) Project

The term advanced bilingual learner (ABL) is used in school to describe students who are second or third generation of settled minority ethnic communities. These students will often speak English fluently at school but, outside of school will only speak their mother tongue. The term bilingual is used here as students have used both languages since they entered the education system.

The ABL project was initially introduced by the Deputy Head teacher with the aim to increase A*-C grade GCSEs in the year 2007/8. Students were identified to participate through analysis of Key Stage 2 results. The trend for several years had been that many of our bilingual students, who had achieved their expected assessment results in Primary School were unable to translate their skills into a C grade at GCSE. The school was concerned that ABL students struggled with the challenges of academic vocabulary in the secondary system thus disadvantaging them in written examinations. However, another barrier to achievement for these students was their perception of being bilingual. When interviewed, only 50% of this group of bilingual learners took pride in their bilingualism, whereas the other half of the cohort described their mother tongue as something which hampered their learning. In an effort to increase confidence in these students, and to ensure that they felt part of the school community and to place value upon bilingualism, the Deputy Head created the ABL as a student voice group.

Working initially with a single department in the school and alongside Ethnic Minority Achievement and Local Authority Consultants, staff were trained to use the same language for literacy used by the English Department and similar writing templates and structures. Students were then interviewed regarding their learning but were also trained to observe and feedback to staff members focusing on staff's ability to make learning explicit to bilingual students. Whilst the focus on writing skills ensured that a definite improvement in achievement could be seen, students also became much more confident, and the right steps were made towards ensuring students were proud of their bilingual capabilities.

 For the school the most powerful tool has been the development of a cohort of students trained in lesson observation. Every two years the cohort trains a new group of students. However, as the school's demographic and needs have changed, the cohort is now made up of volunteer students who have learned English whilst in primary or secondary school. The group has carried out several days of observation, including a focus on teaching bilingual learners, making progress in the classroom, and they have gathered data regarding marking processes. Several students have also presented their findings at the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust (SSAT) Conferences.

The ABL group directly counters those Discourses which categorize bilingual students as a problem. It provides a space for multi-lingual students to demonstrate their understanding of learning in their institution and to share experiences with other students and willing staff.

1:4 The Lead Research team (LRT)

As a researcher, I am attracted to emancipatory methodologies. As a teacher I am concerned with student welfare and student voices, especially those which are not often heard. I am also interested in questions about equity and opportunity within education. I therefore wanted to use a methodology which allowed students to be agentive, which did not cast them as problematic and which might give them a space in which to challenge dominant Discourses of language, literacy and identity. Students were asked to invent their own research question and complete the research alongside me as co researchers. This type of methodology necessarily challenges traditional researcher/researched, student/teacher roles; if students were to be encouraged to question then the status quo might well be contested.

Giroux (2004) suggests that in educational research there has been "a failure to move beyond the language of critique and domination" (p.192). Giroux appears to be calling for a change in the methods used to carry out educational research so that rather than being a vehicle for further entrenchment of the hierarchies of power, research becomes the driving force behind social change and emancipation. The ABL group had already gone some way to destabilise typical teacher/student roles in that it was giving feedback to staff and helping to plan lessons. The group members had already begun to set up a model where students were leading change in their own school community and this appealed to me.

Like Wissman (2011) when completing insider collaborative research with a group of African American women in a non- elective poetry module in an urban high school in the USA, I wanted to create a space "without the constraints of a mandated curriculum or standardized test pressures …. a space informed by an understanding of the connections among literacies, lived experiences, and identities" (p.405). It is for this reason that the ABL group was initially asked to become co-researchers in the following project and transformed into the Lead Research Team (LRT). Other volunteer students also joined the group as outlined on p. 78.

1:5 Project Aims

The LRT was and still is a genuine attempt to breach the traditional 'them and us' hierarchy of student /teacher, researcher/subject, multi-lingual learner/ mono-lingual learner. The project endeavours to ensure that bilingual learners are given a space in which to learn collaboratively about their own literacies, languages and identities. Whilst other researchers have perhaps used participatory research and other emancipatory methodologies in order to produce authentic voices and more generalizable data, my aim was to explore students' opinions, give an official channel of communication and if appropriate, the means through which to challenge some of the Discourses that positioned the bilingual students in deficit ways.

1.6 An Overview of the Project's Structure

As this project was not only collaborative but also structured in two halves, here I set out the holistic structure to demonstrate how the sections are united and to give an overview of the driving research questions which I elaborate in Chapter 4.

This thesis is committed to a collaborative methodology. The project asked whether collaboration with secondary school children could yield legitimate and useful knowledge and whether such an enterprise has the potential to offer an alternative equitable framework for research with young people within schools where power hierarchies are entrenched.

The project had its roots in Participatory Action Research (PAR) which "strives for change in the balance of power in society" (Denis, 2003, p.2). This thesis is therefore structured in two halves. The first offers a space to EAL learners to speak their identities within an English speaking secondary school and to reflect upon the positioning and agency of EAL learners within the hierarchy of the school. The second part of the project partly reflects a shift in research paradigms as I consider how collaboration could be used to question the traditional hierarchies of researcher/researched within an academic context.

This project looked from both "the outside in and the inside out" (hooks, 1984, p.149). As a monolingual adult, I could not possibly hope to make assumptions important for teenage speakers of English as an additional language. As a monolingual adult and therefore an outsider, the first half of this project values the experiences and knowledge creation of EAL learners alongside my knowledge as a researcher. As a teacher and therefore an insider, I looked outwards towards traditional research paradigms. In the second half of this project I considered how the change in the locus and control of knowledge could create a change in the understanding of what constitutes knowledge. Theories of collaborative knowledge creation are further explored below and in Chapter 3.

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The Literature Review for this project gives a macro understanding of the functioning of knowledge and power across academic institutions necessarily including the power of literacy within schools. The student data presentation and analysis looks at power on a micro level considering not only the function of different languages within Jack Hunt School but also the processes of identity making within the institution. The analysis of the collaborative design offers a meta level of commentary on the power of collaborative methodology.

The initial questions framed by the student led research team are presented and analysed in Chapter 5. My questions regarding the impact of collaborative methodology can be seen in Chapter 6. Figure 3 gives a summary of how the tasks were divided for both parts of the project.

Initial question: How does schooled literacy impact upon bilingual learners?

Project 1
My role
Recruit the student research team.
Train the research team in data gathering methods.
Assist in the gathering of student participants.
Train students in data analysis.
Assist in data analysis by transcribing interviews
Present findings and analysis.

Project 1
LRT roles
Choose research question.
Choose data gathering methods.
Decide on student sample.
Approach participants
Gather data.
Assist in transcription process.
Analyse data.
Triangulate data and presentation of findings and analysis.

Questions: What impact does participation in a collaborative research project have on secondary school multi lingual learners?
Can teacher/student; researcher/participant combined research with children ever be fully collaborative?

Project 2
My role
Develop research questions.
Choose data gathering method.
Collect data
Transcribe/analyse data.
Present findings and analysis.

Project 2
LRT Roles
Participate in focus group interviews.
Triangulate presentation and analysis of findings.

Figure 2 Summary of task division

1.61 The use of data and the creation of knowledge within the collaborative

Throughout the project I refer to the collaborative methods used as 'emancipatory', because the investigation aimed to be completely collaborative. When considering action research, Hall (1996) suggests that "reflexivity is integral" to emancipatory research because "it epitomizes a basic epistemological position underpinning" such research. However, Hall (1996) lists the following assumptions about knowledge construction:

1. Evidence is derived from authentic data (one which resonates the life experiences of the researcher and the researched)
2. Relations between researcher and research participants proceed in a democratic manner
3. The researcher's theory laden view is not given privilege over the participants' views. (p. 29)

Chapter 4 gives a detailed narrative of how the research attempted to follow Hall's directives to create a research team with the knowledge and experiences of young people who speak English as an alternative language at the centre.

Svensson et al (2007) describe interactive approaches to research as focusing less on "the researcher's role in, and responsibility for the development of the work, but more on the joint learning process with the participants and the theoretical outcome of this joint learning" (Cited and translated in Akerstrom and Brunnberg, 2013, p.529). Although Svensson's work refers to a circle of participants which does not involve an adult academic researcher, the statement sums up the first part of this project. My focus during the first part of this project is upon the learning process and the creation of theory from data.

Data for both parts of the project derived from focus group interviews and field notes as well as annotations of transcripts by students. Figure 4 below shows the data sets used for each part of the project.

Figure 3

Data sets

Chapter 5 Student Project	Chapter 6 Meta Project
Field notes take after and during student led data analysis.	Field notes made after and occasionally during LRT meetings.
Post it notes written by LRT when analysing data. LRT annotated transcripts of focus group interviews.	Examples of data collection methods trialled by LRT before deciding upon their own collection methods.
Focus group interviews led by LRT with volunteer students.	Focus group interviews with LRT at project end.

Although I have labelled the first part of the project the "student project" for ease, both parts of the project were collaborative. The collaborative journey is detailed in Chapter 4 and summarised above in Figure 3.

Labelling the knowledge creation in this project "collaborative" seems somewhat clinical and overly simplistic. The collaborative knowledge creation involved an ongoing dialogic process. Calling this project collaborative is a transparent admission of the evolving nature of knowledge as conversation took place between student researchers and myself. Students built upon and challenged each other's and my ideas and likewise I altered and offered new comments during the analytical theory building process. In Chapter 2:4 I consider in more detail Bakhtin's model of meaning making where meaning is negotiated interactively.

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It could be said that the collaboration was not truly equitable as I could never lose sight of my position as a teacher and adult within the collaborative team. This is true, however, this did not undermine the collaborative nature of knowledge generation. Focusing simply upon the imbalanced nature of the research team belies all other participatory projects including that of the student circles project described by Svensson et al (2007) who openly acknowledges that all participants will belong to slightly "different systems" (Cited and translated in Akerstrom and Brunberg 2012 p.529). All participants will therefore view the data through different lenses. This is of course as much true for this project where student researchers spoke many different languages, as it is for any project. Instead of ignoring the possibilities of different interpretations, collaborative methodology acknowledges the cacophony.

The meta project is reflexive in a self-conscious manner and accounts for, as Hall (1996) puts it, researcher "constitutiveness" (p.28). I explore in the second part of the project how my positionality and my relationship with students shaped the project. The meta project also attempts to address the difficulties of collaboration. Here I asked students to give their perspectives upon my changing roles and reflect on the impact of this project upon my researcher/teacher identity as well as their own identities as learners.

Somekh (2006) gives an 8 point methodological model for collaborative action research. Below I have adapted her model in order to summarise the type of collaboration completed in this research. Whilst this project is not an Action Research Project as it does not follow the cycles of data gathering, analysis and change (p.6), it does have many ideological aims in common with such a methodology.

1. Collaborative research is conducted by a partnership of participants and researchers and seeks to challenge the traditional hierarchy of roles within academic research.
2. Collaborative research aims to create a space where different experiences and knowledges are valued, especially the knowledges of those who may usually be considered outside of academic discourse.
3. Collaborative research involves the development of knowledge and understanding within a developing Community of Practice (see Chapter 2:24 for exploration of Communities of Practice)
4. Collaborative research starts from aspirations of a change in social justice.
5. Collaborative research is necessarily reflexive and acknowledges the changing agentive positions of participants.

6. Collaborative research involves exploratory engagement with a wide range of existing knowledges in order to accumulate as well as challenge understanding.

7. Collaborative learning engenders powerful learning for all participants.

1.62 Research time line

The following list gives an overview of the research time line. This was somewhat protracted due to the nature of working within a school. Students were not taken out of academic lessons, they volunteered and were not asked to work over their lunch break.

Sept 2014 – Recruited student research team.

October – May 2014 – Student research team met at least once a week to discuss research questions, evaluate data collection methods and decide upon sample.

June – July 2014 – Student research team led focus group interviews.

July – Aug 2014 – I transcribed interviews.

Sept – Nov 2014- Student research team and I collaboratively analysed data.

Nov– Jan 2015 – I wrote up analysis and shared with students.

Jan – Feb 2015 – I conducted focus group interviews with student researchers

Feb 2015 – I transcribed focus group interviews.

Feb – April 2015 – I analysed focus group interviews and shared categories with some of student research team.

May - Aug 2015 - I wrote up analysis, sharing parts with student research team during the process.

Sept 2015 – I shared chapter with students.

Sept- Dec 2015 – I made corrections and shared changes with the student research team.

1:7 The LRT introduce themselves

The students involved in the project were asked to introduce themselves in a brief biography which they sent to me via e mail. The introductions below are in no particular order and the students' words have not been altered.

Safwan Rija, 14 - Hi I'm Safwan, a year 9 student studying at Jack Hunt School. I speak Bengali and English. I'm very interested in language and culture hence my participation in this project and I have

been involved in other school projects including presenting for the SSAT. I believe I have learnt a lot from this project and I'm sure you will too.

Oldrich Capek, 16– I am currently 16 years of age whilst writing this and I speak English, Slovak, Czech and Polish reasonably well (it gets quite confusing while trying to speak four different languages…) I enjoy listening to a lot of music and I play guitar as my main leisure activity. I am quite keen on UK/US politics with a bit of History (Napoleonic era has to be my favourite time period in history) But quite recently, I have found myself beginning to read the works of Freidrich Nietzsche, Karl Marx and a little bit of David Hume for enjoyment. Whilst being a GCSE and A-Level student during our research, this research has helped me enormously. The research skills which I have been taught in my sociology classes were put into practical use during this research; therefore the research has helped me to understand how it all works in terms of research and was made very clear. But also, as a multilingual person, it was interesting to see what the results would turn out to be and it was interesting to see the views of the interviewees and my research peers.

Sumayya Manji, 17 - I am a bilingual learner who was brought up with both English and my mother tongue. I am fluent in Kutchi, Gujrati and have an understanding of Persian, Arabic and Urdu. I have a passion for learning new languages and I have completed my AS French with a hope to become fluent someday. My languages have been important to me in keeping relations with my extended family as well as having a lifelong skill. This project has allowed me to develop my skills in research and I have had a valuable experience learning about learners who share similar feelings of pride for their home languages. It has been interesting to compare thoughts with students who have had to learn English and explore the concept of identity.

Jurgis Vaivods, 16 - I am 16 years old and I speak two languages, English and Latvian. I am studying four A-Levels: Maths, Physics, Further Maths and Product Design. Throughout my school life, I have helped out teachers with advice on how to help/deal with new arrivals who might not speak very much English and how to ensure that the lessons are planned in consideration of these new students.

Jessica Lee, 15 - I am a 15 year old bilingual student who can speak Cantonese, Mandarin and English. Not only that but I am also blessed with an ethnicity of Chinese and a nationality of Dutch (The Netherlands). Throughout this research project, I have experienced that age, ethnicity, gender and language simply do not matter in the world of today when it concerns meeting people. As a younger member of the research group I have been able to hear views of older people, like me, who

are also bilingual; allowing me to really embrace who I am. It has shown me a new light on being a bilingual speaker.

Mukosa Tengensha, 18 – I always believed my lack of fluency in my mother tongue meant I was only really bilingual on paper. However through what I used to think was a formality I was able to be part of groups such as the one which has helped develop this research project. Through this, I was able to realise that being bilingual is so much more than just an extra language, there is a shared experience that I found I was part of, identified with and even contributed to because of that missing piece. It's been a privilege to learn about myself through others and develop something that I think is vital in a world where very few things are exclusive to one group of people, one of those things being the right to education.

Patrycja Zarzycka, 16 - My name is Patrycja Zarzycka, I come from Poland. I came to the UK when I was 5. Being fluent in both Polish and English has opened many doors for me, such as this project and I am thankful for everything.

Sudin Khatiwada, 14 - My name is Sudin Khatiwada. I am part of the bilingual learners research group. I speak 2 languages, English and Nepalese. I am 14 years old and I was born in Kathmandu, Nepal. I like to watch and play football, play videogames and learn new things. I also take part in a Maths tuition group 5 hours a week after school.

Greta Baubonyte, 17 - My name is Greta Baubonyte and I am 17 years old. I was born in Lithuania and I moved to England at the age of 8, every 2 years I go back to Lithuania to visit family which helps me stay fluent in the language. I currently study Art, Business Studies and Sociology at A level in Jack Hunt School, I wish to study Graphic Design at university.

Iona Ci, 17 – I am from China and my favourite subject in Mathematics. I am going to study Maths in university and I would like to work in Maths or Physics related research. I am a Mandarin speaker and understand Cantonese but wish to stay in Britain for university.

Mahtab Askari, 17 - I am from Ghazi in Afghanistan.

I have chosen to let the students introduce themselves because they are also responsible for the contents of this project. They are the co-researchers and this project is as much about their research journey as mine. Their voices are found throughout the following analysis and their experiences are

the foundation of this research. As Johnson, Smith et al (1998) point out, too often "children are displayed at public events to sing songs or give testimony to justify adult projects for children"(p.260). This is not a project where the students were required to corroborate my hypotheses or to echo my song. Instead I have aimed throughout to include their voices as honestly as possible. It was therefore necessary that students introduced themselves.

In this introduction, I have set out my rationale and inspiration for my EdD thesis. Whilst I was keen to build upon the existing project, through my EdD I was able to take this project further by involving students in the research decision making process. Previously student research was limited to lesson observation in order to help teaching staff. Students are now able to use a wide range of research methods and understand how to analyse their findings. Importantly, students were also involved in discussion about participatory methodology and the need to create child centred research as well as the need to value children's experiences. They participated in rich discussion about literacy, curriculum, language, their peers, and identity as the project continued. They are now equipped to continue research within the school. The EdD also allowed me to reflect upon insider research and to consider the effect of student cooperation upon the data. I was also able to analyse the role of the teacher/researcher when working alongside student co-researchers, something which has not previously be considered within our institution.

Chapter 2   Literature Review

2:1 Introduction

In 2015, just as secondary schools begin to use the new National Curriculum, it appears that literacy was on everyone's agenda. *The Telegraph* is concerned by the fact that "five in ten firms have workers who struggle with basic literacy and numeracy skills." (Espinoza, 2015). The Guardian is worried by the "global literacy crisis" in developing countries (Leach, 2014). The ex- Minister for Education has also explained that the new Curriculum has been designed to include "more demanding content in English…... In line with high-performing South-East Asian countries" (Gove, 2013) and in a speech at the British Educational Training and Technology Show he explained the need to continue to reinforce high standards of digital literacy (Gove, 2014).The articles and comments above demonstrate the variety of cultural anxieties about literacy and education and exemplify the cultural significance of literacy in schools. It is becoming increasingly difficult to easily identify a single form of literacy as encapsulating what it means to be literate in the 21st Century. Traditionally literacy has been treated as the ability to read and write, which as Gee (2012) points out, "situates literacy in the individual person rather than in society" (p.26). Cope, Kalantzis and the New London Group (2000) however came to the conclusion in 1994 that

> "what students needed to learn was changing" and that "the main element of this change was that there was no singular, canonical English that either could or should be taught anymore. Cultural difference and rapidly shifting communications media [means] that the very nature of the subject of literacy pedagogy" (p.5) is changing fast.

Hannon (2004) adds to this argument about rapid change in the understanding of the nature of literacy by suggesting that historically, "written language has been the preserve of the powerful" (p.23). Hannon situates literacy within social Discourses of power and inequality. Therefore, not just as a researcher, but as a secondary school English teacher, it is necessary that I engage critically with the strategies, policies and processes which seek to implement literacy learning in the 21st Century classroom. The following Literature Review therefore contains my considerations upon the nature of literacy as both researcher and English teacher.

This review begins by critically considering some of the larger movements in the history of literacy and pedagogy, including research which reflects upon the practical implications of such movements and theoretical positions within the classroom; it engages with the changing definitions of literacy

and what it means to be literate. As my research focuses upon notions of identity and bilingualism, this review also covers notions of literacy Discourses as constitutive of identity and critically considers research completed on the impact of the primary and secondary curriculum on bilingual learners.

2:2 The Changing Nature of Literacy

The following section gives an overview of the Discourses surrounding, constituting and challenging notions of what it means to be literate.

The relationship between language and society, between text and practice has been termed discourse. Gee (2012) makes a distinction between *Discourse* and *discourse*, where discourse is a semantic system and Discourses are "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities by specific groups" (p.3). The following review adheres to Gee's definitions and case rule.

2:21 Defining Literacy

I begin by considering the changing definitions of literacy in academia compared with the definitions of literacy within English Primary and Secondary schools. Within academic research Discourses, and despite the Government's focus upon measurable standards, (Removing Barriers to Literacy, Ofsted, 2011, Reading Writing and Communication, Ofsted, 2011, The Education Endowment Fund project, 2014, Developing data-literate school leaders RAISEonline: an essential tool for school improvement 2010) it is acknowledged that literacy should no longer be regarded as a set of rules to be learnt. Instead, thanks to the New Literacies movement, and the New London Group's manifesto *Pedagogy of Multilitercies*, (1996), the term has been cut open to reveal not only a variety of literacies, but rapidly changing Discourses which are central to global and local culture and power structures.

Street (1984) posed two separate ways of describing literacy - the autonomous and the ideological models. Street argues that the autonomous model takes as its central conjecture that the "functions of written language are significantly affected by the mastery of a writing system particularly its logical functions" (p.20) and that literate societies therefore have the "possibility of developing logical functions and specialising in the truth functions of language" (p.21). The autonomous model of logical, learnt standardised literacy therefore is seen by Street as not only curtailing debate surrounding definitions of literacy but also as reinforcing the status quo by insisting that the only type of literacy is schooled literacy, without mastery of which you are deemed illiterate. Street

(1984) shows how research into schooled literacy practices has previously condemned children as illiterate, but has also been used to judge the overall cognitive ability of those children who do not use standard grammar or received -pronunciation (p.23). Lewis, Enciso and Moje (2007) corroborate Street by confirming that "political Discourse about 'scientific' research" has "persuaded the public that literacy is a neutral skill and that 'achievement' gaps can be addressed without attention to histories of power relations or group and individual struggles for identity (p.3).

2:22 Literacy: policy and power

I now reflect upon the literacy crises of the past decade and consider Gee's (2012) evaluation of such fast and tumultuous policy changes across the globe. As an English teacher working in the classroom with young people, it is very difficult not to criticise such rapid change as has been seen under the last Minister for Education (the removal of the Speaking and Listening assessment from all GCSE Language examinations controlled by The Office of Qualifications and Examinations Regulation, the cessation of examination re-sit opportunities and the impact upon Secondary sector target grades, the removal of the AS (Advanced Subsidiary Level) qualification as part of the final Advanced Level, the termination of teacher marked and standardised coursework assessment, to name but a few), and to look for reasons other than a desire to raise standards and increase England's rank in the international PISA (Programme for International Student Assessment) league tables. I acknowledge therefore, that the following commentary upon literacy policy change and the use of literacy as a power tool, may be somewhat biased and it is as well to divulge my own position before beginning an academic evaluation of such policy change. Nevertheless it is not unimaginable that the constant push towards standardising literacy teaching in the UK and the new Secondary curriculum's focus on Standard English and texts by English writers (DFE, 2014) has been driven by nationalist ideologies and a desire to manage and maintain certain forms of privileged knowledge. It is undeniable that here have been policy changes, such as creating the Education Endowment fund, designed to break the link between family income and educational achievement, or the Pupil Premium funding, given to schools based on the number of free school meal students and often used to resource one to one literacy and numeracy, (Education Endowment Foundation 2014) and created to enable the disadvantaged. Such changes demonstrate that it is too simple to label policy as driven by a desire to maintain the status-quo to the exclusion of marginal social groups. However, it cannot be denied that literacy has been used as an oppressive tool by the powers that be to strengthen their position within society.

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In a socio cultural approach to literacy, Gee (2012) argues that the proclaiming of literacy crises "often masks deeper and more complex social problems" (p.26). A literacy crisis, he argues is often a response to rapid social change and that therefore it is "simply wrong to discuss reading [and writing] assessment, intervention and instruction without discussing the pervasive culture of inequality that sometimes deskills poor and minority children" (p.37).

Over the past decade we appear to have launched from one literacy crisis to the next according to headline figures (*Boys on the margins*, Safford, O'Sullivan and Barrs, 2004, Select Committee for Education and Skills, 8th Report, *Barriers to Reading Acquisition*, 2012, Press release: Improving literacy – effective characteristics amongst secondary schools 2013). And indeed teachers have been constantly bombarded by literacy strategies aiming to improve attainment and speed up progress: 2014 saw a new focus and directives on cross curricular literacy outlined in the 2014 Ofsted framework (p.18); the new National Curriculum (DFE, 2014) to be implemented in Sept 2014 has outlined strict guidelines as to the setting of reading homework and the use of Standard English (pp.10-11) and the DFE have provided funding for "each year 7 pupil who did not achieve at least level 4 in Reading and/or Maths at the end of key stage 2" (2014).

Thanks to a standards agenda, the threat of Ofsted (The office for standards in education) and a sort of tick list style literacy promoted by the National Literacy Strategy planning documents where teachers were told what to teach and when, (National Literacy Strategy, 1997), it is no wonder that I often find myself insisting on compliance from students instead of encouraging critical awareness.

2:23 The New Literacy Studies
The New Literacy Studies proposes an alternative definition of literacy – a non-deficit model -which impacts upon schooled literacy. This section explores the concepts of historically and contextually based definitions of literacy and participation in literacy events, including definitions of Communities of Practice and Discourse communities. I will also further complicate the previous section's identification of the power of literacy.

Street (1997) suggests that literacy is in fact an historical phenomenon and that "what counts as common sense in one culture and in one era, may indeed be arcane or ideologically fundamental in another"(p.46). The New Literacy Studies therefore promotes "culturally sensitive teaching" (p.47) and advocates an ideological model of literacy which argues that "literacy not only varies with social context and with cultural norms and Discourses regarding for instance, identity, gender and belief"

(p.48) but insists that it is acknowledged that its "uses and meanings are always embedded in relations of power" (p.48). Thus it is not only the context of academic literacy to which power is ceded in this new model, but all contextual Discourses. Street (1997) calls these variations of contextually based Discourses "social literacies" (p.47). Instead of a single standardised form of literacy, the New Literacy Studies refer to multiple literacy practices which problemetise the notion of what it means to be literate. A literacy practice, Street (1997) argues that it, "is not just the observable behaviours around literacy…but also the concepts and meaning brought to those events and which give them meaning" (p.50).

Kress (1997) criticised the concept of multiple literacies suggesting that the term literacy was being devalued as it was becoming a blanket term for all other cultural systems. It could also be argued that by embedding literacies within very specific contexts and suggesting that those contexts only engender those specific practices, one is denying the mutability of literacy practices and the capability of individuals to alter or impact upon their communities' practices or definitions of literacy. However throughout my thesis, I use the term literacies as I believe it is important to acknowledge that alternative communities of practice do exist and that those communities will have a shared history.

2:24 Communities of Practice
 "Referring to a Community of Practice is not a way to postulate the existence of a new informal grouping or social system ….. but is a way to emphasize that every practice is dependent on social processes through which it is sustained and perpetuated" (Gherardi, Nicolini and Odela, 1998, p.279). A Community of Practice does not deny individual agency, instead, as Wenger (1998) suggests, social participation refers "not just to local events of engagement in certain activities with certain people but to a more encompassing process of being active participants in the practices of certain communities" (p.13). Gee (2000) notes how Communities of Practice are indeed constantly transforming by being "stressed through the acquisition of new ideas, new members, new technologies and new social activities" (p.187). Therefore a Community of Practice whilst inducting the apprentice into forms of new knowledge, does allow for variation.

2:25 Discourse Communities
 Barton and Hamilton (2000), argue similarly that multiple literacy practices must be located within the "social structures in which they are embedded and which they shape" (p.7). For Barton and Hamilton (2000) the concept of "discourse communities"(p.11) is central to their definition of what it

means to be literate, that is "groups of people held together by their ways of talking, acting, valuing, interpreting and using written language"(p.11). This is a notion similar to Wenger's communities of practice, but perhaps implies a more defined and identifiable group. Barton and Hamilton (2005) however take issue with Wenger's communities of practice as they don't believe that power issues are pursued in any depth by Wenger. Instead they posit the suggestion

> that some practices are more dominant than others, that literacy is significant to the institutions in which events are located, and that issues of power are important. In fact most literacy interactions involve unequal distributions of power between people (p.18).

Barton and Hamilton appear to complicate my somewhat simplistic earlier suggestion (See 2:22 Literacy: policy and power p. 23) that a struggle for power is encoded with definitions of literacy and what it means to be literate, by decentralising literacy events and considering the hierarchies at work within communities of practice.

2:26 Literacy Domains
This section considers the necessity to acknowledge that there are literacy practices existing outside of institutions and evaluates the demarcation of literacy through space by two specific researchers.

Because Barton and Hamilton (2000) are concerned with communities of practice, the notion of implied space or domain, such as home and school, and how literacy practices within those domains are "patterned by institutions and power relationships"(p.8) becomes paramount. From those who ascribe to the New Literacy Studies' (NLS) theories, there has been a proliferation in what Barton and Hamilton (1998) term "ecological approaches to literacy," (p.4) where researchers theorize the relationships between different domains within communities. Barton and Hamilton's (1998) study of everyday literacy practices in Lancaster, although focused mainly upon the adult community, concludes that "homes are distinct places but there is not a distinct home literacy" (p.189). Instead Barton and Hamilton see the home domain as "the centre" (p.188) or the starting point for literacy practices, thus their study into the literacy practices of homes, community organisations and vernacular practices, considers what it means to be literate from the point of view of the home, instead of an academic institution. They find a wealth of practices in all homes under scrutiny, even those without books, which may previously have been identified as lacking in literacy (p.149). The NLS is therefore not so much focused upon new methods of being literate but upon uncovering hidden literacy practices and events not previously considered as part of the spectrum of literacy.

The NLS did not however just open the door between home and school. Many studies of literacy events within communities have been completed. Kalman (2000) describes the learning processes of public scribes in Mexico. She considers the "relationship they establish between the specific context in which they write and the use of local knowledge" (p.187). Although she acknowledges that all scribes in the study had at least six years of formal education, she insists that their practice as scribes was learnt on the street (p.189). Kalman discusses how scribes use every typing opportunity as a learning opportunity, how they use models of writing from previous clients to help them fill in documents for new clients (p.194) and how they became aware of the purposes of the document and the motivations of the client (p.196). Kalman subscribes to Street's term "literacies" as she sees the literacy events in the Plaza Santo Domingo as culturally specific.

However, the actual literate learning processes will seem very familiar to anyone who has worked with the English National Curriculum from 2000 onwards: audience and purpose, modelling, the use of critical friends were outlined by the National Literacy Strategy documents (1997). It seems that despite the different contextual setting and purposes for writing, these self -taught Mexican scribes are using personal pedagogies which are very similar to those used by English school teachers. Therefore despite the contextual variants of literacy events, the learning described here is comparable. Although Kalman (2000) acknowledges that the scribes have all had formal training, she does not consider influences other than those of the street upon her research subjects. If Barton and Hamilton (1998) see the home as the centre from which literacy practices emanate, then Kalman (2000) establishes the community as a centre.

It seems that looking for a centre or an originator of personal literacy, whilst establishing the importance of social practices, does in fact in some way deny the larger social structures and Discourses which are in dialogue with home and community, which shape and are shaped by them. There seems to be a narrow path to be walked when researching literacy between the consideration of community and family practices and the acknowledgement of institutionalised Discourses. Barton and Hamilton (2000) insist that

> Practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve
> values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships. This includes people's
> awareness of literacy, constructions of literacy, discourses of literacy,
> how people talk and make sense of literacy. (p.7)

Literacy practices include internalised and externalised power struggles - those which can be seen and those which are harboured inside individuals and communities. Despite Barton and Hamilton's

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(1998) use the term centre in order to deconstruct traditional methods of researching literacy, a researcher concerned with literacies must concede that the practices under scrutiny are not only the "products and constructions of the complex and diverse social learning from the cultures where children grow, live and interact, (Luke and Kale, 1997, p.16) but also correlate in some way with political and institutional literacy initiatives.

2:27 Blending Literacies

This section further develops Barton and Hamilton's (2000) consideration of literacy domains. I reflect upon how domains are not bound by solid walls but are porous, ensuring that literacy practices from different domains are blended within literacy events. I consider the ways in which both academics and the government have attempted to encourage the cross-over of literacies between home and school domains.

As the NLS has taken hold within academic research, there has been a focus shift away from schooled literacy, and a new emphasis upon what Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti (2005) terms "Funds of Knowledge" (p.133) or community shared assets and practices, thus context has become paramount for the study of literacy. Barton and Smith (2002) point out that "childhood… is not experienced as one construct set of relationships; rather its character" is situated within time and place (p.58). However, literacy practices are not exclusive to context, as people themselves carry their "Funds of Knowledge" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p.133) across contextual boundaries. As people "live their lives and learn across multiple settings" (Guttierrez, 2008, p.150), they carry with them the literacies from every domain of their lives and all the "cultural fields" (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2002, p.21) in which they participate. Therefore many studies in New Literacy have considered how a variety of literacies overlap, and have taken an interest in the socially dynamic nature of literacy practices.

2:28 Literacy in the third space

This section explores the concept of spatial literacy in a different way, instead of considering the different domains in which literacy practices happen, the third space is a boundless dialogical space, created to encourage the interplay of discourses and Discourses.

Guttierez (2008), Moje et al (2004) and Gregory (2005) take this blending and overlapping of literacies into account and argue for what Moje et al (2004) (drawing on Bhababa, 1994) term a third space, where literacy learners integrate literacy practices and texts from in school and out of school

"Funds of Knowledge and discourses" (p.41). Moje et al (2004) focus on seventh and eighth grade students in the USA, drawing on understandings of the third space as a "navigational space" (p.44) in which teachers can assist students in crossing boundaries between communities of practice. They also describe the third space as a way to "build bridges" (p.43) between marginalised literacy discourses and the dominant institutional Discourses of literacy; in this way third space theory acknowledges that there are discrepancies in status between literacy practices and thus between communities and their differing practices. Finally they describe the third space in a similar manner to Guttierez (2008) as a "transformative space" (p.156) in which the "competing knowledges and Discourses of different spaces are brought into "conversation" to challenge and reshape both academic content literacy practices and the knowledges and Discourses of youths' everyday lives." (p.44) In this way Guttierez (2008) and Moje et al (2004) argue that spaces can and should be created to encourage literacy syncretism, that is the complete blending and smooth transference of literacy discourses across domains.

In their paper 'Working towards third space in content area literacy: an examination of everyday funds of knowledge and discourse'(2004), Moje et al present the "stuff necessary"(p.44) for creating a third space and give the reasons as motivational (p.44), to encourage meta discursive practice (p.45) and to build bridges between Latino/a youth and European American teachers (p.48). The curriculum purpose for science teachers of a third space in Moje et al's study was content knowledge of the science curriculum (p.53). There are many vignettes given in the study where students call up domestic activities (p.53) or comment upon economic issues in the community (p.52) which Moje et al note "could be used to" construct a third space (p.52), but which go unnoticed by the teacher. They conclude that students "rarely volunteered everyday (out of school) knowledges in the classroom (p.64) but have to be invited by teachers to bring outside D/discourses into the classroom space (p.64) and thus the long term creation of a third space appears to be controlled by teaching staff. This could be seen as further entrenching of what I will call a 'them and us' binary. The study does however close by determining that these students are builders and users of a third space, of hybrid discourse, but that their skills are often unnoticed or privately completed (p.65) and therefore the desire to create a synergetic learning effect within the classroom is not accomplished.

This does not mean however that the creation and study of a third space within a classroom is not useful. There are many other D/discourses operating in a classroom full of teenagers, as Beach and Phinney (1997) point out when discussing the framing of texts through teen social agenda (p.159) or

in terms of relationships (p.161); teenagers function in classrooms on more than an academic level. Whether or not students are aware of what Moje et al (2004) term their "meta discursive" (p.54) practices - the ways in which they are conscious of the different communities of literacy practice to which they belong - is yet to be considered. I do not believe that students can participate within a true third space unless they themselves understand, to some extent, the functioning of Discourse; students as well as teachers must be actively involved in the critique and challenging of institutionalised understandings of literacy practices.

Gregory (2005), working this time with early years children in the UK, advocates play as a type of third space where "school discourse may be taken home and transformed into home talk through play" and where children can bring "home talk into classrooms during socio-dramatic play"(p.223). She insists that unlike teens and adults, children do not make "divisions between home and school" (p.224) but that there is a true syncretism taking place. Gregory (2005) considers how young children re-enact adult talk in the classroom syncretising "narrative styles, role relationships, literacies and languages as they acquire memberships of different cultural and linguistic groups" (pp.224-225).

 Literacy practices are dynamic, to impose boundaries on practices would be to curtail what Gregory (2005) terms the transformative (p.225) nature of literacy where literacy events are a creative process and culture is constantly reinvented by the hybridising, or blending and consequent transformation, of discourse.

2:29 The Home – School Gap
This section reflects upon the idea that children from families who are not 'well educated' are not as successful academically as those who come from homes where parents did well at school. I will give several examples of this home-school gap and evaluate this concept.

Many attempts have however been made to link institutional Discourses and those which occur outside of school in the UK. In 1993 the British Skills Agency (BSA) launched their family literacy programmes, where they attempted to bring together three domains: the home and family, school and education and the workplace. Pitt (2000) however complains that the literacy events taking place were all "translated into classroom tasks" (p.111) in order that they could be broken down, measured and assessed. She also noted that the four, thirty- minute training videos provided by the BBC to be used in the training of educators showed only "teacher centred practices" where the teacher initiated an activity or introduced a text (p.114). One of the motivations behind BSA's

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programme, according to Pitt (2000), was for parents to help children become "successful users of literacy" (p.115). The term "successful" meant within school practices, therefore the emphasis during these literacy events was on educational practices and discourses. Pitt (2000) argues that "trying to close the home school gap by changing practices in the home belongs to a well - established tradition" (p.116). It seems that far from producing a blended third space, the BSA succeeded only in reproducing schooled discourses within the home.

Rogers (2003) discusses the concept of a gap between home and school by referring to the issue as a "discursive mismatch" (p.4). She explains that this mismatch is often considered in three ways:

     a)   Families do not have the right kind of literacy…
     b)   They do not have enough practice within schooled literacy
     c)   Or parents do not care about literacy and education   (p.5)

In Rogers' (2003) longitudinal study of an African American family's literacy practices, she notes that "none of the typical responses explains the mismatch" for the particular family under consideration (p.5). The mother of the family is described as "one of the lowest readers in her basic adult education class" (p.4) and the daughter is later labelled as "multiply disabled" with "severe speech and language needs"(p.144). She explores how a family who organised community petitions (p.47), dealt with hospital record errors (p.51) and challenged social services' mistakes (p.57), have "come to see themselves through the eyes of the institution"(p.4) and the "value placed on standardised tests …[and] scores"(p.44).

In both Rogers' (2003) and Pitt's (2000) studies it seems that Discourses of ability have become inextricably linked with literacy Discourses and that cultural beliefs about literacy's measurability are deeply ingrained.

The colonisation of literacy Discourses by the institutional standards agenda was firmly cemented in Britain by the 1998 School Standards Framework Act which mandated home school agreements. Edwards (2003) explains that

> such strategies are underpinned by academic studies showing that parental attitudes towards and involvement in their children's learning activities at home and in school have an influence on children's level and quality of learning development and attainment at all ages. (p.3)

Despite the seemingly altruistic ideals of home school agreements, when one begins to speak in terms of "attainment", then school D/discourses have crossed boundaries into the home space. Edwards (2002) does not describe this as a blending of discourses but as a "one way set of a relationships" in which children are positioned as "educational recipients or products" (p.3). Edwards (2002) goes even further to describe the "soft language of partnership [as] becoming a more hard edged attempt to direct and regulate family life" (p.4). Rogers (2003) agrees, in her study of the African American family, that what keeps this family in their "place is their complete acquisition of the ideology behind school literacy" (p.145).

2:210 Agency
Although I agree with both Rogers and Edwards, I take the view that students are social actors who have the ability, as Gregory (2000) puts it, to transform Discourses. This section acknowledges students' agency and suggests that dynamic literacy blending is perhaps already happening without academic or government intervention.

Haas -Dyson (2004), also working with younger pupils, suggests that "theoretically children's recontextualizing of cultural material…across boundaries has the potential to make that material available for deliberate reflection" (p.88). Although Haas- Dyson (2004) is not engaged in third space theory as such, she does suggest that children's "journeys into literacy are shaped not only by official curricular purposes…but also by unofficial child relationships" (p.90). It is such relationships that are referred to by Beach and Phinney (1997) as they consider how students frame reading events within the classroom in terms of relationships with others or in terms of community beliefs or family values (pp.162). These frames are not necessarily made explicit; similarly to the Moje et al (2008) study, they are in some way hidden or at least exclusive to that classroom community. As a teacher/researcher excluded from that teen community, such "social negotiations" (Beach and Phinney, 1997) are difficult to spot, but the suggestion is that literacy practices are being recontextualised by students in institutional spaces without the acknowledgement of adults – one could perhaps say that there are already hidden, unofficial third spaces which research could bring to light.

2:3 Learners of English as a an additional language (EAL)
Bloome (1994) points out that the determination of what counts as literacy "tends to be both ethnocentric and situation specific" (p.103). Therefore, working with students who function not only within a variety of communities of practice but also within two or more different languages and

often across two or more specific cultures, a researcher must be particularly sensitive to students' habitus and mindful of the different "contexts, laws, rules and ideologies [which] speak through individuals" (Danaher, Schirato and Webb, 2002, p.15). It is something of a cliché in the English secondary school classroom to suggest that bilingual and EAL students have so much offer, and that we can learn a great deal from them. However, from my experience, it is rare that a bilingual or EAL student is given the opportunity to make difference explicit in the classroom.

The following section considers some of the perceived pressures by teachers regarding EAL learners, as well as situating my thesis within the socio-cultural and socio-linguistic body of work regarding EAL learning. I will also consider current practices regarding EAL learners in the classroom.

As mentioned in the introduction (see p11) the term bilingual will be used in this thesis to refer to those students who have been raised with two languages and have only experienced the British education system. The term EAL refers to those students who have had to learn English in order to access the school curriculum. I have chosen to use the term EAL instead of English as a second language, as many of today's students speak more than two languages. However I have still used studies where 'second language learning' is referred to as these studies still prove useful when considering polyglot students.

2:31 Constructivist theories
The following section gives an introduction to EAL pedagogy from a constructivist perspective.

The socio-cultural theorist Vygotsky (1986) described learning per se and defined the moment at which the learner can achieve the desired outcome only with scaffolded help as "the zone of proximal development" (p.187). Mitchell and Myles (2000) describe the scaffolding approach to additional language learning as the learner being "inducted into a shared understanding of how to do things, through collaborative talk, until eventually they take over (or appropriate) new knowledge or skills into their own individual consciousness" (p.195). Thus additional language learning arises "from processes of meaning making in collaborative activity with other members of a given culture…which may or may not involve formal instruction and meta-talk"(p.200). From a constructivist perspective the EAL learner therefore co-constructs meaning as they become more fluent.

Mitchell and Myles (2000) use the verb "appropriate" (p.195) suggesting that in some way a learner will make their additional language their own. However, several studies into second language learner preference have been carried out (Unamuno, 2008, Pagett 2006, Norton, 2000) which suggest that students prefer to use the second language, the language of their peers, even at home, and become anxious when switching between the school target language and their mother tongue (Pagett, 2006, p.141). The question remains whether students co-construct meaning in collaborative activity as they move towards fluency or whether, in some way, they themselves are appropriated by the new discourses into which they are inducted or a mix of both.

2:32 Second language learning through immersion
The question above is especially interesting within English secondary schools. In our school social immersion is adhered to and students are mostly left to learn with their peers after the first month. This section reviews immersive learning, considering some of the problems faced by EAL learners when immersed into the secondary classroom and some of the issues for teaching staff.

Cummins (1998) notes that "the term "immersion education" came to prominence in Canada during the 1960s to describe innovative programs in which the French language was used as a medium of instruction for elementary school students whose home language was English"(p.34). The study of this thirty -year programme seems to show increased bilingual fluency and that immersion had a "positive effect on both the intellectual and the linguistic process" (p.37). However, in this study, teachers were themselves bilingual. Canada is also a bilingual country in parts. Furthermore, when students returned home, they would speak their mother tongue. Immersion for a new language learner, within a new country, taught by monolingual non-language specialist teachers is a completely different experience.

Howatt (1994) tells us that we learn a language naturally by "living working and interacting with other people who speak it as their mother tongue" (p.295). Howatt's view of second language learning is similar to Krashen's (1982), who sees second language learning as similar to first language acquisition without focus on linguistic form (p.10). If one takes Halliday's understanding of language as a social and functional system that can only be interpreted within a socio- cultural context but also creates that context, then to ask a speaker new to English to participate and moreover to learn curriculum content within an English medium classroom, one is in fact asking them to understand a history of shared systems of knowledge, values and statuses which may be completely alien. Additional language learning is not simply a case of vocabulary knowledge, of getting to grips with

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formal registers, of what has previously been termed within pedagogical theory Basic interpersonal communications skills (BICS) and Cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) (Cummins, 2008, p.71). Instead, I believe that it is learning a new way of life.

Despite the fact that I do not want to other or construct EAL learners as problematic, it is necessary to state that acquiring a new language with full academic register is no mean feat. Halliday (1993) states that "language is the essential condition of knowing, the process by which experience becomes knowledge" (p.94). As Wells (1994) suggests, "language not only functions as a mediator of social activity [but is also] a medium in which those activities are symbolically represented" (p.46). Without access to the dominant language of the institution, one could be doubly excluded.

Furthermore, the discrete curriculum in England, despite OFSTED's focus on literacy across the curriculum, means that teachers may often view themselves not as holistic educators, but as subject teachers. Many of the embedded teaching habits we use are not geared towards new language learners. For instance Kilber (2011) points out that the traditional initiation, feedback, response questioning patterns prevents "L2 language speakers from being exposed to naturalistic language use" (p.216). Kilber (2011) explains that there is also a tension between "pushing emergent bilinguals to use the language and ideas expected for school based writing and ensuring that they comprehend and take ownership of the texts they create" (p.219). Creese (2008) makes her readers aware of the indexicality of language, its ability to "look across micro and macro social orders" (p.15). Using interactional socio linguistics she considers how meanings are made through analysis of exchanges and draws our attention to the implied references within classroom discourse which EAL learners may not register. Cortazi and Hunter-Carsch (2000) turn this around and comment on the non -verbal communication of EAL learners which could be wrongly indexed by teachers. They look specifically at a Pakistani student's non- verbal means of showing respect which was to look a teacher straight in the eye, however this was interpreted as aggressive by the teacher (p.39), the implication being that students are not just learning language but are apprentices to new ways of seeing, doing and valuing and therefore immersion would allow students the time and space to fulfil their apprenticeships.

2:33 Alternatives to complete Immersion
Australia has had large additional language learner population for much longer than Britain and their schools have a variety of different strategies of coping with EAL students; in the late seventies "teaching English as a second language was acknowledged as a permanent and integral component

of educational and settlement services"(Davidson, 1994, p.87). English as an additional language is taught throughout the curriculum by all staff and contextualised language development is a focus in all lessons (p.94). Here additional language learners are a resource in the classroom and all learners benefit from what is now often termed split -screen learning, that is content and skill.

The City of Leeds School has recently gone part way in following their Australian counterparts and has begun to teach English as an additional language to all their students, including monolingual students, in order to raise attainment. It seems that this school views all students as apprentices to the academic discourse of English.

2:34 Assessment of EAL learners' fluency

Thanks to long- embedded teaching practices, another issue for secondary schools especially are the assessment practices used to ascertain a student's 'ability'; this usually means their ability within the English medium or their fluency as English users. It is well documented that students who are more literate within their mother tongue achieve more rapid fluency within the second language (Baker, 2000, Cummins, 2000). "Children who come to school with a solid foundation in their mother tongue develop stronger literacy abilities in the school language" (Cummins, 2001, p.18). It seems therefore incredibly unfair that students should be judged only within the English medium. Although, like most inner city schools, the school under scrutiny, currently caters for seventy three different languages, it seems impossible to allow students to be assessed in their home language, the only assessment available is in their second language. This section considers the notion of fluency according to New Literacy Studies and compares this to how EAL students' fluency is currently assessed in the secondary system.

The notion of competency is highly contested, especially when one is working within the theories of New Literacy. Gee (2012) notes that "all words vary their meaning in different social contexts. And all words are open to negotiation and contestation" (p.23). He also notes how one is "socialised or enculturated into a certain social practice" (p.45). The variability of language within different Discourses therefore creates problems when one is measuring fluency and competency in second language learning (or in any form of competency based literacy measurement for that matter). The EAL learner may be able to participate in certain literacy events but not in others.

Mitchell and Myles (1998) further complicate the notion of fluency when they ask if the "target language form is to be counted as acquired on the first occasion when a learner is observed to use it

without immediate prompting…or must we wait to accept it has been fully acquired until the learner is producing the form in 90% or more of expected contexts?"(p.225) Therefore the EAL learner could not only be constructed as a "problem" herself, but measuring her fluency and 'allowing' her to pass from an EAL learner to a bilingual or fluently multilingual student is also problematic.

Although the suggestion that an institution could decide upon the moment a student moves from second language learner to bilingual learner or an EAL student to a fluent English speaker is contestable, local education authorities regularly impose such categories. In the participating secondary school, language learners are placed into three categories: new arrival, competent additional language learners and advanced bilingual learners. The categories are based not on language proficiency but the time students have spent in the second language country. It seems obvious that this is a practical and economically motivated categorising however, the labelling of students and the assumptions about support and provision is a yet another part of the assessment Discourse into which language learners are placed by academic institutions.

Demie (2013) explains how complicated assessing and categorising students is, when comparing students who have had no formal schooling in their mother tongue to students who have had 2-3 years of education in their home language. Demie (2013) suggests that the second language acquisition of these two types of student will develop at different rates (p.61). Using empirical data, Demie (2013) has also developed a table to show the average time it takes different students from aged 10 to aged 16 to become 'fluent' in their additional language. (See Figure 1) She notes that on average Amharic speakers take the shortest time to become "a confident user of English" whereas Turkish speakers take on average an extra 3 years. (p.65) It can of course be argued that Demie's (2013) category of "confident speaker" is subjective, but her data does suggest that the use of time in the second language country as a categorising device or as a device to plan effective provision and support for second language learners is heavily problematic.

Pagett (2006), when considering second language Bengali learners, rephrases Halliday's concerns and states that "the name language is not just a collection of words disembodied in cult but saturated with ideological meaning" (p.143). The words we use to describe additional language learners throughout their learning journey therefore should be carefully considered, as should the impact of new Discourses upon young people. "Language cannot be understood as an isolated object, instead, language is one of the many symbolic systems that constitute the saying (writing)-doing-being-valuing-believing combinations" that make up one's heard voice. (Lo-Philip, 2010,

p.283) It is this voice to which I will turn next in order to examine the literature surrounding literacy, language and identity.

2:4 Literacy, Language and Identity

It seems obvious to suggest that the language we speak makes up who we are, however if one subscribes to the New Literacy studies' view that literacy is not a set of rules to be learnt but a set of mutating practices which vary depending on the literacy event and the Community of Practice (Gee, 2012, p.21) then speaking one's identity becomes much more complex. The term Community of Practice also opens up the debate; in order to consider identity one must consider not only the social interactions which define and are defined by communities but also the term identity itself – for instance, one could ask what constitutes a community and a community identity? This section explores the articulations of identity, as well as the nature of identity itself, through four different theorists: Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Gee and Block. I then go on to evaluate those theorists and consider how literacy events are not only sites of struggle for meaning making but also sites of struggle for identity.

2:41 Approaching and defining Identity

In approaches to second language acquisition, there has been a shift away from psycholinguistics and cognitive approaches to sociological and anthropological approaches. Research into identity and second language learning owes much to constructivist scholars such as Bourdieu and Bakhtin. For Bakhtin (1986) discourse is fundamentally dialogic. He sees any "Any understanding of live speech…..[as] inherently responsive... Any understanding is imbued with response and necessarily elicits it in one form or another: the listener becomes the speaker" (p.68) For Bakhtin speech and identity are co-constructed:

> [Every] unique speech experience of each individual is shaped and
> developed in continuous and constant interaction with others' individual
> utterances. This experience can be characterized to some degree as the
> process of *assimilation*--more or less creative--of others' words (and not the
> words of a language). Our speech, that is, all our utterances (including our
> creative works), is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness or
> varying degrees of "our-own-ness" ....These words of others carry with
> them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate,
> rework, and re-accentuate (p.89).

For Bakhtin, we speak the words of others and therefore as Maftoon, Sarem and Hamidi (2012) put it, "the notion of an individual speaker is a fiction" (p.1160). Bakhtin (1994) does not however believe

that in the co-construction of utterances we only speak the identity of a community; he notes that words become "one's 'own' only when the speaker populates it with his own intentions, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention"(p.294). Hall, Vitanova and Marchenkova (2005) suggest that for Bakhtin "when we speak, we do two things: a) we create the context of use to which our utterances typically belong and, at the same time, b) we create the space for our own voice" (p.2). Therefore individuals, whilst constructed by a complex cultural dialogical process, may also speak the ruptures of and resistance to that process.

Using a Bakhtinian model, the difficulty inherent within the process of authoring one's self coherently is a difficulty shared by all speakers including new arrival minority speakers. Iddings, Haught and Devlin (2005) reflect upon the meaning of subjectivity within a dialogic framework which has rejected such simplistic binaries as the self and the other or the socially constructed individual versus static Cartesian notions of identity. They suggest that in Bakhtin's model, the self and other cannot exist without each other; that "existence is always co-being"(p.36). Iddings, Haught and Devlin (2005) refer to the term "intersubjectivity"(p.42) which denotes a mutual understanding created and shared within social contexts (Platt, 2005, p.111), as opposed to formalist abstract understandings of language and identity. Their study of an 8 year old Spanish speaker, who was able to read and write in her home language and a 9 year old Laotian with no formal education therefore does not focus on the exclusion of these students within their Southern American third grade classroom, but instead considers how, along- side their classmates, they use a variety of signifying systems (including drawing, building blocks, drama, gift giving and play) in order to interact and create "intersubjectivities" (p.42). The two girls were in no way "deficient communicators"(p.51) within their English speaking classroom but just as their peers were negotiating dialogically ways of meaning and being so too were they functioning agents within their new context.

Similarly Bourdieu rejects essentialist or static notions of identity and meaning making. However he notes that people in positions of authority compete to order and control language and meaning. When considering the relationships between language and experience Bourdieu (1977) notes that "authorized language" (that is language legitimated by an establishment or an institution) imposes "the legitimate mode of thought and expression" (p.170) upon the populace. However, like Bakhtin, Bourdieu does not settle for a simple power dialectic whereby the subject is controlled unconsciously by socio-cultural and symbolic structures, instead he challenges such simplistic binary definitions. When exploring the effects of power upon individuals Bourdieu (1977) poses the concept of habitus

which allows the individual agency within the confines of social reality, because social reality exists within the individual. He describes habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions…practices and representations which can be objectively regulated and regular without in any way being a product of obedience to rules…[and] being collectively orchestrated, without being the orchestrated action of a conductor"(p.72). As Danaher, Schirato and Webb (2002) put it, habitus is "history turned into nature" (p.16). Bourdieu therefore offers habitus as an alternative to simple active/ passive notions of identity.

Like Bakhtin, Bourdieu (1977) also considered the dialogic nature of meaning making. He explains that power over meaning is "not exerted in a direct personal way" (p.183) but by cultural and symbolic capital. Cultural capital is seen as a "system of dispositions" (p.89) which are culturally valued, such as taste, consumption or ritual. Symbolic capital is an economy "devoted to concealing the reality of economic acts" (p.172) by referring to such things as "prestige and renown" (p.179) or "lineage" (p.178). All objects according to Bourdieu have symbolic capital and specific connotations within different cultural fields. Danher, Schirato and Webb (2002) explain that "the amount of power a person has within a field depends on that person's position within the field and the amount of capital he or she possesses" (p.23). As Lewis, Enciso and Moje (2007) point out all "performances of social identity are cloaked in the fabric of power and ideology and economics" (p.8). Thus the issues often faced by second language learners are perhaps more complex than Bakhtin's theories of intersubjectivity would suggest, for if individuals move between countries they are also moving between cultural fields where the symbolic capital could be so widely different that developing new social networks and moving into positions of power maybe impossible if one does not let go of the values and dispositions of one's original culture or ways of "behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing, that are accepted as instantiations of particular identities" (Gee, 2012, p.3).

The above quotation is Gee's (2012) definition of Discourse. As has been previously mentioned, people move between D/discourses and whilst Gee and Bourdieu see identities as "socially situated" (Gee, 2012, p.3), each Discourse to which we belong, according to Gee (2012), "represents one of our multiple identities" (p.4). Like Bourdieu, Gee rejects essentialist and static notions of identity, he also considers the tacit "master myths" (p.107) associated with specific Discourses. Master myths are ideologies which come to seem natural or common sense and yet "hide from us other ways of thinking" (p.107). He specifically focuses upon the acculturation of the education system, considering how academic, institutional Discourses may clash with those of non-mainstream students (p.110). He

gives an example relating to grammar, showing how Standard English alone is acceptable within school and those using dialect variations are considered to be less "correct" (p.8) or less adequate than the proposed 'native' form. Whilst at this point Gee is exemplifying ideology, this example could easily have been given to demonstrate a master myth which would prevent encouragement of diverse D/discourses within the classroom. Therefore Gee's starting point; that we each have multiple identities within different Discourses, is a little more complicated as dominant Discourses often occlude certain individuals.

Block's (2006) description of the history of immigration and the changing Discourses of immigration in London is useful in considering how different cultures and ethnicities enter in to or are obstructed from dominant Discourses. Like Bakhtin, Bourdieu and Gee, Block (2006) rejects simplistic binaries and states that "identity is a process which takes place at the crossroads of structure and agency" (p.28). In reference to Discourse and identity he suggests that "identity is the constant and on-going positioning of individuals in interactions with others" (p.29). Thus identity is never fixed, even within specific Discourses, but is constantly negotiated, produced, reproduced and altered.
Block (2006) considers how straightforward dyadic models of settlement – assimilation or multiculturalism - are being practically negated in 21st Century society. Block (2006) describes assimilation working in a similar manner to Gee's (2012) master Discourses, only less tacitly. In a state adopting assimilationist policy, "migrants are welcome as long as they conform to mainstream behavioural norms, values and beliefs… [and show] exclusive allegiance to that nation state" (Block, 2006, p.15). In contrast, Block (2006) explains, a multicultural society would allow migrants to "self-identify within an ethnic or religious community deemed to be different from the mainstream in that host nation" (p.15). Block (2006) suggests that a more descriptive phrase for today's migrated communities would be "transnationalism" (p.15) He goes on to explain that "transnational social spaces emerge at the crossroads of migration-facilitating institutionalised and informal networks" (p.16). He suggests that new transnational communities keep strong economic and familial ties with homelands and "have not made a firm commitment as regards personal and cultural loyalties to the host society" (p.17).

Block (2006) uses the term "third space"(p.26) considered above, to describe the identities of transnational communities, but this time a third space is a space where identities emerge and arise in "unpredictable ways" (p.26). Block's (2006) suggestion however does not necessarily mean that communities and individuals are successfully crossing, altering and hybridising dominant Discourses unimpeded, that agency is boundless and complete identities are being self- authored and

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institutionally authorised chaotically and joyously. Block's (2006) choices of adjectives - "emergent" "unpredictable" (p.26) - to describe the formation of new identities are strategic; emergent may suggest incompleteness and unpredictability connotes instability. Despite an evolving academic discourse of immigration and burgeoning transnational or diasporic communities, it seems wrong to treat such identities as anything but fragile, especially when encountering different exclusive dominant Discourses and new communities of practice. Block acknowledges this and turns to the structuration approach to describe the different subject positions people adopt on a moment to moment basis. Here "environments provide conditions and impose constraints whilst [individuals] act on the same environment, continuously altering and recreating it" (p.29). Thus there appears to be a nod in the direction of both Bourdieu and Bakhtin, as Block too seems to view theories of identity and culture based on simplistic binary divisions as limiting.

2:42 Defining Identities and Community Identities
In this section I try to evaluate and contextualise the theoretical debates above, translating them to the Secondary classroom. I consider the notion of labelling and identity as a useful and necessary tool.

Block (2006) finds many categories used to define migrant identities and the identities of those who speak more than one language difficult. He notes that it "becomes easy to see traditional demographic categories such as ethnicity, nationality and race not as biologically and/or socially determined, but as socially constructed, unstable and fluid dimensions of identity" (p.29). He notes how challenging it is to label "migrant groups that progressively take on the characteristics of transnational communities" (p.30).

Cazden (2000) however finds group identity or community identity a useful category within the classroom. She suggests that thinking "in terms of collective identities helps to call our attention ... to those characteristics such as the internalised image of inferiority… that are a result of contact with the activities, practices and ways of viewing the world of the dominant group (p.254). For Cazden (2000) aspects of students' collective identities can help to inform teachers' planning in order to help them counteract negativity. Likewise Lewis, Enciso and Moje (2007) argue that in order to displace myths of "social inequality and universality", many educators and scholars draw on "youth's local knowledge, histories and cultural resources" (p.59). Like Cazden, Lewis et al. would value and identify difference within the classroom. Whilst Block's (2006) poststructuralist description of the transnational, mutating identity of choice is compelling, Cazden (2000) and Enciso (2007) embed

their concerns in the classroom where their anxiety regarding dominant Discourses refers back to Bourdieu's (1977) descriptions of the lack cultural capital within specific fields.

As a teacher it is hard not to acknowledge, that whilst categorisation is often limiting, being able to identify and share the different contexts from which students have arrived is liberating, useful and necessary. As is the enabling of students to use their primary language (if nothing else in order to help them develop their second or third language, as discussed in section 2:34 Assessment of EAL learners' fluency) and thus identify with a culture, language and identity different from the dominant cultural or language identity within the classroom. Acknowledging one's own linguistic and socio-cultural community is perhaps so important, even if one, as many of today's students, is an unfixed, transnational migrant, because the majority of students within most classrooms will still be of a fixed linguistic community and identify with the dominant culture. Although I realise that Block (2006) is in no way advocating that community or shared linguistic identity is ignored but instead is calling for a recognition of the "inherent instability of social constructs"(p.31), it is worth insisting that collective identities have political and public power and therefore need to be recognised.

Gee's (2012) notions of meaning making highlight the power of those who compete to stabilise meaning and language. He discusses how meaning is "primarily the result of social interaction" (p.21) rooted in the "negotiation between different social practices with different interests by people who share or seek some common ground" (p.23). He refers to Williams' (1991) sausage trial, where a company was being prosecuted for the sale of impure sausages and the meaning of the term sausage was questioned. Williams asked if rats and soft toys went into a sausage making machine, would we still call the end product a sausage by virtue of the fact it has been minced by a machine labelled a sausage maker. Gee (2012) uses this vignette to suggest that meaning is contested by various bodies, however, he suggests that those bodies are often not what we would call communities, supporting shared communication, instead negotiating meaning creates "far more tenuous connections among people"(p.24). Thus the notion of community identity is again problematized as language and meaning are shared and negotiated across Discourses which do not necessarily belong to communities. However again, I would still insist that an identifiable community has more power to contest, negotiate and interact with other meaning makers.

2:43 Identity and Power
This section returns to section 2:22 Literacy: policy and power and considers in more depth how the power of meaning making impacts upon personal and community identity.

The notion of 'power' is complex. Foucault (1980) considers power as something which is not to be localised within one particular entity but is something which is diffuse and constitutes rather than coerces. Power does not belong, but is a site of struggle. Foucault's definition of power therefore grants marginal identities agency within the struggle for meaning. Gee (2012) highlights the importance of such struggle or negotiation when considering the history of literacy and its meanings. He considers the USA's 1998 report 'Preventing Reading difficulties in young children" (Snow et al. 1998 as cited in Gee 2000) and notes that the report deals largely with children's phonemic awareness, "the fourth grade slump"(p.34) and a consistent "black white gap"(p.34). However Gee suggests that this alleged slump is not a crisis but a failure to problematize the notion of literacy. It appears that students can read before the fourth grade but are then unable to engage with the academic texts presented to them. Gee argues that this does not define a reading crisis but a "crisis of inequality" (p.37) which "deskills poor and minority children" (p.37) because of a static definition of what it is to be literate. Those students are then identified as underachieving and lower ability. Thus, whoever controls the definition of literacy controls the identities placed on certain students within mainstream education. The ability to negotiate the meaning of literacy therefore is beneficial for such marginalised students.

2:44 Reflections upon Literacy, Language and Identity
In this section I explore the notion of agency and consider how choice can also play a part in identity formation, especially of EAL students.

It must be remembered that students learning English as an additional language are not necessarily marginalised and their language identities, according to Rampton (1990), are about their relationship with language and thus can be categorised as:

➢ Language expertise
➢ Language affiliation
➢ Language inheritance   (p.97)

As Block (2006) explains, birth right does not guarantee a positive affiliation with a language, despite sound expertise (p.36). Thus when one speaks of language as speaking one's identity, as I have earlier, this notion needs to be further complicated.

As a researcher considering identity, one must therefore tread a delicate path between understanding an individual's affiliation with their mother tongue, heritage language and used languages, their country of origin and their country of residence. It is perhaps also useful to think of proxemics as a tool for describing how individuals move between Discourses and alter them. Proxemics looks at the spatial interrelationship between people, however to consider an individual's chosen space within a Discourse allows for an understanding of how that individual reacts within that Discourse, because of where they have chosen to place themselves (at the margins, in the centre, left of centre) as well as how that Discourse reacts upon the individual (are they allowed to change position?). The notion of proxemics therefore allows agency and interaction whilst still promoting an understanding of how people are socialized "within various local, state and national groups and institutions" (Gee, 2012, p.165). Encsico Lewis and Moje (2007) describe agency as the "strategic making and remaking of selves, identities, activities, relationships, cultural tools and resources and histories as embedded within relations of power" (p.18). They explain that these changes may or may not disrupt the Discourses of power themselves.

2:5 Multiliteracies and Multimodalities

Jewitt (2008) states that "the way people use language and makes sense is inextricably linked to the beliefs and values of particular communities and the sense of self" (p.260), she argues that new technologies offer a new space for identity play and a consideration of how communities attitudes to, and use of, different modes builds upon the New Literacy Studies' social agenda. The following section therefore considers the affordances of multimodal literacy in relation to the multiliteracies project as well as its possible impact upon education and the changes in analysis of identity work thanks to a multimodal approach.

Before a discussion as to the uses and requirements of different modalities takes place, it must be acknowledged that print based texts are multimodal. The choices made by the publishers as to font size, layout, pictures, even the front cover are all part of the design of the text, and all modes, as Jewitt (2008) points out, are integral to meaning. The fact that some people prefer the feel of a hardback novel compared to a paperback brings into play sensory modes which we do not usually associate with the term literacy. Indeed Bearne (2009) suggests that literacy might not be "an adequate term to describe the texts, contexts and practices of the 21st Century since it privileges the written over other forms of communication (p.158).

2:51 Multiliteracies Project explained

The New London Group (2000) explain that they chose the term 'multiliteracies' for their manifesto about the future of teaching and learning as it describes two important arguments: "the first argument engages with the with the multiplicity of communications channels and media; the second with the increasing salience of cultural and linguistic diversity"(Cope and Kalantzis, 2000, p.5). The multiliteracies project serves not only to draw our attention to the ever changing nature of language in a global community but also to decentre (Jewitt, 2005, p.318) writing as the only mode of communication and representation. Jewitt (2008) notes that "multirepresentation and globalisation are close companions" (p.243) thanks to the rapid transnational movement of people and the increasing range of media and technologies allowing instant global communication. If the New Literacy Studies promotes the historical and social nature of literacy which has allowed scholars to consider literacy as a powerful Discourse changing throughout history, then the mulitliteracies project's decentralisation of writing as the dominant mode of representation allows for yet further problemetisation of what it means to be 'literate' in 21st Century society or indeed in a 21st Century school.

Jewitt (2008) suggests that

> The muliliteracies model highlights two interconnected changes in the communicational landscape that impinge upon what it means to be literate. These are the increasing significance of cultural and linguistic diversity in a global economy and the complexity of text with respect to non- linguistic, multimodal forms of representation and communication, particularly, but not limited to, those affiliated with new technologies. (p.245)

To look beyond writing, not only destabilizes traditional Western notions of literacy but also asks for a cultural restructuring. Reading and writing carry great cultural capital, if being literate was thought in everyday Discourses, to encompass analytical and creative skills beyond the linguistic then social values and power systems would have to change radically.

2:52 Multiliteracies and Education

This section considers the impact of mulitliteracies upon education and explores the framework given by Cope and Kalantzis (2000) for a new theory of pedagogy to be used in schools.

Although, in secondary schools, students are often asked to consider the multiple modes used by the producers of text and are often asked to comment upon their own choices, the Discourse of

literacy still ensures that learning is logocentric. "Multiple literacies challenge the current organisation of traditional schooling" (Jewitt, 2008, p.248). Cope and Kalantzis (2000) detail their theory of pedagogy within the multiliteracies framework given beneath - their reasoning for each factor is also detailed.

1. Situated practice based on the worlds of the learners' Designed and Designing experiences. Cope and Kalntzis (2000) use the term Design as part of the metalanguage with which to discuss chosen modes, structures and processes (p.20) They stress the "increasing invasion of private spaces by mass media culture" and consider how childhood cultures are "made up of interwoven narratives and commodities that cross television, toys, fast food packaging, video games…"(p.16). Commodification and marketization processes as well as the "coversationalisation of public language" (p.16) is destroying the "autonomy of private and community life worlds" according to Cope and Kalantzis (2000), therefore, the challenge for the classroom is not to ignore this but to make "space available so that different lifeworlds can flourish"(p.16) and new voices can be found.

2. Overt instruction so that students shape for themselves a new metalanguage of Design. Cope and Kalantzis (2000) suggest that Designing is not simply repetition but involves the "transformation of the available sources of meaning" (p.22). Therefore the term grammar is no longer applicable as it resonates of a learnt and static formality associated with language, not a flexible means of describing the transformative and hybrid processes of meaning making including the "textual and the visual, as well as the multimodal relations between the meaning making processes"(p.24).

3. Critical framing which relates meaning to their social contexts and purposes.
"Schools regulate access to orders of discourse" (p.18) and therefore students need to engage with how and what they are being taught and how and where they are being positioned within social and political contexts.

4. Transformed Practice in which students transfer and recreate designs of meaning from one context to another.

Today's digital technologies have created spaces which appear to be breaking down artificial barriers between home and school. According to Kalantzis and Cope, this needs to be harnessed in

order that students can carry out "in a reflective manner, new practices embedded in their own goals and values" (p.35).

The multiliteracies project insists upon the new, upon the future, and the rigorous framework given shows how schools could turn from the autonomous style of literacy learning towards a style of learning which embraces multimodality, without a decline in the so called 'standards' of learning and teaching.

2:53 Multiliteracies and Identity research
This section looks at the acceptance of multilieracies and its impact upon research into identity. I also consider the need for a new meta-speak in which to make meaning when studying new modes. This section also glances upon research into the affordances of on line spaces in which multifaceted identities are being created.

It certainly isn't simply in schools where new modal affordances and theories of multimodality and multiliteracies are changing practices. Jewitt (2008) notes that acknowleding this shift away from writing allows researchers in schools to analyse "the social practices of literacy within schools through the formation of specific power relations, forms of knowledge and identities" (p.244). Researchers have long used discourse analysis to categorise and consider the spoken word, however some researchers, using the multimodal approach have used body language, tone of voice or gesture as part of the chosen modes utilised by their research participants and therefore worthy of analysis. Bearne (2009) uses image, language, sound, gaze and movement when analysing students' text productions. She asks such questions as "Does an image do the same as its accompanying words?" and "does a gesture simply echo the spoken words it illuminates?"(p.159) Bearne (2009) like Jewitt (2008) acknowledges the need for new multi-semiotic analytical tools. Just as Cope and Kalantzis (2000) call for a new metalanguage to encompass new modes, so academics experiment with what Kress (2000) terms the "social semiotic" (p.185).

Kress (2000) explores how our lives and identities have always been represented, or more often manipulated, multimodally. Going back to a Barthesian style of semiotic analysis he explores the labels on bottled water. He considers a "delightfully still" clear glass bottle whose contents have been "protected for millennia from the environment" (p.189). Kress notes how the water's label participates in Discourses of "health, heritage [and] environment" (p.188), he also notes that the shape of the bottle hints inter-semiotically at a gin bottle, suggesting social drinking (p.188).

Choosing a bottle of water therefore becomes an "ideological move" (p.189). As part of consumer society we are used to negotiating complex multimodal designs in order to position ourselves as a certain type of person. Kress (2000), like Bearne (2009), insists that each mode has a logic which can and should be explained through a type of grammar, even giving an example of a possible grammar of the visual (p.200). It therefore seems that far from losing the rigorous science of linguistics (the ability to label, categorise and thus analyse language) a multimodal approach requires many new schema to be developed and shows that language is not fully adequate when exploring communication, expression, representation or indeed identity.

As Kress (2000) and Kalantzis and Cope (2000) rightly suggest, learners are already participating not only in multi modal communication and representation but in the affordances of technologies. Pahl and Roswell (2012) insist that the "digital is not an alien thing…but embedded into bus journeys and everyday practices" (p.47), the mobility of smart phones, tablets and the now almost old fashioned laptop means that not only is the digital embedded in the everyday but so is the virtual. Researchers interested in identity and literacy must acknowledge the identity shaping power of virtual spaces as well as what is often termed digital literacy; to ignore on line communication networks when researching teenagers living in the UK is to ignore a space rich in identity construction and literacy play.

Many researchers have already considered the affordances of such literacy events as instant messaging (Lewis and Fabos, 2005) where teenagers demonstrated the ability to address multiple audiences simultaneously, to vary their chosen linguistic style when representing themselves on line and to enact "multiple identities" (p.494). The theme of multiple identities was again considered by Alvermann et al (2012) in a cross comparative case study of five USA teenagers' internet habits. Davies (2007), in a study of Flickr groups, an on line photo-sharing site, noted that it is perhaps the participants' "desire to story"(p.550) which compels them to contribute to the website and in doing so people are remaking the off line spaces in which they live. Davies (2007) looks at the photographs which detail the everyday and the mundane of peoples' environments, but which on line, shared in global communities, take on a new resonance and multiple meanings. Flickr uses are thus remaking meaning and reflecting on their own choices in the attached commentaries in a similar way to Cope and Kalantzis' (2000) request for "Transformed Practice" in their Pedagogy of Multiliteracies.

As well as the transformation of selves and spaces, the three papers mentioned above also share an interest in the blending of online and offline. When interviewing internet users, Lewis and Fabos (2005) note that "the online social world was contingent upon the offline social world at school" (p.486), some of their teenage interviewees even admitted to asking friends to log on in their user names if they couldn't reach a computer. As Lewis and Fabos (2005) point out, the simulated world on line has become very much where "the stuff of real life takes place" (p.487). Likewise Alvermann et al (2012) explain that students' "online identities were not isolated from their offline social network" (p.189). Davies' (2007) focus on provenance, that is the "ways in which the history of an image contributes to the layers of meaning it holds" (p.552), demonstrates the intersection of on and off line identities as the uploaded photographs will "carry traces of meanings from its original context" (p.553); from the viewing moment as well as the transformative power of online collaborative meanings.

It is the literacy practices in these multimodal on line spaces which are particularly interesting; the patterns of literacy events, the "codes and conventions, beliefs and attitudes and legitimation and control" (Lewis & Fabos, 2005, p.474), and which can usefully be compared to institutional literacy practices. The funds of knowledge (Gonzalez, Moll & Amanti, 2005) which students bring to the classroom can also be usefully interrogated. Many students use literacy on line at home on a daily basis and the current debates surrounding parental monitoring of internet usage suggest that many parents accept and at least tolerate if not condone children's on line practices, therefore students arrive at school with a literacy heritage which is very different from that of many of their teachers. If the powerful Discourses of schooled literacy are ever to change then students' literacy practices and funds of knowledge must perhaps be given greater weight within the classroom.

2:6 Literacy Policy including English as an Additional Language Policy in the UK

Literacy has become the "symbolic marker of being educated" (Kalantzis and Cope, 2000, p. 121). In the Discourse that sees education as socially transformative and since the implementation of the National Literacy Strategy within secondary English classrooms in 2000 which labelled teachers such as myself, teachers of literacy and not English, we appear to have been given the honour of being the custodians of the gateway to social mobility. I say this of course with tongue in cheek. This section further develops Gee's comments about literacy crises referred to in section 2:22 Literacy: policy and power, giving examples from the 2014 curriculum. I also refer to OFSTED's focus on target setting and attainment documentation for EAL learner cohorts.

2:61 Policy and Crisis

Gee (2012) gives a broad explanation of how literacy education is tied to politics. He notes that when the government, championed by the media, claims a literacy crisis, such crisis "are always as much about social and political dilemmas as they are about who has the ability to read and write" (p.26). Using the USA as an example, he notes that bench marks for literacy have changed depending upon market formations. He suggests that as the USA attempted to challenge Asia economically in the 1980s, so literacy policies demanded that students worked with technology and that memorizing facts was no longer enough. However as the 90s approached and developed countries such as the USA found that they needed few knowledge producers and more service industry workers, so the literacy agenda changed to a focus on "basics" for all children, except of course this meant more basic for those expected to go into the service industries and less so for the minority of expected knowledge producers (pp.27-29). Thus, not only is literacy tied to economy but, according to Gee, it has very little to do with equitable comprehensive education.

Although Gee uses the USA as an example, the UK has also seen massive changes in literacy education over the past two decades as well as direct government intervention. A similar crisis to Gee's description can perhaps best be seen in Prime Minister Blair's (1997-2007) back to basics campaign. The 'Excellence in schools' White Paper (DFE, 1997) introduced at the beginning of New Labour's turn in office, sets out the "best methods available" for teaching literacy, which should be "used in every classroom in the country." Literacy was promoted as the heart of Labour's standards driven policies; 'The New Deal' which introduced literacy summer schools was implemented in their very first term of office and the National Literacy Projects were to follow shortly after. With hindsight It would be very easy to say that New Labour's concern with standards and their 'back to basics' literacy agenda (the phrase 'back to basics' was used after Major's government by Barber's Literacy Task force findings in 1997) was designed to promote social anxiety in order to ensure subsequent election when standards suddenly improved, that it was "vital to achieve quick wins for political purposes" (Bangs, Macbeath and Galton, 2011, p.17) and that it indeed had nothing to do with equality and social mobility. However, the Conservative Secretary of Education from 1986-1989, Baker, points out that the opposition party were also concerned, when developing the first national curriculum in 1988, with 'back to basics' style reform. Baker's focus appears to be not on the word 'basics', but on the adjective "back."

> "I went to a Church of England Primary school in Lancashire, right? It was a
> Victorian building with Victorian teachers, I learnt my tables by heart, my poems

by heart; it was a wonderful education… (Baker, 1993 as cited in Bangs, Macbeath and Galton p.73).

It seems that both the previous Conservative government and New Labour were looking back to a time when Discourses surrounding literacy seemed to be more simplistic. The anxiety was perhaps not a false creation to ensure tenure, but a genuine and developing reaction to complex Discourses framing literacy in a rapidly changing, technologically advanced, global community.
The National Literacy Strategy was removed by the coalition government in 2012. Giving something of a hiatus for two years (2012-2014) in literacy education and we are now faced with the implementation of the 2014 curriculum. The current Key Stage Four curriculum document highlights the need for Literature learning. It seems we are now moving away from teachers of literacy towards teachers of literature. However the Key Stage 4 core reading list is quite distinct:

- two plays by Shakespeare
- representative Romantic poetry
- a nineteenth-century novel
- representative poetry of the First World War
- British fiction, poetry or drama since the First World War
- seminal world literature, written in English (DFES, 2014 p.15)

English teachers are used to at least one section highlighting literature from other cultures, we have previously taught American literature, 20th C poetry from across the globe and texts in translation, these are texts no longer represented in the 2014 curriculum. Cameron (as cited in Adams, 2013) hailed the new curriculum as "tough and rigorous", presumably suggesting that the last curriculum was not. I cannot but help notice that the current government has also set out its plans for reducing net migration, "focusing on the brightest and best" (Gower and Hawkins, 2013), placed a cap on non EU economic immigration, ended the funding of work place ESOL courses and was encouraging illegal immigrants to go home or face arrest by driving such billboards around six London boroughs. There seems to be a definite turn inwards in immigration and education policy as mentioned on p.11 of my introduction. Again it seems that education policy and social anxiety go hand in hand.

2:62 EAL Learners and Policy

It is my opinion that current literacy policy does not seem to academically enfranchise new arrival students. I am not however suggesting that this is directly intentional, indeed the DFES offers guidelines as to best practice for the teaching of students who have English as an additional language. However many of the packs provided such as the *Guided sessions to support writing English as an additional language* (DFE, 2007) training pack or the *Aiming High* (2005) support

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materials to work with isolated students learning English as an additional language, are aimed at primary schools. OFSTED however, do offer two examples of good practice from secondary Schools including Feltham Community College (2011). This document suggests that targets for individuals are not set from Key Stage 2 (7-11 years) data as these are often not challenging enough (p.2). It also suggests that alternative courses such as a foundation ESOL are offered to new arrival learners (p.3), However this document does not solve the issue of what to do with students entering further education (16-19 years) without a C grade pass in English. The other secondary example of good practice is from Aston Manor Academy (2012) who suggest that a focus on literacy across the curriculum is key to increasing achievement. In both documents the focus is achievement and attainment, as are most discussions in today's target driven secondary schools. Although it is vital that schools continue to concentrate upon individual attainment, especially at GCSE, I feel that perhaps the holistic approach to different cultures and languages, which suggests that such individuals have a lot to offer to learning experiences in the classroom, is being eroded in favour of a Discourse which promotes students with English as an additional language as a statistical problem if not an actual problem.

2:7 Reflections

Students with English as an additional language have many different literacy practices to negotiate as they enter secondary school. Their funds of knowledge and home languages stand to be undermined by the constant focus on external examination which links discourses of ability to those of literacy. The discrepancies in status between literacy practices has the potential to cause a "Discursive mismatch" (Rogers, 2003, p.4) between students' home practices and those practices valued within school.

It is my opinion that students need a space in which to consider that mismatch and to challenge the ideologies behind literacy in school. A third space would allow competing D/discourses to be brought into conversation (Guttierez, 2008, p.44). Students' own funds of knowledge would therefore be sanctioned thus crossing contextual boundaries and challenging any perceived home/school barriers.

The theorists considered in this review (see 2:41, Approaching and defining Identity, pp.38-42) all demonstrate the complexity of identity. They insist that identity is not static. A transformative space would acknowledge students' transforming identities and give a space to critically consider the

complex cultural and linguistic processes which impact upon the concept of identity. This project set out to celebrate multiple identities and to enquire into the nature of identity.

Cope and Kalantzis (2000) look to a future where current value laden literacy practices would be challenged by new designs. They promote a space which would allow "different life worlds [to] flourish" (p.16) so that new voices can be heard. Their concept of design would allow for the deconstruction of current value laden literacy practices and encourage critical framing of current practice. This project set out to give students a space in which to design their own research opportunities. In a similar way to Cope and Kalantzis' (2000) multiliteracies project, students were given the opportunity to critically frame their social contexts and to enquire into Discourses of language, literacy and identity.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3:1 Introduction

The methodologies used in this research necessarily came before the question created by the students. Because this project is two-fold, whilst collecting and analysing empirical data, I also set out to evaluate the methodology itself and the pedagogy of enquiry based learning, detailed below. Although I knew that the study would be in a specific field, the methodologies are at the heart of the research.

This thesis combines two methodologies:

- Participatory research – a research methodology
- Enquiry based learning - a teaching and learning methodology

Enquiry based learning is a pedagogical tool promoting personal research, (Littleton, Sharples and Scanlon, 2012, p.1) it has been used in schools to encourage independent learning and was recently enshrined in the new A level – the Extended Project Qualification. (AQA, 2013, EPQ) As a teacher I am familiar with this teaching and learning tool. However as a researcher, enquiry based learning is more than a pedagogy; it is part of the epistemological reasoning behind this project. I cannot disentangle my role as teacher from my role as learner: whilst completing this research project, I am 'doing' enquiry based learning but even without attending a university I am still a learner, constantly evaluating my teaching practices and involving myself in theory making as I adapt my lessons to challenge my students. It is my belief that learning happens for me in my teaching practice through a type of action research cycle of trying, analysing, evaluating and changing. If so, teachers are always learning and knowledge is constantly being created. It seemed therefore appropriate to use enquiry based learning as a participatory method.

As I have detailed below, participatory research requires an understanding of power dynamics, where the power and knowledge usually owned by the researcher is ceded to the participants. Using enquiry based learning as a method allows me to explicitly acknowledge my role as learner researcher alongside my participants.

This chapter is split into two sections, giving a personal review of both enquiry based learning and participatory methodologies.

3:2 Participatory Research – An introduction

There appears to be little consensus among researchers as to the definite and exact approaches and methods of Participatory Research. Hansen et al (2001) note that such research is "emergent and fluid – not easily reduced to procedural universals"(p.296). The term seems to cover a wide gamut of research tactics ranging from a call to shift data gathering methods away from "words and talk to embrace children's' competencies and experiences"(Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.163); to a concern with the placement of children's voices in research (Mand, 2012); to emancipatory methods focused on children as "constructors and analysers of research data"(Gunter and Thompson, 2006, p.845, Coad and Evans, 2008, O'Brien and Moules, 2007) and action research with an overtly political agenda (Fine, 1994, pp. 13-31).

Despite the wide ranging definitions and practices which appear under this title, practitioners who call their research participatory, appear to share an epistemological stance and are all involved within a children's rights Discourse. (See 3:22 The Children's Rights Agenda below for elaboration.)

This section considers the characteristics of participatory research used in this study. It also aims to explain my epistemological positioning in relation to the methodologies, offering a consideration of the constructivist theories which participatory practitioners share, in order to establish the reasons behind, and the need for, this methodology. The children's rights agenda in relation to research is also considered including a presentation of examples of rights Discourses within the wide field of participatory research. I then go on to establish practitioners' concerns about validity and credibility when using emancipatory methodologies in order in some way to evaluate the utility of participatory practices. The processes of participation used in this study will also be reviewed, and reasoning given.

3:21 Constructivism

Before giving examples of participatory research and how practitioners' function within the constructivist episteme, I explain the tenets of constructivism and the ontological assumption behind this theory.

Opie (2004) explains that constructivists do not view the world as objectively real (p.20) but instead consider the world to be socially constructed by the people who live in it. He explains how social constructivists see theories which have come to be naturalised, such as those concerning gender and

race, as dangerous and therefore concern themselves with the evolution and dissemination of such theories and are thus often immediately involved within a Discourse of social justice.

Arising from ontological assumptions are epistemological concerns, for, if the world is socially constructed, then knowledge becomes subjective, provisional, experiential and relative. Those researchers who work within the constructivist paradigm understand that their positionality effects the knowledge they produce and that their evidence and hypotheses are only part of a matrix of "multiple realities, depending upon social positioning and life experiences" (Opie, 2004, p.22).

Researchers involved in participatory methodologies are concerned primarily with the participants involved in their study. Mackenzie et al (2012) in their study of water planning in Australia, rename participatory research "social learning" (p.11) and in doing so draw readers' attention to the mutable and fluctuating nature of knowledge. In their study, boundaries are blurred between researcher and researched (p.12) and both learn from the experience which is undertaken collaboratively. Constructivist theories highlight the need for a focus upon agency: if reality is not something out there, to be objectively viewed, then together research participants construct new knowledge through the combination of their perspectives. In its various guises, participatory research highlights the need to ensure that it is not only the researcher who claims authority and authorship of that new knowledge but that all participants are acknowledged as agentive during the whole research process.

Although this study acknowledges the social constructivist epistemology, in that this research into bilingual learner experience is co-constructed by those who are bilingual learners, I have taken care to acknowledge the social 'reality' of the student participants and to value their truthful views of their world.

3:22 The Children's Rights Agenda

If participants are to be recognized as knowledge constructors, then those, like myself, working in the participatory field with people under the age of 18, have to embrace certain conceptualisations of children and reject others. This section will consider the changing Discourses surrounding research and children's rights, voices and power.

James and Prout (1997) describe the 21st C as "the Century of the child" (p. 1). However as Mand (2008) explains, the world has not always been so child centred. Mand (2008) summarises the

changing conceptualisation of children and childhood as categories. He starts with the category of the adult child, which he critiques, suggesting that this concept does not deal adequately with notions of power and power imbalance. (p.150) He then goes on to explain the developmental concept, where children are seen as in a process of developing into adults. This form of thinking describes childhood as devoid of "social, political and economic structures" according to Mand (p.150). Alderson and Morrow (2011) also contest this theory suggesting such universal concepts are misleading in international and economic research. Alderson and Morrow (2011) also claim that a universal notion of children as developing adults is absurd; they critique such universalist categories as developed in the West and argue that Western thinkers seem to have believed "that all countries should emulate the post- industrial developed societies", so called 'undeveloped' countries, they contend, have ancient civilisations from which Western society has a lot to learn. (p.3) Next Mand (2008) goes on to describe those who see children as distinct from adults, as their own "tribe" (p.150). However he asserts that although ethnographic observation of such a "tribe" would yield some useful data, an adult researcher is so far removed from childhood experiences that the information gathered would have limited usefulness (P.150). Mand (2008) then refers to James (1993) who positions children as social beings. James and Prout (1997) debate what they see as the central tenets of a new paradigm of childhood where "children must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives" and are no longer "passive subjects of structural determinations" (p4). Within such a paradigm, children must be given the same credibility and agency as adults.

 In referring to James, Mand explains that childhood in this case "is relational to adulthood" (p.151) and that research methods need modifying to "embrace children's competencies and experiences" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p162). Those involved in participatory research seem to share this perspective; children are seen as social agents with their own voices. This concept was cemented by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) which enshrined children's right to participate in decisions that affected their welfare in law. (pp.5-6) For participatory researchers such as myself, this means that, not only should children involved in research be given the information to decide whether or not to take part in the study, but that they should also be given access to the tools to fully participate in any research about them.

Mason and Hood (2011) note that children themselves have "asserted their agency in knowledge production by gaining increasing access to the media of representation through vehicles such as the internet and other media" (p. 491). It is my opinion that to allow children to generate data in the

process of research, only by changing those methods of data gathering from written to more 'child friendly' visual or oral processes, is often to exclude children from fully participating in the research undertaken. This is vital according to the UN Convention especially when the data gathered may impact upon children's lives. To simply change methods is to ignore what Mason and Hood (2011) see as children's assertion of agency in structuring their own childhoods. I believe that a participatory methodology can ensure children and young people are included at many different stages, depending on the desired outcome of the research. The bilingual students in this study were therefore participants from the development of the question through to data collection and analysis, thus making the students co-researchers. I have tried to ensure that their voices are as loud as mine.

3:23 Examples of the Rights Agenda within Participatory Research Projects

Examples of Discourses of children's rights within participatory research are easy to find. However, as a researcher, it was useful to consider the moments at which other practitioners draw upon such Discourses before beginning my study, in order to consider whether a completely democratic study such as the one described above, could be undertaken. The following section will therefore consider three participatory projects undertaken with teenagers, focusing upon the ideological construction of the participants as well as references to children's rights.

The first article considers the impact of participatory action research on urban teens. The researchers, Ozer and Douglas (2012) consider the impact of research for those participating in an elective, youth lead research classes in five Californian high schools. Participatory action research (PAR) is explained by Ozer and Douglas as "an iterative process of action in which non- professional community members are trained as researchers and change agents and power over decisions are shared among the partners in the collaboration"(p.66). Grieg, Taylor and MacKay (2007) further elaborate upon this, describing PAR as a "continuous learning process in which new knowledge is both learned and also shared with those who may benefit from it"(p.172). The focus of PAR is improvement, whether of the community in which the participants live, or the school they attend, or the health service they use.

> In addition to improving community settings and
> resources—such as schools, neighbourhoods, and agencies
> that serve youth—the YPAR process is intended to yield
> developmental benefits for the young people who participate
> (Ozer and Douglas, 2012, p.66).

The acronym YPAR above, refers to youth participation in action research. In distinguishing youth projects from adult lead projects, the researchers show that they are constructing children as different to adults, however the term "youth" seems to support the United Nations Children's Rights Charter's (1989) (UNCRC) promotion of "dignity, tolerance, freedom, equality"(p.3). The researchers appear to be distinguishing their participants as "youth" in order to further endorse the right of the participants as quasi-adults, with an understanding of their environment which is above that of younger children, thus conferring more dignity and equality upon the participants.

The research paper also insists from the very beginning upon the "empowerment" (p.66) of youth by such YPAR projects. In the projects undertaken, staff facilitators gave the tools to the students in order to enable them to complete the research: "Teacher-facilitators helped students to identify specific and feasible actions that they could take within the time frame to start to address the problem[s]" (Ozer and Douglas, 2012, p.69). Discourse has been carefully chosen throughout the article to demonstrate that students were in control of their own voices, teachers become "facilitators" and researchers "team members" (p.69). There is a sense throughout of the right to expression and opinion covered in articles 11-13 of the UNCRC (p5). This is further enhanced by the evaluatory research detailed in this paper where the researchers questioned participants, using a questionnaire method, upon their perceptions of control within the project, their school and their community as a whole. There is a genuine sense of authenticity and care for the real voices of youth participators to make a difference.

However as the above study was an evaluation of the impact of such research, carried out by professionals, the reader does not get a sense of participants evaluating their own projects critically, this is left up to the academics who demonstrate that the youth participants did not report any increases in perceived control of their environments. The second study does however encourage participants to evaluate their own methods and actions.

The second study was undertaken by sixth form students in Rainham Mark Grammar School in collaboration with Canterbury Christ Church University. Again students were encouraged to develop their own research questions, related to the teaching and learning agenda within their school and were introduced to a range of research methods by the facilitating university. Students worked in pairs to answer six different questions, students analysed their own data and assisted in the writing up of their findings. The last pages of the 'Agency Voice and Participation Project' (Bryan et al, 2013) is entitled Reflections (pp.56-57), here students create a summary of the implications their research

may have upon teacher practice. I was also lucky enough to hear these students reflect upon their research at the December 2013 SSAT Conference; here students, not the university lecturer, fed back to a room of teachers, thus further enshrining the UNCRCs article 13 that every child shall have a right to freedom of expression. Students were openly critical of some of the pedagogies and assessment tools used in their school. Publishing and acknowledging such issues at a conference some might say, was quite a brave line for a school to take, however it fully embraces the notion of progressivity from Article 28 of the UNCRC (p.9). The sixth form students not only found their data and their personal voices valued by their school, but also learnt valuable academic and life skills through the undertaking of such a project. The title of the project itself highlights the commitment to a Discourse of children's rights – 'Agency, Voice and Participation'(2013) – emphasising not only the concept of voice as in the previously mentioned Ozer and Douglas research, but also the notion of agency and action, young people building and changing their own environment.

The third project to which I will refer specifically underlines "an ethical commitment to democratised working with children" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.161). In this ethnographic study, researchers intended to provide an "holistic account of the relationships and experiences of young people viewed as 'troubled' or 'difficult'" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.162). This reflexive study warns from the outset of the "tokenistic rhetoric of hearing children's voices" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.162) and yet arguably this participatory project is the least democratic as, unlike the two above, the researchers set the agenda before involving themselves within the Behavioural Support Unit.

The topic given to the adolescents was "being me" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.163). However, quickly, the researchers admit to discovering that pupil involvement within the organised sessions, including the information giving session and the rules setting session was limited and "consent was conditional and given on a minute to minute basis" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.164). After tearing up "carefully prepared session outlines" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.165) the researchers admit to allowing the students to choose their own games. Students participated freely in the truth game spin the bottle; a Q and A penalty shoot- out; an improvisational scenario based on X factor and a task which required the mapping of their neighbourhoods. Despite their original fears Gillies and Robinson (2012) admit in their conclusion that their participatory methodology allowed them "to connect with marginalised pupils in ways which acknowledged their agency" (p.172). Such work completed with students labelled as disruptive, whose behaviours are not tolerated in main stream classrooms again harks back to the Children's Rights Agenda. Without sentimentalising the issues

encountered by such adolescents, the methods used in this study allowed participants to acknowledge "turmoil, confusion and loss" (Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p.169) within a safe environment and thus perhaps, students unable to function in the expected manner within main stream schooling, were treated with "dignity, tolerance, freedom [and] equality" (UNCRC, p.3).

It can therefore be seen that although the three studies considered used not only different data gathering methods but also held widely differing views as to the definition of participatory research, they all upheld a similar ethical focus upon children's voice and agency and brought into question the construction of children's identities within 21st Century society.

After reading such articles before beginning my research, it became more and more obvious to me, that a fully participatory study would not only allow students' voices to be heard, but would indeed be a truly ethical approach to research with bilingual secondary school students.

3:24 Validity and Credibility

If, as Gillies and Robinson (2012) suggest, students are to be allowed to dismiss the professional researchers' suggested methods and as the Kent Project demonstrated, students are to be inducted into data analysis approaches, then the role of the researcher, my role, becomes much more a facilitating role than a commanding and demanding position. However, if the professional is to work with co-researchers who are not versed in methodology or analytical frameworks, then questions of credibility need to be at the forefront of the project's aims. The research team must have a shared understanding of what credible and trustworthy data entails and also a collective notion of what data counts as valid as well as the validity of a "relationship between a claim and the result of a data gathering process" (Scaife, 2004, p.68).

This section considers how practitioners involved in participatory research discuss and ensure the quality of their research, the validity of their data and the trustworthiness of their findings, and will consider how data gathered in this project claims to be valid and useful. In order to consider the legitimacy of such research it is necessary first to consider the changing nature of educational and social researchers' positions and to reflect upon the differing roles of the sociological and educational researcher.

3:25 Insider and Outsider Research

The following segment details the debate surrounding the validity of data collected and analysed by researchers who, like me, are already known to their participants and/or have an attachment to the institutions or social grouping on which their research is based – this is sometimes called member research (Sikes and Potts, 2008, p.3). Traditionally researchers strove to stay objective and distanced themselves from the subjects of their study, however, especially when working with young children, this is impossible and one might argue undesirable.

Sikes and Potts (2008) give two different representations of the researcher. They begin by describing the "social scientist as exotic tourist" (p.18) positioned within an ancient academy of knowledge and possessing a range of "technical competencies" which allows him a "monopoly over the production and to some degree circulation and consumption of that knowledge" (p.17). In this representation the researcher is necessarily an outsider, viewing the research subjects from afar in order to ascertain a truth behind their actions and notions. This positivist research model, according to Sikes and Potts (2008), allows researchers the "capacity to define what counts as legitimate and illegitimate forms of knowledge" (p.17). This project is specifically designed to question what might be seen as legitimate forms of knowledge and to challenge dominant ideology. I have therefore rejected the positivist model in this project.

Giroux (1985) explicitly critiques this model of research, suggesting that there has been "a failure to move beyond the language of critique and domination" (p.22). He calls for "transformative intellectuals" to understand "how subjectivities are produced and regulated through historically produced social forms and how these forms carry and embody particular interests" (p.26). Giroux (1985) calls for a change in the methods used to carry out educational research so that rather than being a vehicle for further entrenchment of the hierarchies of power, research becomes the driving force behind social change and emancipation. Giroux (1985) insists that we question the reasons why sociological research is undertaken. In considering Giroux' (1985) critique, researchers must also accept the challenge of evaluating not only how knowledge is produced but whose knowledge is considered valid, trustworthy and credible. If the sociological researcher alone dominates the data collection and analysis then questions must be asked as to why this research has been undertaken and for whose benefit.

The second presentation of the researcher given by Sikes and Potts (2008) is of the researcher as insider who is not only "sensitive to contextually mediated interpretations" (p.23) but is also an "active participant in generating change" (p.18). Sykes and Potts (2008) site teacher lead action

research in the classroom as a "challenge to more orthodox methods of inquiry" (p.24). Action or practitioner research traditionally generates change through intervention, it also acknowledges that knowledge can be created by none academics, refocusing the "locus of power and control over not only who can do research but also what counts as research" (p.24).

Participatory methodology also contends with the research path of the insider. In participatory research such as Gillies' and Robinsons' (2012), the participants are involved in choosing how data is gathered about themselves, it could be said that they are therefore complete insiders. However it is a university lecturer who initiates the research process. Potts and Sikes (2008) warn against such "colonisation" (p.25) of community research by academics and it is noticeable that only when Gillies' and Robinson surrendered their planning and used the young people's suggestions that the process of cooperation began. A participatory practitioner therefore must not only use child centred data collection methods, recognize the voices and agency of young people, but must also be or become enough of an insider to understand their collaborative community. Far from observing neutrally in order to collect truthful data, a participatory researcher must reposition herself and in some cases her understanding of what constitutes research in order to generate genuine change. Participatory research recognizes the need for insider action and the democratic relocation of knowledge, but goes one step further in its assertion that credible data can be produced by an empathetic , none sentimentalised, desire to engender change for communities who may have previously been marginalised, disempowered or ignored.

3:26 Issues of Credibility in an Example Participatory Research Project
The following research project was published in 2011 and details Baumann, Rodriguez and Parr-Cardona's (2011) community based applied research study with Latino immigrant families. The philosophy of participatory researchers detailed above can be seen clearly in their work. This section will consider their findings and the challenges research such as theirs brings to notions of credibility and validity.

The researchers are not shy about explaining their "shared passion of for promoting the well-being of Latino families" (p.133); their use of emotive language to describe their chosen research is somewhat refreshing and fully acknowledges their emotional investment in the principles of social justice. The researchers also openly acknowledge that part of their objective is to privilege "different ways of knowing" (p.133). In order to implement and evaluate the parenting intervention programme which was the subject of their research, the team had to "learn about the most pressing

needs….regarding issues of parenting and general life changes"(p.135) within the Latino community. The researchers explain that they understand the importance of scientific objectivity but wish to combine this with a thorough understanding of what constitutes useful and important knowledge for Latino immigrant parents which meant seeing differently.

Baumann, Rodriguez and Parra-Cardona (2011) explain some of the ethical dilemmas they faced when becoming insiders. Not only were they, as second or first generation immigrants themselves constantly managing their own experiences (p.137) but they were also faced with the immigration and customs enforcement raids (ICE) which meant that the participants in their research were often too scared to leave home and were clearly often distressed when appointments were kept (p.136). The researchers explain that in assisting personally during this time of need and creating personal as well as professional contacts (p.138) they were able to gain wider access to and understanding of families and parenting. They explain that not "engaging in multiple relationships with a community that had no other resources for support would have been potentially more harmful to our participants (p.142).

The validity of their data was not subsumed by their insider status and relationships with participants rather it was verified by them in their need for agency and assistance. Baumann, Rodriguez and Parra-Cardona (2011) pose many questions for the academic community at the end of their study and importantly claim a different category of researcher, that of "intervention researcher" (p.144) as opposed to academic researcher. As a teacher, committed to comprehensive education, this label sits very comfortably alongside my professional role. They also suggest that methodology, in this case, needs to be "based on community needs" (p.144). Their research questions academic understandings of validity by suggesting that data needs to be understood contextually (p.145). Like Lather in her theoretical and philosophical essay 'Fertile Obsession: Validity after Poststructuralism' (1994), the writers' of this project encourage the reader to ask "what might open ended and context-sensitive validity criteria look like?"(p.37)

3:27 Voices and validity
One of the issues which all researchers face when collecting qualitative data, whether participatory practitioners or not, is how to ensure that, during the processes of transcription, representation and analysis, the voice remains truthful; that the researcher is not simply mapping her own design onto the data. This is especially important however for the participatory practitioner whose research

must necessarily be emic in design. The following section will reflect upon the use of voice in participatory research and consider the implications for validity of data and outcome.

Sikes and Potts (2008) explain that "merely allowing one's participants to speak with their own 'voice' does not deal adequately with the process of generating accounts which end up in the public domain" (p.23) The insider researcher must acknowledge that the processes of moving such voices into the public domain may in some way change the participants' original intentions or thoughts. As part of a participatory research study, which acknowledges the collaborative nature of the represented data from the outset, the findings could be considered as more representative and therefore the project more valid.

Fine (1994) however, warns of a "romantic reliance on" voice (p.20). She suggests that even voices within a seemingly democratic collaborative will not necessarily share the same positionality or values. She continues to argue that "researchers who simply benignly transcribe social experiences fail to examine critically" (p.21) the powerful constructions which form our society and which must be critiqued if an agenda of social justice and equity is to be pursued. Lather (1994) and Hansen et al (2001) warn of the creation of a "pseudo-democracy" (Hansen et al, 2001, p.318) within a methodological mask of participation (Lather, 1994, p.39). Lather suggests that an evaluation of the methods used must be made transparent and that legitimation depends upon the researcher's ability to respond to the challenges levelled at her own chosen methods (p.39). Hansen et al (2001) in a practical study of Participatory Research in a school in Ottawa, do just that in examining the practicalities of participatory research within the study, admitting that a rhizomatic framework is hard to maintain within an institution based upon hierarchies (pp.317-318).

It seems that methodologies based within a social justice agenda have opened up the debate as to what counts as research; the Discourses of validity and credibility have been reframed within an innovative and activist research agenda.

3:28 Competent Participators

One of the major concerns of practitioners involved in participatory research within education, where the research collaborative is made of children, is competency. If the researchers themselves are novice, without a professional understanding of research methods, then how can their findings be trustworthy? It is also pertinent to be concerned that younger people may not possess the knowledge to understand topics with the same sophistication as an adult. This section will consider

the barriers to allowing young people to be fully participatory in research projects and will use example projects undertaken by children to counter such concerns.

Kellett et al (2004) note that "social experience should be viewed as a…. reliable marker of maturity and competence" (p.330). If children are completing research within an area about which they are familiar, then they should be considered the experts; the best people to change the situation or condition. Kellett (2004) published her paper in collaboration with four ten year old researchers who also submitted their data and analysis for publication. She insists that it is not

> chronological age which determines competence but sufficient
> understanding and intelligence to comprehend what is being
> proposed and for the individual to make a choice in his or her own
> best interest (p.331).

I believe that Kellett's use of the word "intelligence" here does not refer to the typical academic understanding, but has a much wider definition, embracing such notions as emotional and empathetic understanding as well as self- awareness, the ability to communicate etc. and does not occlude those with learning difficulties. Kellett's pupil researchers are very aware of the fact that they have a special position as children and talk about their desire to investigate ideas from "children's viewpoints, not adults'" (Kellett, 2004, p.333). The discussion that the pupils undertake in their research although not written in a sophisticated academic register is nevertheless intriguing in that it documents the researchers' hypotheses about childhood phenomena and how their findings challenged their understanding of the environment in which they live. The discussion is genuine and therefore useful to both activist researcher and communities in which the children are involved.

Kellet (2004) also explains how the children were successful in "getting responses from their peer group that may not have been possible for adult researchers because of power" issues (p.341). As well as being an advocate of participatory research, I am also a teacher and am very aware of the power adults have over children, especially in a one to one interview process. If students complete the necessary interviews with their peers, then a whole new dynamic is created within the interview. The challenge for me as a participatory researcher then came in transcribing and analysing that data. I had to ask myself the following questions: do I analyse only the interviewee data, collaboratively with the students, or do I use the whole transcript and student questions as part of a meta -research project which would consider the impact of the research project itself? I chose to do both and therefore have to admit that the processes of categorizing and analysing the post project interview

data again placed me in an advantageous position, potentially ventriloquizing the 'collaborators' of the study, placing upon them a new perhaps alien voice. In asking students to participate in the discussion of the second project and to read my analysis of our discussions, I have attempted not to compromise the veracity and genuine participatory nature of the first.

 Hansen et al (2001) insist that participatory researchers legitimize not only "indigenous knowledge" but also "research capacity" (p.303). Young people can be taught research methods in order to carry out advanced and sophisticated types of research. Fielding and Bragg (2003) published a manual for schools entitled "Students as Researchers Making a Difference". The manual details many participatory projects undertaken by students from primary and secondary schools, where students investigated elements of teaching and learning. Students were taught research methods and "the social skills of listening, responding and negotiating" (p.38) and in turn trained new student researchers themselves (p.41). This manual suggests that student led research groups often gain kudos from links to universities and researchers in the wider community (p.38). The projects detailed in the manual all have astonishing outcomes. Of much interest to me as an A Level teacher, was the transition project where year 12 (16-17 years old) students observed lessons and designed questionnaires in order to consider the transition between Key stage 4 and 5 (GCSE to A Level). The students were able to identify learning needs and provided an original and none confrontational way of feeding back to staff using postcards and cartoons (p.12). Training in research methods with a professional did not undermine the outcomes of the project or the student lead nature of that project. Students' new knowledge combined with their experience allowed changes to take place.

It seem that participatory researchers who wish to fully collaborate with their participants could become researchers in name only, in the above project the researcher's role is one of facilitation. It is perhaps for each researcher to examine the reasons that the research project is being undertaken in order that they can justify the different roles they may take. I began this chapter by suggesting that participatory research is difficult to pin down; the researcher's changing role and the different desired outcomes of each project, is perhaps the reason why.

3:3 Enquiry Based learning (EBL) – An introduction

Plutarch's "a mind is not a vessel to be filled but a lamp to be lit" is a motto so often quoted by teachers that it has become something of a cliché, however as a core subject teacher in a target driven environment, I feel that unfortunately there is less and less discovery happening in my classroom. It is regrettable that I have to admit it, but a space which should nurture a love of

independent inquiry, is too often used to move students in a tick box manner through grades and levels (Oates, 2012, p.22). Enquiry Based Learning (EBL) however is the antithesis of such a pedagogy, ensuring students become "active participants not passive receivers" (Boyer Commission, 1998, p.20). Although EBL is a teaching method, it is also a methodology, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, as it justifies the research methods which have been chosen.

EBL has its roots in inductive reasoning. Hutchings from Manchester's Centre for Excellence in Enquiry Based Learning, explores the philosophical background of EBL from Locke's empiricism challenged by Hume's understanding of the ephemeral nature of experiential understanding and the falsity of the principle of absolute causality including Berkley's concerns about subjective experience, through to Kant's aesthetic of consensus. This section does not intend to cover Hutchings' consideration of Enlightenment philosophers however it is worth noting that EBL's theoretical history is tied to an epistemological evolution, rejecting "authoritarian forms of thought and politics" (p.8) and valuing intellectual independence (p.7) and probability (p.26). The following section however defines EBL, considers the importance of group dynamic and consensus, gives examples of EBL within teaching processes and reflects upon the similarities between participatory research and EBL.

3:31 Defining EBL
This section with consider the definitions of Enquiry Based Learning as well as what Enquiry Based Learning entails.

Hutchings (2006) from Manchester's Centre for Excellence in Enquiry Based Learning sums EBL up in the opening of his philosophical considerations:

> In Enquiry-Based Learning, the presented stimulus (in the form of a scenario, a question, a proposition, a topic, a picture, or whatever) provides the initial object for observation and analysis. This stimulus leads to the search for missing evidence, sources of knowledge or ideas that are in turn tested for their validity and relevance. The initial scenario does not present us with an *a priori* truth from which we may deduce logical consequences. Rather, it acts as the spur to a sequence of additional examinations. Out of these particulars we derive conclusions that, we hope, provide an appropriate response to the initial stimulus. (Hutchings, p.3)

EBL is an iterative open ended process covering a broad spectrum of approaches. Littleton, Scanlon and Sharples (2012) discuss 'Inquiry learning', where they consider how to ensure young people "act

like scientists" in carrying out investigations (p1). Barell (1998) calls this approach Problem Based Learning which he defines as a transformative process where young people search "for answers to their own questions" (p.7). Kahn and O'Rourke (2005) explain the difference between EBL and project based learning, suggesting that EBL advocates project work in mastering a given body of knowledge but seeks to add to that body of knowledge instead of simply making connections (p.5). It seems that the different definitions share an understanding that it is the process that is the vital learning tool whether it is narrowing questions, fostering higher order problem solving skills or identifying learning needs.

EBL is not however simply a primary or secondary school pedagogic tool, its importance has been acknowledged by the Boyer Commission (1998) which ensured that undergraduates at research universities did not become isolated from the research interests of their tutors (p.16)and fostered an ecology of "inquiry, investigation and discovery"(p.18). Similarly, EBL has been fostered in Higher Education by the establishment and funding of an EBL related Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning (2007).

Interest in EBL has continued to increase thanks to the immediacy of communication technologies which enable independent and collaborative enquiry. On line learning environments such as blackboard or Moodle alongside e portfolios and on line collaborative editing software facilitate EBL. In fact the philosophy of the Moodle creator Dougiamas (2013) sounds very similar to the EBL definitions given above:

1. All of us are potential teachers as well as learners - in a true collaborative environment we are both.
2. We learn particularly well from the act of creating or expressing something for others to see.
3. We learn a lot by just observing the activity of our peers.
4. By understanding the contexts of others, we can teach in a more transformational way (p.4)

It can be seen that collaboration as well as empiricism is part of the EBL definition. Indeed Kahn and O'Rourke (2005) identify EBL as "promoting social interaction and cohesion" (p.2), explaining that "the whole experience becomes one of interchange where students share opinions, research and experience in order to achieve an end result" (p.1).

3:32 Collaboration

The following section will explain the importance of collaboration to any EBL project. I also consider the outcomes of such close collaboration in an educational environment, focusing particularly on the needs of students recently arrived in the UK and new to the English education system.

I begin by referring back to Hutchings' (2007) philosophical history of EBL. Hutchings explains EBL is situated within a constructivist epistemology, where new experiences are formulated into new knowledge (p.31) by individuals. He explains therefore that knowledge is complex because in this episteme it is inseparable from how we learn it. This seems to challenge the fact that EBL is collaborative as understanding appears individual and experiences which build that understanding are subjective. However, if it is the role of enquiry to forge and establish new knowledge, then those new understandings must be socially accepted as knowledge. The process of creating what is pragmatically useful, understood and valid cannot therefore be carried out in isolation; all new knowledge must be subject to consensus. EBL "is consistent with the belief that learning, as a human event, is essentially a social activity" (Hutchings, 2007, p.23). It also follows that if old knowledge is built upon by new experience in order to create new ideas, then those individuals undergoing those experiences are in fact in constant dialogue with a previously created body of knowledge. EBL is therefore very much a collaborative process. In guides to EBL in the classroom it is always recommended that students work in groups (Littleton, Scanlon and Sharples 2012, Barell 1998, Corey and Motte 2003).
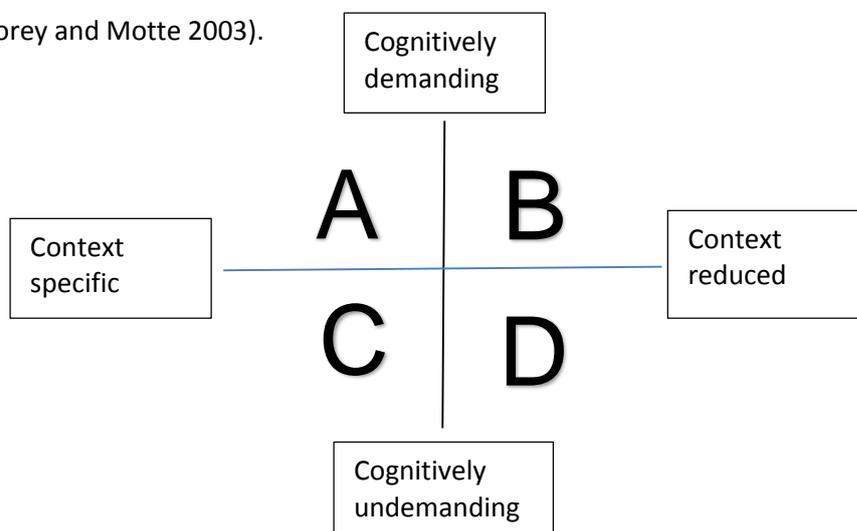
Figure 4 Task Quadrant

(Cummins, 1979, p.19)

As I am working with students whose first language is not English, but whose language in common *is* English, EBL offers a way in which students can develop what Cummins (1992) terms their Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency in a supportive but challenging manner. Cummins' task quadrant shows that the more difficult tasks are those which are both cognitively demanding and context reduced – quadrant D. The bilingual learners with whom I have been working are very able

communicators with embedded context specific vocabulary and were comfortable beginning the EBL project in a context rich environment, using subject specific language - Quadrant C of Cummins. In order to ensure cognitively demanding learning in an EBL project, a teacher should then scaffold students, in order to allow them to progress to the conceptual or cognitively demanding but contextually reduced end point of a project; answering the research question using theoretical constructs – quadrant D. The teacher becomes very much the facilitator, supporting or assisting students with writing or thinking frameworks while students work collaboratively to move into the more conceptual D quadrant of Cummins' model.

However, the result of such real collaboration is not simply to improve language fluency. According to Corey and Motte (2003), The Boyer Commission (1998) and Kahn and O'Rourke (2005) the result is to increase a sense of belonging for students as they move together towards an end point. Again this is vital for all students if they are to be taken seriously as knowledge creators or academics in their own right. However, it is even more important for those students who may feel marginalised by communication or cultural difference.

Another result of such collaboration means that the usual classroom hierarchy is collapsed. Although, as explained beneath, the teacher is still to some extent directing the learning process in that she is pointing students towards the existing body of knowledge and modelling practices such as critical reasoning (Littleton and Kerawala, 2012, p.38), the onus is on the students themselves to "actively explore and seek out new evidence" (Kahn and O'Rourke 2005, p.2). As Deignan (2009) suggests, such a break down in traditional classroom hierarchies creates possible changes in the teacher's professional identity (p.21). However, as mentioned above, such deconstruction of status within the classroom is entirely necessary when working with students who are more expert and experienced and who have, in a constructivist epistemology more knowledge in the field than me, the teacher-researcher.

3:33 Examples of the EBL Process

Whilst EBL projects have many procedural similarities, it is worth pinpointing the processes of both facilitators and students in order to discern the differences and parallels. It is also interesting to note the variety of activities created by teachers and undertaken by students in order to promote effective learning. This section therefore considers three different EBL projects undertaken in a school, a university and one project initiated by Manchester City Council in collaboration with Manchester University.

3:33a The School Science Project (Littleton and Kerawalla 2012)

In this project, a class of mixed ability students in a secondary school were asked to complete an inquiry into microclimates. They began by recapping existing knowledge in order that they could see how their new knowledge would build upon the field. The teacher then presented the concept of the microclimate as a theoretical construction but gradually re-contextualised the concept, allowing students to frame their everyday experiences in empirical and scientific terms (p.36). The teacher went on to model hypotheses, before giving students the inquiry question (p.37). Littleton and Kerawalla (2012) explain how the teacher models critical reasoning throughout, by placing emphasis on students' need to explicate the reasons that underpin their hypotheses (p.38) Students then move on to collect data. Here the teacher uses open ended questions in order to ensure that students are paying close attention to bridging the gap between the everyday and the scientific. In this learning episode the teacher's main challenge is to ensure that her students think like scientists and therefore she spends much of her time re-contextualising the familiar school environment in order that students can make connections between experience and ideas (p.45) and think critically about their environs.

3:33b Using participatory image-based research to inform teaching and learning about inclusion in education (Miles, Kaplan and Howes, 2005)

Postgraduate Education students were invited to attend a Pilot course introducing the key concepts in visual anthropology and visual ethnography (p.4) in order to promote participatory photographic research into inclusion in education. Resources such as a Diamond Nine Sorting Exercise (Ainscow et al 1994) were prepared by the course leaders as well as a film endorsing ethical consideration when taking photographs (p.5). It is noticeable, that in this case, presumably because the postgraduates were already familiar with research as a concept, the teacher's role was to provide stimulus about the research topic rather than make connections. The statements from the Diamond Nine Card sort were open ended, and the pictures which went with them were quite ambiguous. The second activity which encouraged students to take photographs in order to dramatize inclusion or exclusion by means of a single image (p.5) and the subsequent presentation of those images again relied on student's own perceptions and interpretations. The very nature of photography seems to lend itself to the EBL epistemology as the images are both objectively true but subjectively realised, real in the moment of capture but experientially altered. This activity, which was next taken to a school environment by students, is entirely dialogic, allowing students to bring their own Funds of Knowledge (Moll,2005) to the project, as well as using the teacher's original open ended input, and

allows the creation of new knowledge through new media. Whereas in the previous project the onus was on the teacher to make connections, here, thanks to the medium, students make their own.

3:33c Green City Projects: Facilitating Cross-Faculty Communities of Practice in Environmental and Sustainable Development Research for Manchester City Council

(Smyntek, Hughes, McMorrow and Raftery, 2010)

"The overall aims of the Green City Project were to connect student learning with current, local environmental and sustainable development issues of interest to" Manchester City Council (p.3). In a similar manner to both projects above, students were invited to get to grips with the existing body of knowledge by applying and adapting solutions from other settings to their current environment (p3.). As students were from a variety of disciplines across Manchester University, the focus was initially upon making connections, not only between knowledge and environment but across fields of knowledge and then finally transferring that knowledge and experience to Manchester City Council. The emphasis in this project was transferability and validity. Whilst in the first project, the teacher made connections, and in the second project, the students made subjective connections this project proved the validity of praxis and the iterative nature of EBL as the assignments became sustainable and wider reaching.

3:34 EBL and Participatory Research

EBL and participatory research methodologies are both grounded in constructivist epistemologies. In participatory research, students are recognized as knowledge constructors, blurring the boundaries between researcher and researched. Similarly in an EBL project, knowledge is co-constructed in a dialogic scaffold between the existing body of knowledge and the teacher and students' experiences. In both methodologies, learning and research are similar social activities.

Both methodologies are radical in that they encourage the participants to question the nature of knowledge. As EBL values independent thought, based on subjective experiences, so, participatory research highlights the need to value the agency and experience of young people. Knowledge creation is not only the domain of the academic, but in both of these methodologies children's experiences and voices are valued. EBL and participatory research deconstruct the notion of the academic, children too are knowledge producers. These methodologies therefore sit very comfortably with my role as a secondary school teacher as I am continually surprised by my

74

students. As a nervous researcher, the combination of these methodologies also allows me to re-identify myself alongside my team of participatory student researchers as an enthusiastic learner.

Chapter 4   Research Design

4:1 Introduction

The following section tells the story of the research group from gathering volunteers to data gathering and analysis methods. I used the field notes taken after meeting weekly with student researchers in order to write this chapter. Students were also invited to read any part of the chapter as part of the transparency process, but also because they are an integral part of this research project. They were invited to add any extra information they thought necessary or challenge my field notes. The text boxes throughout this chapter therefore, are the students' response to what I was writing. I introduce the student researchers briefly each time but please see the introductory chapter pp.16-19 where student researchers introduce themselves. I have also tried to ensure that my role within the research process has been made clear throughout the chronological narrative below and aimed to make my involvement and choices as transparent as possible.

The chapter is split into three sections where I discuss the background to the project, the LRT project design – Project 1 and the meta project design – Project 2.

4:12 Background to the project

A student led research team had been developed in school several years before I joined the EdD course at Sheffield, completing small scale projects mostly intended to help teachers enhance their skill sets (see 1:3 The Advanced Bilingual Learner (ABL) Project p.11). This group gradually grew wider to encompass what we now call the Communication Leaders; a group run in a similar way to the National Sports Leaders Award where students are trained to lead communication learning for those in the younger years. As explained on p. 11 these students were trained to observe lessons, offer feedback to staff and assist staff in the planning of lessons as well as completing a small communication based research project about the potential uses of round tables in the canteen. The group did eventually contain native English speakers, although, due to the nature of our school, it has constantly contained a strong cohort of bilingual speakers.

 I was part of the team who trained the first set of voluntary communication leaders. However due to a new build project which meant an extra 3 form entry and due to Peterborough's changing patterns of immigration, the school began to see more and more learners arriving with little or no English. As I began the EdD, many of the students who I had worked with in Year7, with no English, were about to take their GCSEs. Without wanting to sound sentimental, I am constantly surprised by

the changes in such young people as they get to grips not only with a new language, but a new culture and a new education system, and I began to feel that such students might enjoy a space to discuss how their lives had changed and what they felt about the educational Discourses in which they had become immersed.

4:13 My Background

I am English teacher as well as researcher, and therefore must acknowledge that part of my research design owes something to my mistrust of the current examination system. Students arrive in school with little or no English, not only in year 7 (the start of secondary school) but often in years 10 and 11 (14-16yrs). They are then required to sit external examinations as their Basic Interpersonal Communication skills are still developing. Too often I have heard teenagers measure themselves, be it their intellectual potential or their learner identities, against the grades they achieve, be those internal levels or external grades. Whilst this is true of English speakers too, I have long thought that it must be a particularly unpleasant process for those with little English who cannot achieve the same grades as their peers, or even equivalent grades to those which they were achieving in their home countries. One of my intentions in recreating a similar group to the ABL group therefore was to ensure that students who volunteered had a space in which their different bilingual voices and identities were valued.

> *Year 11 students particularly agreed with my comments about the unjust nature of examinations for bilingual students, especially Mahtab and Oldrich who had not experienced primary school in the UK but had arrived in secondary school in Year 8 and 9 respectively with no English.*
>
> Mahtab Askari: I believe that bilingual learners like us need extra time in examinations due to processing the information and translating it in your mother tongue which takes a huge amount of time to get it in the right wording.
>
> Oldrich Capek: Gove, linear is not good, bring back modular there's less pressure that way!
>
> *Jessica, a bilingual Year 9 student who has Mandarin lessons on Saturdays, was particularly annoyed by the restrictive nature of the school examinations and felt that she would benefit more from learning a different skill set, as she felt she already knew how to learn language.*
>
> Jessica Lee: Being bilingual, we have learnt two languages or more, so when we are required to learn yet another language, some struggle, especially in exams. But we have to if we want the EBac [English Baccalaureate] qualification.
>
> *Whilst many students who have English as their mother tongue, I am sure they wish for more time in exams or would like to return to the modular system or drop a subject to concentrate on others, the students above highlight issues specific to bilingual students. It seems that some of my views at least are corroborated by the students.*

I was also aware from the outset that whilst, in traditional terms, I was an insider, knowing my students beforehand and having taught many of them, I was also very much an outsider. I am not bilingual and have never lived anywhere other than the UK. The students with whom I would be working had often lived in more than two different countries and many of our students speak three or four languages. Students therefore have more knowledge and experience of bilingualism than I do as a teacher of bilingual learners and this must be acknowledged in any research completed with such students Loxley and Seery (2008) suggest that researchers have traditionally used notions of inside and outside to demarcate their "place in the social science scheme of things"(p.16). In traditional positivist understandings of research, the outsider brings her knowledge and technical competences to the field and therefore has a "monopoly over the production and to some degree the circulation and consumption" (p.15) of the knowledge created by the study. I have been very conscious from the outset that my bilingual students not only had more understanding of bilingualism than me but that many of them, as well as taking sociology GCSE and learning theoretically about research, had also already undertaken research projects. Any research with such students has to recognise that the knowledge created in such a setting with such people would be dialogically produced. The simple binary notion of insider and outsider therefore began to crumble and I had to consider alternative equitable methodologies – participatory research.

4:2 Designing The Project with the Lead Research Team (LRT)

The following section describes the journey taken by the LRT as we collaboratively designed the research project.

4:21 Recruiting the LRT and Learning Identities

Students in the Communication leaders team and the ABL group were invited to volunteer to be part of a student led research group –the LRT. They were asked to bring any other friends interested to an initial meeting. In this meeting I explained about the EdD course and explained why I had chosen to complete a participatory study. I ensured that students knew they would be leading the research about something which interested them, and that I would be a facilitator and would train them in how to 'do' research.

From the very first meeting I felt somewhat at sea. As a teacher, used to holding a body of knowledge or at least a set of skills which students do not have but which are numbered by examination board specifications, I am usually in a position of power. However as an EdD student who has never completed any empirical research before, my practical research skills were untested

and working with a group of bilingual students, although my reading in the field was wide, my actual experience was nil. In hindsight this was an ideal position in which to begin a student led project, I was no longer in complete control of the questions, processes or outcomes.

4:22 Contextual Information about the LRT meetings

Students met every Friday or Tuesday lunchtime from October to May. Unfortunately not every session was well attended due to students' and my commitments across the school and the examination period. However as I kept field notes, I invited students to use them to catch up on sessions and tended to summarise previous information at the beginning of every new meeting.

Meetings were fairly relaxed as I wanted students to understand that I was also part of their research team, as well as being their teacher. This was helped as the only student that I taught during the year who was in the group was Mukosa from year 12. Students were also invited to eat lunch together as we chatted and often shared food as friendships were cemented.

Mukosa is a student in Year 12 who was one of the original team of Communication Leaders. She made the following comment after reading this section of the Methodology chapter.

Mukosa Tengenesha: It was interesting to see that our thoughts were new to Miss Swannell.

Mukosa's statement was reassuring to me as a participatory researcher, as it suggests that the students feel that I have been listening to and learning from them; that we are all on the road of discovery.

4:23 Field Notes

Throughout the collective research process, I took field notes. These were written up the evening after meetings with students had taken place. Students were invited to look at the notes I had taken during our weekly meetings, but rarely took up the opportunity unless they wanted to refer back to something they had mentioned. I felt that I could not often take notes during sessions as I did not want to create an atmosphere where students felt that they were being observed; the research team are not the subjects of this study but the participants. For similar reasons, I chose not to video or record planning sessions, as this may have unnerved the research group. I also wanted to be counted as a fellow researcher, learning alongside the students in order to attempt to establish a different, less imbalanced, power dynamic.

My field notes were therefore both descriptive and reflective but unfortunately not heavily detailed as to the circumstances I was recalling, due to the nature of memory. However, I have used them to write the following section and I have also asked students to read the following section to make sure that they agree with my comments and to validate the chapter. I also invited students to add any comments to corroborate ideas or to include anything they felt I had forgotten. Students comments are therefore included in the named text boxes. Students wrote these comments on a draft copy of the chapter and suggested where they should go. During this process, Mahtab became worried that her English was not good enough to go into a written document and wanted to know if I would change it, so that it sounded more academic. I explained that I would not be rewriting her ideas, as her written word as a bilingual student was just as valid and vital as her voice during the planning sessions we had just undertaken. In fact I explained that such a worry was exactly why this project was so important, she agreed. Therefore all written communications from students have not been altered.

4:24 Engaging with the Field

As has been explored above, in both participatory research and EBL, part of the teacher's role is to facilitate engagement with the body of knowledge surrounding the research area. I wanted to ensure that students understood however that they were in control of this project and therefore began with their knowledge and experience. Students were asked to complete a thought onion on post it notes, detailing their thoughts and feelings about literacy and bilingualism. The key words were placed at the centre of each circle and students were asked to post their initial thoughts around each word. They were then asked to look at the ring they had created and respond to that with new post it notes and so on. My intention was to attempt to move students from their immediate academic concerns in order to begin to consider the term literacy as a more ephemeral concept than that used in classrooms. Students were also asked to categorise their thoughts in order to explore similar themes from both groupings.

After exploring their own experiences I then introduced students to four short critical readings

A

The debate has long raged over how to teach students Literacy. The January 2011 Ofsted Report 'Removing Barriers to Literacy; suggest that emphasis in both primary and secondary schools should be placed on "teaching reading, writing and spelling through systematic phonics" (Ofsted, 2011,p.4).

B

As teachers we have to prepare our students to allow them to "participate fully in public community and economic life" (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000, p.9). This means preparing all students to become part

of a globalised workforce and ensuring that they are able to participate in the literacy practices required by fast developing technology where they can access new forms of work "by learning the new language of work" (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000, p.13).

C

The New Literacy Studies emphasises the importance of "culturally sensitive teaching (Street, 1997, p.3) Street's "ideological" model suggests that literacy is a social practice and therefore should be studied as it occurs naturally in life (Street, 1997, p.3).

D

Learning reading is to learn a set of culturally neutral transferable skills.

In sharing such academic writing, I was hoping to emphasise my role as learner and highlight the fact that I did not hold all the knowledge, but like them was having to refer to text books to help develop my understanding of the field. I was also very aware that I did not want to 'dumb down' the academic nature of what we were doing; part of my desire to work with these young people was to forge a space where their abilities were openly acknowledged.

4:25 Development of research questions

This research project is multi layered and there are two sets of differently developed research questions. Student researchers developed a set of questions, which are discussed below, section 4:26, focusing on their concerns as EAL learners. However, as a researcher, I also have a set of meta questions regarding the nature of EBL and EAL learners which, to some extent grew in the project's duration. (See 4:3 Project 2 - The Meta Project p. 96)

Figure 5 Collaborative Methodology
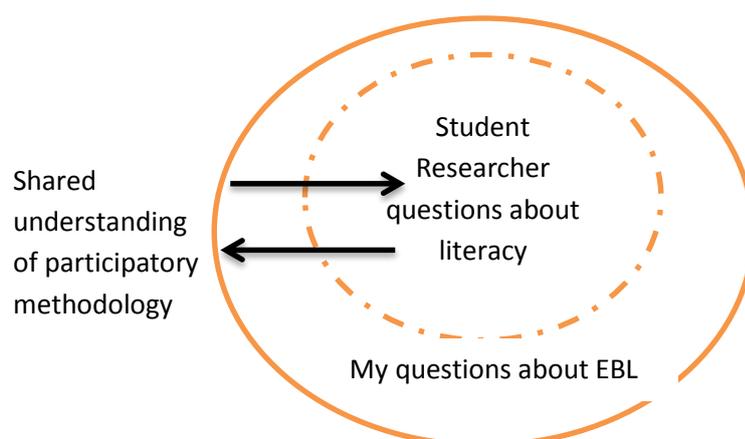
Figure 4 above shows the shared development of understanding regarding participatory methods, however I have used a dotted line to emphasise that I am also involved as a member of the research

team and that the data collected by the students and the new knowledge created by that data was also new and revealing for me. Not only that, but through personal reflection, students too were learning about the process of EBL.

Therefore much of the rest of section 4 of this chapter could be seen as collected data regarding student reactions to the EBL process and will be referred to in Chapter 6. However in keeping with my decision to ensure that this is a fully participatory project it seemed appropriate to include the methods used by students in the Methodologies chapter instead of the Analysis chapter. This project is a collaboration and therefore student methods are also my methods.

However as this project is two- fold, section 4:3 of this chapter will set out the design of the second, meta- project, including methods used.

4:26 Group Sessions to develop questions
Throughout the project, I was necessarily a facilitator as well as a researcher. I enabled students to understand the rigours of academic research and supported the process throughout. The following section details my role in the LRT's question development process.

This session began by discussing question phrasing, we considered open and closed questions and discussed the size of studies and the possibility of creating a project which was too unwieldy. Students were then asked to move into mixed age groups and to write down any questions at all which they thought might be interesting to look at involving language, literacy and identity.

When reconvening as a whole group, I asked students to categorise their questions in themes which helped them to, in some cases exclude questions, choose different phrasings of similar questions and get to grips with exactly which category they preferred. They were then asked to rank the thirteen questions they had created in reverse order of preference.

Questions asked by students in categories

Life and Communication

Who can communicate better, bilingual or monolingual students?

What are the effects of literacy and literature on bilingual students' communication?

Which is harder: us learning English or them learning another language?

Being Bilingual

How do bilingual learners learn?

What is a bilingual learner?

What makes bilingual learners different?

Are bilingual students more literate than non-bilingual students?

<u>Literacy</u>

What is being literate?

<u>Exams</u>

Why are certain languages not classed as GCSEs?

Does English literacy in our school hinder bilingual learners?

Do bilingual students always completely understand the wording of questions in exams?

<u>Lessons</u>

Do you focus more on school if you are monolingual or bilingual?

Why do we need MFL [modern foreign languages] lessons if we already have another?

Why are languages graded?

How much of lessons are lost in translation

How can lessons be tailored to ensure involvement and participation of bilingual students?

Students were then asked to rank the thirteen questions they had created in order of preference. Students did not finish the task as they quickly chose the question in which they were all interested: Does literacy in our school hinder bilingual learners? Some of the younger students asked for clarification of the word hinder which was given by Mukosa. It was then suggested by Oldrich that the word 'hinder' was too subjective. In conversation, Oldrich then suggested the verb 'impact' and all agreed.

Therefore the Student Researchers' question was: How does literacy in our school impact upon bilingual learners?

During the next session I asked the researchers if they would like to think of any sub questions which would be pertinent to our main question. They suggested the following:

   a) In what ways does literacy affect bilingual learners?
   b) Does literacy affect you in school or out of school?
   c) Does literacy affect your language, culture and identity?
   d) Is there a stereotype of a bilingual learner?
   e) Do students think there is literacy perfection?
   f) Does schooled literacy affect bilingual learners in a good or a bad way?

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g) Why does literacy affect you?

The sub-questions above changed as we moved through the project, as will be explained and evaluated further in both this section and in Chapter 6. Students became interested in identity and literacy as concepts and when devising their data collection methods, their questions changed quite dramatically as can be seen by the questions they developed to ask student participants during interviews. (See

Appendix 5 Questions Developed by LRT to help during Diamond 9 task Discussions). Even the main question changed after students began to analyse their data.

The LRT's new main question became: How do bilingual learners in an English speaking secondary school feel about being bilingual?

4:27 Reflecting on the Question Framing Process

I had not intervened in any of the processes above other than to suggest categorisation and ranking as I felt that the question had to come entirely from the students. Before students embarked upon the question finding process, I explained my status as outsider to this procedure as I was neither student nor bilingual and therefore my questions would not be as pertinent or relevant as theirs. Throughout the planning stages I was very aware that students should see themselves as the ones with the knowledge about their lives as per the participatory methodology and therefore tried not to enter into their discussions or help them to word questions. This was extremely difficult. Standing back and allowing students to take over one's research project is a little nerve wracking and as a teacher I am usually much more involved in the input. However I did resist.

4:28 Student Sampling

Before beginning to consider the methods which would be used to collect data it seemed pertinent to ask student researchers what sort of students would be involved in the study. We discussed language barriers for new arrival students and that it would probably be uncomfortable for those students with very little English to participate. I explained to the research group that after three years in the education system in Peterborough, students were labelled as 'bilingual learners' because their basic communication skills were thought to have mostly developed by then. Therefore students decided that they would only ask bilingual learners to participate using the shared language of English.

Student researchers also decided that as we are a school of over 70 languages, it would be impossible to cover all students' home languages and so asked me to find out which were the least and most frequently spoken languages, in order that student experience was representative. I explained that students sometimes may not want to participate and that it would have to be their choice, in the same way that attending the research meetings was their choice. I suggested that we should look at the length of time students had been in the English education system in order to

further narrow down our sample, however the team disagreed suggesting this did not necessarily matter as the impact of literacy upon bilingual learners was ongoing, especially as Jurgis pointed out, that what we actually wanted to discover was how identities were changing and perceptions were being altered and that the nature of this would be quite specific to an individual and not necessarily generalizable depending on length of time in the UK. We did not at this point narrow down the amount of students in the sample as researchers did not know which data gathering methods they would use as yet and the sample size would to some extent be reliant upon methods.

When methods had been chosen, student researchers were asked to help recruit volunteers for the process. It was decided that students would be approached individually as often notices given out in assemblies were forgotten. The LRT were asked to invite potential participants to a meeting to find out what the project would entail in order that they could decide whether to participate. The languages most infrequently spoken in the school were often spoken by just one or two students and there are many different languages, I approached some of these students as I did not know if they were known to the LRT.

Unfortunately, due to exigencies of time, this process took place during examination leave and therefore only one year 10 student, (who subsequently left the LRT due to work pressures), was left to invite, Key Stage 4 pupils as he was the only one who knew people within the two year groups which make up Key Stage 4. In order to help, I asked teachers in the Minority Ethnic New Arrival Support Department to approach Key Stage 4 Students with whom they had worked lower down the school. All other students involved were recruited by the LRT.

Eventually twenty one participants attended the meeting, nine from Key Stage 3, three from Key Stage 4 and three from Key Stage 5 returned the parental consent sheets. Therefore expediency more than planning guided our sample.

4:29 Ethical Processes
Before I move on to consider how the LRT chose their data gathering methods, ethical processes need to be explained.

The project began with the Sheffield University ethical application forms. The LRT were given information letters and consent forms to be signed by themselves and their parents, as all students were under 18. At this point I chose to keep students anonymous as per the Sheffield principles of

anonymity, confidentiality and data protection guidelines. I asked students if parents would like translations of the information sheets. I also checked with the head of the language support unit if she would be willing to talk to parents if necessary as all parents would be familiar with her already. Students reassured me that they would explain the form to parents if necessary. Throughout the original meetings with the LRT, I ensured that they knew that they could leave at any time. I started the meetings originally in the language support unit in order that students felt comfortable in a familiar place. However due to a remodelling of the school, we had to relocate half way through the process to the sixth form centre. I believe by this point however that students were at ease, understood and were enjoying the collaborative process. No matter where we were situated students all knew that the head of the Language Support Department was available should anything which they found uncomfortable arise. I stuck to the school's child protection policy and explained to students before we started that our conversations were not completely private and if anything concerning was disclosed I would follow school procedure and speak to the named child protection officer.

None of the students within this cohort were considered 'at risk' by the school, all live with family members. My group may therefore be seen as non-representative of the whole EAL student body, however this is impossible in a school where so many different languages are spoken and where students' backgrounds differ so widely.

I also shared with students an adapted version of Grieg, Taylor and Mackay's (2013) table to show stages and levels of participation (See Fig 6 p 87). The table sets up a series of questions which allow participators to think about their roles ethically and practically and thus to design the research ethically and practically. It also allowed me to consider my role within this collaborative project as I was no longer a teacher and sole decision maker. It was a table to which we kept referring as we moved through the practicalities of research. This meant that the collaborative method I had hoped to embed was reflected upon at each stage of our learning journeys.

In Jack Hunt School we have a 25 minute period each day where students participate in vertical tutor groups. In this time older students will mentor younger ones and lessons with social and emotional learning content are delivered. As the LRT were using and learning similar skills to those delivered in lessons, we were allowed to use this lesson time for meetings. When we first began, meetings were limited to two 25 minute sessions per week. However as students became more involved, many meetings over ran into lunch time. I made it very clear that students did not have to stay during their

lunch break. I also made it clear, that academic commitments came first. As Grieg Taylor and Mackay (2013) "children have a right to participate and have their voices heard just as they have a right to refuse to participate" (p.253). The school only has a 40 minute lunch break and therefore revision sessions are not held during that time and very few clubs run at lunchtime. As the LRT meetings progressed, especially during data analysis, students often stayed during the lunch break. It was also their idea to order pizza and share lunch together. Sharing lunch made the collaborative process more relaxed and academic arguments were much more prevalent.

Stage and level of participation	Decisions and planning
Project planning	Who should be in charge in making decisions about the overall project including the question? Who should design the methods for collecting data?
Gathering data	How will you be involved in data gathering? Can you be? What concerns do you have about collecting data from your peers?
Analysis of data	Will you analyse data or will I? Can all of you analyse the data at once? Who will decide how to present the data? How will we validate our findings?
Reporting findings	Who will share this with the school and how?

Figure 6   Table to show potential participation of children and young people as co researchers Adapted from Grieg, Taylor and Mackay, 2013, p227

After students had chosen their data collection methods, I asked students whether they would like to be named as co-authors of the project or to remain anonymous. I believe that it is ethically important to recognize children as competent social actors who "not only live in structured childhoods but are themselves structuring their childhoods."(Mason, Hood, 2011, p.492). However I did not want my views to influence students. I therefore talked to students about who might see and use this thesis and where it would be held. I explained to them, using Giordano, O'Reilly, Taylor, & Dogra (2007) the belief that protecting participants is central to why research is carried out anonymously and that it is meant to protect participants from any retributions and ensure that data gathered is honest. I then left the room and asked students to discuss anonymity without me. I asked them to leave me an anonymous Yes or No inside a sealed envelope to suggest whether they would like to be named or not. Students voted unanimously that they would like to be named. I therefore completed another letter for parents and students to sign giving consent to publishing of names.

 Because naming students meant that the school's anonymity was compromised, I had previously met with the head teacher to discuss the implications. After students had voted that they wanted to

be named, I composed a letter to the Head and governors asking them to grant permission for me to name the school.

I then had to complete a second ethical application for Sheffield University, however this time students helped. I wrote the initial form, information to participants and consent forms. However the LRT altered the wording, especially focusing upon the letters to parents which they said were too academic. Students participating in the focus groups were to remain anonymous. The LRT understood the need for reliable data and felt that students would be more willing to participate if they knew that their names would not be written down anywhere.

The LRT conducted interviews with their peers. However, due to the school's child protection guidelines, I had to be in the room during the interviews. The LRT explained my presence and their anonymity to participants before beginning their interviews. "Whatever the level of participation, researchers have a responsibility to protect children and young people's best interests" (Grieg, Taylor and MacKay, 2013, p.251).

Throughout the process I was concerned to get the balance right. Whilst this was very important to me as it is my doctoral thesis, I could not allow my concerns to weigh upon the shoulders of the LRT. This was very difficult and meant that to a certain extent I had to stop worrying about time constraints as I could not hurry the LRT or place too much responsibility onto them. I wanted to ensure that this project went beyond mere consultation and demonstrated a commitment to the ethics of participation and collaboration enshrined in Article 13 of the UNCRC and that students took ownership, something discussed in 3:23 Examples of the Rights Agenda within Participatory Research Projects p. 59 and in 6:22i Can student involvement in research collaboration have learning benefits? p. 122. If students took ownership of the research this also meant that my role, both as researcher and teacher, was challenged and needed to be reconstructed. The power balance was altered.

4.210 Data Gathering Methods – The Mosaic Approach
This section considers the reasons as to why I chose to use a form of Mosaic data gathering and how the students' decisions influenced which methods were eventually used.

Due to the nature of this project, even before students began gathering data, I had accrued a vast amount of what could be termed data through field notes, and documents to which students had

responded. Outside of this project four students had also given a presentation at the Specialist Schools and Academies Trust conference about what it was like to be a new arrival in an English secondary school and how teachers could help them to achieve. Also outside the parameters of this project, ten students had made a film, which was also shown to the governing body, in their home languages in order to encourage audience empathy. It was obvious to me that LRT members enjoyed the collaborative nature of what they were doing and were much more confident when creating and evaluating as a team. It was apparent from the outset that requiring the LRT to complete one to one interviews or even to conduct focus groups alone would be an inappropriate method to use especially as it would be counter to the dialogic processes we had already undertaken in reaching a question.

I therefore decided that students would have to experiment with and evaluate data gathering methods for themselves before choosing the ones they wanted to use, and that those methods should also be fully participatory in that they should "embrace children's competencies and experiences"(Gillies and Robinson, 2012, p162). Consequently I turned to what has been called the Mosaic approach of data collection, the core principle of which is generating rather than extracting knowledge (Veale, 2005).

Clark and Moss (2005) explain that it is important "to understand listening to be a process which is not limited to the spoken word" (p.5). In their projects with pre-school children they explain the Mosaic approach is a reflexive framework for

> Laying out in the open ideas, perceptions and attitudes held by young children and adults in a way that promotes lively exchange and increased understanding: interpretation is acknowledged as an essential part of documentation (p.7).

Clark and Moss also explain that their framework is "less about particular methods than a framework for listening" and looking at "lives lived" (p.8).

Clarke and Moss (2005) therefore detail a two stage process where they begin by observing and conferencing with children. In a study with pre -school children (2005) they combined these two perspectives by using innovative participatory methods such as the use of cameras, tours, mapping and drawing. Stage two recognizes the need to piece together the information gathered into tables and maps in order to discover similar themes.

Although Clark and Moss were working with very young children and using case study, the approach was initially created to use with non-literate adults in order to ensure that they could play a role in decision making at a local level (Clark and Moss, 2005, p.6), it therefore appealed not only because it openly acknowledges researcher interpretation in the piecing together of the mosaic and is therefore adhering to the dialogic practices already explained, but also because we would be working with bilingual students who may find certain methods intimidating, by combining methods we would may be able to 'hear' more.

Although many of the student researchers were familiar with interview, questionnaire and focus groups from other projects they had done, they were not familiar with more participatory methods. I therefore decided to embark upon training students to use participatory methods, by asking them to complete a variety themselves. The LRT were also aware from the outset that their responses to these methods would be used in Chapter 6. After completing the different methods, they were then able to evaluate which methods they preferred to use and which they thought other students would prefer.

4:211 The Methods Evaluated by Student Researchers

I wanted to ensure that the methods to which I introduced the LRT were participatory in that they were accessible and useable by EAL secondary school students. As mentioned previously, Jurgis had already noted that this project was very much about identity and the changing nature of identity, therefore I had to be aware in the choice of methods to which I introduced students, that there were ample opportunities for students to reflect upon their different identities and the impact that schooled literacy had upon their identities. I also took into consideration that identity, as part of the literacy process, is not an object to analyse but "should be viewed in relation to actions and practices that are enacted to present identities in a particular light"(Pahl and Rowsell, 2012, p113). For our study this meant that the methods used should not be constrictive, that they should offer a space for enactment of multiple identities as well as take into account teenagers' familiarity with multi – modality and that as our question was about schooled literacy, they should be different from literacy practices used within everyday classrooms where possible.

When initially discussing the methods of data gathering with students, Safwan suggested asking participants to text thoughts to a central mobile device, in place of an interview, he also suggested a live web chat. This was discussed by the LRT, explaining that teenagers found on line communication sometimes easier because it was not face to face and 'on the spot', it allowed them to rephrase ideas

and often gave them confidence to say exactly what they wanted using less academic discourses than those used face to face in a classroom. Such on line affordances were considered. However, because of child protection policy within the school, it was decided by the researchers that holding students' mobile numbers was dangerous. I also decided that using the school's Twitter account to hashtag comments would be difficult as the group could not be closed and therefore could be used by anybody. I also considered using the Virtual Learning Environment to set up a closed web chat, but there is no facility for such instant communication on our learning platform, which would mean using a social media or blogging site, neither of which sits well with school policy.

I therefore chose to introduce the LRT to the following methods, explaining them to students before they attempted each and chose the ones which they thought would generate the most interesting and valid data.

1. The Diamond 9 (Ainscow et al 1994) – Here researchers were asked to consider 9 statements about their identities as bilingual learners and rank them, placing the most important at the top.
2. Literacy Diary – (Alaszewski, 2006) Researchers were asked to keep diaries every time they believe they were involved in literacy
3. Photography tour – (Clark and Moss 2005) Researchers were asked to take photographs of where they thought literacy happened throughout a day and use those photographs to create literacy maps.
4. Drawing – (adapted from the Canterbury Christ Church and Rainham Mark Grammar School 'Agency Voice and Participation Project', 2013) Researchers completed a metaphoric drawing of a 'Literacy tree' showing the roots as activities which anchor and stabilise them, the leaves as new literacy growth and the winds as unsettling experiences which shook their understanding of literacy.
5. Thought onion- (adapted from Deignan, 2009) Researchers used this at the very start of their journey and were asked to develop their ideas about bilingualism in layers and then categorise their thoughts.

After each activity the student researchers discussed the usefulness to their question. They quickly ruled out the solicited diary technique, they found this too onerous and suggested that younger years would probably lose them. Researchers dismissed the onion technique as dull, suggesting it would not engender much discussion as it did not offer enough stimulus. Some researchers found

the drawing technique interesting although others suggested that metaphor was quite a difficult concept and the categories they would have to come up with may not fit well into a picture. Oldrich initially said that the photography tour was superficial, however Mukosa and Iona liked the fact that cameras could be used at home as well. Sudin noted that the younger years would perhaps not stick to places and would snap people too, which would be unethical. They decided therefore to use the photography tour only with their Key Stage Five, 16-18 year old participants.

All researchers enjoyed the Diamond 9 activity and therefore decided that they would use this to stimulate discussion for Key Stage 3 (11-13 years). Jessica suggested completing a Diamond 9 for the Key stage 4 (13-16 years), activity but that some cards should be left blank to encourage students to develop their own ideas; I really liked this suggestion and so did the research team, but when piloting the activity, it was decided to not to leave any cards blank as the participants were unable to think of anything they wanted to put down and the discussion surrounding the blank cards was quite superficial.

4:212 Data Gathering
Thus the mosaic of methods used was narrowed down to photography, group interview, and diamond nine stimulus within a focus group. As the ethics of the project were solely in my hands, I chose to ask students to use focus groups of three. This would allow student participants to feel comfortable, it would generate discussion between students and was an attempt to ensure that no student would every feel vulnerable at any given time.

Interview and focus group technique was also quite new to some student researchers and they were keen initially to complete unstructured interviews where they would act as a prompts to elicit information (Denscombe, 2011, p.175) and allow students to interact in order to guide the focus groups with little intervention from them. However when asked to practice this technique with diamond nine activity in a pilot interview, they found it quite difficult to elicit information and therefore completed a collaborative question guide together based on which of the diamond nine cards was at the bottom and which was at the top. This set of questions can be found in Appendix 9. As student researchers became more relaxed in the interview process, they began to steer away from these questions alone.

Students left the interviews based on the photographs until the end of their data collection process and as this part of the collection was completed with older participants student researchers began to

feel that this session should be run in a similar manner to the focus groups, where students would discuss their photographs with each other rather than answer deliberate questions as it was in discussion that the younger students had given us the richest data. In the end we only had one set of three students from the sixth form (16-18 years old) who were willing to participate, recruited by Mukosa. The LRT felt this would not give them a wide or comparable understanding of sixth form students' opinions and therefore chose to use the diamond nine activity alongside the photographs students had taken.

The LRT also volunteered in each session to take field notes. We discussed my field notes, to which student researchers had access throughout, from the planning sessions. Students considered the sort of data that they might gather from field notes, and decided that descriptive notes were not enough as the interviews were being recorded. Instead students chose to take field notes as a record of their own reactions to the focus groups including anything surprising or anything which they felt would need to be commented on in the analysis section.

4:213 Data Analysis
The next section looks at the data analysis methods used by student researchers, taking in to account my role as facilitator.

Choosing a method of analysis which would keep student researchers' attention and which would generate some useful data was a difficult process, especially as students were not party to this process. It would have been impossible to share the many different data analysis tools with students and expect them to complete the same amount of reading as I have completed. My role as a facilitator here therefore was in determining students' comprehension of what analysis was and in showing students how to use the data collected in order to answer the research question.

Because of the limiting factor of time, I typed up the focus group interviews for students, eliminating sounds and pauses shorter than 5 seconds but attempting to keep any second language vocabulary, fillers, teenage idioms and dialect in order to record an authentic EAL teenage voice. Whilst I realise that I made these choices and not my students, in order to attempt to redress the balance of meaning making I chose not to incorporate any punctuation in the transcripts. I felt that this was imposing my own units of meaning onto the participants' words and would perhaps mean that the student researchers who conducted the interviews would use my units of meaning instead of locating their own and therefore developing their own understanding of the data collected. I

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therefore asked to students to listen to the transcripts and incorporate their own punctuation, this also meant that they were sharing in the interpretative transcription process.

As the group's motivation was to describe and define the impact of schooled literacy upon bilingual learners and because, due to the nature of the project, students' understanding of the theories and hypotheses regarding literacy was limited, analysis was always going to have to be inductive but with an understanding that students had already been considering possible outcomes from experience, group discussion and whilst holding the interviews and re-reading them.

I used Kellett's (2005) recommendations for introducing coding and memos to students, beginning with the activity given in 'How to develop children as researchers' (pp.102-104). Student researchers practiced open coding, using memos to compare codes before abstracting themes from the final piles of codes using Kellet's example transcript.

They then moved on to consider their own data. Again, student researchers used Kellet's (2005) stages of coding: they began by reading the data. I then asked them to choose "four to six categories" which covered the broad spectrum of data. They were also asked to have an "other" category in which to put any relevant datum which did not fit into their pre chosen codes (Kellet, 2005, p.101). Students found such a small number of categories limiting and therefore decided to organise themselves in pairs, taking one or two transcripts each and coming up with the coding for their particular transcripts. In discussion they decided to keep all codes which appeared once or twice. (See Appendix 8)

Oldrich was unhappy with this process and believed that researchers were not fully immersed in the data, he asked if we could spend some time summarising each page of the transcript before moving on to discussing themes. He believed that this would allow each group to have a better understanding of all of the transcripts and therefore a better understanding of themes. Oldrich and his partner Sudin wrote copious notes over their transcripts, many of which were already interpretative and analytical as did Sumayya and Iona. However other students found the summary process more difficult or perhaps not useful. I did not insist that they all completed the written summary as this felt counter to my role as a collaborator. Instead researchers discussed the most interesting parts of their transcripts and compared participants' answers in order to immerse themselves within the data and discuss significant themes which arose when sharing the wide amount of categories they had discovered.

After agreeing upon their categories students then cut up their data and began to consider larger themes into which their categories could be placed. To begin with researchers placed their categories into the following themes:

Barriers

Identity

Being Sociable

In conversation I asked them to define their themes which led to a very rich discussion regarding identity especially. I was also interested to find that researchers had placed everything they had categorised as translating into the theme "barriers to learning" and asked why students had chosen to do this. In conversation, students then chose to revise their categories and develop new themes, seen below.

Each of the transcripts was printed in a different colour so that when researchers had decided on their themes and cut out each categorised statement from the transcripts in order to place in a particular themed pile, we would know the context of the quotation under consideration. Students worked again in pairs on their particular transcripts mainly because of the issue of time. However students did take one session to consider each themed pile to see if they agreed with all of the quotations placed there.

Throughout this process I kept a master copy of the coloured and coded transcripts and did take one transcript myself and go through the same process, I felt this was necessary as I was not an overseer in this process but a collaborator. Whilst researchers were thematising their transcripts however I limited myself to asking open questions only in order that my ideas did not disrupt theirs.

The student researchers were eventually happy with the following themes

1. Belonging
2. Pride
3. Secrecy
4. Forgetting

Chapters 5 and 6 will further elaborate on the manner in which I collaborated with student researchers in order to facilitate the development of themes and the development of subsequent theories, Appendix 8 also gives an example of the dynamic collaborative process

4:3 Project 2 - The Meta Project

The following section considers the methods used to gather and interpret data in order to answer the secondary questions :

1. What impact does participation in a collaborative research project have on secondary school multi lingual learners?

2. Can teacher/student; researcher/participant combined research with children ever be fully collaborative?

4:31 Data Gathering Methods

The LRT were interviewed after they had completed their data analysis in order to gather data upon not only their learning process but upon their understanding of collaborative processes. With this in mind it seemed disingenuous not to use a similar to method to the original diamond nine chosen by students. I therefore used a list of statements which I asked students to rank in order to promote discussion and to facilitate in depth dialogue regarding the project undertaken.

As discussion regarding the efficacy of students' own choice of method and of the interview process itself was ongoing throughout their data analysis conversations, I also chose to use field notes in order to further describe and analyse students' responses and my own response to the processes undertaken. The project itself was reflexive, students did not wait until the end of data analysis to analyse and evaluate their research methods or their own reactions; they were critical throughout. The project was designed to encourage such criticality. I had hoped to allow students space for decision making and self- appraisal from the start where they were asked to make decisions as a group and come to conclusions as a group which engendered much reflexive dialogue. Therefore my field notes were a great source of data for this section of the project.

4:32 Data analysis methods

Interviews were transcribed after recording. Again I left in pauses of more than 5 seconds but indicated in the transcripts when student were shuffling or ranking statements in pauses, as these pauses were of a different type to the pauses for thought. I also transcribed moments of laughter, and there were many as the LRT enjoy being in each other's company and, I think, enjoyed being interviewed themselves, especially after they had conducted so many.

I initially divided data from field notes and transcripts into statements which seemed to answer each of the main questions. I then divided them down still further into statements which answered each

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of the sub-questions. I then again used similar methods to the students, spending sometime coding

statements before themes began to emerge. As I rewrote parts of the transcripts onto post it notes

in order to make the data more manageable, I kept the names of students on the top of each post it

note, again to make sure that the context was not lost in this process. I also ensured that T was

placed on the post it notes taken from transcripts and F and a page number for those which came

from my field notes. The themes which emerged can be seen in Section 5:2, p.99.

Chapter 5 Analysis of Data

5:1 Introduction

This chapter describes the findings of the student led research group. As mentioned in the previous

chapter a thematic analysis has been used. Themes chosen by students are at the heart of this

analysis, however in order to strengthen the work I have supplemented these with additional

theories with which the students were unfamiliar. In this spirit of this project, I have taken care to

replicate and extend student ideas (see Appendix 8) and because this research has aimed to respect

the idea that participants are also the researchers and the work is about the students' findings.

Whether or not I have been successful in this collaboration and in the creation of legitimate and useful knowledge and whether such an enterprise has the potential to offer an alternative equitable framework for research with young people within schools is considered in Chapter 6.

5:2 The Emergence of Themes

As described in Chapter 4, 4:213 pp.93-96, student researchers were asked to code their transcripts. This process was repeated in a systematic way until students were happy with the codes. Themes began to emerge through discussion of the interpretation of transcripts. Students had written quotations from the transcripts on post it notes and engaged in discussion of what they meant. From these discussions, the themes arrived. This was quite a difficult process and as can be seen through the extra information given by student researchers in text boxes, they sometimes did not completely agree. I have included their disagreements over interpretation as I want to ensure that the process of interpretation is transparent but also because it is important that all the students' voices are heard and all student researchers' thoughts are significant.

It was noticeable as the discussions were taking place that the research group were using their own experiences to interpret and comment upon the data they had gathered. Again some of these observations are recorded below in text boxes because personal experience of being a bilingual learner was what the research group was drawing upon in order to analyse their findings.

As a whole the themes were centred upon the feelings of bilingual learners towards what it felt like to be able to use two languages simultaneously. For me the themes chosen by the research group seem to capture not only the necessity of a polygenic existence for bilingual teenagers but the joyful acceptance of participating in a multi-vocal reality.

The main themes were
1. Belonging - Students considered how, as bilingual learners, they were part of different groupings. They discussed the practices within same language groups and how it felt to be part of a minority language group but also how it felt to belong to groupings within a school where seventy four different languages are spoken
2. Pride – This theme was universal throughout the focus groups as students discussed not only their love of their mother tongue but also their pride in speaking more than one language inside and outside of the school environment.

3. Secrecy – Students participants and student researchers enjoyed talking about the times when other people could not understand them. They explored, with much laughter, the times when they had used their home language to hide feelings or to keep others guessing.

4. Forgetting – Student researchers were very interested in the moments when their mother tongue failed them, they noted how student participants discussed how and why they forgot their home language.

Themes 1 and 3 emerged from students' talk, however, themes 2 and 4 were words used in the Diamond Nine prompt activity given to focus groups to enable talk. It could therefore be said that the statements influenced student response and that the data given was therefore unreasonably compromised by the terms used. However, students were given nine other statements, none of which emerged as repeated themes, and, as the statements themselves were created by bilingual learners and used because they were ideas and experiences discussed at length in meetings, it could be said that the student response to these statements mirrored that of the student research team.

Theme 1 has been further subdivided into the various groupings to which students saw themselves as belonging specifically because of their bilingual identities:

a. Belonging to a home language community outside of school.

b. Belonging to a community inside of school.

5:3 Commentary on analysis and presentation of Findings

As explained in 4:213 Data Analysis p.93 student researchers used Kellet's (2005) recommended coding and categorising practice. As Kellet (2005) notes, this is a highly simplified version of Grounded Theory (p. 104). This inductive approach appealed primarily to me as the students themselves were not familiar with theories of language and identity, Kellet's (2005) process allowed theories to develop from the categorisation process.

However it must be acknowledged that I still believe that inductive research can never be fully realised as even my youngest researchers were not approaching the data in a vacuum, they had a clear idea of what they expected to find. I also had some expectations but did not deliberately select theory before data analysis in order to attempt to allow the student participant voices to be heard as clearly as possible. Pre -selecting theory for analysis would have felt as if I was translating for the bilingual learner participants. I realise that in analysing data, the researcher will always be, in part, ventriloquizing those collected voices; this is especially true of this project as not only am I 'writing

up' the thoughts and feelings of the LRT but am often another step removed as this chapter details *their* findings and analysis alongside *my* discussion, in my academic style. It is inevitable therefore that in summarising students' words; in removing quotations from the original transcripts in order to complete the process of analysis; in the selection of quotations included in this chapter and in the very processes of language analysis itself, I will be speaking for the students, and the data will be altered. However, this research has attempted throughout to remain true to the participants' thoughts and feelings, especially because the original analysis was completed by bilingual learners themselves. Whilst the student researchers were coming to the data without theory, they did have their own experiences to rely upon and enjoyed agreeing and disagreeing with the information they discovered. They may not have read the theories attached to bilingual learning and bilingual learner identity, but they did have the lens of experience through which to view and interpret the data, their experiences, like theories, gave the student researchers ways of understanding and reading the data they had collected. I believe that their view points as bilingual learners have made the analysis all the richer.

Thematic analysis allowed for a less rigid procedural structure than other analytical methods, which ensured that students had the space to generate more questions and indeed change original questions as they became immersed in the data sets. Kellet (2005) suggests finding 6 codes with student researchers (pp.102-103), my student researchers generated over 20 to begin with, until their focus narrowed and they began to understand the nature of the categorisation process. The information they discovered changed their original question. They moved from 'How does literacy impact upon bilingual leaners?' to 'How do bilingual learners in our secondary school feel about being bilingual?' At the start of the categorisation process they became quite downhearted, thinking they had not answered their original question at all and that they had wasted their time. However, as I explained, whatever the participants wished to convey was important and that it was testimony to the open atmosphere they had created in the focus groups and the open ended nature of the Diamond Nine prompt activity that ensured participants themselves set the agenda to some extent. Thematic analysis allowed for the development of new questions and I ensured that student researchers understood the necessity of remaining faithful to their participants' concerns.

5:4 Findings

The following section considers the significance of the findings from the seven focus groups led by student researchers.

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Theme 1: Belonging

Student researchers had originally labelled this theme Language Identity, but upon consideration it was changed to Belonging as student participants were not simply discussing their personal affiliation with their mother tongue and their second language, instead they were talking very much more about what Barton and Hamilton (2005) term "discourse communities" (p.11). Students were sharing value judgements with us about their practices and these practices were not simply about language change, choice or preference. In fact one Shona speaking student participant noted that her affiliation with her home language had not changed at all since attending an English speaking secondary school, but that "*the culture has an effect, it makes us think about what we eat, how we dress and all that, but not your own language*", therefore to consider the data in terms of belonging made more sense to the bilingual student researchers than to consider in terms of personal language identity.

   a.   Belonging to a home language community outside of school

In all seven focus groups, students placed the card "being bilingual makes you more sociable" near the top of their diamond nine activity. From the discussions between participants that ensued it was clear to see that when talking about their ability to speak two or more languages, students were inferring that being bilingual offered a sense of belonging. As expected, students discussed their sense of belonging to a shared language community outside of school. A Mandarin speaker and a Dari speaker talked about language lessons in the community. The Dari speaker explained that it was not just her who attended such lessons but "*most of the people who have been here for quite a long time.*" She seemed to want to impress upon the group that the people who went to such lessons were not new speakers of Dari but that it was a shared community practice which bought community members together.

Many students also discussed the need to continue practising their home language "*in case we go back home.*" They did not want to be left out of their families and communities.

> "*Cos if you're on holiday and you go back to your home country, you're not going to be really sociable if you don't know your mother tongue. So if you're, like went to someone's house you would be like quiet in the corner while like your parents or your siblings they would just be talking to other people and like meeting people while you would be just left there.*"

The Urdu speaker above, like many other students, felt that his home language was not necessarily a link back to his country of origin but was necessary in order for him to belong to a community of

people. There was no sense of sentimentality from any of the students; all students couched their discussion of "*home*" within the parameters of being participants within a group dynamic . Strangely, when reading the transcripts it seems that language and understanding is decentred from the discussions about language and sociability, instead participation and belonging become the main themes. When discussing friendship students very rarely spoke about being understood or misunderstood, instead participation and belonging became the main themes. It seems that in discussion, the student participants were upholding a Bakhtinian theory of language; if language is dialogic and meaning can only be created through a shared experience, then the lack of reference to making one's own self understood in social situations seems to uphold this theory – students see communication as a social enterprise.

All focus groups placed the card '<u>I am more sociable because I am bilingual</u>' in either the top place of their Diamond Nine or on the second line. Most of the discussion that ensued was about friendship, students stressed popularity and that being bilingual helped them to "know more" people, both inside and outside of school.

    b.   Belonging to a community within school

Student participants also discussed belonging to a community within school. Very often the phrase "*knowing more people"* was used when discussing school life as a bilingual student. However from the focus group discussions emerged a community that I had not expected. I had expected students to discuss English speaking friends and home language speaking friends within school and although many students did, they also inferred that they belonged to a bilingual group which surpassed specific spoken languages.

A Portuguese speaker explained to her peers that she believed being bilingual made her more sociable but that she didn't really speak to any other Portuguese speakers within school; her friends were all "*in a different language"*. An Urdu speaking student, when discussing taking friends home to meet her monolingual Urdu speaking Grandma, put her point of view that *"it's good to be like (Pause) you should have friends that are just all the same; all different cultural friends, speaking all different languages."* The student here insists that different cultures are the "*same*"; she appears to be suggesting that she shares commonalities with other bilingual students no matter what their language heritage. I do not think that this student is discussing cultural similarities, when she talks about her friends from different language backgrounds, the bilingual student research group instead

believe that she is instead hinting at a shared experience of being bilingual in a predominantly English speaking community.

Such shared experiences are easy to find in the collected data, students often discuss translating for others when they are new to the school. One Harare speaker, who does not have any peers in school who speak her home language, described how it feels when attending a UK school for the first time,

> *"Because you want someone that you can communicate with and just feel comfortable with. If you went to like (pause) if someone was to come here and try to speak a language nobody knows, you'd feel a bit like you don't want to talk to anyone 'cos you can't understand anything."*

It is noticeable that she does not use the first person pronoun, but describes the experience in the second person, as if it were a generalised, commonly understood experience. Similarly a Lithuanian speaker discussed instilling confidence into *"non- English speaking students",* even those who did not speak her home language, although she did not explain why, the bilingual student research group believe this is again because of a shared experience. It is my belief that whether that shared experience is real or imagined, bilingual students at Jack Hunt School are beginning to create a shared sense of belonging which transcends language heritage.

Hawkins (2012) discusses school students who have been educated elsewhere other than the UK as having to acquire "school affiliated identities" (p.60). She discusses the need for such students to participate in the d[D]iscourse community of the school and to display the identity of a successful student. This can be heard in the student participants' responses to the diamond nine activity. Curiously, when discussing sociability, students often used a traditionally academic discourse - couching their social lives as bilingual people in educational terms.

> *"If you speak two language, you, you have the opportunity to speak with two kind of like (Pause) people."*
> *"It's a really good skill to have."*

> Mahtab disagreed with the interpretation here. She explained that using the second person was a teenage idiom and that it was not valid to analyse this quotation as showing a shared experience.
>
> A detailed discussion about cultural and language similarities and differences ensued in which Mahtab, Mukosa and Greta discussed the fact their closest friends did not necessarily speak the same language as them but were all bilingual. Mukosa's closest friends are all from African nations, as is she, but do not speak the same language. Mahtab agreed that her closest friends were from Asian countries but that there was no one in her group from Afghanistan and that they all spoke different languages and often discussed their differences in culture.

The two students above use an academic discourse of skills and opportunities to discuss friendliness. The first students implies that school gives her a wider range of people to speak to, but uses the term *"opportunity"* a word widely used in our school's academic register when students are taught to write CVs and when completing SWOT analysis (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) for personal target setting. Other students talked about being able to "c*ooperate*" more fully as they were bilingual and some discussed the ability to *"communicate."* Therefore whilst recognizing a burgeoning group identity which appeared to transcend language heritage, it must also be acknowledged that belonging to such a group seems to be described in school driven language. Whilst it may be argued that this type of discourse was used by participants due to the context of the focus groups, (they all took place in a school environment and I, as a teacher figure, was present at all recordings) their peers conducted the groups and as a bystander, the focus groups were very relaxed and participant driven. There was no sense of competition or suggestion of graded academic objective. Therefore, whereas Hawkins (2012) notes that for bilingual children, "the ability to engage successfully with academic literacies was distinct from their ability to engage successfully in social interactions" (p.60), the students involved in this study seemed to have the ability to reflect lucidly upon their social interactions using academic terminology.

The literacy event in which these students participated as they described their camaraderie and sociability seems to be cradled in, and born of, the school domain. Thus students define their new sense of belonging to a trans-language bilingual cohort, by using what one could express as the language of power. Barton and Hamilton (2008) discuss the notion of implied space or domain and

how literacy practices within those domains are "patterned by institutions and power relationships" (p.8). One could argue that the bilingual students had to participate in such a way in order to engender a sense of power within the ensuing conversation.

However, this interpretation feels a little glib. It is facile to suggest as I have just done, that an academic discourse tops the hierarchy within the school domain. Anyone who teaches in a school, knows that a plethora of literacy practices with many different heritages abound within the parameters of a school building and that the context of the literacy event will determine the discourses used and that power will shift depending on the agendas of the participants. Gregory et al (2005) similarly explore a multifaceted network of intergenerational literacy practices which cross literacy domains (from Pahl and Roswell, 2012, p.105) and Beach and Phinney (1997) consider the hidden literacy practices and interplay of power in the discourses used within one secondary school classroom. It could therefore be said that the bilingual student participants had a variety of discourses to which they could turn when being interviewed by their bilingual peers, but they used an academic discourse to voice their sense of belonging.

The students' responses seem to suggest a burgeoning Community of Practice. Wenger - Traynor (2014) describe a Community of Practice as

> A Community of Practice is not merely a club of friends or a network of connections between people. It has an identity defined by a shared domain of interest. Membership therefore implies a commitment to the domain, and therefore a shared competence that distinguishes members from other people. (You could belong to the same network as someone and never know it.) The domain is not necessarily something recognized as "expertise" outside the community. A youth gang may have developed all sorts of ways of dealing with their domain: surviving on the street and maintaining some kind of identity they can live with. (p.1)

In their category of Belonging, the LRT did not see a framework of power to which bilingual learners were submitted, instead they perceived something which was much more positive: a shared competence in tackling a second language; "*you can learn in like two different ways*"; a community with shared experiences "*It's **our** language and **our** friends know that some of **our** parents can't speak English so they go with it*"; and a shared pride in that sense of belonging which is explained nicely beneath by an Urdu and a Malayalam speaking participant:

> O: *You won't have any pride if you are not sociable. Because, like, I'm well proud to have friends.*

Q: *Yeah, if you didn't be more sociable because you can speak two languages then that would mean you wouldn't have that much pride in speaking more than one language .*

It therefore seems that far from feeling marginalised, bilingual learners have developed community feeling through shared experiences. Language is not a barrier to students but a tool as friendship groups on the whole appeared to transcend language and culture and were based upon experience within school. Although I realise that such a small sample does not make these conclusions generalizable, it is interesting that allegiances appear to be grounded within the school itself.

Theme 2 Pride

One of the statements used to engender discussion in the focus groups was 'I am proud to be bilingual.' This was placed by all student participants at the top of their diamond nine or in second place. It was also something to which participants kept returning when discussing other statements. Student researchers therefore felt it important enough to be considered a theme in their analysis, however it did cause some controversy as can be seen below.

Pride in being bilingual was often referred to by students as being or having "*more*" than average. When discussing this statement, students proudly told us

*"You know more people from **more** places."*

*"You can build up **more** vocabulary."*

*"I guess you know **more** cultural things."*

*"You can talk **more**."*

*"You're **more** involved [with your family]"*

*"It sort of makes me a bit **more** confident."*

These statements were taken from both Key Stage 3 (11-14yrs) and Key Stage 4 (14-16yrs) students about to sit examinations. Far from feeling undermined, or explaining their bilingualism in terms of deficit, students described their feelings about being bilingual in an English speaking secondary school as advantageous.

 It was interesting for me, that when choosing the statements for the diamond nine, student researchers, who were predominantly Key Stage 4, did not choose to mention public examinations or the curriculum, but chose much wider statements about how one might feel as a minority speaker. And indeed in discussion, student participants rarely mentioned sitting examinations.

During the categorising process I asked students why they had not mentioned the examination process in their diamond statements. Student researchers were not too sure.

Oldrich and Iona agreed that the examination process affects one's self judgement and Mahtab explained that she, like me, felt the examination system unfair for bilingual learners especially as an examiner did not get to see a student's full potential and that the examination system did have an adverse effect on her self -belief and her pride in being bilingual. Greta agreed whole-heartedly mentioning English and Science as the two

In the Introduction 1:2 Project Context pp. 9-10, I expressed an anxiety that current literacy assessment policy does not enfranchise students who speak English as an additional language, especially those students who were new arrivals in secondary education. The participants were made up of students who were bilingual from birth, new arrivals in primary school and the largest cohort were new arrivals in the secondary system. No student participant spoke of the examination system as unfair for bilingual students, instead students were very articulate in expressing their pride in being bilingual learners. A Key Stage 3, Urdu speaker whose family arrived in the UK when he was three years old and whose parents speak only Urdu, discussed his pride in the skills he attributed to being bilingual as he was able to learn Urdu and English languages *"simultaneously"* which, he said, impacted upon his learning in school *"So I have more focus and like, how do you say, I got less distracted because I've gone through it."* I was surprised by the lucid articulation with which student participants of all ages discussed how bilingualism made them imaginative: *"You can like think of the (Pause) say one thing in two different ways";* skilled learners: *"You have good memory of words"*, *"It's easy to learn different languages"*; and culturally respectful: *"If you get asked in PDE [*Personal Development Education*], it's like do you know how (Pause). Have you ever been through a debate*?" The last student here, an Urdu speaker from the Afghani border with Pakistan, was talking about attitudes to political upheaval and his pride in his ability to share personal experiences in lessons. It was clear to me and the LRT that these were **not** students who felt disenfranchised. There was only one student who spoke about the examination system and assessment. An Harare speaker who arrived in the UK during her secondary education, when discussing pride in being bilingual, explained that in school *"people envy to learn different languages."* She went on to explain about her examination experience:

> *"It's like in English [the subject] I thought I couldn't do English and we did this mock exam for year tens and then I was like the only person with three marks away from an A star. And I thought like people who spoke English as their birth language were getting like Es and stuff."*

Although such high grades are not perhaps the experience of many new arrival students, the fact that this was the only student who spoke about her pride in being bilingual in terms of assessment was not what I had expected. It seemed that what I see as an unjust system does not impact as much as I had thought upon the sense of self- worth of the bilingual student participants. Using Bourdieu's (1977) notions of cultural capital (p.89), I had expected many students to express their sense of pride as the speaker above, who explores the statement 'I am proud to be bilingual' in terms of her academic prowess. Academic institutions value a certain type of intelligence and success is rated in terms of grades and levels. However student participants did not use the grading system to express either ability or their pride in being bilingual, instead they expressed their pride in terms of having "*more*" knowledge, learning capacity, space and desire to share experiences than monolingual students.

It seems that, at least within the particular cultural field shared by teenagers in Jack Hunt School, being bilingual does have cultural capital. Gee (2012) comments on the acculturation of the education system, considering how academic, institutional Discourses may clash with those of non-mainstream students (p.110). As mentioned on p. 41 he gives the example of grammar, showing how Standard English alone is acceptable within school and those using dialect variations are considered to be less "correct" (p.8) or less adequate than the proposed 'native' form. Although this may be true of the academic Discourse in which teachers, like me, hold power, there does appear to be an alternative student led Discourse which uses educational terms and has similar academic values but which also values those students who may not use Standard English or Received Pronunciation because of their bilingualism.

Student researchers agreed that when comparing their experience in Jack Hunt School to those of their friends in other secondary schools, there was a difference in the way bilingualism was valued. Iona explained in detail how, upon her arrival in year 9, she did not find any stigma in asking for help. She liked the fact that the Language Support Department was separate from the larger Learning Support Department and valued having a safe space to return to during break and lunch time when she first arrived in school.

Sumayya suggested that the difference in attitudes towards bilingual speakers in Jack Hunt School might be because Peterborough has had a diverse population for a long time and that until relatively recently Jack Hunt School was used to a bilingual student body who were third or fourth generation bilingual learners. She explained that knowing both languages from birth could make you more confident and proud. Therefore the recent waves of new arrival students became part of that culture of acceptance and pride.

I believe that students are participating in a counter Discourse, the values of which are subtly different to those which drive school policy. Whilst student participants value memory, imagination, the ability to argue and to exemplify, as mentioned above, which are all skills assessed by the Curriculum, they seem to suggest that being bilingual also offers "*more*" than just the academic skill set, more than just a grade. I would argue this Discourse, or alternative set of values, is not entirely socially situated within school but crosses the boundaries between home and school, where literacy skills such as the ability to translate, to interact with older generations and cement community language ties are equally valued; many student participants expressed their pride in being able to translate for members of their family and community as well new arrival students in school. Students commented on their ability to translate if they returned to their home country. Here a Yoruba speaker discusses being proud because "*If I went back to Nigeria then I could speak to most people without the need of a translator or anything.*" Another Urdu speaker mentions that he has to translate for his Grandmother who lives with him because his cousins don't speak Urdu anymore, he expresses his pride in being "*closer*" to his Grandmother than anyone else in his family. Student participants spoke of their ability to translate in terms of helping and caring. A Malayalam speaker discussed the advantages of being bilingual, in that in school he could "*talk to other people what, that, how's your day been or something.*" A Dari speaker tells us "*My mum's English is not that good actually so I try to help her.*" A Lithuanian speaker also discusses helping new arrivals to school "*If someone comes to this school who doesn't know how to speak, like speak English, you could help them.*" Student participants were proud of their ability to help out, and proud to explain how they cared for other people.

A Tagalog speaker explains "*It's like having different communities. Like I know Philippine community outside [*of school*] and then it's like you're not just join outside but you're join inside as well.*" The student feels that her Philippine community is both within and without the school gates, therefore it makes sense that those practices which are valued outside of school will also be valued by the same community within school. This route was not perhaps pursued as much as I would have liked in the interviews and it was an analysis which I tentatively pointed out to the LRT when they were discussing the amount of times they had found the adjective "*more*". They however whole heartedly agreed that translating for others made them proud and that helping and caring for others who shared their language was important. Even in the interviews student researchers did seem to delight in offering to translate for younger participants.

It therefore seems that perhaps it is not too far -fetched to see an alternative set of values emerging from bilingual communities, which whilst not in direct opposition to the competitive Discourses of academic success within school, are still different and run counter to the dominant institutional Discourse.

It must be noted however that it was at this point that students became critical of their own research design. The data did not necessarily match their feelings. Mahtab suggested that the focus groups were too short, completed as they were during thirty minute tutor period before lunch, she suggested that students may have not thought hard enough about the statements as the canteen and friends were beckoning. Oldrich agreed and considered that they too had not spent enough time considering their main question, so that the statements were perhaps too broad. Safwan criticised the diamond nine activity and thought that there were flaws in the method itself as it was too suggestive, especially for younger students who might not have the vocabulary to counter such statements and hence simply agreed. Oldrich took Safwan's ideas a step further and explained the theory of social desirability to the group; he suggested that when faced with other, sometimes older bilingual students, students would necessarily choose what they thought those students wanted to hear.

Despite the LRT's worries, I felt that the positivity which came from the focus groups regarding students' pride in their ability to speak at least two languages was overwhelming. It appears again that a sense of a community and shared experience in being able to help others has ensured that students are proud of their bilingual status. Students see their bilingualism as something enabling both within school and at home.

However on the contrary students also see their ability to speak two or more languages as something which sets them apart from their monolingual peers. They can do "*more*" and operate within a discourse community that is not accessible to monolingual students. Student participants are very clear that their language identities are different, something which is seen again in theme 3 below.

Theme 3 Secrecy

The theme of secrecy caused the most laughter from both participants and researchers. Students enjoyed telling each other with almost pleasurable guilt of moments when they had used their mother tongue so that other people could not understand. However interestingly, this was a theme that I discovered as we discussed the transcripts. Student researchers had initially coded discussion which we eventually themed as Secrecy, as 'Translation', 'Code switching' and 'Family.' As soon as I mentioned there seemed to be an overlapping theme where participants were deliberately keeping

things private, student researchers agreed that this had been overlooked and that all instances had been coded three times with either the same code or one of three codes. They agreed that there were too many moments when being secret was discussed by participants to ignore especially as this was utterly unprompted by the diamond nine statement activity.

After suggesting this as a theme to the student researchers, they took some time to talk to each other about moments when they had used their mother tongue to convey information which they didn't want everyone else to hear. Safwan, one of the Key Stage 3 students noted that it was used a lot in class. Mukosa noted how her friends swapped stories in their home languages and how annoying but funny it became because they all spoke different African languages and could only pick out little bits of each-others' comments. She suggested that this was probably the moment when pride might come into play as it was something they could do but monolingual students could not. Sumayya admitted that this might make fellow class mates feel alienated but it was very useful.

Mahtab wondered if perhaps the research group didn't pick up on this because they were considering the school context and, as Sumayya suggested, speaking in one's home language in class situations, unless asked to, is considered to be quite rude by teachers.

As I was part of the collaborative process, I was able to suggest a new theme to the LRT, especially as this theme was corroborated by the group's own coding. Although I had originally been nervous in suggesting a new theme, not wanting students to simply agree with me as their teacher, the considered response from students and the discussion sparked by this theme actually seemed to show a need for such a collaborative framework; using both etic and emic responses to the data allowed for a richer and more focused analysis.

A Yoruba speaker admitted that when out with this mother they would choose topics about which they felt more comfortable speaking in their home language, "*You can have a private conversation. Then, like, when I'm on the bus with my mum we normally talk about something in our language that people can't understand.*" A Russian speaker happily admits that "*If someone annoys me I can speak in my home language and then they'll be like, what did you say?*" One Shona speaking student giggles as she admits to occasionally using English with her brother to annoy her grandparents, "*So like my grandparents are like, what the hell are they on about. Yeah. They don't understand (laughs).*" A Harare speaker occasions much laughter by explaining that she sometimes forgets to speak English and speaks in her home language to people who don't understand, but that she doesn't bother explaining, " *Sometimes I speak in my language with people who don't understand and I realise I've done it and I'm like never mind*!"

Student participants were however very clear when it was funny to be secret and when it was rude. Several students agreed that they did not like it when bilingual learners used their home language in

class. Below a Malayalam and a German speaker discuss two people who chat in their home language in the presence of a monolingual teacher:

A: yeah and they never know what you're talking about
D: It's rude
A: Yeah obviously

The German speaker above was keen to explain that she has always been bilingual and considered both German and English to be her mother tongues. She was the only person who did not find it amusing to use her alternative language to keep topics private, telling the other people in her focus group "*if everybody doesn't understand then that's pretty rubbish.*"

Student participants were very lucid in explaining when they felt it appropriate to use their mother tongue and why code switching would take place. As they discussed family life, an Urdu speaker explained that "I *speak English with my siblings but I speak my mother tongue to my parents because they don't know*", many students agreed with this statement, commenting on how they begin to think in their home language as soon as they speak to their parents. A Panjabi speaker agreed with student researchers that language choice depended on topic and on person, "*If you are speaking to your parents then most of the time you think in your home language.*" A Dari speaker also agreed telling the student researchers that she revises at home in English "*because it's easier to remember it. Because, like, you're going to write it in English or say it in English, so it's easier to learn it in English so you don't make a mistake*" and therefore the topic about which she was talking, or thinking, or writing would guide her language choice. Whilst an Harare speaker mentioned that "*if I was to see someone right now from my country I would automatically shout to them in my language*" no matter where she was, again showing that participants were very aware why they would choose their home language and that the topic and the person would guide their choice. Student participants also expressed their frustration when words could not be directly translated, "*some words you don't use in English and you use in my language*", "*they don't have, you know, the same impact*" and yet despite their annoyance often explained the ease in which they could "*just make another sentence really.*" One Shona speaker describes the process not as a translation but as a different mode and process of thinking, "*It's just something that I do. I don't really translate things into my language.*"

In reading the transcripts it becomes apparent that student researchers were interested in code switching, especially during thinking processes and therefore did not pursue the moments when

participants mentioned that they chose to speak in their home language in order to not to be understood.

I had initially thought that this particular category may perhaps need to be subsumed by that of Belonging as I initially interpreted the practice of speaking privately in home languages as something which was used to establish familial and cultural connections. However participants' laughter and playfulness when discussing these moments, seemed to suggest something other than simply a desire to communicate and seemed to be more than a code switching exercise for ease of communication. There was definitely a sense of joyous mischief when participants spoke about their secret communications which perhaps needs to be pursued in more depth, using a more ecological approach to literacy practices. It seems that there is more research to be undertaken on this theme, which was not fully explored during our focus groups.

Theme 4: Forgetting

This was one of the first codes student researchers noticed and was something which had been discussed a lot at the beginning of the project when students were attempting to define the parameters of the project and discussing what literacy was. Safwan can speak his home language of Bengali fluently but has forgotten how to write in it. Jessica, who speaks Mandarin, attends Saturday schools so that she does not forget her home language and to encourage her to use Chinese script. Mukosa, whose home language is Bemba believes that she has forgotten her language entirely and has explained to the group that whilst she can translate her home language into English, she is not comfortable speaking it in public any more. Forgetting one's home language was a high stakes Discourse.

In 2:32 Second language learning through immersion p.34, I considered the theory of total immersion when language learning (Cummins 1998) which all of the student researchers have undergone as it is part of our school policy. Students are rarely withdrawn from their timetables for specific language learning. Cummins (2001) has also commented that

> When children continue to develop their abilities in two or more languages
> throughout their primary school years, they gain a deeper understanding of
> language and how to use it effectively. They have more practice in
> processing language, especially when they develop literacy in both, and
> they are able to compare and contrast the ways in which their two
> languages organize reality (Cummins, 2001, p.17).

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It is no surprise therefore that language loss was a high stakes Discourse for the LRT. However student researchers and student participants did not discuss the theme of language loss in terms of academic development, but in terms of culture. Halliday (1993) understood language as a socio-cultural system which could only be understood in terms of context. This has been corroborated above by students lucidly articulating when and why they choose to use different languages. Using Halliday's theory, one can see that forgetting a language is about more than organizing one's reality or the effective use of language, it is a loss of cultural system; a shared set of understandings.

Before considering what students said about forgetting their language I think it is important to reflect upon what bilingual students stand to lose if they lose their mother tongue. I will therefore use the transcripts to further exemplify Halliday's theory before looking at what student researchers placed into the theme 'Forgetting.'

Student participants spoke about their inability to translate completely from their home languages. Below a Malayalam and an Urdu speaker explain the difficulty:

M: There are some phrases in my language where it's kind of hard to put it in English.
U: Yes, same with some of mine.
M: Or like, there are English words that you can't really put into your language.
U: Like slang or something.
M: Like slang, or food or things like that.

A Spanish speaker concurred explaining if some things didn't translate accurately that it didn't bother her too much because , "*You can just make another sentence really*" but that sentence would not have quite the same *"impact that you want it to have."* The student participants here exemplify the issues in losing one's mother tongue – cultural references and specific nuances would be lost.

Many student participants went even further, when discussing their movement between languages, in exemplifying Halliday's theory. They explained that their personalities changed depending on what language they were speaking. A Malayalam speaker noted

> *You have a different personality altogether, well I do! When you talk to*
> *friends that have the same language outside of school, you don't, I don't,*
> *act like formal anymore. Like here you have to, I don't know. (Pause) When*
> *you speak English, it comes with its own personality, you have to speak it*
> *proper, properly and talk to people in that way I don't. It's different when*
> *you are in your own language.*

A Shona speaker explained that her language made her more *"formal, because it's just that kind of language",* a Portuguese speaker from a different focus group explicitly agreed, *"My home language is more formal too. You know like speaking nicely and polite."* An Urdu speaker from a different focus group also discussed formality in reference to his mother tongue, suggesting that English made him feel much more informal. Thus in losing one's mother tongue, one loses a part of one's identity. As Gee (2012) acknowledges, language is not found within the individual person but within a set of shared values, mannerisms and accepted ways of behaving in different situations (p.3). It is no wonder therefore, that student participants and researchers were so vocal about language loss.

Many student participants spoke about the importance of not forgetting their mother tongue, especially to their families. A Slovak speaker explained how her whole family had to make a conscious effort to speak together using their home language *"so we won't forget it."* However other students said that their parents were fluent speakers *"Your parents speak it so you have to"* explained a Tagalog speaker. As a whole, students did not seem to feel that remembering their mother tongue was an arduous task, and often laughed when they explained their parents' frustrations with their forgetfulness. However a definite ruefulness could be heard in students' tones when they spoke about not being able to translate for parents. A Shona speaker explained how she had to mix her languages *"My mum doesn't really speak English. She just speak the language and I answer in English and the other language as well because I can't say some things. I've forgotten to say."* A Lithuanian speaker explained that his parents only spoke a little bit of English and that when discussing specific school related topics, he did not know the words in his home language, he notes some things *"I have to say in English and my mum don't really understand."*

Despite what we considered to be a certain regretful tone from student participants, all focus groups placed the statement 'I am less involved with my family' near the bottom of the Diamond Nine activity. It seems that participants did not necessarily feel that language barriers caused large problems to their parental relationships.

5:5 Reflections

The themes chosen by the LRT collide in many different ways. The sense of the belonging which they noticed is perhaps the strongest theme and can be recognised in all four of the themes chosen. Student participants articulated not only a pride in belonging to a caring school community but also in belonging to communities of practice which transcended the home school divide. Students felt

that they were part of the school community and showed that by using academic discourse expected in such an environment to speak of shared experiences when being interviewed. However simultaneously, they also insisted upon something unique, separate from monolingual students in that they participated in different communities of practice. The four theorists considered in the Literature, Review 2:41 pp.38-42, all rejected simplistic binary understandings of identity. In showing that they were proud of being part of a school centred discourse community (Barton and Hamilton, 2011, p.11) and proud of participating in bilingual communities of practice, the students too show that identities are not simplistic and cannot be reduced to a simple dialectic.

Block (2006) states that "identity is a process which takes place at the crossroads of structure and agency" (p.28). The students in this study adhere to dominant discourse structures within school. Barton and Hamilton (2000) identify discourse communities as "groups of people held together by their ways of talking, acting, valuing, interpreting and using written language" (p.11). Thus students belong to the school's academic community and all of the values inscribed within that community, including Discourses of ability, target setting etc. However, they are agentive in participating in communities of practice inside and outside of school which may or may not run counter to the ways of talking and acting valued by the school as an institution.

Barton and Hamilton's (2005) claim that "some practices are more dominant than others"(p.18) cannot be denied, however students seem to negotiate such power struggles by belonging to more than one community. In Chapter 2, 2:4, p. 43 I used the term proxemics to describe the agentive positioning of individuals within Discourses, it is also perhaps a useful term to theorise the interrelationship between discourse communities and communities of practice. Barton and Hamilton (2000), argue that discourse communities are located within the "social structures in which they are embedded and which they shape" (p.7), whereas communities of practice are social learning systems (Wenger, 1998) which encompass such discourse communities. Students can belong to many communities of practice and discourse communities

For me, the themes chosen by the research group seem to capture not only the necessity of a polygenic existence for bilingual teenagers but the joyful acceptance of participating in a multi-vocal reality. Bailey (2007) uses the term "heteroglossia" to describe the

> social meanings of bilingual speech and related identity negotiations.
> Heteroglossia addresses (a) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms

or signs, and (b) the tensions and conflicts among those signs, based on the sociohistorical associations they carry with them (p.257).

Bailey defines heteroglossia as something which goes beyond code switching and uses the term to consider the culturally diverse nature of signs and their volatility within different contexts. The data analysis above demonstrates to me the pragmatic ability of the LRT to construct their own social realities and to position themselves both within and without the school community.

Chapter 6 The Meta Project

6:1 Introduction

This chapter considers the effectiveness of the collaborative project as a whole, including collaboration, preparation, method choice, findings and analysis. The dialogic nature of this collaborative enterprise highlighted a certain critical reflexivity in the analytical process. The LRT listened to each other's experiences and considered each other's subject positions as they addressed the data. Paulus, Woodside and Ziegler (2008) note that often assumptions are made about qualitative research:

> (a) research planning taught as *concrete and linear* rather than as *evolving, emergent, and iterative,*
> (b) data analysis conceptualized as *individual discovery* rather than *collaboratively constructed meaning*, and
> (c) writing of the findings as a *product representing ideas created and owned by individuals* rather than as *one part of an ongoing conversation among scholars.*
> (pp.226-227)

The collaboration in this case insists upon what could be termed a style of double hermeneutic. As the LRT asked participants to reflect upon their experiences in the focus groups, so too they shared in those experiences and used them to reflect upon their own. In exploring my own question - whether collaboration with secondary school children could yield legitimate and useful knowledge and whether such an enterprise has the potential to offer an alternative equitable framework for research with young people - the LRT reflected upon my role as teacher and researcher. This chapter elucidates upon that reflexivity and considers the nature of the collaboration.

The aims of this project were therefore two-fold: the first part of the project was to answer questions which mattered to bilingual learners about bilingual students' experiences within our secondary school. The second part of this project answers the following questions:

1. What impact does participation in a collaborative research project have on secondary school multi lingual learners?
2. Can teacher/student; researcher/participant combined research with children ever be fully collaborative?

Each question is further subdivided into:

1.

i Can student involvement in research collaboration have learning benefits?

ii Can collaboration in a research project empower students?

iii Can a student research team benefit a school?

2.

i Was it possible for me as a teacher to relinquish my control over the agenda and students' learning?

ii How did students perceive my role as a researcher/teacher?

iii Did collaboration with students in research affect my sense of my identity as a teacher?

The LRT knew from the outset that this project had two aims and that they would be interviewed after data analysis. I do not think that this part of the project however detracted from their main research focus, as students are used to evaluating and critiquing their own work, and indeed they had begun to do so as they categorised their data – this can be seen in the Analysis Chapter 4 p. 110. It must be noted however that it was at this point that students became critical of their own research design. The data did not necessarily match their feelings. Mahtab suggested that the focus groups were too short, completed as they were during thirty minute tutor period before lunch, she suggested that students may have not thought hard enough about the statements as the canteen and friends were beckoning. Oldrich agreed and considered that they too had not spent enough time considering their main question, so that the statements were perhaps too broad. Safwan criticised the diamond nine activity and thought that there were flaws in the method itself as it was too suggestive, especially for younger students who might not have the vocabulary to counter such statements and hence simply agreed. Oldrich took Safwan's ideas a step further and explained the theory of social desirability to the group; he suggested that when faced with other, sometimes older bilingual students, students would necessarily choose what they thought those students wanted to hear.

 It must be noted however that it was at this point that students became critical of their own research design. The data did not necessarily match their feelings. Mahtab suggested that the focus groups were too short, completed as they were during thirty minute tutor period before lunch, she suggested that students may have not thought hard enough about the statements as the canteen and friends were beckoning. Oldrich agreed and considered that they too had not spent enough time considering their main question, so that the statements were perhaps too broad. Safwan criticised the diamond nine activity and thought that there were flaws in the method itself as it was too suggestive, especially for younger students who might not have the vocabulary to counter such statements and hence simply agreed. Oldrich took Safwan's ideas a step further and explained the

theory of social desirability to the group; he suggested that when faced with other, sometimes older bilingual students, students would necessarily choose what they thought those students wanted to hear.

Hall (1996) explains that emancipatory projects focus on "feedback from the participants in the setting about both the data and the treatment of it as well as the researcher's role" (p.30). Therefore the LRT were interviewed with the research questions in mind and were asked to comment upon my "membership" of the team. During the semi-structured interview and statement ordering, to further the discussion I often asked questions such as, "Was I a member like you?", "Did I do the same things as you?", "Did I think the same things as you?" and "What could I/we have done/thought differently?".

Therefore, although this time the questions were not generated by the student body, they were naturally involved in the process.

Although both of the main research questions above require researcher reflexivity as mentioned above, I have split the following chapter into two sections in order to explore both questions effectively. The proceeding section considers question 1

6: 2 Question 1 What impact does participation in a collaborative research project have on secondary school multi lingual learners?

6:21 Emergence of Themes

As described in the Methodologies Chapter, students were given a set of ten positive statements regarding their research:

1. Our research allowed us to find out about something about bilingual learners
2. Our research allowed us to find out about ourselves
3. Understanding how to do research has made a difference to my learning
4. The collaboration process has made a difference to my learning
5. The research process was more important for us than the results
6. Miss Swannell was a member of our research team
7. Our research findings will be useful in our school
8. Our school needs a bilingual research group
9. Our research question was perfect

10. Our data collection methods allowed us to answer our question

They were then asked to order and discuss the statements to demonstrate which they most agreed with. Photographs were taken of their statements and can be found in Appendix 11. Field notes taken throughout the research process have also been used as data in this chapter.

I began by categorizing data from student interviews and field notes according to sub questions. Having written the categories onto differently coloured post it notes, I then searched for patterns and repetitions in order to allow themes to emerge. There were many cross overs between categories and my initial worry was that in using the sub questions so directly, I was manipulating the data to fit the questions; interpreting students' comments to be about empowerment or learning. I therefore shared my 'Post-it Note' categories with two of the LRT team in order to check that I was not misrepresenting their thoughts. Mahtab, Oldrich and Jurgis agreed with my themes and, having been through the process themselves, understood my worries in ensuring that the voices I was representing were used authentically. The themes to which they agreed for question 1 are as follows:

i <u>Can student involvement in research collaboration have learning benefits?</u>

Knowledge application

Interpersonal understanding

Reflective skills

Confidence

 ii <u>Can collaboration in a research project empower students?</u>

Making connections

Critical enablement

Difference

<u>iii Can a student research team benefit a school?</u>

Community

Teacher learning

Independence

My other concern was that in giving the LRT positive statements I had unduly influenced their evaluation process. However, as I drew on my field notes from meetings, many of the discussion points from students were not given during the recorded interviews. This of course does create more issues as field notes were written after the meetings had taken place and memory is fallible.

However, students did have access to the field notes from previous meetings each week and were able to amend names and ideas or add extra information, which they did very rarely. Of course this could mean that my recall was accurate or it could mean that my status as teacher meant that students felt that they could not challenge me. There is of course a similar worry when using interview data; as a teacher I am in a position of power, students may have felt as if there were 'right' answers to give (Opie, 2004, p.115). The whole project however has been an attempt to challenge such imbalance, not only in researcher/researched relationships but also in the inequality between teachers and students within school based situations. Section 2 beneath will consider status issues and the disparity of power in more depth.

6: 22 Findings

The following section considers the significance of the findings from interview and field notes in order to answer question A: What impact does participation in a collaborative research project have on secondary school multi lingual learners?

6:22i Can student involvement in research collaboration have learning benefits?

It must be acknowledged that my perception of learning as a teacher and understanding of current pedagogical practices has necessarily shaped my interpretation of student responses. My belief in the need to create independent learners and to foster what are considered to be higher order thinking skills in order to encourage pupils to critically engage with their world and not to accept inequity has no doubt influenced the following themes.

Theme 1 - Knowledge and Skills within the curriculum

Students were very clear in interview that they found knowledge of the research process valuable across their curriculum. Oldrich, Greta, Patrycja and Sudin all studied Sociology and all mentioned the cross over between our research and their GCSE or A Level courses. Oldrich explained that he could "*apply stuff and vice versa.*" He particularly enjoyed putting the processes which he had studied in class into practice during our research meetings and also explained that he was able to offer his teaching class an insight into the challenges of different data collection methods, and question framing and admitted to having a richer understanding of his Sociology module.

Sudin also noted that "*it helped in other subjects as we needed to do similar work.*" When questioned, he explained that finding patterns when we were looking at the data was useful but could not explain why. Knowing the secondary curriculum may shed some light onto Sudin's statement. Finding patterns, categorising and developing themes helped students to manage the

large amount of interview data they had collected. This sort of process could be useful to students in a myriad of ways across the curriculum, including making class notes useable for revision purposes or making links across subjects in order to develop a richer understanding of ideas under scrutiny.

Theme 2 – Interpersonal understanding

When students began the process of collaborative research they were very much working as independent entities, I noted in my field notes that during the first tasks Safwan and Sudin as younger students were very much side-lined especially during the intense discussions about what it meant to be literate in our school. It was also noticeable that when discussing what research was and why we used it, students did not view their participants as collaborators but as subjects. Safwan's concept of research was of the covert style; he wanted to secretly film other students going about their business in order to ascertain when home languages were used and by whom. I of course stepped in at this point to lead a discussion about ethics and the nature of our own research group.

Students were involved in the ethical consent process throughout. I asked their opinions on the letters to be sent home to parents and Greta rewrote one of my letters to the LRT parents as the formality and detail of my writing was not easy to read. Students were given my Sheffield ethical consent forms to read and it was the LRT who decided on the sample group of student participants, discussing, age, gender, background as well as considering whether students would be at ease in the research context.

As time wore on in the process it became more and more obvious that students were beginning to think interpersonally when considering others and communicating with others. During the post-analysis interviews, when ordering the statements students did not just consider their own reaction but the whole research team's thoughts. When considering where to put the statement 'Collaborative research has made a difference to my learning', Oldrich considered the subjective and personal nature of the statements; he noted that "*it does not apply to maybe not everyone.*"

In conversation, all students, except Mahtab, valued the research process above the research results and in doing so always commented upon the collaborative nature of the team. Sudin explained that the process was important for him as it allowed him to "*work with older, younger people.*" Mukosa discussed the groups' ability to move off topic when explaining why process was more important than results, "*the process was more important for us than the results because even though there was*

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a set question, we diverted from that into family, media, that sort of stuff." Mukosa valued the opportunity and space for discussion and debate.

When talking about process and the team's discussions Safwan explained "*the way you're talking improves.*" I chose not to question Safwan on the word "*improves*" as his use of research terminology and his ability to express ideas clearly was something about which he was proud, it therefore would not have been an appropriate moment to challenge the concept of improvement despite the fact that the whole group had spent a long time discussing academic based registers and the cultural capital attached to such literacies.

Interestingly although Mahtab said that she enjoyed the process and "learned lots", she considered social values when answering the question about process, she suggested that "*society wants results.*" She gave school as an example and explained how the process of learning is sometimes overshadowed by examination.

The conversation we had was highly enlightening and will be referenced in the student empowerment section.

It seems that the process encouraged students to consider "*different perspectives*" (Mahtab) and that the collaborative aspect of the research went beyond academic understanding but also created a space for students to practise academic register, something which according to Cummins (2000) takes longer for bilingual students to develop than basic interpersonal communication. It also seems to have given students a space to enjoy discussion about topics which, no matter how far from their research questions, were relevant to them.

Theme 3 – Evaluation

Students were asked to evaluate process and reflect upon their experiences throughout the project. This began from the very start when they were asked to consider what literacy was and what being bilingual meant. The very first meeting in October did not contain much reference to their personal experiences, instead students talked a lot about the curriculum. In the second session students ordered and categorised the 'Post-it Notes' on which they had written their ideas and Safwan chose the heading "*Values*" for one group of ideas but could not explain why. By the beginning of November students were beginning to reflect upon their experiences in and outside the classroom in order to consider literacy. Students were given statements from theorists explaining what literacy was; they were asked to agree or disagree. It was in this session that I noticed students using

experience more broadly. Mahtab had suggested that the Queen was probably the most literate person in England but Mukosa disagreed. Mukosa thought that the LRT were more literate than the Queen because of their ability to code switch and communicate with anybody from anywhere no matter what their background or language. Oldrich agreed with her and wondered if the Queen used Facebook or texted people because that was how he kept in contact with friends across the world. Without seeming to be aware they were doing it, students discussed Safwan's category of "value." They reflected upon their experiences as language users in order to consider different literacy practices, they evaluate their previous understandings of literacy through the lens of experience.

As students became more confident in discussing their experiences, rich debates took place where students went back to the curriculum and began to criticise the notion of assessment, especially in language learning. They had a heated discussion about whether their morals and values came from school, peers or family. Many other conversations took place which are outside the scope of this chapter. However, it was clear that when invited and feeling comfortable students became much more reflective about their life experiences and used them to philosophise about their values and beliefs.

This may have been due to the fact that we eventually held our meetings in the sixth form centre during tutor time and at lunch. There is a certain cachet within school to being allowed into the sixth form centre where older students are allowed to spend their free study periods in a relaxed environment. When I began the project only Mukosa was in the Sixth form, and it was noticeable that younger students would not go in without me but seemed to enjoy asking me between meetings each week whether we would be in the same place.

However, I do not believe that it was simply the environment that encouraged students to become reflective, the project required students to hone their evaluation skills as they experientially learned about the processes of research. One of the tasks which specifically asked students to use evaluation skills was the choosing of data collection methods. Students had to agree upon the methods they wanted to use by undertaking the participatory tasks themselves. The LRT universally agreed that the solicited diaries would not work as student participants would lose them and filling them in each night alongside homework was too onerous. They did not enjoy the metaphor of the tree, Jurgis explained that it was quite a difficult concept and that younger students would find it hard to categorise their experiences in this way, other students agreed with him. The photographs proved to be most problematic; Jess mentioned that it was difficult not to get other people in them, in doing so

she provoked reflection upon the ethics of using photography. Eventually the LRT decide to use the diamond nine activity, because students use it in class and are used to it and because they believed that statements would give younger bilingual students the vocabulary for discussion.

During the post analysis interviews I asked students to reflect upon the research questions but did not directly ask students to comment upon the statements given. Interestingly students were not at all wary when commenting on their first choice of question: 'How does in school literacy impact upon bilingual learners?' Many students laughed when they picked up the particular statement about the perfection of their question. Nearly all commented on the broad nature of this question and the use of the term 'literacy'. Jurgis however went further and suggested that what students really wanted to look at was identity, Sudin agreed, suggesting that now he would like to consider how learning a different language means "*you are becoming someone else*." Iona too thought that what they had really wanted to look at was who bilingual learners "*feel they really are*."

Throughout the planning process students had grappled with the challenge presented by language and identity. However it was noticeable that during discussion they began to use the words language and literacy interchangeably. Students moved away from an understanding of literacy as a school subject and concluded during one discussion that "*literacy is your identity*."

I should perhaps have entered the discussion at that point and given them the alternative statement – language is your identity. This may have helped students to redefine literacies and language use for themselves. This discussion was held in December; the project began in October. In the third session in October, I had given students statements which problematized the notion of literacy. It had taken time for students to reach this conclusion for themselves by reflecting upon their experiences rather than my theoretical statements. It therefore became very difficult at this point in December to know whether I should immediately challenge students or let the discussions naturally continue as we moved through understanding the research process. I chose not to challenge students. Throughout the project students' experiences and knowledge of being bilingual was what I was learning about; they knew more than this monolingual researcher. In hindsight, my use of the term literacy should perhaps have been introduced later to students as it carries with it so many alternate Discourses. Instead of offering students theoretical statements regarding literacy, I should have allowed them space to define this term autonomously. I cannot help but think that it was my input which ensured that the original research question was too wide.

However, interestingly, students at this point had taken full ownership of the project and therefore, during the end of project interviews, evaluated their first research question by taking full responsibility. This was not the case when the project first began.

I had chosen different participatory methods for students to pilot, however students did have input into those methods. The metaphoric tree was my initial concept but was adapted by students; they chose the symbolic meaning of each part of the tree, so that the roots represented the things that anchored bilingual learners and the leaves represented bilingual learners' growth in school etc. When commenting on the efficacy of this method of collecting data in the first instance, students criticised my ideas telling me "*your tree categories were too hard*", "*you might be able to make it work if the metaphors were easier.*" I had to remind them that they had chosen the representations themselves. This was not the case by the end of the project where Oldrich noted that the "*data like can impose many different questions…we didn't expect so much data, especially unusual data to pop up.*" Jurgis too noted that "*it was just like the answers were different from what we expected*." Mahtab also noted that she had not been expecting so little contribution from participants about literacy requirements in examinations and assessments and suggested that in agreeing to the original question, she had had wanted something different from the data. In using the personal pronoun "*we*" and comparing the data to their expectations as bilingual learners themselves, the students had clearly taken ownership of the research by the end and were independently evaluating their decisions.

Interestingly, students did not evaluate their choice of statements for the Diamond nine activity. Perhaps because I had not included this in the statement bank, or perhaps because students felt that they were appropriate statements. When choosing the statements in the planning stages, students were discussing their experiences as bilingual learners and the types of literacy they used in school compared to the types of literacy they used outside of school. This can be seen in the phrasing of the statements where students deliberately asked participants to discuss involvement with family and sociability as well as language use in school and confidence within the curriculum.

It would perhaps again have been appropriate for me to become more involved in narrowing the statements or using the statements which clearly interested them to rephrase the original question. However Kellett (2004) notes that "judgements about competence are one of the principle obstacles blocking the empowerment of children as active researchers" (p. 2). Kellett goes on to cite the 'Gillick- competence' ruling (1985) "emphasising that is not chronological age at all which

determines competence, but sufficient understanding." It seemed to me that in creating statements for their Diamond Nine activity students were composing their own shared bilingual narratives. As they reflected upon their experiences as learners together, sharing such memories as arriving in the UK, their first classes in school, their relationships with their families in other countries, school and home were heavily intertwined and could not be separated for them. I reflected in the field notes at that point that in phrasing and rephrasing statements students were beginning to think about terminology critically, examining what being bilingual meant for them and how it was perceived by others. Their complex conversations about bilingualism and identity made it difficult for me as a monolingual researcher to enter into their discussions. I felt that asking them to re-evaluate their research question at that moment would have been patronising. Students were using the space given by the research project to "*change your perspective on yourself*", as Mahtab put it or perhaps in social constructivist terms, building meaning within a discourse community (Barton and Hamilton, 2011, p.11). They were already using reflective skills in conceptualising and capturing their experiences within mainstream English schooling.

It seems therefore that students developed their evaluative skills throughout the project but became more able to put their experiences into words as time went on and became more ready to reflect upon the different experiences of others rather than the similarities as they began to analyse data.

Theme 4 - Confidence

Without exception students commented on the confidence that working as a research group had given them. Many mentioned the confidence it gave them in lessons. Jurgis spoke about how more confident he was when speaking publicly and presenting his work in lessons.

Many students commented on the change in confidence working in the LRT had given them. "*I used to say it's not a good thing being a bilingual learner because I'm not doing as well as other people or as they expect in my subjects*," said Iona. Mahtab agreed with her and they discussed how having somewhere to talk about their feelings about school was vital because "*it could affect your education if you don't feel comfortable or confident in school.*" Although many of the LRT had been in other student voice activities in other areas of the school, they felt that the confidence they had gained from sharing their thoughts was empowering.

Students also mentioned the aspirational confidence they had found. Sumayya, Mukosa and Iona talked about university and having an "*insider*" view of what research was like. Sudin summed up his feelings about the group as "*it helps you know you have potential.*"

6:22ii Can collaboration in a research project empower students?

The following section considers whether a student lead research collaborative has the ability to empower the student body. Although the previous section considered learning through research, which some may consider empowering in itself, I consider below whether a research collaborative could encourage students to engage in the D[d]iscourses which construct and create their identities as learners. Within this section, the definition of empowerment therefore is an ability to critically engage with defining D[d]iscourses.

Theme 1 – Making connections

In a similar manner to Manchester University's Green City Project, outlined in the Methodologies Chapter, 3:33c p.74, it seems that this project allowed students to begin to make connections between skills needed in the academic world and at home as well as across their school curriculum.

This project began with personal student experiences, the LRT used their shared experiences as bilingual learners to begin to generalise about learner experiences within our school. As mentioned above, Sudin and Oldrich discussed specific practices they had learned during the research project and in class. They were thus necessarily beginning to consider the Discourses of experience valued in the research group during their academic lessons. Thus connections between the personal and the academic were being independently forged.

Moje et al (2004) describe the "third space" as a "navigational space" (p. 41) where students bring Discourses and discourses from both school and their outside lives into dialogue in order to challenge and reshape both academic content literacy practices and the knowledges and Discourses of youths' everyday lives" (Guttierez, 2008, p.44). In forging associations between the experiences of lived lives and academic rigor students could perhaps be said to be building bridges across what has been perceived as teacher/student, bilingual/monolingual curriculum divide.

This could be seen during the end of project interviews when students began to discuss whether or not the research group should remain bilingual and simply a space to reflect upon experiences. Oldrich notes that "*Teachers you know are from white British backgrounds and most likely*

monolingual and by incorporating kids of a similar demographic as the teachers into our group then perhaps we can all begin to understand the changes that, well, happen for dual language speakers." Oldrich discusses sharing experiences and exposing barriers that might not yet be seen in a very sophisticated manner. He sees in a research group, a space where "*change*" can be illuminated. I consulted Oldrich whilst writing this chapter as to what he meant by "*change*", he suggested that it was imperative for monolingual learners to understand the changes that have to happen between home and school, he also cited the comments that the student participants had made about personality changes depending on the language they spoke. However Oldrich did not see the research group as a place for researching about himself, for him the group could not be introspective and he agreed with Sumayya's imperative "*you must learn about other people's experiences."* Being able to highlight connections between people and across school and home life was important and empowering for Oldrich

Moje et al's 2004 study (described in 2:28 Literacy in the third space p. 28) of the attempted creation of a third space within a science classroom noted that students "rarely volunteered everyday (out of school) knowledges in the classroom (p.64) but have to be invited by teachers to bring outside D/discourses into the classroom space (p.64) and thus the long term creation of a third space appeared to be controlled by teaching staff, which could be seen as further entrenching a 'them and us' binary. It is widely accepted that there is often a power imbalance seen in classrooms when certain D(d)iscourses have more value or cultural capital than others (Rogers, 2003, pp.4-5, Edwards, 2002, p.3) as explained in the Literature Review p. 23. The research group on the contrary seemed to act as a space which enabled the transference of "funds of knowledge" (Moll, 2005) between home and school. During the evaluation interviews and the meetings of the LRT, all students eventually began to willingly explore and share their experiences and in doing so created connections between their lived lives and the school curriculum.

Theme 2 – Critical Enablement
As previously mentioned throughout this research, students attempted to conceptualise what being bilingual meant and what being literate meant for them. The group had many discussions about the value of reading and writing in their specific languages and their feelings about the value of academic literacy.

After trying to define the term 'literacy' Mukosa spoke about making a conscious effort to choose different words in different situations and feeling more aware after our discussions as to the impact

of her discourse choices. Oldrich and Jurgis had many conversations when discussing the selection of students within focus groups regarding whether student participants would be more or less likely to feel comfortable if paired with a researcher who spoke their home language and what impact that would have on the interview data, showing their consciousness of what Moje terms "meta discursive" practices (p.24) and the different literacy practices to which they belong.

It is very clear to me that students' confidence in questioning the values attached to certain discourses and exploring the power dynamics within educational D[d]iscourse was augmented during the research process. Mukosa spoke very clearly about the assumption that bilingual learners struggle in the classroom and the perceived understanding that bilingual learners are somehow victims of the education system. "*There was definitely a thing where people presumed bilingual learners were struggling and they needed help. But I think our research has found out that we are actually more confident than maybe the school might have thought.*"

Mahtab also began to question dominant Discourses when discussing whether the research process or the research results were more important for her. She explained that "*society values results, look at the exams*" and suggested that people care very little how you get there so long as the results are good. When I asked if I had taken the project away from them by writing it up in my words, Mahtab noted that "*whilst as a group we may value our ability to like cross, code switch, but, at the end of the day, we have to learn to write and speak in an academic register. People will take notice of it when you write it, if we wrote it in a bit of a mess, they wouldn't read it.*"

In their own way, students were beginning to consider the hierarchies at work within communities of practice such as a school. Barton and Hamilton (2000) note that

> Practices are not observable units of behaviour since they also involve
> values, attitudes, feelings and social relationships. This includes people's
> awareness of literacy, constructions of literacy, discourses of literacy,
> how people talk and make sense of literacy (p.7).

In the above examples, the LRT have demonstrated their ability to talk and make sense of literacy and thus to think critically about their lives. As Mahtab pointed out "*Being bilingual, it's more than knowing one or two languages, it's so much more than that.*" The research group appeared to allow students a space in which to begin to decode their world; to critically examine the D[d]iscourses which create their lives.

Theme 2 – Difference

Several of the LRT's comments about literacy practices during the piloting of data collection methods were also illuminating, as can be seen by the pictures below which show a metaphoric depiction of how students perceive their learning in the classroom. The grass depicts what helps students learn, the trunk symbolizes what anchors students down as learners, the leaves show how they have grown as learners and the winds represent the issues they may have had as learners.

Figure 7 Examples of LRT Data Collection Trials
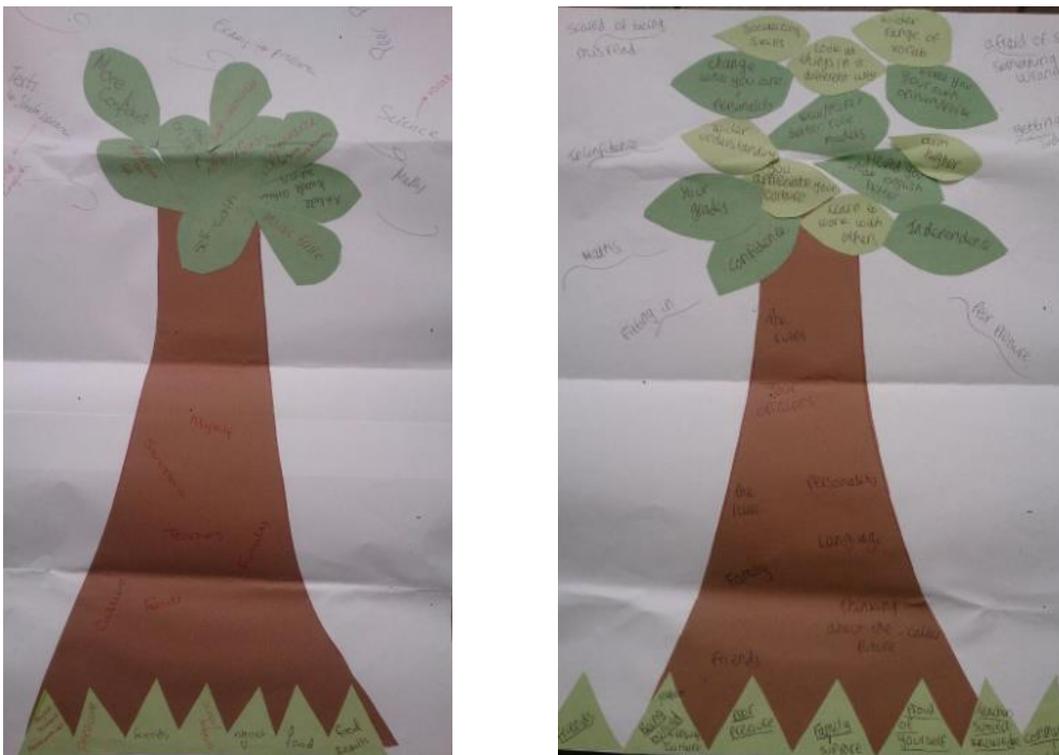
The blend of out of school practices and in school Discourses is seen in the trunk section where students identify that their language anchors them as learners, as do school rules, home culture and teachers. Interestingly one group also saw learning growth in their appreciation of home cultures thanks to lessons. Whilst it could be argued that this does not display the blending of definitive literacy practices, it does demonstrate that bilingual, dual cultured students could use a research group as a way to reflect upon their difference and development.

When discussing the trees Mahtab identified the LRT as one of the spaces which allowed for dual identity and literacy development. She spoke about how much she valued having a "community space" for bilingual students to discuss their experiences and what had influenced their learning, negatively or positively. In the post analysis interviews she also noted that:

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> *"And you know being bilingual, it's more than knowing one or two languages, it's so much more than that. And to see people's different, you know the bilingual learners' different opinions. Because you know what I experienced was different."*

For Mahtab the LRT space allowed her to consider her difference and to "*look at things in a different way"* as her group's tree suggests.

I have already mentioned the imperative for the LRT to make connections between each other however the connections were often very much a celebration of their own differences. Sudin explained why having a bilingual research group was important to him

> *"There are lots of groups for people who find it hard to learn but like it's only this group for bilingual people…. With schools being quite diverse and in citizenship you don't really learn about bilingual, it's about government and things like that. So I think it's useful in recognizing different talents in school."*

For Sudin, the group was empowering in its acknowledgement of difference. Mahtab went even further to suggest that every school should have a bilingual research group "because being bilingual has the bigger impact upon the school and the whole education system."

In the Literature Review, Chapter 2:4 p. 41 , I began consider Block's (2006) comments on multiculturalism where he suggested that transnationalism would probably be a better term for communities who still have inseparable ties with their place of origin as well as their roots firmly planted in their new country of choice. Block (2006) uses the term "third space" (p.26) to describe the identities of transnational communities, but this time a third space is a space where identities emerge and arise in "unpredictable ways" (p.26) within transnational communities. I commented in the Literature Review on the fragility of these identities as they encounter dominant Discourses. Although I still stand by that statement, it appears that the LRT, who were all in contact with home countries and families at home, used the research space and time to position themselves as bilingual learners as different to the majority and yet impacting upon that mainstream in a massive way. Block (2006) uses the structuration approach to discuss how identities change on a moment to moment basis where "environments provide conditions and impose constraints whilst [individuals] act on the same environment, continuously altering and recreating it" (p.29). The LRT's comments

seem to suggest that they were engaging in what could be seen as empowering and creative identity development and complex self -positioning.

> Interestingly Oldrich, Sudin and Safwan were very keen to tell me that the project had not helped them find out about themselves. "I think I know myself already," said Safwan. However it was Oldrich who concluded during a team meeting that "literacy is identity." Therefore I still feel justified in including the interpretation above as students were all involved within identity discussion.

6:22iii Can a student research team benefit a school?

This question should perhaps have been asked of staff as well as the LRT unfortunately time constraints meant that this was impossible. It has already been seen that students learnt new skills, felt more confident, began to consider and challenge dominant Discourses and participated in what could be seen as empowering identity work – all of which could be said to benefit a school. However the LRT also considered this question directly. Although the following section is small, it is important as every student mentioned the benefits of a bilingual research team and every student agreed that all schools should have one.

Theme 1 Community

Many students believed that working within a team such as the LRT "*would bring people together, allow them to open up to different people*." The LRT, like their student participants were very keen to discuss the school as a community to which they saw belonging as an advantage. Mahtab pointed out that "*it doesn't really matter that you speak one language or another. I feel like it's more of like a community within the school*."

Theme 2 Teacher Learning

Students were also keen to explain how such a group could benefit their learning by strengthening teachers' understandings of their needs as new arrivals. Iona suggested that findings from research completed by students might show "*how we are coping with like life skills and school and that*." Whilst Jurgis saw research as direct communication between teacher and student "*well it just shows what they want from a teacher*" and "*lessons can be more appropriate for new bilingual learners*."

When asked what staff might take away from the research we had completed, Jurgis suggested that as students had said they belonged to a community of bilingual learners, not necessarily a language community, that staff should "*let them work in a bilingual group. When I was in younger years, they encourage you to work with English speakers, but I wasn't confident to work with just English*

speaking people, so making lower years work in groups they are confident in, well they might get more work done and be more confident." Jurgis went on to note that everyone had English in common and that the groups would be using and experimenting with English in a group in which they felt less intimidated.

When asked the same question Mahtab and Iona agreed the LRT was a space where they could talk about their feelings, "*it always comes down to feelings (Pause) and how you feel in school life.*" Although they were keen to tell me that they did not feel that the LRT was informal or simply a discussion group but was a space to conceptualise their understandings of how school worked which would be useful for bodies such as the school council or the Governors to understand.

Theme 3 Independence

Oldrich went even further to suggest that a vertical group like the LRT could assist students "*so that they know how to approach problems such as language barriers or learning.*" It seems that he saw the LRT as encouraging students to become independent, resilient learners and that the age range within the group was specifically beneficial.

6:23 Conclusions

The responses from the LRT about the need for a research group in educational environments was overwhelmingly positive. It could of course be that students were responding positively in order to please me, however having been through the process with these students and heard their open criticisms in the past, I do not think this is the case. The LRT valued the learning journey but mostly the independence Enquiry Based Learning gave them to evaluate their own identities within an English speaking environment. It came as no shock to me, when students revealed during interviews that their question should have been framed around identity.

What was more of a surprise was students' ability to articulate their understanding of power dynamics within various discourses. Students were very aware of the value systems of society, Mahtab's comments about examination systems and formality was incredibly insightful.

Kellet (2010) notes that "children observe with different eyes, ask different questions….have different concerns" (p.105) and explores how it is therefore vital that children become co-researchers to enable adult understanding. However for these students, understanding the research process was not perhaps so much about the data gathered and the truthfulness and generalisability

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of that data, but was more to do with the joy of self- positioning. The LRT used their research journeys not so much to deconstruct the values and power asymmetry of their world but to reconstruct themselves powerfully within that world.

6:3 Question 2 Can teacher/student; researcher/participant combined research with children ever be fully collaborative?

6:31 Findings

The following section considers whether the research detailed and analysed in Chapters 4 and 5 and above was fully collaborative. Here the term collaborative refers to my attempt to enable students to lead a research project by giving them the tools to teach me about bilingual experiences in the secondary education system. This sections asks whether I as a teacher/researcher, necessarily in a position of power, was able to disrupt and challenge inequitable research relationships by surrendering my own itinerary to that of the students. In collaborative enterprises, all parties are changed in some way by the experience, as the section above considers the impact of the research project upon the LRT so this section considers the impact of working alongside the students on my understanding of my own identity as a monolingual teacher and researcher and the students' understanding of my changing roles.

6:31i Was it possible for me as a teacher to relinquish my control over the agenda and students' learning?

In order to answer this question I have split the LRT's learning into learning about research and learning about literacy.

Learning about research

I began the project from the standpoint iterated on p.56 of the my Methodologies chapter that "children must be seen as actively involved in the construction of their own social lives" and are no longer "passive subjects of structural determinations" (James and Prout, 1997, p4) and therefore have the same credibility as adults. The projects' aim therefore was to allow students to explore their experiences as bilingual learners and to value their knowledge as adding to the academic field of research into education, literacy and identity.

It was therefore imperative that students volunteered for the research group and as Oberg and Ellis (2010) note that they felt they were not being judged and that their competencies were respected from the outset. As I acknowledge earlier, I was in an ideal position to begin such a project. Although used to having control and power in a classroom, as a new researcher I was untested. I shared this with the LRT and explained that this would be a learning journey for all us, not only was I learning about literacies and bilingual experiences as a monolingual teacher but I was learning about practical research design alongside the students. I was not so much Vygotsky's "more knowledgeable other" (1978, p.24) scaffolding students as they mastered tasks I already understood, as another learner.

 This could be considered disingenuous, after all I had read much more than the students and had to introduce them to research methods. However the experience of completing a project for the first time alongside the LRT meant that my learning with students was genuine. I did not feel as if I was in a position of control.

The new researcher *feel* cannot of course be replicated for me after this project. My next piece of research with the LRT will be with much more understanding of the practicalities of research development and methods. I do believe however, that encouraging students to pick and design their own data collection models would always unsettle traditional power imbalances and allow for a more truly collaborative research process. The LRT chose from a variety of participatory methods however, they redesigned those models for themselves. They chose the Diamond nine statements; they altered the drawing and metaphors for the symbolic tree; they decided what should go into solicited diaries (or not as was the case, very few completed this trialled method!). This meant that although I had introduced the methods to the students, they altered them in order that they owned them and I did not. They were no longer 'my' methods. My very knowledge of research was not so much undermined but altered by the creativity of the LRT.

Students however did acknowledge in various ways at the beginning of the project that I was still the researcher, and that I held the knowledge. As mentioned above, even though I perceived the altering of methods to be proof of a change in power dynamic, students still referred to the tree metaphors as mine not theirs. Even though students had not entirely taken responsibility for the project at that point, the criticism did suggest that our relationship had changed and that my knowledge and expertise were giving way to students' understanding of their own experiences as they trialled the participatory methods as researchers in their own right.

However, it wasn't until the actual data collection process, when students were recording interviews that all students were using the pronoun "*our*" to describe the research. At this point they appeared to want to acknowledge that the data was theirs. Kellett (2010) warns of labelling child to child research relationships as neutral and identifies circumstances where power dynamics are at work:

1. Older children with younger children

2. Popular with less popular children

3. Articulate with less articulate children

4. Rich children with poor children

5. Children deemed to have official status….with children who have none

6. Typically developing children with children who have a learning disability

7. Able bodied children with disabled children (pp.91-92)

It may therefore have been that the LRT enjoyed utilizing a new power when presiding over focus groups. The LRT often offered to translate their statements for students, which was earlier interpreted as altruistic. Perhaps however this was indeed exemplifying power differentials through more expert use of English as the LRT became apprenticed to a new more academic Community of Practice. "The power of child-child research should be that it transcends these power dynamics and propagates authentic insider perspectives" (Kellett, 2010, p.92) but due to the value systems surrounding research, especially within an academic environment like a school, research relationships will always contain an element of inequality.

Knowledge about Literacy and Identity Discourses

I was aware, especially at the start of the project that students would perceive me to hold the answers and that students needed to be "skilled- up in order to engage" with me on an equal footing (Kellett, 2010, p.99). I therefore felt it necessary to share some of the more complex literacy theories which informed my positionality at the start of the research process as noted in the Methodologies Chapter 4:24, p.80 This meant that students would have knowledge similar to my own to inform their discussions. The theories shared were contradictory. I did not tell students where I stood but allowed them to decide which ones they agreed with. I had hoped that students would unpick the terms together, however students instead asked for clarification from me which in hindsight was inevitable. I had to assume the teacherly role and answer questions. However as noted in the critical enablement section p. 130, students returned again and again to the terminology used in the initial pieces of critical material, defining and redefining literacy, language, identity and culture in their discussions about how to conduct their research and in their analysis of collected data.

Although I guided student understanding to begin the project, the LRT again redefined the language I had introduced and interrogated the semantics. This was especially noticeable when the group was writing down their statements to be ordered in the diamond nine activity. Patrycja suggested some viewing material for me about de-schooling students in order to promote a return of imagination. Safwan spent some time discussing the fact that he only thought in Bengali at home but always spoke in English and wondered what that did to his cultural identity and how I perceived him as an English speaker. Jurgis asked the group to consider the "*boxes*" they were all put in to and if there was a need for such labelling. Despite my clumsy beginning, students seemed to feel themselves to be experts when it came to discussing bilingual identities. They were able to tell me to what to watch and what to consider; they questioned me to see if I fitted in with their way of thinking and they exposed the terminology I was using – the" *boxes*" – to scrutiny.

It is useless to pinpoint the moment that this happened as Akerstrom and Brunnberg (2012) point out collaboration is based upon people having "different roles, abilities and expertise"(p.529). Owning the project would therefore happen at different times for different students and different students would have felt more or less expert during different discussions. However what is worth noting is that whilst power within the research relationships can be seen to be imbalanced, the LRT's knowledge and ability to challenge dominant Discourses of identity and literacy grew as the project continued. This has been detailed above in the critical enablement section p. 130 but is also relevant when considering the: question: was it possible for me as a teacher to relinquish my control over students' learning? Knowledge and learning was collaborative, in that I ensured that students' "Funds of Knowledge" (Moll, 2005, p.133) were privileged in discussion and emphasised that experience is knowledge.

As an outsider monolingual teacher, I feel that I did relinquish my control over students' learning about literacy and identity. I also believe that students guided their own collaborative learning and theory making through experience and that I was a learner alongside the LRT.

6:31ii How did students perceive my role as a researcher/teacher?
One of the statements given to students in the end of project focus groups was 'Miss Swannell was a member of our research team'. Earlier I suggested that I felt as if I had been able to relinquish control over students' learning because of my outsider status. During the interviews I asked students if it mattered that I was monolingual. All students answered no. Greta explained my part in the

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knowledge generation process: "*You couldn't really have the same role [as us] because you couldn't join in and have the same experiences of being bilingual because you're not. So yeah. But you helped us to (Pause) put it all together.*" It seems that my outsider position allowed students a space to enact the role of experts and saw me as a facilitator rather than a knowledge provider. Patrycja explained this as " *a leader who's not really leading."*

Sumayya agreed with Greta, that students had created the knowledge themselves. She told me that "*you could have put your opinions on to us but instead the conversation sort of flowed and we were realizing things we hadn't thought about.*" Mukosa added that *"I think you weren't naïve about it or anything. You were really open minded so it didn't put any pressure on us to say certain things.*" Here Mukosa and Summayya show that they are very aware that I had my own opinions but that I kept silent during discussion. Mukosa's choice of the adjective "*naïve*" is interesting; suggesting that she understood that, despite my silence, I was playing a role within the group which was part of the collaborative and perhaps not a teaching role.

Sumayya however also recognized one of the reasons I had begun the project by sharing such difficult critical material and suggested my role in the group had helped to "*build ideas*" and gave students the language to "*have thoughts to debate what we think*" as well as to "*recognize what we can do.*" Sumayya acknowledges that I provided words and concepts for students to consider but she ends by conceding that the students owned the work, had the thoughts and recognized that they had done it, not me. Here Sumayya identifies what I would see as a pedagogical strategy - introducing a specific discourse, that of literacy and identity. This disappointed me a little as Sumayya did not go on to talk about the importance of experience in discussion and of the different discourses used by students as they shared stories of home and family, stories of political upheaval and stories about their first time in English speaking schools. This may be because Sumayya is particularly at home within an academic discourse and enjoys academic challenge. Unlike the other students in the LRT, she has always been bilingual, living in Britain her whole life and her attitude to language is perhaps different to the other students in the group. Therefore whilst she saw part of my role as silent she also perceived me as fulfilling a teacher's position.

Jurgis however directly contrasted my role in the group to that of a teacher's role, "*You gave us room….You gave us more freedom. It's not like most teachers who stand there and are like this is what we're going to do. And you, you let us come up with it.*" Jurgis' reference to environment is interesting. I made an effort throughout the project to ensure that I sat with students at a round

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table in order that I was not seen as controlling the space; it appears that this affected how students saw my identity within the group.

Oldrich used an interesting metaphor to describe our collaboration "*I think it's a bit like parliament where you have the Prime Minister. You were the Prime minister and you guided us and we were the MPs all doing our own bit.*" Whilst there is a sense of liberty and democracy within Oldrich's comment, unlike Jurgis he still perceived me to be in a leading position.

Sudin and Safwan also saw me as a leader as well as a collaborator and suggested that I was "*kind of a member and a leader*" because "*you steered us in the right direction. You showed us the way to go, but we mainly did most of it didn't we? Our team did most of it.*" Safwan and Sudin were the two youngest members of the team. Safwan's question and hedging "*our team did **most** of it*" seems to suggest some sort of anxiety that I may want to claim the project. They seem worried that they may offend by taking complete ownership. This may have been because they were younger and used to teachers behaving in a particular way. When asked to define how I demonstrated my membership in the research group Sudin gave the project its title: "*You just sat there.*"

6:31iii Did collaboration with students in research affect my sense of my identity as a teacher?

Throughout this project I did not inhabit a single identity. Instead I moved between researcher, facilitator, teacher, learner, collaborator and leader. Far from being caught within a paradox however, the ability to guide and to learn was refreshing. I have always believed that a teacher has to model good practice to her students. I believe firmly that modelling learning and being excited about learning is part of a teacher's responsibility and identity. As I have been teaching for fifteen years, I am comfortable enough within the classroom to admit when I don't know something and to enjoy the process of discovery with my class. For me this is the truly exciting part of teaching. Unfortunately such collaborative explorations are becoming rarer for me due to the pressures required to achieve specific results. However, my understanding of what it is to teach and learn meant that I felt no discomfort in admitting to the LRT that I was still learning about research methods and the practical implications of research.

Oberg and Ellis (2006) note that a school's ideology can affect research collaborations and comment that

> In schools with a rational/technical perspective on student engagement,
> where teachers focus on doing for rather than doing with children, teachers

are expected to direct and develop learning activities that will engage students' interest and involvement. In contrast in schools holding the interpretative/student centred perspective or a critical perspective of engagement, teachers offer students choices in learning activities and endeavour to ensure that learning activities are more closely related to the children's life experiences and their individual or communal interests (p.109).

Within lessons the whole school uses four key words to frame tasks. Students are very familiar with these words and the ethos about them. The words sum up our learning processes. These have been taken from the Learning to Learn project: resilience, resourcefulness, reflection and importantly for my project, reciprocity (Campaign for Learning, 2013). Jack Hunt School fosters a student centred approach to learning and very much supported the work of the LRT as an extra-curricular group, providing an area to work, resources and time. The LRT felt valued and important. Although outside of the remit of this project, students were asked at various points in the year to share their work with others by the school's Senior Leadership Team. In meetings the LRT constantly referred to their presentations as a group to the SSAT conference; to the film they made for Governors about new arrival learners, to presenting their ideas in a whole staff meeting and to the possibility of training other schools in research methods. The LRT exemplified the school's learning ethos, recognising and enjoying the reciprocal nature of learning. As a collaborative researcher, I therefore had a much easier task than schools which foster the "rational/technical" perspective.

I was not so naïve however as to ignore the fact that as a teacher I am in a position of power. Smyth and Holian (2008) note that "researchers need to be aware of the influence of their organisational role on coercion, compliance and access to privileged information" (p.39). Students volunteered for the LRT and were told from the beginning that this group would be what they wanted and therefore if they wanted to leave at any point they would not have to explain their reasons. I tried not to exert any type of teacherly influence over the LRT's choices and ideas. Although I participated in discussion in the earlier stages, I tried to ensure that most of my ideas were phrased as open questions in order that the LRT were able to use them as discussion points rather than accept them as statements of truth. Again this did not necessarily challenge my identity as a teacher. I teach English Literature which means that I have to be open to alternative interpretations as students learn the skills for literary criticism. Impressing my own ideas onto students would curtail their thinking processes.

Drake and Heath (2008) discuss the multiple identities of professional doctorate students (p.140). They refer to the doctoral student having access to "research discourse in academia" and their "day

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to day work" (p.140). They suggest that the term multiple identities could be exchanged for the term "multiple integrities" (p.140) due to the loyalties of the doctoral student to their work place which may clash with their pursuit of research integrity. Whilst my identities as a teacher and learner were not new to me, my identity as a researcher was. I began the project with anonymous students and was intending to keep the school anonymous too. However it became clear that this was not appropriate and that students wanted their names attached to the research they had completed. Unlike me, they had no problem in adopting researcher identities. My worry however was uncovering something which may be detrimental to the school. Throughout the project I shared all of our findings with the Deputy Head including the analysis at various stages. I was determined to include all of the LRTs themes and patterns. I was lucky in that there was no censorship by the Senior Leadership Team of our findings. However, in writing up what the LRT had discovered and corroborating the patterns they had found and the comments they had made through the lens of theory, I was very aware throughout of my "multiple integrities". In order to preserve the integrity of the project, I asked students to read some of the analysis chapter, highlighting parts I felt they needed to focus on in order to triangulate analysis. Some read more than others, some less. I feel that this collaborative move went some way to creating a multi vocal narrative which displayed the identities at work within the project. I also think that it helped to ensure that the validity of the data was not compromised by "multiple integrities."

Although I was concerned throughout the project with transparency and aimed at all times to honour the thoughts and feelings of the LRT, I also had to acknowledge that I am monolingual. The project has been created around the constructivist paradigm. I have worked with a team of bilingual learners who have used their own experience to construct knowledge of bilingual learner identities. However, as a monolingual researcher, I have also participated in the knowledge creation process (See Appendix 8). The collaborative analysis some may say was therefore compromised by my identity as an English only speaker. Perhaps my teacher identity was also too authoritative at times, offering themes myself such as Secrecy (see 5:4 p. 111) during the analysis process. However Wenger (1999) insists that "learning transforms who we are and what we do, it is an experience of continuity" (p.215). He goes on to say

> Viewed as an experience of identity, learning entails both a process and a place. It entails a process of transforming knowledge as well as a context in which to define an identity of participation. As a consequence to support learning is not only to support the process of acquiring knowledge, but also to offer a place where new ways of knowing in the form of such an identity (p.215).

In the collaborative knowledge creation process therefore it could be said that the LRT, myself included, began to develop a shared identity of a participating community who shared each other's pasts, "letting what [we] have been, what [we] have done and what [we] know contribute to the constitution of the" community's practice (Wenger, 1999, p.215).

In an article about developing professional learning Armsby (2013) calls for a reconceptualization of learning which would consider how "ways of being and knowing relate to each other" (p.413). She uses Billet's (2010) model of identity to show how the self emerges from social experiences.

> Autonomous Self – individual exercising autonomy and freedom in realising their desired goals.
> Subjugated Self - individual as a mere placeholder within social systems .
> Enterprising Self –self reflective entrepreneurial individual, formulating and maintaining identity agentically within, yet also transforming social system
> .Agentic Self – individual selectively engaging with social suggestions to secure, develop, maintain their identity (p.12).

In Section 6:22i I noted that students were participating in self-positioning; they were enterprising and agentic. In reflecting upon my various roles and integrities throughout the collaborative process, I too participated in identity formation. This thesis has challenged not only my understanding of a researcher/teacher's role but collaborating in an EBL project has highlighted the need for a researcher/teacher to inhabit and enjoy the shifting paradigms of identity.

6:4 Reflections

The following section outlines the key outcomes of the study and implications for practice in terms of future research and pedagogy.

6:41 Implication for research practice

I have mentioned several times throughout this thesis that collaborative research destabilizes traditional research paradigms. However I also believe this project is somewhat different to previous collaborative enterprises in that the processes, outcomes and positionings belied any easy binary explanation. I have attempted to acknowledge throughout where my analysis and findings were different to students', where students engendered a train of thought or where a student agreed or disagreed with findings and analysis. However in the previous section 6:3ii, I note the benefits of not inhabiting a single role within the collaborative process. This is also true of the data presentation –

the 'writing up' – of the project. This process was not simple and, as I mention on p.67, I was concerned that in taking on the writing process I had to avoid ventriloquizing the other collaborators. Nevertheless it must also be acknowledged that the project from beginning to end was dialogic. Knowledge was formed in conversation, in arguments, in written notes on transcripts, in post-it notes on chapters. As I mentioned in the Literature Review, Chapter 2:41 and the Methodology Chapter 3:21, knowledge is socially constructed and this can be seen to happen through dialogue. Other constructivist researchers must also therefore acknowledge the collaborative and non-static nature of knowledge formation whether in dialogue with other texts, theories or other people's experiences. This project insists upon the shared and negotiated nature of qualitative research. Whilst the call for transparency in research has been loud and clear, it must also be accepted that messy collaboration and knowledge interchange and transformation is part of every inquiry. Once this has been embraced, then wholly collaborative, equity oriented projects could offer an alternative process for academic research.

It also became clear during the project that the activity of researching – the process of research – was paramount. The data sets used in analysis were the tangible part of the socio-critical dialogue which took place at every meeting. I mentioned in Chapter 6 that only one student believed that the product was more important than the process and she used her understanding of academic institutions' policing of the boundaries of literacy to explain her point. In the third space created by the LRT, hybridity was celebrated. Whilst it cannot be denied that my traditional thesis was one end goal, students' discussions of what Guttierez (2008) calls 'the tension between texts lived and studied and between institutions and socio cultural practices', (p.151), that is to say the process of knowledge development, was also a goal. Very few secondary school teachers, once the ubiquitous teacher training action research project has been finished, would describe themselves as researchers or admit to carrying out research. If the process itself were to be recognised as valuable as the product, then I am sure that research would become more accessible and inviting for teachers who are masters of learning and knowledge development processes.

I mention throughout my collaborative journey that I intended to create a multi vocal narrative which allowed for a plurality of voices and went some way towards destabilising the research/participant hierarchy. However my own identity within this project was also under scrutiny. I could not pretend to be anything other than a secondary school teacher and in that sense was always an outsider. However, this collaboration disrupts traditional research paradigms which rest upon binary oppositions. Whilst I was a monolingual outsider, I was also part of the collaborative

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which the LRT acknowledged in section 6:31i. To some extent collaborative research denies facile dualistic structures and instead calls for a rethinking of methodological frameworks. In the same way that the theorists I considered in the Literature Review: Bakhtin, Bourdieu, Gee and Block, offer non binary explorations of identity so too must the collaborative researcher reconsider the frameworks within which we function. If as Block (2006) suggests "identity is a process that takes place at the cross roads of structure and agency" (p.28) then perhaps collaborative research is a process which takes place at the cross roads of identity and institution. The traditional academic voice is questioned by collaborative research thus hopefully creating a space for school teachers who do not necessarily consider themselves academics.

Viewing the research process as a crossroads also highlights the exigencies of power and agency. As the LRT discovered, EAL students saw themselves as agentive and existing within a trans-languaging Community of Practice. We discovered a student led Community of Practice within the school in which speaking more than one language held cultural capital (See 5:4). I noted that this Discourse, or alternative set of values, crossed boundaries between home and school and whilst it shared many of the academic literacy values of the content curriculum and many of the content curriculum practices, (memory, imagination, the ability to argue and to exemplify) it was subtly different in its valuing of trans-languaging and non -Standard forms of English. I am not suggesting that students were consciously participating in a Community of Practice which would undermine that of the school but that the shared competencies valued by EAL students within the school domain was subtly different to that of monolingual students and teachers.

I noted in my Literature Review (Chapter 2) that there were differences between Lave & Wenger's (1998) 'Community of Practice' and Barton and Hamilton's (2000) 'discourse communities'. Barton and Hamilton (2000) insist upon "institutionalised configurations of power" (p.12), whereas Wenger concentrates on community practice apprenticeship and identity. Both (sets of) theorists note the permeability of the communities and the transformational nature of practice. If the two theories are explored using Block's crossroads metaphor then Wenger's apprentices encounter the configurations of powerful institutional practice but have agency in choosing to which practices they commit. Thus the students interviewed appear to create a Community of Practice which is in dialogue with institutionally recognised practices but also "more" than those practices. There are many works of research which reconsider and reconfigure the movement of power within literacy practices, this thesis adds to that body of work in the consideration of practices within a secondary school.

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6:42 Implications for Pedagogy

The original design of this research was partly inspired by third space theory where texts and discourses cross boundaries between home and school. Student researchers acknowledged that they found having a space which was uniquely theirs, to be very important; a space where they were able to discuss learning issues and share histories. As they explored their personal experiences it became clear that some of their stories, especially about being new to the English school system were similar. This was upheld as they analysed student participant data where they discovered that there appeared to be a shared sense of belonging amongst students who spoke English as an additional language which transcends language heritage. As mentioned above we discovered that EAL students were already functioning across domains within what appeared to be a burgeoning Community of Practice.

In Section 2:28 I note that Moje et al's (2004) attempt to create a third space within a classroom was not necessarily successful because students were unwilling to bring d/Discourses from outside of the classroom into a space that appeared to be controlled by a teacher. Like Moje, who noticed a privately compiled hybridity by the students which went unnoticed by the teacher, so too the EAL students in Jack Hunt School share personal experiences and have a set of values in common which suggests a synergetic energy which could be used within the classroom. However, the classroom teacher needs to be very sensitive to the power dynamics within the classroom space. In a similar manner to this collaborative research enterprise, the classroom teacher needs to again become a learner in order to allow different competencies to emerge within that traditionally academic space.

Cope and Kalantis (2000) note that a learning space is a space where the meaning making process happens (p.203); they call this the design which refers both to the structure of that learning and the agency of the designer. They note that "Design is a process where the individual and culture are inseparable" and that "culture is no more and no less than the accumulated and continuing expression of agency; of Designing" (p.203). In the model of learning currently used within schools, say Cope and Kalantizis, culture is inherently stable and teaching and learning "a business of leading students" towards a "common" or "core culture" (p.204). The transformative nature of the Enquiry Based Learning model used within this research has allowed students to question that common culture and to become more than passive learners but "responsible cultural participants" (Cope and Kalantzis, 2000, p.204). In acknowledging that students are creating their own Community of Practice, I am acknowledging the hybrid dynamism of what Cope and Kalantzis would call cultural design.

I complained at the start of this thesis that the English examination system alienates students who do not speak English as their first language, especially when those students are new arrivals to the UK. However, as I learnt from my co-researchers and the research participants, EAL students do not feel let down by the examination system. What I discovered however is students' pragmatism, their ability to function across boundaries and barriers and to deny any form of simplistic binary understanding of language, identity and culture. As a teacher, it is now my job to facilitate my students' challenges to mono cultural teaching and learning and to allow them space to re-design their own futures.

Glossary of Abbreviations

ABL – Advanced Bilingual Learners. The term advanced bilingual learner is used in school to describe students who are second or third generation of settled minority ethnic communities. These students will often speak English fluently at school but outside of school will only speak their mother tongue. The term bilingual is used here as students have used both languages since they entered the education system.

A Level – Advanced Level. This is a national examination, usually taken when students are 17-19 years old.

AS Level – Advanced Subsidiary Level. This is a national examination, usually taken when students are between 16-18 years old.

BSA – Basic Skills Agency. This agency is now known as the Skills for Life Network and was developed by the Learning and Skills Council. It offers guidance, training and development for adults to ensure employability as well as professional development opportunities.

DFE – Department for Education. The governmental department responsible for children's services and education in England

EBL – Enquiry Based Learning. This pedagogy ensures that students are active participants in their own learning. In this thesis it has also been used as a methodology.

ESOL – English for Speakers of Other Languages. There are a variety of courses and examinations offered to enhance English communication. The Government specifies those courses which new arrivals to the UK must pass.

GCSE – General Certificate of Education. A qualification in a specific subject usually taken by students in England aged 14-16

LRT – Lead Research Team. This term is used throughout this thesis to identify the body of students who were part of the collaborative research team.

NLS – New Literary Studies. This academic term is exemplified in the writing of Street (1984), Gee (2000) and Barton and Hamilton(2000) who embrace the term 'literacy' as more than a set of grammatical and syntactical rules.

Ofqual –The office of Qualification and Examination Regulation. A non ministerial governmental department that regulates the examination boards in England and Northern Ireland.

PISA – Programme for International Student Assessment. A yearly world wide study of 15 year old school pupils' academic performance.

SSAT – Specialist Schools and Academies Trust. A network of secondary schools in England created to share good teaching practice.

UNCRC – United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. In 1989 governments world wide agreed upon the rights needed by children to grow and survive.

YPAR - Youth Led Participatory Action Research. Young people use research to share expertise and taken action within their communities.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Ethical Approval Letter A

The University Of Sheffield.

The School Of Education.

Lucie Swannell
c/o EDUR32 - EdD/Literacy & Language in Education

Head of School
Professor Cathy Nutbrown

School of Education
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S10 2JA

5 September 2013

Telephone: +44 (0)114 222
Email: @sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Lucie

ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER
An exploration into English as an additional language students' identities as learners of literacy.

Thank you for submitting your ethics application. I am writing to confirm that your application has now been approved, and you can proceed with your research.

This letter is evidence that your application has been approved and should be included as an Appendix in your final submission.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

Professor Dan Goodley
Chair of the School of Education Ethics Review Panel

CC   *Julia Davies*

Appendix 2 Ethical Approval Letter B

Giving Consent to Name Students

The
University
Of
Sheffield.

The
School
Of
Education.

Lucie Swanell
EdD Literacy & Language

Head of School
Professor Cathy Nutbrown

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Email: edd@sheffield.ac.uk

Dear Lucie

ETHICAL APPROVAL LETTER

Enquiry based collaborative research with bilingual students – a space to reflect

Thank you for submitting your ethics application. I am writing to confirm that your application has now been approved.

We recommend you refer to the reviewers' additional comments (please see attached). You should discuss how you are going to respond to these comments with your supervisor BEFORE you proceed with your research.

This letter is evidence that your application has been approved and should be included as an Appendix in your final submission.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely

Professor Dan Goodley
Chair of the School of Education Ethics Review Panel

cc   Julia Davies
Enc   Ethical Review Feedback Sheet(s)

Appendix 3 Examples of LRT Collaborating to Create Research Questions

Bilingual.

How do bilingual learners learn?

What is a bilingual learner?

What makes bilingual learners different?

Are bilingual students more literate than non-bilingual students?

Life Communication

- Qu Who can communicate better, bilingual learners or monolingual learners?

What are the effects of literature and literacy on bilingual students' communication?

- Which is harder: us learning english or them learning another language?

Exams.

Why are certain languages not classed as GCSE's?

Does English literacy (in our school) hinder bilingual learners?
↳ eg assessments of SPAG in exams – can't put across points even though ideas are formed

Do bilingual students always completely understand the wording of questions in exams?

Lessons

- Do you focus more on school if you are monolingual or bilingual?

- Why do we need MFL, if we already have another?

- Why can't we not learn MFL?

- Why are languages graded?

- How much of lessons are lost in translation?

- How can lessons be tailored to ensure involvement + participation of bilingual students?

* Are bilingual students more literate than non-bilingual students?

* What is being literate?

* Do you focus more on school if you are monolingual? — Can you communicate better or worse with people?

* Who can communicate better? ↳ What is better

*

Mind map 1 (red ink), center: "Research Questions"

- Can't put points across – assessed on English.
- Does English literacy in our school hinder bilingual students?
- Effects of English literature on bilingual students
- How much of lessons is lost in translation / misunderstood by bilingual students?
- How can lessons be tailored to ensure involvement / participation of bilingual students?
- Do bilingual students who go peer to peer to know the answer always understand the Q.

Mind map 2 (pencil), center: "Research Questions"

- Why can't we not learn MFL?
- How do Bilingual learners learn?
- Does English help?
- Why are languages graded?
- What makes bilingual learners different?
- Why are certain languages not classed as GCSEs?
- Why do we need MFL if we already have another extra?
- What is a bilingual learner?
- Which is harder: US learning English or from learning another language?

Appendix 4 Examples of LRT Data Collection from Trial
Photography Collage
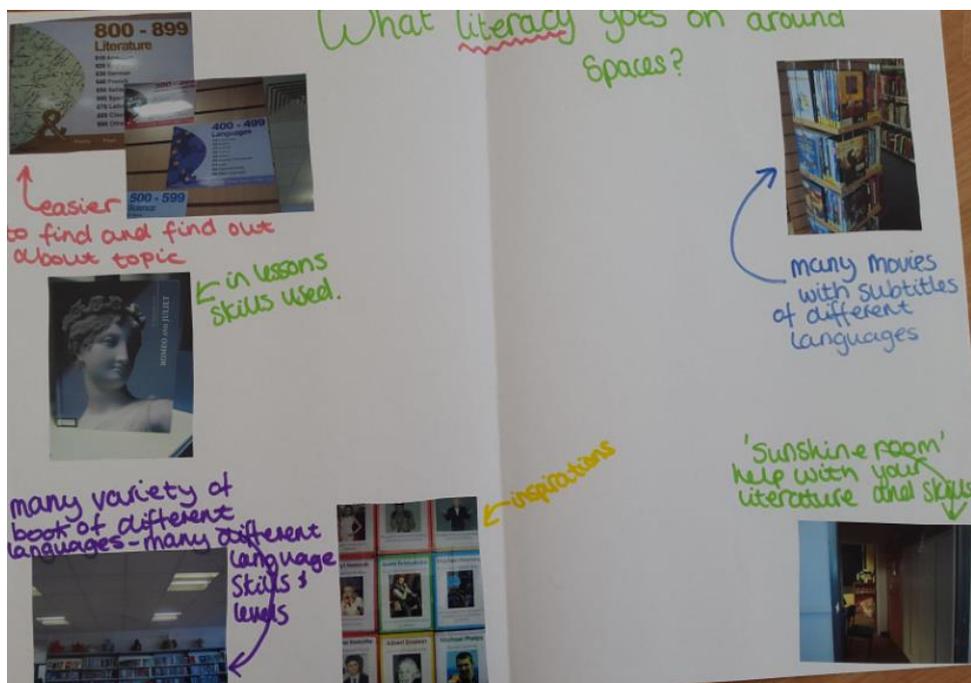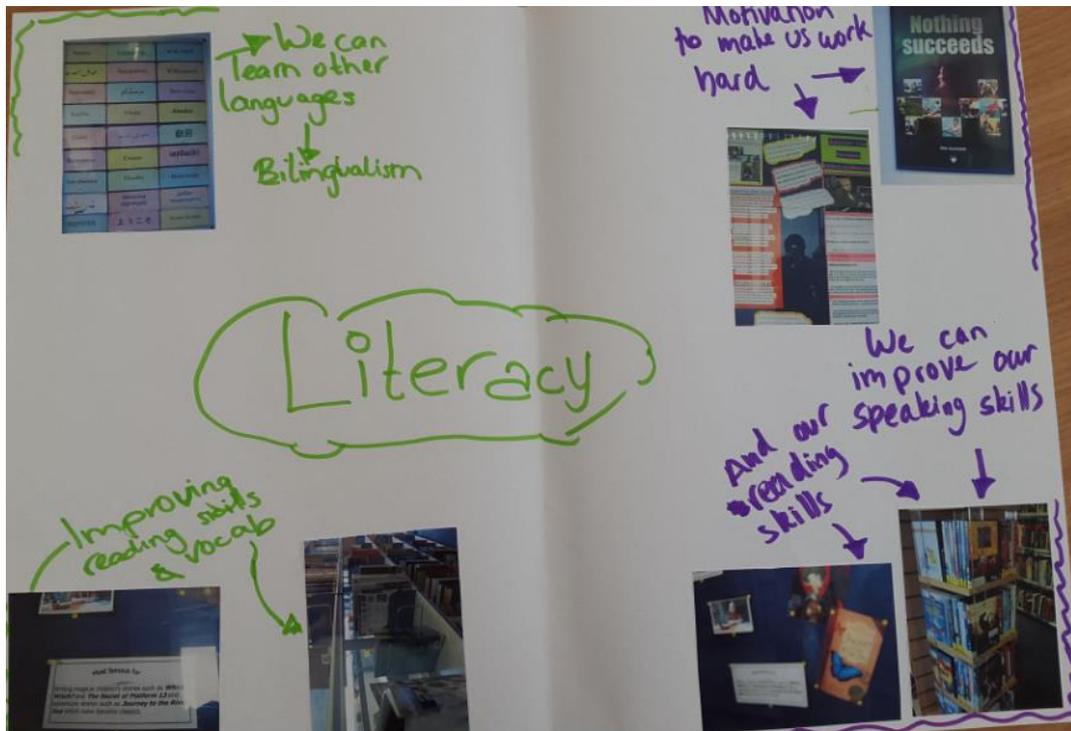
- speaking + listening
- Develop language skills
- Translation
- The focus is on you

Literacy on the other side of the door
- frustrating
- barrier

Library?
↳ suitable word
Does the word reflect this room from being more than just a place with books

↳ Books knowledge Accessable? some people hide

Learning Support?

↳ Help available where your learning is created

Communicate ↳ Watch + listen to other people

↳ Different kinds of people cultures + subcultures affecting your perception of school

Metaphor Trees
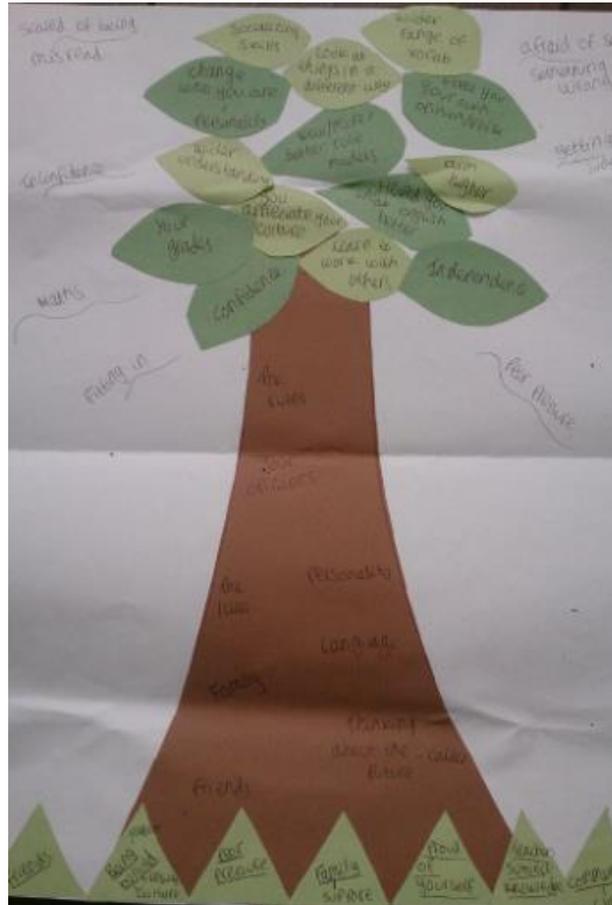
Thought Onions
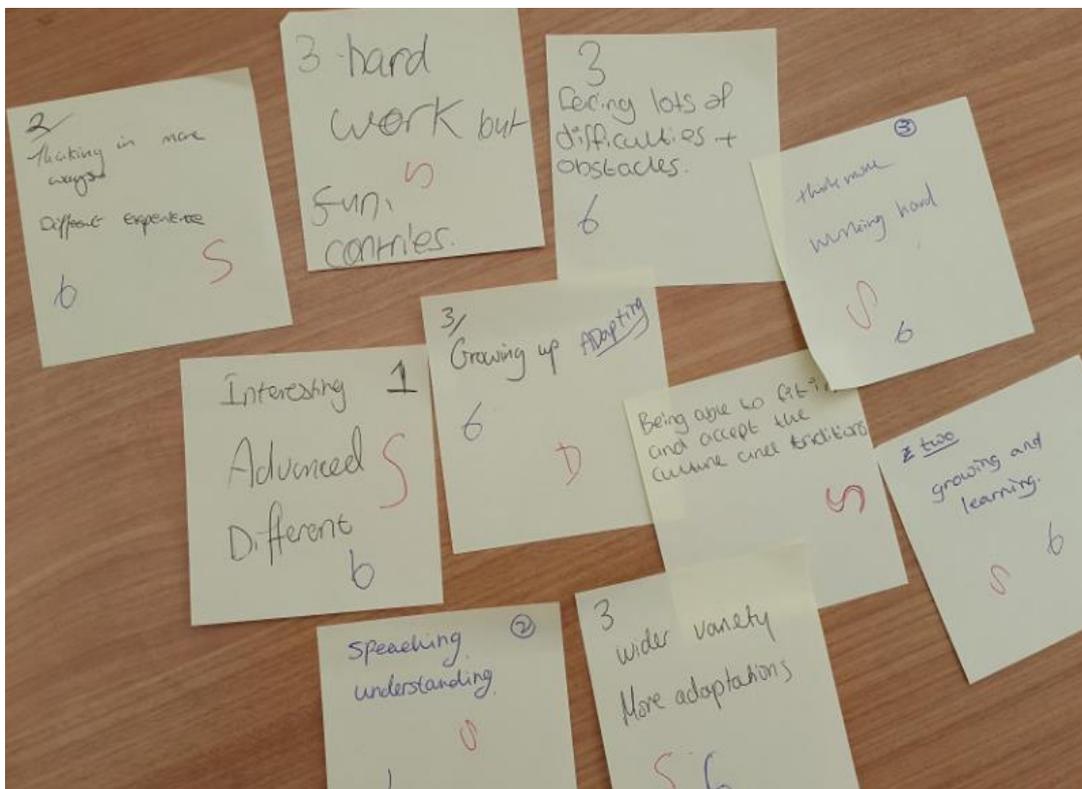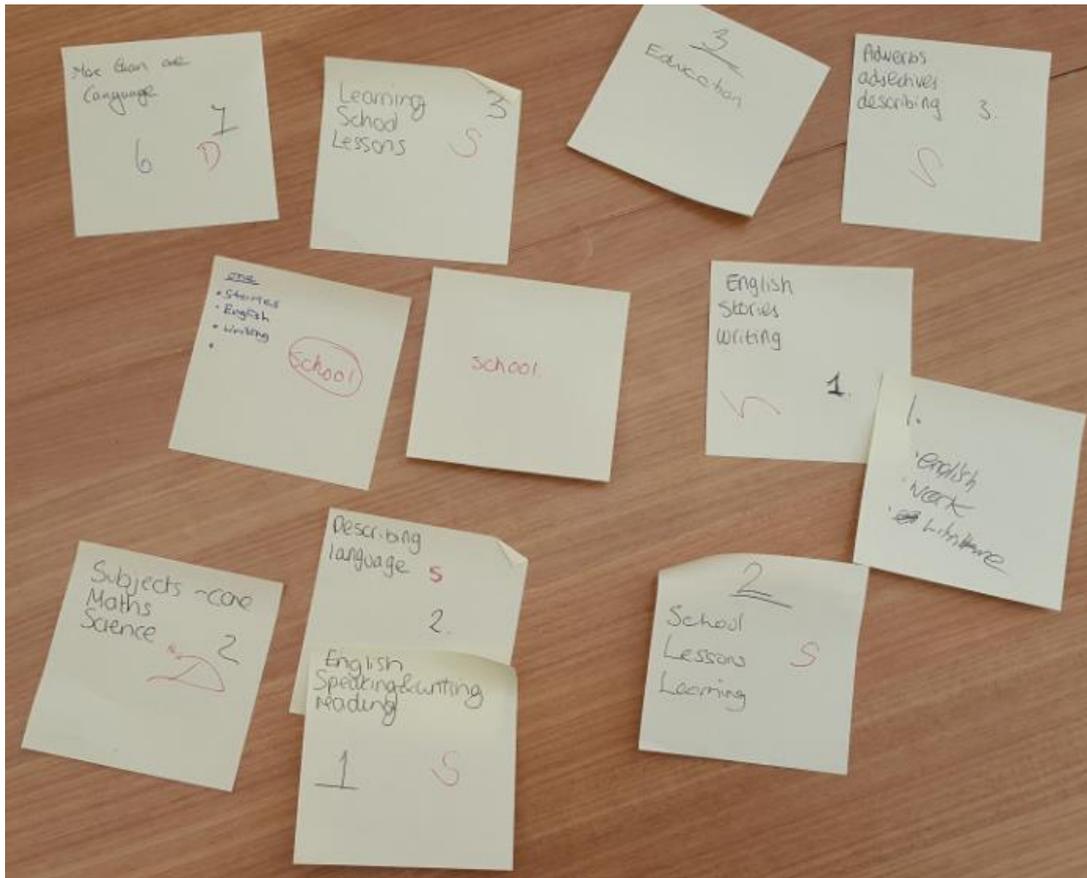
Diamond 9
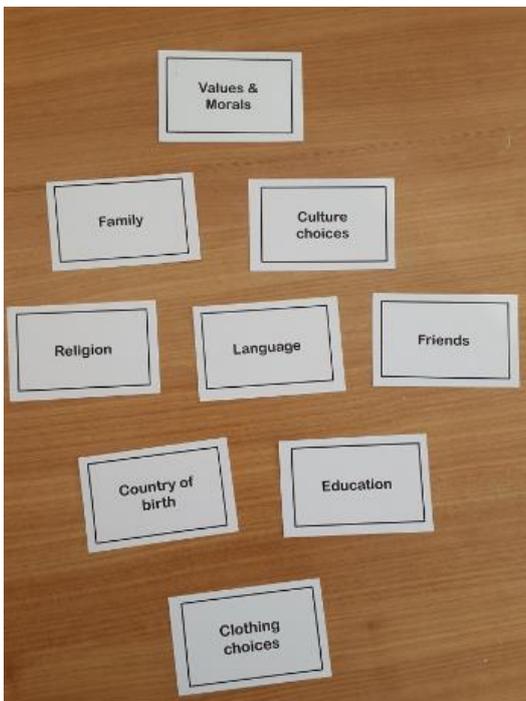
Appendix 5 Questions Developed by LRT to help during Diamond 9 task Discussions

I am less involved with my family	
Top	Bottom
Why? Do you speak your home language at home? Do you use your home language and English at home/ Do you think the fact that you speak English is a barrier when speaking to your family? Are you the only one who speak English in your family? Are you more or less involved in your family because you speak English? Can you explain your comment? How does this make you feel?	Do you think learning a new language helps you become more or less involved with your family? Did you all learn it at the same time? Is there a language barrier between yourself and anyone in your family?

Being Bilingual Opens up your mind and imagination	
Top	Bottom
Is this because you are more open to different cultural ideas ? What does language do for your ability to think clearly? Do you think this helps you learn? Do you think your language is part of your culture?	Why would you think this? Does imagination have anything to do with language?

I am proud to speak more than one language	
Top	Bottom
Does it make you feel more capable than others? What do you like most about speaking your home language? Do you have friends at school who speak your language? Do you think that speaking more than one language helps you learn more and better? Does speaking another language make you feel special?	Do people ever treat you differently speak your home language? Do people assume you can only speak your home language and not English? Do you feel comfortable speaking your home language?

I feel embarrassed using my home language at school	
Top	Bottom
Why would you feel that way? Would your friends feel the same? How would you feel if your parents spoke to you in your home language in front of your friends? Do you ever use your home language in lessons? Do you want to use your home language in lessons?	How do you feel if you speak your home language in school? Do lots of people speak your home language in school? Is that a positive or negative experience for you? Is your attitude to your home language different in different situations?

I am more sociable because I speak two languages	
Top	Bottom
How does it make you more sociable? Is this in school or at home? Have you gained any friends specifically because of your shared home language?	Do you think that your fluency in your home language affects your sociability in your home culture?

It is difficult to translate from my home language to English	
Top	Bottom
How does that make you feel? Can you give some examples of moments when it was difficult? Is it usually more difficult in school or out of school?	Do your parents or family speak English? Did they always speak English? Which is the easier way round of translating and why? Do you think translating either way will get harder?

I am seen as lower ability because I am bilingual	
Top	Bottom
Is there anything specific that makes you think this? Was there a specific incident that made you feel like this? Do you think this experience has changed you as a person or learner? Do you think monolingual learners ever feel like this because they are monolingual?	What makes you think this? What does this school do to make you feel like this? Does language affect your ability? Does being bilingual change the way people perceive your ability?

I speak my home language at home	
Top	Bottom
Which language do your parents speak more of at home? Which language do you speak more of at home? Does going to school in an English speaking school affect how much you use your home language outside of school?	Why do you think you speak more English at home? Has this always been the case?

Appendix 6 Original Categories from first Data read Through

Judging
Home
Culture
Translating
Confidence
Being alone
Sociability
Embarrassing
Visiting home country
Forgetting home language
Friends with same language inside school
Friends with same language outside school
Personality
Pride
Difference
Struggle to learn
Difficulties
Barriers
Family
Community outside of school
Out of school activities
Intelligence
Perception of self
Fluency
Language preference
Thinking
Languages taught at school
Helping family
Helping other students

Appendix 7 Examples of LRT Categorising Process

Aldrich & Sudron

Focus group 2 KS4

Summary of a page:
- interviewees feel confident in being bilingual.
- there are barriers but they are challenged with ... are skilled ... of languages and in ... of general communication.

E: Spanish
I: Italian
G: Punjabi
H: Russian

Preamble

F: Are you proud to speak more than one language?

E: yeah

G: yeah   Pr

H: Yeah I am too

speaking more than 1 lang = proud!
↳ important = but doesn't say why.

E: Do you think that's important?

G: yeah I think it's quite important

E: I am seen as a lower ... its learner cos I am bilingual

G: No I don't think so

E: None

no, probs ... as higher ability due to ... having ... extra comms. skills

interviewees don't elaborate as to why.

F: You're quite smart   Intel

E: I'm quite smart?

G: Yeah

F: Is it difficult to translate from your home language to English

G: Yeah quite

losing core lang skills could at be because of eng. lit taught in school?

F: It's harder to express yourself, like when you try to say something in your language but you know no one can understand you so you have to like, speak English it's kinda hard.

Think Bar   Soc

H: What language do you speak?

E: Spanish, there are some words in Spanish where you can't directly convert it into English.

S: Is that annoying, is that a problem?

E: no you can just make another sentence really.

are coming the challenge by using English
↳ using eng to come up with an alternative translation

S: Does that change the meaning of what you want to say then?

E: A bit

working class white students might under achieve.
↳ shows good lang. skill which non-bilingual students might lack in.

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Sumayya + Iona

Manya : A Summary

Iona - J

Yasmine - Y

Portuguese - R

S: Please translate about it and discuss.

I: This will probably go at the bottom.

SI: Which one is that at the bottom?

I: I am less involved with my family.

I: Then one should go in the middle.

J: Middle one.

I: Bottom.

J: ok.

I: I think it should go like here.

J: I think that one should go near the top.

SI: What's that one going near the top?

J: I am proud to speak more than one language.

SI: Why are you putting that at the top? Why do you think that needs to go at the top?

J: Because you should be happy that you speak more than one language.

SI: How do, how do, well proud is a funny word isn't it how do you know you're proud of speaking more than one language?

SI: Does it make you feel more capable than others?

I: Yeah probably, yeah.

J: Yes.

SI: Why?

J: Cos if I went back to Nigeria then I could speak to most people without need of a translator or anything etc.

SI: And what about being in school in Britain does it make you more creative in Britain do you think?

— Advantages of being bilingual
— Translation issues
   → Losing fluency
— Comparing home language to English (advantages)
   → sounds less rude etc, gives you privacy
— Making friends outside of school is easier than in school
   → tend not to make friends in school with same language

knowing English helps you make friends in school

MAIN POINTS
* Advantages of home language over English *
Big Point * Ability to form friendships through English *
* Translation and fluency *

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Appendix 8 An Example Extract of the Collaborative Analysis Process

Transcript Focus group 2 KS4	LRT Comments	My Comments
E Spanish F Harare G Panjabi H Russian		
PRIDE F: Are you proud to speak more than one language? E: Yeah. G: Yeah. H: Yeah I am too. E: Do you thin k that's important? G: Yeah I think it's quite important. E: 'I am seen as a lower ability learner cos I am bilingual.' G: No I don't think so E: Nope F: You're quite smart E: I'm quite smart? G: Yeah F: 'Is it difficult to translate from your home language to English' G: Yeah quite F: It's harder to express yourself, like when you try to say something in your language but you know no one can understand you so you have to like, speak English it's kinda hard. H: What language do you speak? E: Spanish there are some words in Spanish where you can't directly convert it into English. S: is that annoying, is that a problem? E: no you can just make another sentence really. Sl: Does that change the meaning of what you want to say then? E: A bit F: Yeah I guess so it might not have the impact that you want it to have so (Pause) H: 'I speak my home language less at home.' G: No. H: No. F: I speak it more at home 'cos at school there's no one to talk that same language to H: Yeah!	Oldrich: Interviewees feel confident in being bilingual. There are barriers but they are challenged with knowing that they are skilled in languages Oldrich: They have pride in their bilingual ability but don't elaborate as to why Jurgis: We all have pride knowing that we can speak more than one language Oldrich: Overcoming challenges by using English. Shows good language skills Pride Oldrich: Also shows why white working class British children might under achieve Iona: This is like when you code switch automatically without thinking and you think in one language or speak in another or dream (All LRT agree) Oldrich: Interviewees practice their mother tongue at home. Hey can't lose it as it's practical. Oldrich: No need for home language as school is an English environment	Maybe we should have asked them how school sees them? Note Discourse of ability creeping in here Not like translating it's almost a different process This does not seem to be a barrier to learning

G: Yeah. F: But some people have more people to talk to in their language. But like I think I'm the only person in this school who speaks my language. **BA** H: What's your language? F: it's an African language, like cos there's loads of African language, people think like African language is one language but it's not it's like fifty billion! S: It is loads. O: Does that like make you feel lonely at times, do you think like oh god I wish I had more people speak my language? F: Not really. O: not really? Because like so ok so you know English like does that kinda like hide the fact that you don't feel very lonely because you don't have many people who speak your language? F: Yeah cos if I didn't speak clear English I would feel a bit lonely and I wouldn't want to talk to anyone but because I've grown up speaking English, even in my country like we spoke English and it's the first language you learn in school. **Con** O: Ok. F: So it's ok for me. S: Would you say you spoke both languages at the same level or would you say you spoke one language more than the other? F: erm I think I speak both at the same level 'cos 'cos at home I speak my language and at school I speak English, so it's not like I forget. **F** Sl: Which language do you prefer? **Pref** **SECRECY** F: erm if someone annoys me I can speak in my language and then they'll be like what did you say and I'll be like nothing nothing, I didn't say anything. I really don't mind! **Lang T** S: Sorry I'll let you get back to your diamond nine now. H: 'Being bilingual opens up your imagination'. Do you agree with that?	Oldrich: Bilingual are fine using English only, not having the same language. Friends don't cause sadness which might not affect school performance Oldrich: part of socialisation for most bilingual students	But being sociable does not necessarily mean that you have to speak English. Look at Fs comments about being comfortable later on in this transcript. Hawkins (2012) - school students who have been educated elsewhere other than the UK as having to acquire "school affiliated identities"(p.60). Not entirely true? This is quite funny. Students enjoy speaking their home language secretly

F: Yeah I think I do 'cos like I always want to learn French and I want to	Oldrich: According to this interview bilinguals have the craving to learn languages. Only one person said this?	
O: Can I just mention like erm speaking more than one language, do you think that that might help you in the future? Like erm maybe getting a job or academically for university do you think like being bilingual is a bigger bonus than just being monolingual?		
E: Yeah.		
F: Yeah.		
F: To know other languages' cos like Spanish and French some words are like (Pause)	Oldrich: Bilinguals do have the advantage academically when learning languages especially Spanish or Italian. But English can have effect on MFL	
O: Very similar?		
E: Yeah.		
O: Ok ok.		
S: Even though people say that English is like the lingua Franca it's like the language that loads of people speak , you think it's still useful to have ,do you think beneficial?		
F: Yes it's useful to have 'cos you could go anywhere and find someone speaking English but you couldn't go anywhere and find someone speaking Portuguese it's like it's hard to find the right person. **Diff**	Oldrich: Bilingual students socialise easily	Pronouns used – second person similar to other transcripts? See Transcript 4 and 5 and 6 Shared sensibility? Shared experiences?
SL: Why is that important to you?		
BELONGING		
F: 'Cos you want someone that you can communicate with and just feel comfortable with if you went to like (Pause) if someone was to come here and try to speak a language nobody knows you'd feel a bit like you don't want to talk to anyone 'cos you can't understand anything. **con**	Oldrich: Agrees with Miss S Mahtab: This is just how teenagers speak Mahtab disagreed with the interpretation here. Mukosa and Greta : closest friends do not speak same language Mukosa: Friends are all from African nations, but do not speak the same language. Mahtab: closest friends from Asian countries not Afghanistan. All bilingual Pat: Your languge and where you come from are very different. Some people speak same language but from different countries. No one has said they share the same	

	heritage with their friends we all had same experience here as new arrivals in a English school. So it's ok.	
S: Does being bilingual make you feel special or like a bit unique? F: yes cos you get people coming to you like saying how do you say this how do you say that oh my god it's so cool It's kind of weird sometimes. S: Is that the same for all of you? H: A bit yeah. Sl: What about you <NAME>? E: Well you teach Spanish at this school so… S: Why? Do you disagree? E: So they can just find out for themselves. Sl: Why do you disagree <NAME>? G: No! I mean it sometimes but not all the time. Sl: Have you done your (Pause)? Oh no not yet sorry. F: 'I am less involved with my family.' H: No. F: What do you mean? S: Like are you 'cos you speak two languages, are you as involved with your family like do you talk to them in both language or are you a bit (Pause)? F: Yeah? S: Separated? SI: Do you think English is a barrier for you and your family? F: Some of them but because I can speak both languages, it's not a problem. S: because you grew up with both of them? E: Learning both languages you just communicate the same. Sl: Did you all grow up bilingual learning both languages? H: No. S: How do you feel about? Is it a barrier between you and your family? H: Not really. We just don't speak English at home which causes a bit of confusion when my friends come over. O: Do you maybe feel embarrassed speaking your home language?	Oldrich: People are admired for speaking a different language at this school Oldrich: Challenges are not seen as challenges – the are overcome Oldrich: Code switching Oldrich: Confidence in speaking home language outside of the home/family environment – not 100% convinced other bilinguals would agree	It's very true there is a sense of joy throughout all transcripts about being bilingual and students enjoy talking about it Even the confusion created doesn't seem to cause barriers for these students

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H: No! O: Like if you go out in public you would feel confident speaking it? H: yeah. S: What is your home language? H: Russian S: Ah F: But then sometimes you get your mum calling you from across the street in your language and then everyone's just looking at you what is your mum. H: yeah. E: Saying and you're just like nothing! Sl: Is that a cultural thing or a language thing? F: It's a cultural thing 'cos it is like loud and embarrassing! **E** Sl: Or do you think maybe that's a teenage thing? F:Probably probably everybody has it but you just feel like it's you sometimes. **Diff** S: (Turns to Diamond Nine Activity) like one here two here three here and two here and one. F: Oh Are You all 'proud to speak your language'? E &G&H: Yeah! F: Are you embarrassed using your home language at school? **E** H: No. G: No, I think. F: You're not sure so I'll put it there O: Sorry to interrupt the whole question, but in terms of your identity do you think knowing English and speaking it fluently alters your inner self ? Like the previous group mentioned that it can slightly change the way you act learning English maybe, I don't know, do you do you see any slight changes in yourself? Or any sort of like personality changes when you speak English? **Diff** F: Yeah Yeah it does change. H: yeah. **Pers** F: 'Cos when you're at home and you're speaking your language you're like I think you show more respect like when you speak English you just feel like it's (Pause)	Oldrich: Interviewees are confident but a bit doubtful here Oldrich: Interviewees confirm Transcript 1 Oldrich: This is interesting bilinguals code switch to feel more formal	Does this play out in other transcripts? Check

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O: So it's more informal? F: Yeah it's more informal. O: Ok. F: Cos like you're with your friends and you're just shouting and everything!		

Appendix 9 Examples of the Student Participants' Diamond Nine Activities