Rethinking 'English as an additional language':

an ethnographic study of young migrants,

language and schools.

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

Publications to date

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Abstract

This thesis is an ethnographic study of adolescent migrants in a South London secondary school. It examines what happens when young people from very different backgrounds encounter the education system in the UK. Very often, they are classified as 'EAL' (because they use English as an additional language) and are required to learn the majority language so that they can access the curriculum. I argue that this needs rethinking to take account of the skills, experiences and aspirations of the young people.

The thesis is organised into three main parts. The first describes the setting and the broader context, and sets out the methodology that I follow in this study. The second contains the four analytical chapters; the third brings the discussion together, identifying the main findings and discussing the implications for practitioners, schools, policy-makers and for the wider debates around migration, language and education.

The study develops an innovative theoretical framework that analyses classrooms as spaces of 'contact' between young people with very different past experiences. It shows how their migration 'trajectories' are a crucial resource as they make sense of the school, and how they draw together resources from other times and places as they do (a process I describe as 'networking'). The study also shows classrooms to be complex sociolinguistic environments with distinct interactional spaces, allowing the young people great flexibility as they encounter and negotiate the institution and each other.

Increasing numbers of young people are moving through the education system in ways that were not foreseen even a few decades ago. Too often, they are defined in terms of linguistic deficiency and their experience of other ways of learning is ignored. This thesis argues for the urgent need to rethink that positioning, and offers an analytical framework to do so.

Contents

Part two, data and analysis

List of abbreviations and acronyms

The following abbreviations appear in the text:

CLIL   Content and Language Integrated Learning

DES   Department of Education and Science (UK, defunct)

DfE   Department for Education (UK)

EAL   English as an Additional Language (UK, Australia and parts of Canada)

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ELL   English Language Learner (US and parts of Canada)

ELT   English Language Teaching

EMAG   Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (UK)

ESL   English as a Second Language

ESOL   English for Speakers of Other Language (UK)

IGCSE   An international examination for 14-16 year olds

LEP   Limited English Proficient (primarily US)

LE   Linguistic Ethnography

LTEL   Long-Term English Learner (primarily US)

GCSE   Examinations at the end of compulsory education, taken at age 16 (UK)

MAT   Multi-Academy Trust (often known as an 'academy chain')

NPD   National Pupil Database

Ofqual   Office for Qualifications and Examinations Regulation, the qualifications regulator for England

Ofsted   Office for Standards in Education, the education regulator for England

PISA   Programme for International Student Assessment, a programme that assesses 15-year-olds internationally and ranks education systems accordingly

List of figures and illustrations

List of tables

For Jenny.

Part one
Setting the scene

Chapter 1   Introduction

Introduction

This is a thesis about young people who have recently arrived in Pine Wood Academy, a South London secondary school. They have come from different parts of the world and have little in common: they speak different languages, have experienced very different types of migration and have different expectations of the future. What unites them is their membership of the 'International Group', the school's transition programme for newly arrived young people aged 14-18. The Group operates almost as a school-within-a-school: it sets its own entry criteria, designs its own curricula and selects its own examinations. Unlike the main school, the young people in the International Group are organised into mixed-age, largely mixed-ability groups, based initially on their proficiency in English and then on their readiness to access the mainstream curriculum. There is a great deal of movement between these classes and it makes for a very flexible programme: young people can arrive at any point in the school year, join a class based on their English level and previous schooling, and then move up to more challenging classes as soon as they are ready.

There is a tension at the heart of this process, though, between the flexibility of the International Group and the inflexible education system it sits within. As the study progressed this became its main focus: how to reconcile a system that emphasises homogeneity and predictability – a 'monolingualising' (Heller 1995: 374) environment that implicitly sees difference as a threat – with the advocacy and adaptability of the International Group. In part, this is because the education system anticipates that young people will join a school in the early years and follow the national curriculum until they

take qualification-bearing examinations at 16 or 18 (called GCSEs and A Levels; see chapter four for my analysis of the policy environment). This is not the experience of the young people in this study: they joined the UK education system in late adolescence and completed compulsory education a year or two later. This means that the study captures a narrow window: at most four years, but often one or two, in which the young people participate in the education system and in which their opportunities for the future will be decided. It is a crucial period in their lives, and one that is very little studied.

In this gap sits the International Group. The adults who work there are deeply committed advocates for these young people but they exist on the margins of the national education system with very little support from local or national networks. They have built a programme of 'skills-based provision' and adapt it frequently to meet the changing needs of the young people (their approach is detailed below and in chapters four and five); but this flexibility is always tempered by the need to connect their programme to external qualifications, which they believe underpin the opportunities that the young people will have when they leave. They are generally well supported by Pine Wood Academy and are highly regarded by the borough (local government) but funding is always short and the adults are clear that they are doing the best they can with limited resources. This is the environment that the young people enter, bringing their own experiences of learning and schooling, their own expectations of how to behave and how to succeed, their own worries and their own hopes for the future. This is not, therefore, a study of how young people learn English and access the curriculum. Instead, it looks closely at how young people encounter the formal education system, and a very heterogeneous group of peers, and try to make sense of it in the brief period it is available to them.

This can be reformulated as a pair of guiding questions, each of which is given equal weight:

> how do young migrants make sense of their school, and

> how does their school make sense of them?

The first question emphasises the autonomy of the young people, and recognises that they bring their own experiences and expectations of learning to the school. These might encompass a wide range of activities, from informal learning with extended families (e.g. Kenner *et al.* 2007) to semi-formal learning in faith settings (e.g. Lytra *et al.* 2016). They had all been involved in learning in other countries, whether through other national education systems (like Afnan, chapter six) or informally and during a long migration (like Eyob, chapter seven). This is crucial: the norms of schooling in the UK will be familiar to those who have followed that education system themselves but can be unpredictable to those who have been educated elsewhere; and they are often alien to those who have never experienced formal schooling. Many of the young people in this study have a nuanced understanding of how learning works in other contexts (see Gonzalez *et al.* 2005 on the 'funds of knowledge' that young people bring to school, also Conteh 2011a, Conteh and Riasat 2014, Conteh 2015, Li Wei 2014; discussed further in chapters four and eight). They will have a strong grasp of the assumed knowledge, the shared ways of speaking and behaving, and the mechanisms by which capital is acquired; but not necessarily the right ones for their new school.

To illustrate this range of experience, I have prepared two vignettes from the data. Each one is a composite of different young people and my aim is to give a sense of the complexity of their lives before moving into more detailed analysis in later chapters (an approach that is widely used in ethnographic research, see e.g. Gregory *et al.* 2004, Simpson *et al.* 2008, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Conteh 2012, 2015).

Vignette one.

'Shahan' was born in Afghanistan, in a rural village outside Kabul. He went to school for five years, completing his primary education, before helping his father look after the family flock. As a young teenage he spent most of his day outside, sometimes camping away from home when the animals grazed further afield. He attended the mosque regularly and was learning to recite the Qur'an. His father was a respected figure in the village, and Shahan had hoped to take on some of his role when he was older.

The Taliban insurgency and the instability that followed the Western coalition's invasion of Afghanistan made life increasingly dangerous for young men like Shahan. His father and uncle decided to send him to the West, where they hoped he would be able to pursue an education and send money home for the family – and avoid being forced to join the Taliban.

The migration took a little over two years and all the family's savings. Shahan claimed asylum when he arrived in Britain but does not have permanent legal status here: he will likely be deported after he turns 18. He was mistreated by the people smugglers and has lost contact with his family back home. He learned some English from the others on his journey, as well as a few words of Farsi, Greek and French as he passed through those countries. Now in the UK, he is deeply grateful to his teachers and the school but often lashes out against their authority.

Vignette two.

'Juan' was born in Ecuador. He went to school there until the age of 12, when his family moved to Spain seeking better employment opportunities. Although he speaks Spanish, he found it hard at first to adapt to the new education system and to make friends. His parents were keen for him to succeed at school and helped him with his homework whenever they could, but working several jobs to support the family left them with little time to spend together.

The economic downturn that began in 2008 eventually affected Juan's family and they moved to the UK to look for work again. They live together in a flat some distance from the school.

This time he settled into his new school quite quickly. The International Group included a large number of Spanish speakers and he found a group of friends almost immediately. There are some tensions – a few of the older boys see themselves as more worldly and Juan tries to live up to their example by joking around and not being seen to care too much about his school work.

Juan had done well at school in Ecuador and relatively well in Spain. He arrived in London with very little English, but otherwise had a strong grounding in formal education. He speaks English quite well now, though his written work is less effective. He often describes himself as 'bored' with his lessons and seems to chafe at the curriculum's emphasis on English and maths, but he is making slow progress through the levels.

Both 'Shahan' and 'Juan' followed a normal path for young people of their age and in their communities. Both completed primary education, though we might reasonably imagine that they differed significantly in curriculum, resources, pedagogy and in the norms of schooling. Shahan's formal education ended there, but he continued to be engaged with print literacy through his mosque and looked to his father for the social expectations relating to adulthood. His migration journey involved further informal learning, structured around his immediate needs. Juan, in contrast, is now engaging with his third system of formal education. His teachers in London have wondered whether Ecuadorean students were marginalised at his Spanish school; there are areas in which he seems out of sync with the level of subject knowledge they would expect. They have a more ready explanation for Shahan's behaviour: he is traumatised by his migration and is relieved to be somewhere more settled, but the responses to stress he has learned on the journey will take more time to fade. Shahan and Juan are two of many such young people in the International Group. Each brings their own constellation of experiences with them to Pine Wood Academy. They draw on a unique combination of resources when they engage with the school, and will make sense of it in their own terms.

The second question, how the schools make sense of the young migrants, works in tandem with the first. For simplicity it conflates the teachers and the school, and schools and education systems; distinctions I will unpick in chapters four and five. The adult participants in this study were deeply engaged in 'making sense' of the young people. They mediated the (often unclear or contradictory) policy framework and drew on their own experience to help the young people adapt to the expectations of the International Group. In this way they had much in common: both adults and young people were always learning about each other and trying to relate what they learned to their existing knowledge about schooling, learning and 'teacher' or 'student' roles. From both perspectives, schooling can be seen in terms of a contest to make your voice heard. For the adults, this meant trying to serve the young people well in difficult circumstances; for the young people, it meant finding a space for themselves in the school and in the wider communities they were becoming part of.

Background and rationale

The chapter so far has given a broad introduction to the setting and goals of this study. The following section now describes the specific context of the research project. It connects the global and the local because both are present in the data and in the young people's lives. It then considers the implications of this context for the thesis and defines the key concepts I use in the analysis.

This thesis is a product of its time and place: written in the second decade of the twenty-first century in a major European – global – city, it reflects and is saturated by the contradictory public discourses around education, migration and language that dominated that period. I had originally planned to study the impact of a specific policy

agenda (the academies programme, see Francis 2012 and Gilbert *et al.* 2013 for overviews) on young people identified as using 'English as an Additional Language' (or 'EAL'). That agenda went on to have enormous impact on the wider educational landscape but much less on the research site itself, and as I spent time in Pine Wood Academy I came to focus much more on understanding what was signified by the label 'EAL' and to look at how young migrants interacted with the school.

A shifting policy environment

The research took place during a period of great change, both in the education system and in the wider political world. While I was conducting the study the hugely divisive Education Secretary at the heart of the academies programme was replaced and large numbers of specialist consultants, based in local authorities experiencing deep budget cuts, were made redundant. The professional field of 'EAL' continued to be marginalised at national, regional and local level. Debates around PISA assessments and international competitiveness gave way to those around migration, integration and Fundamental British Values. The UK government's Prevent agenda gave teachers responsibility for identifying and reporting young people at risk of radicalisation. Changes to initial teacher education gave a greater role to teaching schools and academy chains (officially known as Multi-Academy Trusts, or MATs) at the expense of university-led provision. Revisions to the national curriculum emphasised phonics and grammar in primary and a chronological approach to British history in secondary, as part of a broader drive for 'standards'. In response to concerns about 'education tourism', the Department for Education asked all schools to collect evidence of young people's nationality.

Internationally, Syria would implode, pushing images of people experiencing hardship onto newspaper front pages and television screens around the country. Angela Merkel,

the German Chancellor, would launch and then play down a policy of *Willkommenskultur* (or welcoming refugees). The so-called Islamic State inspired or claimed responsibility for over 140 attacks around the world. Following a brief negotiation with other national leaders, in which the Prime Minister secured an 'emergency break' on in-work benefits for EU citizens (Cameron 2016), a referendum was called on British membership of the European Union. The rancorous debate focused mostly on sovereignty, the economy and immigration, and the vote to leave appears to have led to a sudden increase in xenophobic attacks (see Baynham *et al.* 2016a, Zhu Hua and Li Wei 2016). His subsequent resignation led to the third UK government (and the third education secretary) of the study period. Towards the end of the writing phase, Donald Trump was elected president of the United States.

Unspoken in these debates is the serious discussion that never gained traction: what does globalisation mean for a country that no longer has an empire but is still deeply connected to the wider world? How do we support young people from different backgrounds to adapt to life in the UK, and at what point does that 'support' need to involve a critical reflexivity about our own assumptions (and when is 'support' better seen as 'coercion')? How relevant can an age-based curriculum be for highly mobile young people in an era of near-instant global communication and unprecedented availability of information – and what are the alternatives? How can adult professionals engage meaningfully with difference, mobility and language within the confines of the education system? The adults and young people in this study engaged with exactly these questions, intertwining the local and the global in their day-to-day interactions with each other. Young people are often on the 'receiving end' of policy (Anderson *et al.* 2016: 1), but their voices are rarely heard in policy discussions. That is a loss: they often have a nuanced understanding of how the local and the global are connected. Global crises have

propelled their migrations, for example, and the programme that they follow in the International Group is strongly influenced by the lack of effective national policy.

Implications for the thesis

The media and policy discourses around migration and language are important context, but as in real life they threaten to obscure the young people at the heart of this study. The thesis draws on fieldwork in one school over almost two school years: participant observation in the classrooms, corridors and offices; interviews with the adults and young people; photographs of the walls, displays, whiteboards, mobile phones, resources and scraps of paper that the participants used to articulate themselves; and audio-recordings of classrooms using multiple microphones, capturing the 'official' talk of the classroom as well as the quiet conversations in the background. From these it sought to describe the experience of being a young migrant in the formal institution of the school, a liminal period between the life that came before and the life that would follow. This liminality is central to the analysis: schools appear to be solid, permanent and inflexible, but this thesis describes them as brief slices of time and space sandwiched between the major experiences of migration and (most likely) settlement. The young people's time in school is a period of intense change and instability, masked by the rhythm of the curriculum and the sense of steady movement towards examinations – a sense of linear progress that I argue is illusory at best, and a damaging fiction at worst.

This has implications for the methodology and analysis. I have argued that current policy marginalises young migrants, and that the adults who work in the International Group are heavily involved in mitigating and countering that marginalisation. This is reflected in the thesis: I begin the analytical section with a close analysis of how 'EAL' is constructed and operationalised in policy (see chapter four), linking this to the approach taken at

Pine Wood Academy. My focus on mobility and heterogeneity predisposes me to see the International Group as a site of encounter – between young people, and between the young people and adults – rather than as a place where knowledge is transmitted or where young people are socialised into the norms of schooling. In the analytical section, particularly in chapters five and six, I develop this into a discussion of 'contact' (following Pratt 1987, 1991 and Canagarajah 1997, 2013) and show how the young people draw on a 'network' of resources to position themselves more advantageously relative to their peers. Because I see the International Group as a small slice of time in the lives of the young people – although a very important and influential one – I emphasise the ongoing relevance of their personal histories to the classroom. I develop the theory behind this in chapters two and five, and give a fuller account of one young person's migration history in chapter seven. I also describe, in chapter three, how the young people were deeply involved in shaping the data I collected and the interpretations that emerged.

Key concepts and terminology

To support this analysis, I use a number of common terms in specific ways. The four that I focus on here – 'EAL', 'subject position', 'trajectory', 'network' and 'time-space' – all work together to underpin the analysis in chapters four to seven.

'EAL'

The term 'English as an Additional Language' is widely used to indicate young multilinguals in the school system, but it is rarely used in the International Group. There, the terms 'EMAG' and 'ESOL' are more common, reflecting both the history of the department (and the old 'ethnic minority achievement grant') and its current practice

(with a focus on equipping young people for when they leave school). 'EAL' is felt to be too closely associated with mainstream provision. As Margaret, the department head, explains in chapter four, it does not capture the International Group's responsiveness to the needs of young migrants.

The research process also highlighted a broader concern that the term 'EAL' may obscure important distinctions. More than 1.2 million young people are identified as 'EAL' in England and Wales (DfE 2016a), but that single label reveals little of the information that schools need to support the young people's learning (such as their linguistic repertoires, a term discussed in chapter two, their ability to communicate in different settings, their educational backgrounds or their migration histories). For this reason I flag the term using inverted commas throughout, and offer a detailed discussion of its use and impact in chapter four.

Subject position

Davies and Harré (1990) describe how people are called to inhabit certain discursive positions as they interact with others, but suggest that these positions are 'provisional and not necessarily indefensible' (p. 48). As people interact with each other they adopt (or are given) temporary identities that they can use or contest in the interaction. This can be seen in chapter six, for example, in a playful exchange between two young people in which one told the other off for speaking Arabic, though he was not, and positioned him as a misbehaving student. The game seemed to revolve around provoking his friend to react loudly (that is, to contest the subject position he has been given) and therefore be told off by the teacher. Such small examples of positioning and re-positioning appear to show a key mechanism by which the young people negotiate the power dynamics of the classroom, and they underpin much of the analysis in chapters six and seven.

Trajectory and network

These two terms are given together because they are two elements of the broader analytical approach I develop in this thesis. Throughout, I emphasise the importance of the young people's earlier experiences to their time in the International Group. In chapter five I expand on this, contrasting the broader sense of 'trajectory' with the more restricted 'journey' to show that the young people's migrations do not end when they arrive in London. I also introduce the term 'networking' to describe the process by which the young people draw together a range of resources to use in interaction. These include semiotic resources, objects and indexical references to shared knowledge. This can be seen in chapter six, for example, where young people use different scripts to help me understand the relationship between their migration trajectories and their attitudes to the lesson going on around us. The use of networks and trajectories reinforces the analysis of positioning: when the young people show me the different scripts they have access to they are repositioning themselves as a successful students and proficient multilinguals, in contrast to their frustration at being English-learners in a low-level class.

Time-space

The final term is really two in one: time and space. The networking I describe shows young people drawing on resources from other times and other places to articulate themselves in the here-and-now. I give a fuller discussion of 'time-space' in chapter two, using it to unpick the illusory rhythm of the curriculum that I described above.

The chapter has now described the broader context of this study and discussed its implications for the thesis. It looks next at the specific setting of the International Group.

The International Group

The International Group at Pine Wood Academy is home to approximately 120 students from over 20 countries, some ten per cent of the total school population (though their number changes as young people join and leave the school throughout the year). It is one of a number of specialist centres at Pine Wood (the others are for hearing-impaired students and those with communication disorders) but it exists on the periphery of the school, a position that the staff have carved out for themselves and that brings both opportunities and constraints. This section sets out an overview of the International Group's programme, focusing on the procedure by which new arrivals are allocated to groups and how they can move between classes. This discussion is then revisited in chapter five, which examines how the adult participants describe the programme.

Arrival and placement

When young people from other countries enrol at Pine Wood Academy they are interviewed by an adult member of the International Group and given a test of their proficiency in English. On the basis of the test and interview they are placed into one of five groups. My research was based with the two 'lower' groups, identified as having beginner- to low intermediate-level proficiency in English. These groups follow a curriculum that focuses on English language and maths, with one lesson each week of art, drama and sport. In the higher-level classes the curriculum begins to incorporate other subjects, such as business and science. In the top group the students study a one-year intensive GCSE course. English or maths are often prioritised, so if time allows it is not unusual to take a further year to add additional GCSE subjects.

Course structure

There is a great deal of flexibility in the course structure. English-language proficiency formed the core scale by which the young people were grouped, but they could skip ahead if they were deemed to make rapid progress and the groups were re-organised approximately every half-term. The young people could also be in different groups for different subjects – especially, for participants in this study, in separate groups for maths and for English. The mixed-level maths class taught by Jake (discussed in several of the following chapters) was one such: the class was made up of the young people identified as weakest in maths from the two lowest groups. Figure one shows that structure in diagrammatic form. Subjects listed to the left of the branch are generally taught within the International Group; those on the right by members of staff from other departments.

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                            International
                               Group
        ┌──────────────┬──────────────┬──────────────┐
   (pre-course)       1, 2            3            4, 5

  small-group                                    intensive GCSE
   tutoring      English      English              curriculum

                  Maths                Maths

                          Art        Business?
   Drama                  PE         Science?
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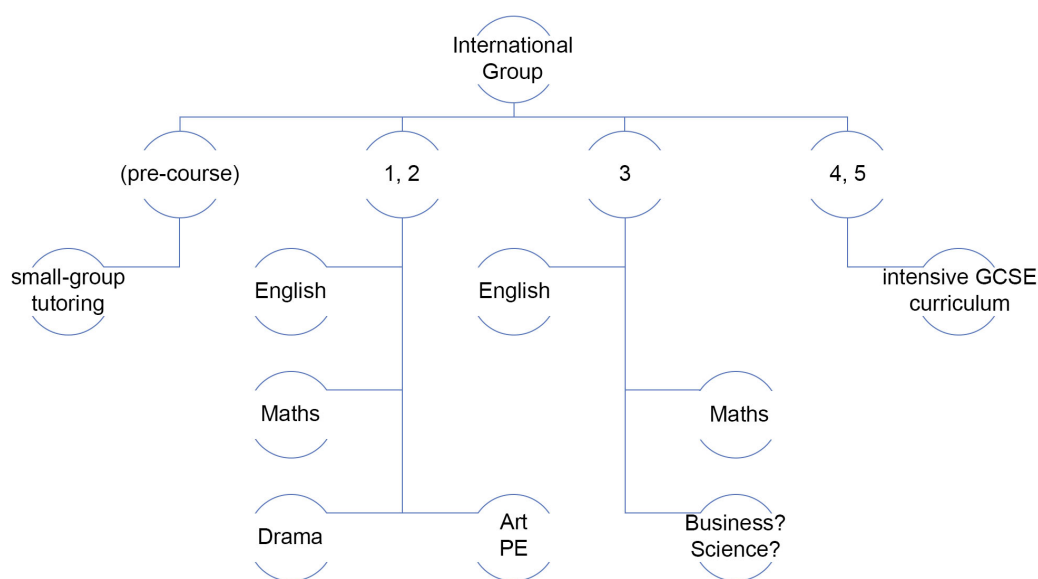
Figure 1: Course structure of the International Group.

The departmental office is located at the corner of a row of classrooms and the corridor down which most of the students move between lessons. It stands on a wide mezzanine overlooking the large entrance hall and near a seating area where students spent break times (pictured in chapter six); a couple of steps from the office door gives a

commanding view of the International Group's space. There was rarely a lesson or a break time in which young people were not in the office, asking questions, submitting permission slips, explaining lateness or the absence of homework, sitting quietly when they needed time out of a lesson, in detention or getting help with school work. It all contributes to a sense of a close-knit team and a coherent group identity. The young people and the adults live in close proximity during school hours, and the boundary between the office and the corridor spaces occupied by the young people is a fluid one.

Because the programme is so flexible, the adult participants frequently adapt their work. They often plan lessons together and with few distinctions between teachers and teaching assistants, perhaps because they all bring professional experience from other domains (see below). In addition to her own work, Margaret often spends her non-teaching hours with the young people, dropping in at the beginning or end of a class to talk to one, to remind another about an upcoming exam or to chastise those who were late or not working hard enough, before returning to the office to continue working. The adult participants work with a high degree of independence at some points, but collaborate closely at others. Margaret is again the key figure, directing the focus of lessons and the young people's movement between class groups. In the first months I spent in the department I would think ahead to how I would write about this environment, the rapid movement and the frequent shifts in organisation that looked, at first, like disorganisation. Over time this gave way to a more nuanced understanding of how the department operated: it is a careful and hard-won balance of energies and resources, and I describe how it is maintained in chapter four.

Dramatis Personae

This study was conducted in a busy school. Participants joined and left the International Group, moved between classes, and became more or less involved in the research as time passed. Short biographies for each of the key participants are given here, with adults and young people listed separately. Not every participant is described here; those who make only brief appearances in the thesis are introduced in the text and a full record of the adult participants is included as appendix I.

Introducing the participants also means defining them in my own terms, subsuming their voices into my own (although they have commented on their sketches and I have taken those comments into account). I have introduced them in ways that I hope will be helpful to the reader: the adults with their job titles and the young people with their age, gender and nationality (drawn from the school's records; ages dated at the end of the fieldwork). These details are nonetheless problematic because they elide important distinctions between participants and rely on the simplistic groupings that give rise to categories such as 'EAL'. These sketches come with caveats, then.

Adult participants

The key adult participants (and myself) are listed here. Others appear in appendix I.

Pseudonym	Role	Background
Margaret	Head of the International Group	Education, refugees
Maria	Teacher, teaching assistant	English teacher in Italy
Eugenio	Teaching assistant	ESOL
Siobhan	Teacher (former Head of EMAG)	Drama, (subject) English
Jake	Teacher (maths department)	Newly qualified, maths

Table 1: Selected adult participants.

Myself

For the 19 months of the data collection I was one of the adults in the International Group. My background has much in common with those of the other adult participants (see chapter nine): I was an English language teacher before beginning the PhD, most recently in higher education but previously in the ESOL and EFL sectors. I also have experience of working with young people in voluntary programmes – but much less experience of young people as 'pupils'. This became an important part of the thesis: I was a semi-outsider who came to greatly respect the work of the International Group staff without ever sharing their professional obligations or the perspective that came with them. After almost two years in their school, these are my impressions of the other participants.

Margaret, Head of Department

Margaret is a key figure in the International Group. Her background is in both education and working with refugees, and she joined the school from a national refugee organisation. Little happens in the International Group without her permission: she approves all class changes, directs the curriculum and manages the team's workload. She frequently visits classrooms to check that the young people are on time and to chase those whose work is falling behind. She also teaches English, maths and science, running lessons before school and in the holidays for young people whom she feels need to make more progress in core subjects.

Her professional background stands out: the International Group focuses strongly on developing the young people's skills rather than just learning language. She maintains close links with local social services and with different youth charities. Maria and Eugenio

respect her greatly and described her as someone who leads by example. She teaches

three subjects and they specifically mention that she 'works harder than any of us'

(interview, 12 June 2015). My own impression of her is someone who is deeply

committed to the young people and who cares greatly about the challenges they face. I

interviewed Margaret only once, at the very end of the study, and she spoke of the

constant challenges of securing opportunities for the young people in a system that

otherwise offers them nothing.

Maria, teaching assistant / teacher

Maria is a qualified teacher from Italy. She joined the school as a teaching assistant, just

before I arrived to begin data collection, and was re-hired as a teacher just before I left.

Maria teaches English and assisted in Jake's maths lesson. Her English teaching

emphasises grammatical accuracy and she seems very comfortable working with EFL

course books, reflecting her training as a foreign-language teacher. As a teaching

assistant in Jake's class, her focus shifted to keeping the students engaged with the

lesson. She described her close knowledge of the young people, particularly of how they

respond to different pedagogies and where their strengths lie, as underpinning both.

Eugenio, teaching assistant

Before he joined Pine Wood Academy, Eugenio was a teacher and programme leader for

a private provider of adult ESOL classes. He takes most of the small-group and one-to-

one literacy and reading lessons at the very lowest levels of English proficiency, and has a

particular interest in students with dyslexia. As the Spanish-speaker on the team (hence

his pseudonym) he is frequently called on to communicate with Spanish-speaking young

people and their parents, and uses that language often in the classroom. Eugenio works closely with some of the boys and, as chapter seven will show, has developed an approach for dealing with migration and trauma. Eugenio was also one of the most extensive contributors: during free periods we would talk at length about the school, the young people and the International Group, often recording these discussions.

Siobhan, teacher

Siobhan was the first teacher I met. At the beginning of the study she was the 'Head of EMAG' (for 'Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant', a historic term that comes from the old funding arrangements for minority pupils). She is approaching retirement, and during the study stepped down so that Margaret (Head of Department) took over the day-to-day running of the International Group. Siobhan is originally from Wales and her family is bilingual. She sometimes mentions this during classes, which I felt was a way of letting the young people know that their own multilingualism was welcome in her classroom. She organises the annual 'International Evening', a talent show that celebrates the students' home languages, foods and cultures, and is a keen amateur dramatist. Her own teaching of English and drama shows these influences. She is often concerned to develop the students' confidence and their ability to speak clearly, using short sketches and role-plays frequently in her lessons. She seems to feel keenly the tension between challenging and supporting them.

Jake, newly qualified maths teacher (based in the maths department)

Jake had completed his training and was spending his qualifying year at the school when I observed his classes. He taught only one lesson each week with the International

Group, usually with Maria in support, and left the school at the end of that year. Jake's was an unusual perspective on the young people: he was very clear that he enjoyed teaching the class and in many ways he adopted the discourses of the other adults in the International Group, but he was based in the maths department and described the young people's progress from that perspective. He was not an advocate for them in the sense that the others were and did not mention any languages or migration background of his own. His, in some ways like mine, was the 'outsider' perspective, becoming progressively more familiar with these young people as time passed.

Young people

An overview of the young people who appear in the thesis is given below. Further detail is given in those chapters as needed but for reasons of confidentiality is not otherwise reproduced.

Pseudonym	Gender	Year group	Age	Country
Afnan	F	11	16	Somalia
Asksay Kumar	M	11	16	Pakistan
Eyob	M	11	17	Ethiopia
Farah	F	11	17	Pakistan
Fernando	M	12	17	Brazilian
George	M	10	15	Ethiopia
Habtom	M	12	17	Eritrea
Hugo	M	12	18	Brazil
Jason	M	12	17	Bulgaria
Jimmy	M	12	19	Brazil
Mathew	M	11	16	Spain

Pseudonym	Gender	Year group	Age	Country
Mera	M	11	16	Eritrea
Merry	F	11	17	Eritrea
Mine	F	12	18	Pakistan
Mohabat	M	12	17	Afghanistan
Mostufa	M	10	16	Moroccan
Nalka	F	9	15	Somalia
Omi	F	10	16	Pakistan
Rajaa	M	10	16	Somalia
Sana	F	11	16	Afghanistan
Semat	M	11	16	Afghanistan
Tesfaldet	M	12	17	Eritrea
Usman	M	12	18	Pakistan
Xanan	F	11	18	Somalia
Yandal	M	11	16	Bolivia

Table 2: Selected young participants.

This completes the introduction to the wider context and the International Group setting. The final section now gives an overview of the thesis as a whole, and a brief review closes the chapter.

Overview of the thesis

The thesis is organised into three sections. The first ('setting the scene') begins with this introduction to the setting and participants. It continues with the literature review (chapter two) to position the study in the broader academic field. It does so through a brief historical overview of 'EAL', identifying a gap in the existing literature and finding

that there is very little research that addresses both policy and practice, and that also makes the young people's voices prominent. It then looks at different ways of thinking about language and diversity, arguing that there is a strong bias towards monolingualism and homogeneity in the education system. It sets out the major critiques of such perspectives, linking them to my own work, and considers the extent to which Pine Wood Academy can be considered 'super-diverse'. Finally, it brings in the related concept of 'nexus' to show how the mobility and heterogeneity of the classroom can be seen as a meeting point of different life histories.

Chapter three (methodology) begins with a discussion of the epistemology, ontology and ethical orientation that underpin the study. I then describe the study design (tracing its development from an 'ethnographically informed' study to a 'linguistic ethnography) and account for the research process itself. Finally, I look in more depth at some of the persistent challenges in the project: the difficulty of representing the participants' voices in the format of a thesis, and the power imbalances that needed to be negotiated in doing so.

Part two ('data and analysis') consists of the four analytical chapters. They are introduced with a preface, which gives an overview of the arguments I develop and shows how the different chapters work together. This is important to counter the linear presentation that a thesis requires: each chapter describes aspects of the overlapping, mutually informing activity and those complex connections are made clear here.

Chapter four ('what is EAL?') examines the policy approach to young migrants. It finds a highly centralised education system in which the centre lacks clarity over the basic features of young migrants' backgrounds and needs. The chapter also shows the deep tensions over different meanings of 'EAL' and identifies a widespread model of provision that implicitly positions young migrants as linguistically deficient. I contrast this with the

approach taken in the International Group, where the adult participants draw on their

own experience and their (always provisional) knowledge of the young people to guide

their work. This responds to the second research question, showing how the education

system and the adults participants (differently) make sense of the young people.

Chapter five ('classrooms') bridges the discussion of policy and the close analysis of

classroom interaction that follows. It develops the theoretical framework that I use in the

later chapters (particularly the concepts of 'contact zone', 'audibility' and 'inscription',

'trajectory' and 'network') and shows how they relate to each other and to the data. The

framework I develop here responds to the first research question by showing how the

young people draw on wide-ranging resources to make sense of the school.

Chapter six ('young people making their voices heard') turns to the classroom, focusing

on how the young people contest and play with the subject positionings available to

them. By applying the theoretical framework from chapters two and five to data from

the classroom I show the young people to be active participants in their own learning,

constantly making sense of the school using the resources available to them and in light

of their own personal narratives. Chapter seven ('Eyob') takes those narratives as its

focus. It analyses three incidents in the life of Eyob, a seventeen-year-old boy from

Eritrea. Much of that data was collected collaboratively, and I show the effort he puts in

to shaping my understanding of his experiences and how they apply to the present.

Part three ('discussion and conclusions') brings the analysis together. Chapter eight

('discussion') gives an overview of the discussion in parts one and two, and then

describes the five key findings that emerge from the thesis. It then discusses three

overarching themes: one methodological, one relating to the study's relevance to the

current situation and one relating to the gap in the literature that I identify in chapter

two. It also discusses the limitations of the study. Chapter nine (conclusions) then

describes the contribution that the study makes to each of its key non-research audiences (practitioners, schools, policy-makers and the wider debate). It concludes with some personal observations about the contribution that the thesis has made to my own work, and where it might lead in the future.

Review

This first chapter introduced the context and setting of the thesis. It began with a discussion of the background and rational for the study, locating it in a period when the policy framework around 'EAL' is in flux and when young people are becoming increasingly mobile. In then described the International Group in greater detail, showing how the programme operates outside the mainstream school but allows young people to work towards GCSE examinations at the higher levels (the programme is described in greater depth in chapter four). Finally, it introduced the participants and gave an overview of the thesis as a whole. Having now described the context and setting, the next chapter locates the study in the research and policy literatures.

Chapter 2   Literature review

Introduction

This thesis makes a simple argument: that we radically misread classrooms when we see them primarily as places where knowledge is transmitted or where young people are socialised into formal education. Such a view relies on a number of assumptions: that the teachers and students share sufficient background knowledge for transmission to happen smoothly; that the norms and practices of formal education are fairly fixed, at least locally; that the adults share a sense of what should be expected of the young people; and that there is sufficient time for these processes to play out. Those assumptions no longer reflect the reality of many schools. Young people are increasingly mobile and may spend time in several different educational systems in their lives (Catalano 2016), as well as being involved in extra-curricular learning through community- and faith groups (e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2010, Lytra *et al.* 2016). This is more than just a question of immigration and diversity. I argue that increasing numbers of young people are moving through the education system in ways that were not foreseen even a few decades ago. They are not anomalies: their lives reflect patterns of migration that are influenced by global trends in economics, geopolitics, technology and ideology (Appadurai 1990), and may represent a new normality in Western education systems (see Leung 2016: 158-159).

In the analytical section (chapters four to seven) I examine what happens when globally mobile young people enter an education system that is rooted in assumptions of monolingualism, homogeneity and predictability. This chapter prepares the ground for that discussion. It begins by locating my work in the broader tradition of 'research into

"EAL"', from its roots supporting 'immigrant' children from the 'New Commonwealth' (see Stoddart and Stoddart 1968, Leung 2016) to current research investigating translanguaging in the classroom (e.g. García *et al.* 2016 in the US, Li Wei 2014 in UK complementary schools). I argue that the move to a school-led education system, and the concurrent withdrawal of central government leadership on 'EAL', makes it more likely that young migrants will be marginalised in the education system. (I discuss the specific mechanisms of that marginalisation in chapter four.) I also identify a gap in the current research, showing that very little work is being done that explicitly bridges policy and practice, or that presents the young people's own accounts of their experiences (especially in secondary schools). At the end of this section I identify the three areas of research I need to draw on to respond to this gap – those of monolingualism, (super-) diversity and nexus – and this guides the rest of the chapter.

The next section, 'monolingual perspectives on education', looks at the differences in thinking about language that underpin much of the research and policy in the field, including my own. It shows how the educational and applied linguistic research literature has largely embraced the 'multilingual turn' (Ortega 2013, Conteh and Meier 2014, May 2014a) but that this has had only limited impact on policy and on policy-oriented research. At a systemic level, I suggest, education policy is predicated on an assumption that the young people it serves are monolingual – as well as settled, culturally homogenous and following predictable educational pathways. By examining the research on such 'monolingual bias', and considering the alternatives, I argue that the emergence of a highly mobile, heterogeneous population is deeply destabilising to a system based on settled homogeneity. The challenge for the school is not that the young people in this study are 'diverse' (in that they differ in terms of ethnicity, language or similar characteristics), and perhaps not even that they are 'super-diverse'. It is that they move through the school in ways that the educations system is ill equipped even to imagine.

Much of the analytical work of this thesis focuses how the adults and young people work with mobility and heterogeneity in an institutional context which struggles to recognise those characteristics.

Two shorter sections complete the review. The first looks more closely at what terms like 'super-diversity' mean in this context. I look at critiques of that term, and weigh the extent to which these different ways of understanding global mobility and heterogeneity can inform the analysis of classroom interaction that I offer in this study. These analyses all point to the idea of the classroom as a space where people from different backgrounds encounter each other. In the final section I use the term 'nexus', drawing particularly on Scollon and Scollon's (2007) use of the term. The idea of the 'classroom as a nexus' does not quite capture the 'coming together' (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014) of linguistic resources, experiences, people and objects that is seen in the data. This prepares the ground for the discussion of 'contact' (Pratt 1987, 1991, Canagarajah 1997, 2013) in chapters five and six. To support this I then look at theorisations of time-space and analyses of how space can be used as an interactional resource. A brief review brings together the arguments that emerge from this discussion of the research literature, and shows how they relate to the study at hand.

Existing research into 'EAL'

This section locates my study in the broader context of research into multilingual classrooms. It begins with a brief historical overview and continues with a discussion of key themes in the research and policy literatures. In doing so it identifies a great deal of continuity in the way that young migrants have been supported in the education system, but also some major changes and a gap that this study responds to.

A brief history

This historical overview of 'EAL' shows how the field developed in the second half of the 20th century. It draws on the scholarly literature and policy developments equally, reflecting a field that has often 'underused' the 'vast international corpus of specialist research and theoretical work' available (Leung 2001: 1) but that has nonetheless been marked by it. It locates my study in a unique historical moment: a time when much of the policy framework around 'EAL' has been dismantled just as classrooms are being transformed by the movement of people, resources and ideas that has come with the early 21st century. The theoretical influences I discuss later in this chapter are deeply connected to this sense of a system in flux, and for that reason I take time to discuss it here. There are three phases: the early response to large-scale immigration in the 1950s and 1960s, the focus on race and discrimination in the 1970s to 1990s, and the contemporary focus on mobility. These are broad trends and there is much overlap with the present day; for fuller discussions of the historical development of language-in-education policies in the UK see Graf (2011: ch. 1), Rassool (2008), Tomlinson (2008) and Leung (2016).

Although the UK has a long history of inward migration, particularly to London (Mehmedbegovic *et al.* 2015), attention began to focus on multilingual classrooms only with the arrival of young people from the 'New Commonwealth' of newly (re-) independent countries. There was then – as again now – no national approach to majority-language education in schools, but teachers were encouraged model Standard English norms through their own speech (Ministry of Education 1963). The initial policy response was based around the assumption that these young people would settle in the UK for the long term (Tomlinson 2008: ch. 1) and that the goal was to help them to 'become "invisible", a truly integrated member of the school community […] as soon as

possible' (Derrick 1977: 16). Specific funding was allocated to support this integration into the mainstream through Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966. Provision was limited and was often organised through 'language centres' that isolated young migrants from the mainstream and often presented English in a 'de-contextualized way [that] did not prepare pupils for curriculum content' (Graf 2011: 2-3). There was also a great deal of variation between regions (Leung and Franson 2001). Much has changed since then but (as I argue in chapter four) the current policy framework is still based around an assumed trajectory from arrival, through language learning, to full integration.

The second phase in this short history of 'EAL' – the 1970s, 80s and 90s – can be seen as a reflection of a country coming to terms with broader issues of diversity, equality and mobility. The language centres established in the previous decade came under greater scrutiny as a number of government reports found that they isolated migrant learners from mainstream classes and did not offer sufficient preparation for academic success (e.g. DES 1971, 1972). The Bullock Report (1975) was particularly significant because it made a clear argument for multilingualism as part of the mainstream school. A changing political climate also contributed to the increased emphasis on mainstream provision: where previously migrant children had been seen as 'a threat to "standards" and to the quality of education in schools', an increasing awareness of racial discrimination meant that the risk of legal challenges to language centres posed the greater threat (see Leung 2016: 160-162). The Race Relations Act (1976) allowed for legal challenges on grounds of racism and the Rampton Report (1981) introduced the notion of institutional racism. The Swann Report (1985) built on Rampton's findings and implied that the use of separate language centres may be discriminatory. The Calderdale Report (CRE 1986) found that Calderdale local authority's policy of providing separate English-language tuition could not be justified on educational grounds and amounted to indirect racial discrimination. By 1993, when the Local Government (Amendment) Act widened Section 11 funding to

all ethnic minority pupils, issues of diversity, equality and discrimination were firmly part of the discourse around multilingual classrooms.

The most recent phase – from the late 1990s to today – can be seen as a period in which global migration flows began to shift, leading to increasing diversity in the classroom. There is still a strong emphasis on monolingualism: early in this period, one policy document referred to children who 'start school without an adequate grasp' of English (DfEE 1997); but at the same time researchers were beginning to challenge the notion of a 'native speaker' (Leung *et al.* 1997), to theorise the strategies that young people used to resist classroom power relations (Canagarajah 1997) and to challenge any sense of language learning as a linear process (Larsen-Freeman 1997). This literature may have been 'undoubtedly […] under-used' (Leung 2001: 1), but it was a period of vibrant debate in which several of the theoretical lenses that I use in this study were first established.

There is a great deal of continuity and descriptions of the field from the beginning of that period could equally describe classrooms today:

> The communities from which such pupils come may be stable or in flux, as is often the case with refugee families. Pupils from long-established ethnic minority groups may be familiar with both English and the English school system; others may be the first generation to attend school and, certainly, to develop literacy in English. For some pupils, their pattern of schooling, whether in England or elsewhere, may be severely disrupted. The range of home languages spoken by this diverse group is great, as is the range of their competence in spoken and written English.
>
> (SCAA 1996: 4; this has much in common with Conteh's 2012: 12-17 description of the contemporary context)

In many ways, then, the high degree of mobility and heterogeneity described by this thesis can be seen as a continuation of earlier patterns of diversification (see the discussion of 'super-diversity', below). What has changed most significantly is the policy framework that guides the education system's response.

Reforms to the education system since 2010 have led to increasing fragmentation at a system level and increasing isolation at a school level. Changes to initial teacher education have significantly increased the role of schools and MATs in training teachers, at the expense of universities. This poses a significant risk to 'EAL' provision, as very little 'EAL' expertise is held in most schools (though in fact it is also given little time in most university courses, even where expertise exists). It can be seen as part of a broader move towards a 'school-led system' (Gilbert *et al.* 2013; also the Academies Act 2010 and Education Act 2011) in which schools are responsible for identifying gaps in attainment and provision. This again carries risks for 'EAL': the current systems of data collection and management make it very challenging for schools to identify gaps in attainment, and they make it impossible to hold schools to account for their 'EAL' provision (see chapter four). The school-led approach, amplified by significant budget cuts, has also meant that many local authority services are being closed. Expertise in 'EAL' is being lost as specialists retire or are made redundant. Some of their responsibilities are transferred to schools but the new actors that are taking their place (such as MATs and Regional Schools Commissioners) are not required to maintain specialist support. Funding for such provision is now given directly to schools and is no longer ring-fenced for young migrants or minority groups. This puts the future of 'English as an Additional Language […] services at risk', according to one union that opposed the change (NASUWT 2012: 5; see Tikly *et al.* 2005 for an evaluation of EMAG funding).

In sum, 'the current political climate has led to a dismantling of EAL specialist support and provision across England' (Anderson *et al.* 2016: 1). Young migrants are increasingly positioned outside the norms and remit of mainstream schooling. There is a significant shortage of specialist 'EAL' staff and significant variation in whether a senior (or even trained) member of staff is responsible for 'EAL' provision (Mallows 2009a, Wallace *et al.* 2009, Wardman 2012). Bilingual staff are often ineffectively deployed because of a widespread misconception that 'EAL' is the sole responsibility of specialist teachers and teaching assistants (Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996, Bourne 2001, Creese 2005, Conteh 2007, Mallows 2009a; the contribution of bilingual peers is also under-recognised, Carhill-Poza 2015). The limited funding now available to support young multilinguals is restricted to those who have been enrolled in English schools for a maximum of three years (Arnot *et al.* 2014: 14-15) despite strong evidence that five to nine years of support is needed (Cummins 2000, Demie 2013, also Bedore *et al.* 2010). Advanced bilingual learners, who may appear conversationally fluent but who need continued specialist support to succeed with the linguistic and cognitive demands of the curriculum, are also likely to be marginalised under this approach. They often appear to be proficient and there is no funding attached to their longer-term development. Bolloten (2012: 5) further notes that although Ofsted guidance recognises that 'bilingualism confers intellectual advantages', the 'main responsibility for maintaining mother tongue rests with the ethnic minority community themselves', despite research suggesting the important role that schools plays (e.g. Valdés 2004, Robertson 2006, Cummins 2008).

A gap in the literature around 'EAL'

The thesis, as I suggested in chapter one, is written in a particular historical moment. The previous section has shown the increasing fragmentation of the school system and the

withdrawal of central government leadership. In this section I suggest that this leaves policy, practice and research unusually divided, and that there is a consequent gap for research that explicitly bridges policy and practice (as this study does; see the preface to the analytical chapters). The gap can be approached from three angles: there is research into bilingualism, research into young migrants' lives and language use, and analysis of policy. They often overlap but they speak to different audiences; in a fragmented sector this often means that the young people's voices go unheard. In this section I will focus on the latter two areas – the literature on young people's experiences and the studies that address 'EAL' policy – as they most inform my own work.

The research into young migrants' lives and language incorporates a wide range of settings and focal points. These include ethnically and culturally diverse classrooms (e.g. Conteh 2003, Kenner and Hickey 2008, Pinnock 2009, Ainscow *et al.* 2010), multilingual classroom practice (e.g. Bourne 2001, Creese 2005; Cummins and Early 2011 give wide-ranging international examples) and the development of biliteracy (e.g. Datta 2007). The research base also incorporates studies conducted in non-classroom settings, such as the links between home and school (e.g. Drury 2005, Conteh *et al.* 2007, Conteh and Riasat 2014), complementary schools (e.g. Blackledge and Creese 2010, Lytra and Martin 2010, Sneddon 2014, Li Wei 2014) and faith settings (e.g. Souza *et al.* 2012, Gregory *et al.* 2013, Gregory and Kenner 2013, Lytra *et al.* 2016). This creates an extremely rich literature, but one that speaks less directly to policy-makers and practitioners.

Publications that directly address those two audiences are more likely to use the term 'EAL', reflecting the currency that the label has in the education system. It includes many studies that use national-level data to assess the differences in attainment between young people labelled as 'EAL' and those labelled as non-'EAL', including academic research (e.g. Tereshchenko and Archer 2014), reports from third-sector organisations

(e.g. Perera *et al.* 2016), and studies produced by local and national governments (e.g. Demie 2010, DfE 2011a). Few of these studies are robust: one large scale review that focused on intervention studies of English language / literacy and 'EAL' (Murphy and Unthiah 2015) initially identified 975 studies but found that only 29 met the inclusion criteria, of which only one was conducted in the UK. Others emphasise that the 'EAL' variable in national data should be interpreted with caution (Strand *et al.* 2015: 16-17, Schneider *et al.* 2016: 12). One set of studies that explicitly targeted an audience of policy-makers, the 'EAL' workforce survey, identified the lack of a robust policy framework and knowledge-base as key issues (Andrews 2009: 7-9). Other work in that survey emphasised the shortage of 'EAL' specialists (Mallows 2009a: 8, Wallace *et al.* 2009: 7). Policy-oriented researchers, then, are limited by both the quantitative data (because what exists is not robust), by the lack of a well-establish policy context in which to present their findings, and by the shortage of specialists to implement their recommendations.

This begins to define the gap around 'EAL'. There is a further aspect that this study explicitly addresses: the lack of research that presents the young people's own accounts of their experiences. As Anderson *et al.* (2016: 1) note, young people are affected by policy changes but it is 'striking' how their own 'accounts of their experiences are conspicuously absent' from the research and policy literatures. This is compounded by a lack of research into the experiences of late adolescent migrants or secondary school settings (Andrews 2009, Conteh forthcoming, 2017). Those that do address this setting often look at how young people adapt to schools (e.g. Wallace 2011) rather than asking how the school adapts to the young people. Such an approach takes the school's framing as a given, when for the young people a different framing may be more relevant. Davies (2010: xv) describes such an assumption of heterogeneity:

For these young people, encounters with new and different languages are a 'given', a natural consequence of growing global mobility. For all its naturalness, maintaining linguistic diversity in English-dominant societies requires conscious effort, and professional experience everywhere has shown that teaching and learning English is not just a common-sense enterprise.

In chapter three I describe how this 'common-sense' framing is scrutinised through the study design. It is important to do so, I argue, because the young people have few opportunities frame their experiences in ways that make sense to them – or to make themselves heard when they do. In the analytical section, I describe this as a struggle for 'audibility' and show how the young people use experiences from their migration 'trajectories' to make sense of their time in school. I also offer close analysis of classroom interaction to show those struggles in detail because – as the analysis shows – little about their time in school is simple.

This chapter's discussion of 'EAL' located my own work in a historical period of increasing mobility and heterogeneity. In a period of flux, I suggested, research is needed that explicitly addresses what is changing. The chapter also showed a gap in the research: a need for studies that explicitly link policy and practice, and that foreground the voices of young migrants in doing so (especially those in secondary education in the UK). Before moving on to the broader literatures that inform my work (those on monolingualism, super-diversity and nexus), it is worth bearing one fact in mind. While the current period is one of rapid change in migration patterns, in the policy context and in the structure of the education system, the task facing young migrants has not changed substantially since the late sixties. They have to 'be able to cope efficiently with everyday life in this country' and 'to continue their education through English' (Stoddart and Stoddart 1968: 9). How they make sense of that challenge is the topic of this thesis.

Monolingual perspectives on education

The 'dominant ideology of England', argues Blackledge (2001: 293), 'is monolingual'. This dominance means that the experiences, skills and resources of young migrants are likely to be understood in terms of how closely they adhere to monolingual norms. This is a significant concern in this thesis: in chapter four, I show how the young people are positioned by education policy in ways that render them invisible and inaudible. In chapter five, I show how this misreads classrooms as places of transmission and socialisation (much akin to the approach taken in the 1950s and 60s, above) rather than as spaces of contact in which the young people's personal histories are deeply significant. In chapter six, I show young people using broad linguistic repertoires to negotiate and contest the dominant discourses of the classroom before focusing, in chapter seven, on a single learner and how his migration history provides a crucial and alternative lens through which to make sense of the school. This section therefore begins by examining the literature on the 'monolingual bias' in education before considering the alternative perspectives that inform my own work. It closes by locating this study in the broader traditions of research into plural language practices, particularly translanguaging, that enable the analysis that follows.

Concerns about multilingualism are widely reported in the literature. They can be seen in surveys of teachers' attitudes (Byrnes and Kiger 1994, Byrnes *et al.* 1997, Youngs and Youngs 2001, Boyd 2003, Dooly 2005, Lee and Oxelson 2006, Llurda and Lasagabaster 2010, Dodici 2011, Palmer 2011; see also Pettit 2011 for a review of the literature), in the differences between parental and professional understandings of multilingualism (Bedore *et al.* 2010, Benz 2015) and in the literature around bilingual school staff (Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996, Bourne 2001, Creese 2005, Carhill-Poza 2015). They can also be seen in practice, in the over-representation of young multilinguals in special

needs programmes (e.g. Liasidou 2013), in the ways that schools recognise difference through overt displays of multilingualism (e.g. Heller 2006, Nana 2012) and in whether young people's achievements in school are recognised (e.g. Hopewell and Escamilla 2014) or their multilingualism seen as a challenge to overcome (e.g. Safford and Drury 2012). The breadth of such concerns suggests that something more than multilingualism is at stake. I argue that what underpins these different studies is an assumption that schools are ordinarily stable and homogeneous and that difference (mobility, multilingualism, diversity) are *abnormal* conditions.

These assumptions are ordinary and unmarked, and they are not restricted to schools:

> Schools, like other institutions, are both subject to, and producers of, apparently common-sense, everyday hegemonic discourses which privilege homogeneity above diversity, and monolingualism above multilingualism.

> (Blackledge 2001: 304)

Similar arguments have been made by, *inter alia*, Holmes (2015), Anderson *et al.* (2016) and Leung (2016). The assumption of monolingualism is one manifestation of a broader set of 'common-sense, everyday' assumptions about how communities and nations are constituted (see Anderson 2006), and are linked to assumptions about class difference (see Block 2014, 2015). They are particularly visible in chapter four (which discusses policy and how the adult participants adapt it to their needs) and chapters five and seven (where assumptions about young people's past experiences play a key role). These assumptions are not tenable in conditions of high mobility, if at all. As Lo Bianco (1997: 118) argues, young people 'who learn English as a second language do not have a mental *tabula rasa* on which English in inscribed'. They bring their linguistic repertoires, their experiences of other learning environments and knowledge gained on their migration trajectories (and much more) to the school, and these help them to make sense of the

new environment. Throughout this study, it is the young people's ability to recognise and negotiate difference that defines their experiences in the classroom. If we assume that monolingualism is the norm, and that those experiences of difference are somehow *abnormal*, we erase the young people's experiences and silence their voices.

A 'monolingual bias' in mainstream education?

The deeply rooted assumption of monolingualism creates what Safford (2003: 8) calls 'the contradiction at the heart of education policy in England' for bilingual children. While curriculum documents often recognise young people's languages as a rich resource for classroom learning, they enshrine a model of 'EAL' that emphasises a transition to monolingual English-use (see chapter four; also Conteh 2006) and that positions other languages as irrelevant to the mainstream classroom (Cummins 2005, 2008). They are irrelevant because 'EAL' is positioned as having two goals: the development of native-like English and the attainment of a level of proficiency that requires no further support. These can be seen, for example, in the descriptor for 'fluent' in the new stages of 'Proficiency in English':

> Fluent [Code 'E']: Can operate across the curriculum to a level of competence equivalent to that of a pupil who uses English as his/her first language. Operates without EAL support across the curriculum.

> (DfE 2016b: 63).

These two goals are separate but closely related. One describes the erasure of difference by becoming indistinguishable from the monolingual norm; the other is an administrative category that indicates where extra provision is no longer required.

Leung *et al.* (1997: 545-546) identify three assumptions by which monolingualism is taken to be the norm in schools. These are that:

1. linguistic minority pupils are, by definition, bilingual, having an ethnic minority language at home while at school they are learning and using English;

2. these pupils' language development needs can be understood and categorised broadly in the same way; that is, there is a universal L2 learner phenomenon, which […] has been conceptualised as someone learning English as a social and linguistic outsider; and

3. there is an abstracted notion of an idealised native speaker of English from which ethnic and linguistic minorities are automatically excluded.

These assumptions still describe the basis on which young multilinguals are positioned as non-normal in the education system (my argument here is extended in chapter four). For many, including Ofsted (the education inspectorate), 'EAL' is defined as binary distinction between young people who (are believed to) speak English and those who (are believed to) speak another language. The either/or nature of the distinction, which is deeply embedded in educational data and management systems, means that 'EAL' provision is positioned as a bridge from speaking a different language to speaking the language of the classroom. The young people are in principle excluded until they have done so.

 These assumptions can be set out in greater detail. Leung *et al.* (1997: 547) introduce a postcolonial perspective, quoting Bhabha (1994: 66) that an 'important feature of colonial discourse is its dependence on the concept of "fixity" in the ideological construction of otherness'. This 'ethnic absolutism' (a term they borrow from Gilroy 1987) is closely associated with a monolingual perspective. Its opposite is not multilingualism but fluidity: it is a contrast between homogeneity and heterogeneity,

between 'one language' and 'repertoire'. Canagarajah (2013: 19-24) identifies – and deconstructs – a 'monolingual orientation' that assigns legitimacy to specific combinations of language, community, place and identity. In this formulation, each person has a language with fixed boundaries, that belongs to a homeland and a community, and the person's identity derives from those elements together. The reification of young multilinguals as 'native speakers' of other languages – regardless of whether their bilingualism is celebrated or not – positions them as 'other' to the mainstream of the education system, fixes them in place as idealised subjects and excludes them from much of the curriculum.

Challenges to a monolingual perspective

A number of challenges can be made to these assumptions, drawing together the experiences of researchers and practitioners in different national settings. Some of the challenges are political: in the highly charged context of US and Canadian bilingual programmes, for example, Cummins (1999) addresses those who engage in what he calls 'doublethink'. He challenges researchers and commentators to acknowledge their 'ethical responsibility […] to address blatant internal contradictions in the arguments they advance' (p. 13) around bilingual education. Schools are part of broader discourses on multilingualism, education and migration (as Blackledge 2001 notes), and Cummins sees 'children's linguistic and educational rights' (to learn in their first languages) as under threat from a 'public discourse that tolerates and encourages doublethink[:] the operation of coercive relations of power' (p. 13). (Waters 2015 has developed this metaphor in detail, in a discussion of the homogenisation of educational discourses in ELT.)

Piller (2016), in Australia, takes a similar approach. She argues that the use of English for the vast majority of academic writing is a 'disciplinary sleight of hand' in which the 'abstract universal language that constitutes both our object of study and the lens through which we produce knowledge about it implicitly becomes English' (p. 26). Hers is an argument about voice and audibility, though she does not use those terms. 'Multilingualism', she argues:

> is thus best seen as an umbrella term that covers a wide variety of linguistic contexts and practices. Language status, speaker status, national histories, individual proficiencies and institutional contexts are some of the main variables that shape a great diversity of 'multilingualisms.' Where this diversity is erased in context-free universalistic theorizing multilingualism usually comes to be seen as a combination of serial or parallel monolingualisms[.]

> (Piller 2016: 26-27)

Language practices, she argues, are not limited to the use of static, bounded, 'named' languages such as 'English' or 'Urdu'. That would reduce multilingualism to the kind of dual (or multiple) 'solitudes' that Cummins (2008) describes. Instead she sees each person's language use as an expression of status, history and proficiency – deeply influenced by the personal and institutional context in which the interaction takes place (see also Crenshaw 1991 and Werbner 2013 for perspectives on intersection).

Piller's challenge to monolingual researchers is very relevant to this study. She argues first that research conducted through a single language inevitably takes monolingualism as its norm. When the dominant language is also the medium through which we study its dominance, in other words, it takes an additional effort to hear voices of protest. (See also Maryns 2005 for a study of such silencing in Belgian asylum casework). By focusing on *contact* (see chapter five) and on how the participants use their linguistic resources to

contest the dominant language, I hope to make their voices more audible. Piller also

argues that the contexts of language use must be investigated because multilingual

practice is deeply situated in the individual, institutional and broader social contexts.

Without paying close attention to this context, it is difficult to get a fine-grained

appreciation of difference. This has the effect of homogenising both linguistic practices

(into a series of monolithic languages) and individual speakers (into representatives of

language-cultures). Both are seen in the dominant construction of 'EAL' as linguistic

deficit, and it informs both the design of this study (particularly in the use of a linguistic

ethnographic approach to pay close attention to the context of language use) and the

theoretical lenses I apply to the data (emphasising the relevance of the participants' own

life histories to interaction).

Other researchers have focused more on linguistic challenges to monolingualism,

particularly the assumption (raised by Leung *et al.* 1997) that 'there is a universal L2

learner phenomenon […] conceptualised as someone learning English as a social and

linguistic outsider'. This monolingual bias:

> positions the journey to proficiency in a second language as cognitive
>
> development of the interlanguage, characterised by grammatical structures
>
> which are both inaccurate when measured in relation to a fixed notion of
>
> grammar, and may be the result of the influence of the first language.

> (Creagh 2016: 3)

Creagh argues that the notion of language learning as a 'journey to proficiency' obscures

three key ideas. The first is that the notion of a 'fixed' and external grammar is illusory;

the second is that the ability to communicate effectively in a range of settings is more

important than the mastery of abstract systems; and the third is that 'mastery' may be

unattainable. In this she reflects a range of scholarship that focuses on meaning-making

between speakers with limited language in common (e.g. Collins *et al.* 2009, Blommaert 2010, Canagarajah 2013, forthcoming, 2017a, Rubdy and Alsagoff 2014, Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). Rather than seeing language as bounded and fixed – as 'immobile languages' – these approaches focus on how people deploy 'mobile resources' (Blommaert 2010: 197). Both mobility and immobility can be seen in this thesis, as the highly mobile young people encounter an education system that is predicated on homogeneity and predictability.

One further criticism of the 'monolingual bias' in mainstream education is that it is quickly becoming outdated. Increasing mobility is changing the role of teachers and classrooms. García (1996: vii), for example, argues that:

> it has become necessary to cope with a process of change whereby the ethnolinguistic identity of children is itself undergoing rapid change […] The greatest failure of contemporary education has been precisely its inability to help teachers understand the ethnolinguistic complexity of children, classrooms, speech communities, and society, in such a way as to enable them to make informed decisions about language and culture in the classroom.

This chapter began with an overview of 'EAL' since the 1950s. In many ways, particularly in the political will and the resources allocated to supporting young migrants, things may be worse now. In other ways, such as in the growth of professional networks (see chapter nine) and the establishment of an increasingly robust (if still fragmented) research base, the situation has greatly improved. What García makes clear, though, is that we may be entering a new historical phase in which mobility has become so much more common and difference so much more a part of everyday classroom experience that new ways of understanding schooling are needed. The next section of this chapter

looks at how those new understandings, and the methodology I use to examine them, are underpinned by a specific approach to multilingualism.

Translanguaging

The previous section recognised the wide range of linguistic resources that the young people bring with them and identified a monolingual bias in the education system that contributes to the systematic marginalisation of young migrants. It also noted that close attention to situated interaction is a central strand of the analysis as I seek to understand how the young people make sense of their school. I have suggested that the corollary of monolingualism is 'fixity', and that it's opposite is fluidity in language use. This can be seen in (*inter alia*) Creagh's (2016) critique of 'interlanguage' as the bridging of two distinct grammatical systems (see Selinker 1972), Cummins's (2008) criticism of the 'two solitudes' approach to bilingualism, Blommaert's (2010) contrast between 'mobile resources' and 'immobile languages', Canagarajah's (2013) 'translingual practice', and Makoni and Pennycook's (2007) 'disinvention' of languages. Central to them all is the idea that people do not reproduce established languages but instead have access to a repertoire of signs that they deploy in situated interactions with other people. I use the term 'translanguaging' to describe these more fluid language practices.

The central assumption of translanguaging is that 'named' languages do not describe language practices accurately, and particularly not in contexts of difference and mobility. The target for teaching and learning should therefore not be the mastery of a prescribed set of grammatical and lexical patterns, but rather a set of contextually specific 'negotiation strategies and a repertoire of codes' (García 2007: xiii). The meaning of the term 'repertoire', here, is evolving. It once indicated the shared language and cultural knowledge of a community, and its shared ways of using that knowledge (Gumperz 1972:

20-22). It was soon used to mean the linguistic and cultural resources of an individual (e.g. Kachru 1982, Busch 2012) but the sense of a community's body of knowledge was never been wholly replaced (e.g. Benor 2010). More recent arguments have emphasised the personal history that is captured by an individual's repertoire and have suggested that the repertoire itself is fluid and situated (Blommaert and Backus 2011, who also give a more detailed history of the term). These discussions inform the meaning of 'translanguaging'.

In Otheguy *et al.*'s (2015: 283) formulation, translanguaging is:

> the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages.

This is fundamentally dialogic: speakers deploy their repertoires according to their perceptions of their interlocutor's repertoire (that is, they might use more 'English' features with someone they identify as an English speaker). Such perceptions can be informed by large-scale patterns (such as the expectation that a person from a certain country or ethnicity is likely to have access to certain language features) but it can also shift moment-by-moment in the interaction. Translanguaging does not involve switching between different grammatical and lexical systems (as code-switching does, see e.g. Gumperz 1977, Myers-Scotton 1983, 1989, Heller 1992); it involves the selective deployment of a repertoire to meet communicative needs.

Much of the analysis in this study looks at the moment-by moment interactions by which the participants negotiate difference. It also shows where they come up against settled norms of language and behaviour, and these norms appear to contradict the fluidity of translanguaging. It may be better to see them as the product of earlier interactions that become sedimented into patterns over time, the 'long-term outcomes of original,

momentary actions' (Li Wei 2011: 1224). A translanguaging approach to studying interaction involves focusing on the ways that the participants are constantly alert to shifts in each other's stance and positioning. This is something that Li Wei (2011) describes as 'moment analysis': a focus not on the underlying sociolinguistic patterns but on how the participants mark significant interactions and how these cause new patterns of interaction to emerge. He uses the term 'translanguaging space' to describe a 'space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging' (p. 1223; though note he approaches translanguaging from psycholinguistics, in contrast to Otheguy *et al.* 2015). This informs my own work on 'contact' and the spaces that the young people create as they negotiate difference – for example in chapter six (where the participants negotiate difference through language play) and in chapter seven (where two people negotiate the difference between their life experiences).

A focus on translanguaging is particularly appropriate to the setting of this study. It combines sensitivity to institutional norms – the sedimented patterns of interaction that have become incorporated into institutional power structures – with the moment-by-moment construction of interactional spaces in which the participants can make sense of each other. Too strong a focus on the 'systematicity' of such interactions, argue Pennycook and Otsuji (2014: 168), may 'obscure the dynamics of interaction'. It is an approach that could be deeply connected to educational practice (García and Li Wei 2014) and has a strong political commitment to making young people's voices more audible (García *et al.* 2016). That reflects both my own goals in beginning this research project (see chapters one and three) and those of the young people; what emerged most strongly from the data was their ongoing struggle to make their voices heard and to find a space for themselves in the school and in the community. Translanguaging, though, is not always successful (Baynham *et al.* 2016b: 55-56): it depends on how effectively the

speaker can draw together the resources available to them at that moment. I take up this question of resources in chapter five (in a discussion of 'networking').

The discussion of translanguaging shows how far this chapter has moved from the history of 'EAL' with which it began. That historical overview showed an educational system in flux as it struggles to respond to increasing mobility and heterogeneity. It demonstrated the need for analysis that bridges policy and practice, and that makes the voices of young people more audible. In this section I have taken up that challenge, turning to the literature to unpick the assumption of settled, monolingual homogeneity, and describing a theoretical framework ('translanguaging') that will underpin the analysis of the young people's interaction in chapters six and seven. It is not necessarily helpful to treat mobile linguistic resources and mobile people separately (Blommaert 2010: 197) because, as García (1996: vii) notes, one of our most significant challenges is to understand the 'ethnolinguistic complexity' of young people. In the next section of this chapter, therefore, I look more closely at how increasing diversity affects the school experiences of the participants.

Classrooms under conditions of super-diversity

The attention paid to translanguaging in the literature may have begun in the stable bilingual context of Welsh schools (Williams 1996, Lewis *et al.* 2012), but it gained international prominence when applied to super-diverse urban contexts (García 2009). In many ways, translanguaging and super-diversity are complementary concepts. Super-diversity describes the increasing complexity of communities in which people are highly mobile and in which ethnic, linguistic or national labels are no longer sufficient to capture people's experience. Translanguaging looks particularly at how people

communicate in such settings, reflecting 'transcultural identities and multilingualism in an increasingly globalized world' (Baker 2011: 72). In this section I look at how such thinking applies to the setting of this study. I first discuss the theoretical literature on super-diversity and the criticisms that have been made of it, and then ask whether Pine Wood Academy can usefully be described as a super-diverse environment. I find that such a label is broadly useful in describing the school setting, but that further analytical perspectives are needed to account for the young people's migration experiences.

Super-diversity

'Super-diversity', a term originating in Vertovec's (2007) sociological work, offers an important lens for understanding the 'ethnolinguistic complexity of children' (García 1996: vii). In many ways it is less a clearly defined phenomenon than an area of enquiry:

> Population diversification and urban expansion are two linked processes that serve to define our times. How do these processes unfold, especially in terms of social relations? The dynamics of urban diversification – despite their increasing ubiquity – remain seriously under-researched.

> (Vertovec 2015: 1)

The setting of this study is one such under-researched urban space. The young people in it can certainly be described as 'super-diverse': they differ in their access to economic resources and their membership of social networks, as well as in terms of age, gender, linguistic repertoires, ethnicity and more. Some are members of dispersed transnational families, some have lost or lost contact with loved ones, some live in the care of the state. Some have secure legal status in this country and others worry what will happen when they turn 18. This complexity is a central part of the International Group's work but

there is little space for it in the mainstream curriculum (chapter four) unless the young

people make space for it themselves (chapter six). It is important, therefore, to look

carefully at what super-diversity theory can offer this study.

New theorisations are emerging. Meissner (2015: 558) identifies four broad uses of the

term 'super-diversity', based a small sample of papers that cite Vertovec's original (2007)

article. Some two fifths of these use the term to 'denote heightened ethnic diversity' and

to 'recognize multidimensionality in diversity'. A smaller number use it as a 'more

general notion of diversity', and only four (or 6%) 'actively [employ] superdiversity in

their empirical analysis'. This perhaps reflects the broader challenge of analysing rapidly

changing social organisation (one that is mirrored in the challenge faced by education

systems in responding to increasing mobility), and some have argued that we lack an

adequate analytical vocabulary for the task:

> [T]he cultural, social and political landscapes of diversity are changing radically,
>
> but we still use old maps to orientate ourselves. In other words, my main thesis
>
> is: *we do not even have the language through which contemporary superdiversity*
>
> *in the world can be described, conceptualized, understood, explained and*
>
> *researched*.
>
> (Beck 2011: 53, emphasis original)

A new language has begun to emerge in the half decade since Beck's paper, a

'superdiversity discourse' and 'an emerging perspective on change and unpredictability

in ever more intensively encroaching social and cultural worlds' (Arnaut and Spotti 2014:

2). The approach taken in this study is aligned with perspectives that reject 'Herderian'

(Canagarajah 2013) or 'methodological nationalism' (Beck 2011, Wimmer and Schiller

2003) and prioritise mobility and unpredictability (Wang *et al*. 2014), hybridity (Rubdy

and Alsagoff 2014), recontextualisation (Kell 2009), and the interaction of local language practices, space and activity (Pennycook and Otsuji 2014, 2015).

The different approaches discussed in this chapter have much in common: they can be seen as part of a broader shift in sociolinguistics, from 'structural explanations of language [towards] ethnographic examinations of languaging' (May 2014b: 230). This entails a focus on situated practices and language use, rejecting ethnic and national group identities in favour of examining how plural or hybrid identities are constructed through interaction (see e.g. Rampton 2006, Heller 2007, Makoni and Pennycook 2007, Blommaert 2010, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Jørgensen *et al.* 2011, Canagarajah 2013, García and Li Wei 2014, Pennycook and Otsuji 2015). In this way, 'superdiversity discourse' begins to move away from the original conception of 'super-diversity' (and the loss of the hyphen appears to mark this shift).

This thesis is informed by both sense of super(-)diversity: it recognises the fluidity and situatedness of classroom language use (chapter six). It makes a clear attempt to theorise interaction in terms of individual histories, looking closely at how participants index other people, places and times to position themselves in relation to each other and the institution (below and chapters four to seven). This also informs the methodology, particularly in the ontological commitment to clarifying the object of study and the use of linguistic ethnography to capture the interactional fine-grain (chapter three). At the same time, the original focus on 'diversity' is valuable. Attention to the 'variables', however problematic that might be in small-scale, qualitative research, offers a valuable set of tools for practitioners to work with on a day-to-day level (see chapter eight). Such tools would also challenge some of the inequality inherent in super-diversity, which relies on data-sets that are generally only produced by state agencies and accessible to those who have the time and expertise to study them. The theorisation of super-

diversity, then, links directly to both the analysis of classroom activity and the recommendations for practice that follow.

Critiques of super-diversity

The International Group at the heart of this study could perhaps be described as a super-diverse environment (see below) but the use of superdiversity as an analytical lens is broadly disputed. May (2014a), for example, warns against prematurely adopting superdiversity as a new paradigm. This may be a direct response to Blommaert (2013a), who argues that superdiversity offers just such a paradigm, to be used as a heuristic in sociolinguistic enquiry. Whether as a heuristic, a fully fledged paradigm or an analytical tool, superdiversity is a 'conceptual work in progress' (Meissner and Vertovec 2015: 542). Several criticisms have been offered of its use and by outlining them here I also clarify some of the assumptions made in this thesis.

The overarching critique is that superdiversity discourse (in particular) and the multilingual turn (in general) focus too much on 21st-century, Western, urban social life. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013), for example, explore how centre-periphery relations shape multilingualism. A special issue of the *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* takes up Green's (2013) 'metro-normativity'; and a paper by Makoni (2012), with responses by May (2012) and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2012), examines the connections between bounded languages, the 'discourse of language rights and 'minority' or 'indigenous' languages. Canagarajah (2004, 2013) explicitly cites this urban focus as he tries to bring the long history of multilingualism in the 'periphery' into focus. These debates are very relevant to the study at hand: although it is set in a contemporary, Western, urban locus, the participants are recently arrived from other places and actively maintain links to many other parts of the world. The prevalence of

internet-enabled mobile phones makes those links much easier to keep alive, and the participants regularly introduced images, scripts and texts from outside into the classroom (see chapter six). In other words, the participants mediate local/global, urban/rural and Western/non-Western distinctions by bringing signs, objects and experiences from elsewhere into the study.

Is Pine Wood Academy a super-diverse environment?

The International Group is certainly diverse: data from the school suggest that at least 20 languages are spoken there (though see chapter four on the limitations of such data) and that the young people had travelled from South and South East Asia, East and West Africa, South and Central America, and West, Central and East Europe. In terms of their access to economic resources, legal status or family and community networks, and in their religious, political and ethnic affiliations, they were diverse. They were also highly mobile: young people could join or leave at any point in the school year. More current interpretations of superdiversity, though, extend the notion into a highly fluid, hybrid negotiation of identity (see e.g. Beck 2011, Flores and Lewis 2014, Wang *et al.* 2014). This poses a challenge to my analysis of the International Group because, unlike many of the urban settings that are reported in the sociolinguistic literature, the institutional context of the school brings legal responsibilities for the adult participants and a policy framework that positions the young people in specific ways (see chapter four). It means that the thesis needs to account for both the institutional perspective (which emphasises access to the mainstream curriculum) and the sociolinguistic perspective (which might focus on how the young people negotiate the school environment through interaction). I respond to this duality through the study design (chapter three), the organisation of the analytical section (chapters four to seven), and through my focus on classrooms as

spaces of contact. In the final sections of this chapter, I prepare the ground for that analysis by considering how the classroom can be seen as a place where people come into contact, or a 'nexus'.

The classroom as a nexus

The first section of this chapter located the study in a particular historical moment, when the UK education system is in flux and young people are increasingly mobile. It identified a corresponding gap in the literature for research that addresses both policy and practice, and that foregrounds the voices and experiences of young migrants. The sections following that discussion, I said, would look at the broader literatures (on monolingualism, super-diversity and nexus) that would inform my own study. The discussion so far has shown that critiques of monolingualism and discussions of superdiversity are closely linked, sharing an emphasis on situated language use, but that further lenses are required to address the particular setting of this study, with its dual focus on mobile young people and an education system that sees mobility as abnormal.

This section does just that, focusing on the classroom as a space where young people from different backgrounds encounter each other and the institution. I begin with the idea of the classroom as a meeting point (or 'nexus') and use Scollon and Scollon's (2007) 'nexus analysis' to locate it in the ethnographic tradition that runs from Hymes's ethnography of communication to the linguistic ethnography that informs my own work (see chapter three). I then look at 'time' and 'space', which I discuss below as 'timespace', to describe how experiences far away and long ago can be vividly present in the classroom. In doing so I bring in theorisations of how shared activity can contribute to group identity, discuss the difference between spatial and temporal vocabularies of

migration, and emphasise the importance of individual narratives. These form the basis

of my own analytical framework, which has its roots in this chapter, is built into the study

design in chapter three, and is fully established in chapter five. The final section of this

chapter gives an overview of the framework and restates the research questions in light

of this discussion.

Nexus

Nexus analysis is 'an approach which takes human action rather than language or culture

as the fulcrum' for research (Scollon and Scollon 2007: 608). It responds to Hymes's

(1974: 47) call for each of us to reinvent our work as 'a personal general anthropology,

whose function is the advancement of knowledge and the welfare of mankind'. This

means that nexus analysis has an explicitly social orientation that sits well with this study

(see chapter three) and that I share some of the same analytical antecedents in my own

work (see e.g. Rampton *et al.* 2004, Rampton 2007 for discussion). Its focus on 'action'

can be understood as a way to position interaction centrally in the analysis – to focus on

'moments of action rather than on abstractable structures such as cultures and

languages' (Scollon and Scollon 2007: 620). In the thesis, these moments are often

rooted in classroom activity and everyday interaction, such as when I notice Tesfaldet

(17, M, Eritrean) struggling with a piece of paper, for example, and it prompts Siobhan to

explain the patterns of migration she sees in the classroom; or when Habtom (17, M,

Eritrean), visibly upset, comes to sit in the office and shows me a picture on his phone by

way of explanation (both in chapter five). In the study, these momentary interactions

often anchors longer narratives that give insight into the 'abstractable structures'.

In the tradition of Hymes, nexus analysis explicitly challenges the '"Herderian"

conception of a world composed of traditional units of language-and-culture' (Hymes

1996: 25; see also e.g. Jørgensen *et al.* 2011 and Canagarajah 2013). Instead, it uses an ethnographic approach to investigate how social structures are formed and maintained. The example given by Scollon and Scollon (2007) is that of Alaska Native students at the University of Fairbanks. They began the study seeking to understand why one group graduated at a much lower rate than others, but found that there was no single point at which their marginalisation *happened* – no 'fulcrum point around which everything else rotated' (p. 617). Instead, the analytical challenge was (and is) to find 'a way to proceed in the face of this kind of complex and distributed social problem' (p. 617). This requires a 'much broader scope of surveillance' than a focus on bounded language-and-culture units would allow (a broader approach that they explicitly liken to linguistic ethnography, p. 621). In the context of this study, young migrants can be substituted for the Alaska Native students. Their experiences of schooling can be seen as a distributed social phenomenon: the policy framework emphasises their language learning (see chapter four) but that cannot be understood without reference to (for example) their own struggles to make their voices heard (chapter five), their experiences of learning in other environments (chapter six), and the behavioural norms that they carry with them along their migration trajectories (chapter seven). Nexus analysis informs this thesis because it offers an important set of tools that allow me to begin focusing on 'EAL' as a 'nexus of influences from various scales' (Blommaert *et al.* 2005: 204), rather than as an administrative category. To develop the analysis, though, I need to take the young people's connections to other times and places into account.

Time and space

The study seeks to understand how the young people made sense of schooling and the environment that the International Group offered, but to do so it is necessary to

recognise what they brought with them from other times and places. In one sense, the focus on the young people's engagement with an institution provided a common-sense frame: the classrooms, corridors and offices that the International Group occupied, for the period I was with them. In another sense, though, this seems completely artificial: the site was permeated with references to other people, places and experiences and they were often highly significant to both the participants and to my understanding of the situation at hand. Thinking about how time and space are represented in the data offers a way into that challenge.

The study of time and space can give insight into the ways that group identities emerge from shared activity. Bourdieu and Passeron (1979), for example, introduce the term 'timespace' in a study of the unequal distribution of capital in France's elite universities. They argue that their participants 'lived in an original time and space' (p. 48) because their patterns of movement and co-activity in particular spaces and at particular times were unique to them. That is, only students at their university visited the same cafés or sat in the same lecture halls, doing the same things, at the same time, as them. Bourdieu and Passeron argued that this defined their participants as a social group, but only loosely. These shared experiences (in shared timespaces) overlaid existing group identifications without replacing them. This is significant: though they see these identifications largely in terms of social class, Bourdieu and Passeron provide 'precise empirical descriptions' (Blommaert 2015a: 1) of the ways that emergent group identities can co-exist with earlier, more deeply rooted senses of self. For Bourdieu and Passeron the new, group identity was more widely recognised by others than by their participants: they understood the significance of being seen as graduates of France's elite universities, but it was not felt to be a defining characteristic. For young people identified as 'EAL', the label is likely to signify marginalisation. As this thesis shows, it may not be defining.

The literature on time and space also gives insight into the ways that patterns of activity give meaning to space. Mulíček *et al.* (2015), for example, investigate the 'collectively shared, often institutionalized and above all stable' rhythms of life in a city. They use the examples of public transport timetables and shop opening hours (p. 311), and seek to superimpose patterns of movement at different time-scales onto the city. This allows them to show how patterns of activity, rather than the fixed demarcations of (e.g.) 'shop' or 'street', bring meaning to urban spaces. This applies well to my study: rather than seeing the International Group as a series of discrete spaces (such as classroom, corridor or office) and fixed times (organised according to timetables, curricula and the progression through the year groups) I look at the patterns of activity that take place within the setting. Later in the thesis, for example, I argue that classrooms can be seen as spaces of 'contact' (chapter five), examine how young people bring their outside lives into the school and use them to negotiate the institution (chapter six), and show the significance of earlier experiences to the young people's time in school (chapter seven).

Time and space also feature strongly in some analyses of migration. A special issue of *Area* (43.3), for example, focuses on transitional moments in the life course. The introductory article (Hörschelmann 2011) establishes the issue's focus on 'nonlinearity' and on 'biographical ruptures and discontinuities', in contrast to the 'assumed predictability of life cycles' (p. 378). This is particularly relevant to the thesis because it repositions classroom experiences as moments of transition in a broader migration. Hörschelmann refines the terminology further, distinguishing life-course research from studies of life transitions. The former often works with a spatial vocabulary (such as 'trajectories', 'pathways' and 'journeys'), while the latter emphasise 'liminality, border crossings and socio-spatial mobilities' (p. 379). This adds valuable clarity to the approach I propose in chapter five, which uses the term 'trajectory' to indicate long-term movement through both time and space.

This distinction between the long-term (using spatial metaphors of trajectories and journeys across the life-course) and the short-term (using temporal metaphors of mobility and crossing) provides a framework that:

> on closer inspection, seems rather well ordered and safe, adopting a staged chronology that does not account for delayed, multiple, reverse and uncertain transitions that are worked through in the everyday lives of individuals and that can be moments of both crisis and opportunity[.]
>
> (Hörschelmann 2011: 379)

The reverses and uncertainties she describes can be seen in the data. I describe them in terms of a contest between participants to make their voices heard and to claim advantageous subject positionings for themselves (chapters five, six and seven). Shubin (2015) takes this further, contrasting 'timespace' with life-course studies to argue that the experience of migration is best characterised as movement through 'multiple and heterogeneous' timespaces. A focus on social networks in the literature, he argues, shows that an 'interdependent interpretation of lives', family links and opportunities is centrally important to the analysis of migration (pp. 350-351). Timespace, again, is a way to focus on experiences that do not fit a linear mould: his analysis seeks to move beyond 'neatly mappable' patterns of migration. Shubin argues that it is only through 'the everyday fact of the constant and ongoing encounter that is the world' that 'things, persons and our own selves come to light' (p. 352). In other words, individuals cannot be understood separately from the time and space in which they are encountered.

The young people's own narratives also form a key theme in this thesis. These retellings of migration can be seen as complex symbolic activity, indexing experiences far away in time and space and connecting them to the present moment. Laursen and Mogensen (2016: 13-15) call this 'timespacing language'. Timespace here is a symbolic resource,

one that is deeply connected to language and that can be manipulated by the speaker. They give the example of Ifrah, a young girl who was born in Denmark to Somali parents, whose retellings of her own experience are at odds with the knowledge held by her teachers. She points to Mogadishu on a map, for example, and describes it as her place of birth; she also describes getting 'confused' in her Somali lessons over differences in vocabulary and tells a story of how her cousins correct her Somali after they return from a long trip to that country.

> With her narrative about her cousins, Ifrah initiates a resignification of the myth of language competence which builds on an understanding of language as an unambiguous and nationally delimited linguistic entity that is linked to geographically defined language communities to which you can belong if you command the language.

> (p. 14)

Ifrar's use of time and space conflicts with that of her teachers. Something similar can be seen in the data collected for this thesis when young people carefully establish narrator-audience relationships and construct their narratives accordingly (chapters six and seven). Narratives can also be seen as tools for claiming more advantageous subject positionings, or as artefacts created in the young people's ongoing negotiation of the dominant discourses, rather than as objective descriptions of the past (chapter seven).

The discussion so far has recast classrooms as spaces of contact in which young people draw on experiences from other times and other places to negotiate the here-and-now. It has argued for the value of ethnography in examining how social structures are formed and maintained, and suggested that the young people's migration experiences need to be incorporated into the analysis. It has highlighted the importance of personal narratives as a way to understand experiences that are very different from my own – as

records of the ongoing work of positioning and repositioning that the participants go through as they negotiate the school environment. These will form the basis of the analytical framework I set out in the following section and chapters five and six.

A new theoretical framework

Review

In the previous chapter I identified two guiding questions for this study:

> how do young migrants make sense of their school, and

> how does their school make sense of them?

In this chapter I have set out the precedents and the key concepts that I draw on as I answer them. I began with the literature around 'EAL', noting the broad historical shift towards increasing diversity in education. I argued that the current policy framework is underpinned by an ideology that sees young migrants as something outside the ordinary work of schools. Their heterogeneity and mobility are threatening to the assumptions of monolingualism and stability that underpin much of the education system in the UK. I also found that the literatures around multilingualism and difference in education tend to address different audiences, leaving a gap for studies that address both policy and practice, and that emphasise the voices of the young people who are subject to such policy. I argued that the monolingual bias in education erases those voices, and I sought to recognise the wide range of linguistic resources that young people bring to the classroom. These classrooms, I suggested, could be seen as super-diverse environments (though I noted that the term encompasses a range of thinking around mobility and difference). As well as indicating more complex combinations of identifiers,

superdiversity discourse also emphasises hybridity and fluidity. This was supported by a discussion of the classroom as 'nexus' (in the sense used by Scollon and Scollon 2007), a space where the participants drew on their experiences of other times and other places to make sense of the here-and-now.

This chapter has also suggested the limitations of existing approaches. First, the underpinning assumption that schools serve homogeneous, settled, monolingual cohorts of young people, who move through the education system in linear and predictable ways, does not reflect the experiences of the young people in this study. Second, the gap between the literatures increases the risk of marginalisation: a lack of dialogue between policy- and practice-oriented studies, in particular, contributes to the silencing of young migrants' experiences. This chapter also looked to the broader literatures on super-diversity and nexus as starting points for my own study. It identified a range of perspectives that emphasised the complex, non-linear nature of young people's migration trajectories and the importance of specific spaces or interactions ('nexus' points) in which social structures are formed and maintained. In the analytical section (chapters four to seven) I build on these to develop a theoretical framework that addresses the limitations found in the present chapter. In the section that follows I outline this framework.

A new theoretical framework

The discussion so far in this chapter has made clear why a new approach is needed – a policy framework that reifies young migrants as something other than the education system is designed for, a gap in the literatures around those who arrive in late adolescence, an assumption of monolingualism that obscures the resources that the young people use to make sense of schooling, and a period of rapidly increasing mobility.

In this section I give an overview of the theoretical framework I developed to meet that need. The development of this framework is then shown in detail in the analytical chapters, where each stage is built up through close analysis of the data.

At the core of this framework are three related concepts: 'trajectory', 'contact' and 'networking'. Each addresses a different aspect of the young people's experiences, and together they support a broader analysis of how migration and schooling interact. The notion of 'trajectory', for example, foregrounds the young people's earlier experiences and positions their time in the research site as a brief period in an ongoing migration (I extend this chapter's discussion of the term in chapter five, where I draw on Conteh 2012 and Hamann 2001's work on 'sojourners'). It is different from the idea of a 'journey', with fixed start- and end-points, and suggests that young migrants have not 'arrived' when they reach their new school. Instead, their formal education in the UK is part of an ongoing set of experiences that will continue long after they leave. This points to the second concept, an understanding of classrooms as places of 'contact' (Pratt 1987, 1991; Canagarajah 1997, 2013). Young people encounter each other when they come to school, as well as teachers, institutions and norms of behaviour and language use. They bring their experiences of the people and places they have met before to each interaction, and these provide crucial context as the young people make sense of the school, their teachers and each other.

The third concept, 'networking' (discussed in chapter five with reference to Pérez-Milan 2015), shows how these interactions work in detail. The ways that the young people interacted with each other were deeply influence by the affordances of the setting, their knowledge (or assumptions) about other participants, the resources at their disposal and their expectations of the local norms of behaviour and language use. What marked this out was the high degree of mobility: the participants were learning about the setting

very rapidly, building new relationships and engaging with new resources, as well as drawing on those that they had encountered before. This stands in direct contrast to the assumptions of homogeneity and settled-ness that characterise the institutional perspective (described above): the resources used by the young people are not predictable and are brought together in highly fluid, situated 'networks' in each interaction.

Two further concepts contribute to the theoretical framework, both giving more details on how 'networking' works. The first is 'audibility', a term that draws on Miller's (2003, 2004) work with ESL students in Australian schools, and indicates the speaker's ability to articulate him- or herself in a way that is recognised as legitimate by users of the dominant discourse. 'Staging', a term adapted from Goffman (1956), describes the different interactional spaces in which this legitimisation takes place. It distinguishes the 'front stage', where the teacher speaks and directs classroom activity and where interaction is generally public, from the 'back stage', the small-group interactions where speakers have a greater expectation of privacy. The opportunity to be recognised as a legitimate speaker of the dominant discourse is comparatively greater on the 'front stage', but so is the risk of being delegitimised.

These concepts come together as a coherent framework when applied to the data. The interaction between the parts is worked through in detail in the chapters four to seven, but the example below illustrates the analysis that results. It is taken from chapter six, and shows Maria's mid-morning English-language class. The course book pages for this lesson include a feature on the James Bond films, and she has opened the floor to discussion:

Field note, 13 February 2015

Mine [18, F, Pakistani] is answering a question from Maria (a definition question, along the lines of 'What's MI5?') – it's a fairly long answer, and Nalka [15, F, Somali] muttered something. I gestured for her to clarify and she said: 'we can't understand her voice'.

[...]

Maria asks about James Bond, and asks whether the students know (of) him. Asksay Kumar [16, M, Pakistani] replies: 'his movies so kissing scene ... is haram miss'

There's a sentence or two in the middle that I couldn't catch, but what I heard is noted verbatim. There was more back and forth among the students after. Lots of laughter, Farah [17, F, Pakistani] turns to me to make sure I get it.

Maria designed this lesson to involve the students more: she is no expert on James Bond, but she hoped it would be engaging and create opportunities for them to speak. For young people who are adapting their own patterns of speech and behaviour to the dominant norms, such interactions are about more than their developing command of English. They provide a crucial yardstick for their command of the dominant discourse – a measure of their legitimacy as speakers. Here, as in many interactions, it is the teacher who holds most power to legitimise or delegitimise speakers. She decides who may speak in the classroom, and when, and on what topics – and she retains the authority to retake the floor even if she temporarily opens it to others. This is a function of her role: teachers have great legitimacy as users of the classroom discourse. In the field note above, Mine and Nalka can be seen to develop their own legitimacy by participating in the classroom discussion.

Something else happened, though, when Asksay Kumar took the floor. Maria had asked a general question about whether the students knew the James Bond films, but instead of joining in Asksay Kumar leaped up and gave an impromptu performance in a highly stylised Pakistani accent. It was brief but enormously successful with his peers: laughter pealed around the classroom and Farah turned to me to make sure I had understood. Asksay Kumar had subverted the discursive norms of the classroom and positioned himself as a legitimate user of this alternative, comic, discourse. By calling out and standing up from his chair he also claimed the 'front stage' – a powerful space where such legitimacy is often conferred. The noise of the other young people's laughter made Maria momentarily powerless, and she could not have retaken the stage until it had died down (though it is worth noting that, as an experienced teacher, she made no attempt to until the excitement had faded). Interactions like these were often seen as disruptions to the smooth running of the classroom. Certainly, Asksay Kumar (whose pseudonym is based on that of a Hindi-language actor) was often described in such terms. The analytical framework I develop in this thesis, I argue, allows his behaviour to be understood as part of his broader process of migration and adaptation.

The lesson on James Bond was broadly popular with the young people, but it carried risks for some. Asksay Kumar appear to have little knowledge of the films and if Maria had asked him directly it would have delegitimised him as a user of the dominant classroom discourse. Instead, he subverted the teacher's question, not answering directly but invoking cultural conservatism ('his movies so kissing scene'), religious prohibition ('is haram') and using a highly stylised Pakistani accent to suggest a (parodic) less legitimate speaker. This is an example of 'networking': Asksay Kumar drew together these cultural resources, and the affordances of the moment (the open space on the discursive front stage of the classroom, the positive reaction his performance will likely receive from his peers), to avoid a potentially face-threatening situation. He drew on resources from

within and outside the class group: the term 'haram', relating to Islamic religious practice, had particular currency in the group at that time, among young people from a wide range of religious and cultural backgrounds (discussed in detail in chapter six). The accent and stylization was particularly his own (in that others did not use it) but indexed aspects from his life at home and in Pakistan. The subject position this allowed him to create was a nuanced one: recognising a conservative upbringing but not bound by it, confident that he could command the attention of his peers but not confident enough to admit not knowing about James Bond films.

In this, the notion of trajectory is crucial. Asksay Kumar had not 'arrived' at Pine Wood Academy, in the sense that his journey was now complete and he could focus on settling into a new life in the UK (though that is the assumption embedded in current policy, see chapter four). For these young people, the future is often uncertain. They would often talk about what to do when they left the school: some had connections in the local community and planned to look for work, others expected to leave the UK, others hoped to go to university, much like non-migrant teenagers. What marked them out was the fluidity of these decisions. Some talked about working for a few years and then leaving the UK, for example, while others hoped to stay but worried about their visas or the outcome of asylum claims. Their time in Pine Wood Academy is a period of constant adaptation of and to new norms, but in the context of an ongoing mobility.

The distinction I make in the thesis between 'trajectory' (ongoing mobility) and 'journey' affects the interpretation of Asksay Kumar's performance. It is a key step in shifting from an analysis that accepts the 'settled' perspective of education policy to the 'globally mobile' perspective of the young people. Understood as part of process of arrival and settlement, he can be expected to adapt to the norms of the classroom (chapter seven gives a detailed analysis of that process): he misbehaves by calling out in Maria's class.

Understood as part of an ongoing migration, the emphasis is on the young person's own qualities: he must be adaptable and quick-thinking, able to turn unpredictable situations to his advantage. Elsewhere in the data the importance of this is clear: for Habtom (chapters three and five), moves in and out of the data as he works out whether I am a sufficiently stable presence in his life to talk about mourning his brothers with; for Eyob (in chapter seven), quick thinking and quick fists have been a matter of life and death.

In this sense, the classroom is not only a place where young people are socialised into the norms of formal schooling. It is a place where different trajectories intersect with the institutional setting of the school. Building on Pratt's (1987, 1991) and Canagarajah's (1997, 2013) use of the term, I analyse these interactions as examples of 'contact zones'. There are two relevant senses of 'contact': the first is the interaction between dominant and subordinate groups (following Pratt 1991), the second is the sense of 'contact' in interpersonal interaction (following Canagarajah 1997). Both can be seen in Asksay Kumar's response to Maria's question about James Bond. The class he is a part of, the EFL materials that he is using and the exclusively international, plurilingual membership of the International Group all reflect the adult participants' attempts to adapt the education system to the needs of highly mobile young people (chapters four and five examine the challenges and opportunities of doing so). At the same time, each interaction is a point of contact in which different networks of resources are called into being and different subject positionings are made available (chapter six shows this process in detail). A focus on contact allows this study to be critical about the settled perspectives that the adults (including myself) brought to the study, and to ask instead how the young people made sense of the school as they moved through it. Chapter three sets out the methodology used to do so.

Chapter 3   Methodology

Introduction

The previous chapter began by setting out the theoretical landscape in which this thesis stands. It identified a gap in the literature around adolescent migrants in formal education in the UK: not only are there few studies articulating the young people's voices, but the theoretical grounding of those studies took little account of how mobile the young people are, nor of the continuing importance of their migration experiences. At the end of that chapter I set out a pair of research questions that would respond to this gap, and outlined the theoretical framework that I develop in the thesis to do so. The present chapter now describes *how* the study answered those questions. It is organised into four sections that move broadly from the theoretical to the practical. The first ('interpretative paradigm') discusses the *meta-theory* that underpins the study design: the ontology and epistemology. It then looks at the *stance* I took in the fieldwork and at how I used *sensitising concepts* to get purchase on the data in the early stages of the analysis. Finally, a section on *validity* sets out how the meta-theory underpins the warrant I claim for the research.

The second section takes this theoretical position and shows how it applied to the design of the study. It focuses on ethnography, showing how the study moved from an *ethnographically informed* plan to a *full ethnography* and eventually emerged as a *linguistic ethnography* (or 'LE'). Because LE draws on two distinct traditions (linguistics and ethnography) I look in more detail at how those theoretical and methodological antecedents influenced the design of my own research. By this point, I will have drawn a clear connection between the theoretical discussion of chapter two and the

methodological discussion of this chapter. The choices that I made when designing the study had consequences for what could be included in the research and what had to be left out (and influenced where I focused my time and attention during the fieldwork and analysis).

In the two remaining sections I show that thinking in practice as I account for the research itself. In 'documenting the process', I first map out all the data collected for the thesis and describe the process of finding a site and participants. I then outline how I recruited the participants and how a focus on 'groups', rather than on individuals, emerged. I also account for my particular role and how I drew on the principles underlying this project to guide difficult decisions in the research. I then return to the idea of a *researcher role*, showing how it emerged as something both distinctively my own but also deeply rooted in the particularity of *this* site and *these* participants. The chapter closes with a discussion of what was left unresolved: the *persistent challenges* around empowerment, ethics, consent and authenticity. In this way the chapter moves from theory to principles, from principles to practice, and from practice again to the principles that will guide my research after the PhD is complete.

Interpretative paradigm: working inwards, writing outwards

This section describes the beliefs and assumptions that underpin the research. It approaches them as three interlocking domains: ideas about *what is*, *how we can know* and *what we can do about it* (or, I describe my interpretative paradigm in terms of my ontology, epistemology and methodology). These are not abstract concepts: they were an integral part of the research process and this section describes how they influenced the decisions I made at key points in the study. They are also best seen as part of the

research process: some of the assumptions and beliefs pre-dated the PhD study (coming from my earlier experiences of working with young people, for example) and quickly fell into place once I began thinking about the project in meta-theoretical terms. Others emerged from the research itself – a recursive process in which certainties were often revisited and assumptions held up to scrutiny as I spent time with the participants and with the data. I have structured this section to reflect that process; beginning with my own meta-theoretical starting points and discussing increasingly situated theory as the chapter progresses. I also spent a lot of time thinking about power. The young people's experiences of education and migration were very different from my own and this raised practical and ethical challenges in the research that could be understood in ontological and epistemological terms – as well as in the methodological decisions taken at each stage of the project.

Starting points, ontology and epistemology

Meta-theory is often presented in terms of a hard-and-fast binary. Groom and Littlemore (2011: 93), for example, argue that quantitative and qualitative research 'differ in fundamental ways', but this seemed impossibly deterministic at the beginning of this project, when I was still making sense of my research questions (Dörnyei 2007: 9-11 reports a similar sense of bafflement). Through the MSc course (part of the 1+3 PhD programme) I was able to unpick some of this 'false dualism' (Pring 2000: 44) and move towards understanding meta-theory as a series of positions that inform methodological decisions at every stage of the research. This approach informs the present study.

To make its ontological commitments clear, the analysis needs to be underpinned by a statement of how the object of study is understood. Hacking (1999) argues that this is a characteristic weakness of constructionist research and emphasises the need to

distinguish *objects* from *ideas* – the ontologically objective from the ontologically

subjective (he uses the examples of quarks and baseball strikes, pp. 28-31). Many of the

key concepts in my study, from marginalisation to 'EAL', are *ontologically subjective* in

that they exist only within the context of social organization. This distinction became

important in the study, which looks at how such subjective labels become reified and are

treated as *ontologically objective* (see chapter four), with material consequences for the

participants. In this way, the meta-theory both informs the overall approach I take in the

study and the specific decisions made in the analysis; this can be seen again, for

example, in the presentation of classroom data as examples of sociolinguistic *contact*

(chapter five) and the use of fleeting classroom idioms to understand the ways that

young people make sense of mobility (chapter six).

'Most researchers', argues Sprague (2010: 78), 'think of epistemology as a non-issue –

or, more precisely, do not think of epistemology at all.' Not thinking about epistemology,

in its way, is an epistemology of its own; it suggests an assumption that the process of

generating knowledge is transparent and invariant, and therefore not in need of critical

scrutiny. This thesis is centrally concerned with scrutinising what we know about the

experiences of young migrants, and the limits to what 'settled' teachers and researchers

can know about young people's migration trajectories and how they interact within

classroom (see chapters five and seven), and so the connection between ontology,

epistemology and methodology is particularly important. 'Epistemologies', Sprague

continues, 'are accounts of the knowing subject, the object of study, and the relationship

between them.' In this study particularly, the distinction often shifts. Its 'objects' are

young people who are also 'knowing subjects'. This informed the study's focus on groups

rather than on individuals: it emphasised the ways that the young people moved through

the International Group in a series of encounters, negotiating their own subjectivities –

as both 'objects' of policy, pedagogy and of my research, and as 'knowing subjects' with their own histories, expectations and goals.

The thesis returns to such interactions several times, focusing particularly on how to define the 'object of study' in chapter four and on the 'knowing subjects' in chapter six. The distinction also underpins the analysis of heterogeneity and mobility (see chapter two). I argue that the education system sees young people in terms of curriculum attainment and the consequent support they may need. This privileges the perspectives of the 'settled' (the 'teachers, administrators and others who shape schools and school systems') over those of the 'globally mobile' (Hamann 2016). The focus on how young people negotiate schooling is an attempt to address the gap between these perspectives explicitly, recognising the implications this has for power and voice. In this sense it is *critical* research (see e.g. Brodkey 1987, Conteh *et al.* 2005, Barron 2013; see Hammersley 2009 for a critique of critical social research). Such an approach also means recognising that much of the young people's experience will remain inaccessible to this research project. There are limits of the warrant this study can claim, especially when I write about the experiences of young migrants (see chapter eight), and involves subjecting my own role in the research to scrutiny (see chapters three, six, seven and nine).

Research stance

The beliefs that inform research, as Barron (2006: 202-203) notes, are not static. As they 'change over time, so will the ontological (and epistemological) questions […] researchers ask.' The following discussion of my stance should be seen in that light, as part of an ongoing process that shaped and was shaped by the research. The literature

on 'stance' is extensive (Baynham 2011: 70) but Dubois (2007: 163) offers a synthesising definition:

> stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

Stance is the realisation of the thinking behind a research project in the concrete, everyday interaction of the project itself. Dubois describes it as a public act, something that others respond to and that is developed through interaction with them. Other definitions give a different emphasis: García *et al.* (2016: 50) describe 'translanguaging stance' as something more internal, a 'philosophical orientation' and a set of beliefs about language, pedagogy and society that inform classroom activity. Their definition is perhaps related to their sense of mission in an education system that marginalises bilingual learners.

My own stance is centred around three points:

1. that languages are best seen as repertoires rather than as bounded entities, and that language has both a cognitive basis and a social operation;

2. that what happens in school is part of a broader set of experiences spanning the life course, and that those experiences are an important resource for the classroom interaction that this study captures;

3. that classrooms are places where power is negotiated, where different life experiences come into contact and where new subjectivities can emerge.

The first point, on repertoire, draws together different strands of research that support plurilingual / translingual practices – a tradition beginning with Gumperz and Hymes (Gumperz 1964, Gumperz and Hymes 1972; see also Kachru 1982, Benor 2010, Blommaert and Backus 2011, Busch 2012), moving through Cummins's (2000, 2008) work challenging the 'two solitudes' model of bilingualism towards contemporary analyses of translingual practice (e.g. Li Wei 2011, 2013, García and Li Wei 2014, Otheguy *et al.* 2015; Canagarajah 2013; Rampton 2006, Hornberger and Link 2012; Jørgensen 2008, Jørgensen *et al.* 2011, Blommaert 2010, Blommaert and Rampton 2011). This can be seen in the definitions of 'EAL' as linguistic deficiency (chapter four), in the assumptions made around young people's needs (chapter five), in the close analysis of their language practices (chapter six) and in the collaborative rewriting of one young person's 'travel story' (chapter seven).

The second point, that schooling must be understood as part of broader life experiences, is informed by working with the young people. At times, past experiences can be seen to intersect with the present moment in the thesis, such as when Mohabat (17, M, Afghan) leaned across to tell me about missing his mother. The young people made frequent reference to people, experiences and ideas from outside the school, from Asksay Kumar (16, M, Pakistani) singing snatches of the Pakistani national anthem to Jimmy (19, M, Brazil) asking to be interviewed so that he could compare his experiences of life in London and in Brazil. Similarly, the adult participants talked about their teaching in terms of their previous experiences: from Eugenio's time running ESOL programmes to Siobhan's interest in drama (see chapter four). This point underpins the theoretical discussion of networks and trajectories (chapter five) and the analysis of the contact zone, where these trajectories intersect (chapters five to seven).

The final point focuses on the power dynamics of classrooms. My own interest stretches back to my earlier work as an English language teacher. In assignments for professional qualifications I wrote about syllabus design as a 'value-laden' process (White 1988) and showed interest in a 'process approach' to classroom research (Hedge 2000, Littlewood 2009). By the time I came to the dissertation for a master's in English Language Teaching I was more focused on the issues of power that would motivate my doctoral work: I had begun drawing on research by Canagarajah (2001), Kumaravadivelu (1999, 2008) and van Lier (2001), for example. This underpins much of the analysis in this study, from the use of Miller's (2003, 2004) 'audibility' to the use of Pratt's (1987, 1991) 'contact zones' and broader scholarship on 'time-space' (discussed in chapter two).

Sensitising concepts

Some of the 'constitutive features' of Linguistic Ethnography (LE) are its use of 'sensitising concepts, openness to data and worries about idealism' (Rampton *et al.* 2015: 15-16, see also Snell and Lefstein 2015). Sensitising concepts are analytical perspectives that give purchase in the early stages of working with the data but that do not constrain the end result. They 'suggest directions along which to look' rather than 'prescriptions of what to see' (Blumer 1954: 7; see also Layder 1993: 65-66 on 'relevance'). In the present study, and in different ways, Goffman's (1956, 1981) notion of 'stages' was particularly useful, as were Blommaert's (2015a, 2015b) development of Bakhtinian 'timespaces' and Canagarajah's (1997, 2013) work on Pratt's (1897, 1991) 'contact zones'. These were an important part of the research process: the reading and analysis overlapped with the fieldwork, so these touchstones helped guide what I looked for and how I began to work more closely with the data. Later they acted as the starting points for the development of my own theoretical framework (see chapters five and six).

One constraint on this approach is the charge that LE risks being insufficiently precise: the use of sensitising concepts and the attempt to unify the distinct traditions of linguistics and ethnography suggest an 'openness to everything' that might undermine the warrant that can be claimed for LE studies (Cook 2010: 434 and see below). It is important, therefore, to be clear about how the sensitising concepts informed the study.

The sensitising concepts operated differently at each stage of the research. At the beginning of the project they were statements of intent, marking the broad swathe of territory in which I wanted to position my study. In the original application for the doctoral programme, which outlined the project and the literature it would draw on, I identified linguistic ethnography as a 'new and useful perspective', flagged critical discourse analysis through references to Fairclough (1989, 2004) and postcolonial studies through Saïd (1978), Spivak (1988) and Canagarajah (2001). These starting points guided further reading and my early fieldwork, focusing on power, alterity and language. They also contributed to the shift from a study of policy implementation (envisaged in the original proposal) to a more explicitly sociolinguistic study. By the time of the transfer (a point where students present their work in progress and officially move to full doctoral candidacy, after the first year of the PhD) the sensitising concepts focused on an exploration of context, juxtaposing Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1993) ecological model with ideas of scale (particularly Lemke's 2000 'scales of time', Appadurai's 1996, 1999 'scapes' and Pennycook's 2007 recontextualisation). This coincided with the move from School A to Pine Wood Academy (described below), and meant that I was alert to shifts in standing and the use of resources from different times and places.

Eventually, the sensitising concepts had to give way to a deeper and more complete perspective on the data. I did much of that work in the US, where I spent the autumn of 2015 as a visiting scholar with Suresh Canagarajah at Penn State. I arrived wanting to

work more closely with ideas of heterogeneity and mobility as *practices*, and the influence of that period can be seen particularly in my interpretation of contact zones and networks (chapter five). I was working, by that point, with a body of data and the results of three years' engagement with the literatures. Over ten weeks of reading and rewriting, meeting other researchers and looking at my own work through the lens of another scholarly culture, I slowly began piecing together the theoretical approach that I describe in this thesis. The process of developing provisional analytical positions, using them to explore the data and revising them when they no longer supported the development of the study, was distinctively (linguistic) ethnographic.

Validity … or what?

This chapter began with the realisation that an all-encompassing paradigm – one that tied together ontological commitments, epistemology and methodology – would not offer a sufficient warrant for the research. I argued that meta-theory exists in dialogue with the design of the study, the fieldwork and the analysis, and that they are all deeply rooted in the particularities of the setting and the participants. This dialogue can be seen in the relationship between epistemology and validity, as discussions of *what we can know* entail judgements on what count as knowledge. Hammersley (2011: 119) is explicit:

> The sole criterion by which knowledge claims should gain entry to and retain membership in the body of knowledge must be epistemic justification. To deviate from this orientation leads to corruption of the literature, and undermines the only basis on which researchers can justify their distinctive role and speak authoritatively.

This raises questions that are central to this study: about who has the right to speak and over the limits of that authority (see particularly chapter five on 'audibility'). The terms used in such discussions usually indicate a broader paradigm: positivist research generally uses 'validity' and 'reliability'; interpretative research has a range to choose from, such as trustworthiness (Dörnyei 2007), credibility, dependability, transferability and confirmability (Lincoln and Guba 1985), or the audit trail (Holliday 2007). Critical realist epistemologies sit somewhere in between (see Hammersley's 2011 'third way') and this is especially true of linguistic ethnographic studies with their twin epistemological foundations.

Part of the challenge is to be clear about how we assess the value of a research study. The benchmark measure is 'validity', borrowed at a time when the emerging social sciences were seeking to establish their parity with the natural sciences, in which quantification was a key tenet (Hammersley 1992a: 159-160). There have been wide-ranging critiques of its use in 'qualitative' research (Whittemore *et al.* 2001 offer a useful summary) and there appear to be three main areas of contention:

- how data are differentiated as 'qualitative' and 'quantitative';

- the extent to which the findings can be generalised (or theorised); and

- the criteria on which findings should be accepted as robust (and therefore added to the knowledge-base).

The differentiation of qualitative and quantitative work is not, I suggest, particularly helpful. It may offer a shorthand to a set of assumptions, beliefs and approaches but they are more usefully considered separately – as epistemology, as stance, as political orientations and as sensitising concepts. A single datum can be interpreted in many

different ways; what is significant is the coherence of the overall interpretation that the researcher offers.

This coherence can be seen as a function of the methodology: Hammersley (1992a) makes a strong case for replacing the qualitative-quantitative divide with a series of methodological choices that have implications for the research output. The research questions and the epistemology would exist in a dialectic relationship, in this model, because questions about *what we can know* would influence *what we aim to find out*, and vice versa. Methodological decisions would be driven by this dialectic, and would have an influence on the generalisability of the findings. Hammersley envisages researchers making a more-or-less unfettered choice between different tools, free of paradigmatic baggage. At the 'case selection' stage, for example, such a researcher would be able to choose between a single case and a large, statistically representative sample, among others, according to the questions being asked. This would underplay the importance of the disciplinary community (discussed further below, under 'ethnography'), but it points to some important considerations. The methodological decisions made during the study have implications for how widely the findings can be applied, as well as for the level of detail that can be perceived and the audience that might be interested in the research (Hammersley 1992a: 183-200). Validity, this suggests, is not a matter of conducting the study according to disciplinary or paradigmatic standards, but something that emerges from the series of decisions made during the research.

Validity, then, is part of the research *process*, rather than a set of criteria applied to the *product*. It is inseparable from the knowledge claims being made about the data. I would put forward three criteria to be met before a knowledge claim could be more widely applied (that is, generalised or used for theorisation). The claim would need to be:

1) consistent with the types of data it is based on,

2) interpreted in relation to a coherent meta-theoretical framework,

3) recognisable as consistent with the study's epistemological and ontological commitments, by specified critical audience.

The third point brings together the first two: it asks that others (such as a disciplinary community) recognise a clear statement of the ontological commitments and the coherent relationship between meta-theory, methodology and findings. (Ethical commitments, discussed later in this chapter, would be judged as part of both the meta-theory and the practice of the research, as articulated in the methodology). It does not ask that the claims are *accepted* or *agreed with* by that critical audience, even if they are inconsistent with the audience's own commitments. This reclaims 'validity' as a term that can be used in qualitative research, and sets out the criteria I am working to as I write this thesis.

Ethnography is often located at one extreme of a cline between qualitative and quantitative methodologies (Holliday 2007: 6, Lincoln and Guba 1985: 37, Denzin and Lincoln 2005: 10-13). It is often associated with a social constructionist epistemology (Hammersley 1998: 6-13) that values the *emic* (or insider) perspective (Burr 1995: 8-10, Pring 2000: ch. 6). It should not be: like any approach to research, ethnography can be seen as a series of methodological choices informed by the researcher's stance (and underpinned by ontological and epistemological considerations). Mine is a firmly ethnographic study (see below), but it incorporates data from both the (nominally) qualitative and quantitative domains. This has important implications for how the participants' voices can be represented, for the relationship between the research and the implications it offers for practice, and for the ethics of conducting the study. These are taken into account in the study design.

Designing the study

So far in this chapter I have discussed the guiding principles of this study and their expression in the *meta-theoretical assumptions* behind the research. They led me to take a particular *stance*, which evolved as the project progressed, and at key junctures I drew on a set of *sensitising concepts* to help guide my decision-making. This section now describes the design of the study itself, putting that thinking into practice. It is organised into three sections. I begin by briefly reviewing the research questions and show how they relate to the discussion so far. I then discuss the approach taken, which began as an 'ethnographically informed' study before evolving into a 'full ethnography' and a 'linguistic ethnography'.

Reviewing the research questions

The study investigates a pair of guiding questions, introduced in chapter one:

> how do young migrants make sense of their school, and

> how does their school make sense of them?

To focus the fieldwork and early analysis, I broke these questions down into three lines of enquiry:

- how is multilingualism constructed discursively in the school?

- how does this construction create subject positionings for young migrants?

- how do young migrants adopt, negotiate or contest these positionings?

These helped to narrow down the questions and to identify the elements that would later be developed into my theoretical framework (chapters five and six), through which I could then answer the main research questions (chapters eight and nine).

In light of the discussion so far, several points can be made about these questions that give insight into the process. The first is about the use of terminology – following Hacking's (1999) recommendation to be specific about the 'object' of the study. I identify the participants as 'young migrants', 'young people' or 'young multilinguals' rather than 'students' or 'pupils' (and the adults as 'adult participants' rather than 'teachers'), and flag the term 'EAL' using inverted commas throughout. This is a direct influence of the *stance* I took, and an attempt to distinguish such labels as *ontologically subjective*. 'Pupil' is a term that defines young people in terms of their participation in formal education; I was interested in how they brought their experiences from outside the school into the classroom. The label 'EAL' is deeply entrenched in policy and indexes a range of positions on young people, curriculum, difference and language (see chapter four). I use it cautiously, as I am interested in how the participants used broader repertoires to position themselves in relation to each other and the institution. The terms 'pupil' and 'teacher' also define the power relations between participants, something I wanted to investigate rather than take for granted.

The questions were written at the beginning of the study, and they reflect early intuitions about the overarching theme. The use of both 'multilingualism' and 'young migrants' reflects an ambiguity around how to approach the participants – as migrants, multilinguals or something else (in both School A and Pine Wood Academy the term 'ethnic minority achievement' was also used, relating to an old funding arrangement). This can also be seen in the *sensitising concepts* that were employed during the research process: the interest in power and policy later gave rise to chapters four and five,

particularly. The questions also established 'positioning' as a key focal point and this grew into the use of 'stages' in chapter six. The desire to understand how the participants negotiate positionings gave rise to the focus on contact, networks and trajectories (chapters five and six), particularly in the policy analysis (chapter four) and the chapter focusing on a single participant (chapter seven). The research questions, then, were set down at an early stage and developed using a set of provisional sub-questions to guide the fieldwork and early analysis, but they were continually reinterpreted as I established the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Ethnography

Ellis (2004) begins her 'methodological novel about autoethnography' with her character Caroline telling an aspiring doctoral candidate about the challenges of writing ethnographically:

> It's amazingly difficult. It's certainly not something that most people can do well. Social scientists usually don't write well enough. Or they're not sufficiently introspective about their feelings or motives, or the contradictions they experience. Ironically, many aren't observant enough of the world around them.
>
> (Ellis 2004: xviii)

One of the challenges is that ethnography is no single thing (Hymes 1980: 88-103, Blommaert and Dong Jie 2010: 6-17). Originally a product of anthropological linguistics, with its origin in the fieldwork of Malinowski and Boas, it developed into a research approach in its own right as more nuanced theories of social units and linguistic phenomena emerged, notably in the work of Gumperz (e.g. 1964) and Hymes (e.g. 1974). For Hymes, ethnography was always part of a larger project of comprehensive

description that emphasised the production of generalizable findings from close observation of single cases (Hymes 1980: 104-118, see also Van der Aa and Blommaert 2011, Rampton 2011, Hornberger 2014). This was a political approach to researching communities that carried, in its Hymesian incarnation, a strong commitment to social justice. It was also deeply theorised, with an emphasis on generating 'descriptive theory'. Its 'basic architecture', argue Blommaert and Dong Jie (2010: 8) 'already contain[ed] ontologies, methodologies and epistemologies'. This lineage can be seen as the first of two major variants of contemporary ethnography, and is discussed below as it informs the linguistic ethnographic approach I use in this thesis.

A second major variant could be termed ethnography-as-fieldwork: 'a *method* for collecting particular types of data and thus something that can be added, like the use of a computer, to different scientific procedures' (Blommaert 2006: 2, italics original). The terms 'are not well defined in their usage' (Hammersley 1990: 610, footnote) but this is what Brewer (2000: 17-19) calls 'little ethnography': ethnography as 'one particular way of doing qualitative research' using a particular methodological toolkit, 'one of the principal research methods in the social sciences, and foremost in the repertoire of qualitative researchers' (p. 6-7). This sense of ethnography focuses on the tools, particularly on semi-structured interviews and participant observation. It creates spaces for new forms of activity that draw on these tools and on some of the ideas of ethnographic enquiry: these would include Mann *et al.*'s (2011) 'ethnographic experiment' (with a methodological discussion that begins: 'This is not a methods section meant to reassure you', p. 226), Ellis's (2004) 'autoethnographic novel', and the use of 'inconvenience sampling' to counter bias (Duneier 2011).

Blommaert (2006: 2) is scathing about such restricted use of the term 'ethnography', describing it as 'a series of propositions by means of which something can be said about context':

> Talk can thus be separated from its context, and whereas the study of talk is a matter for linguists, conversation analysts or discourse analysts, the study of context is a matter for ethnography […] but naïvely, in the sense that the critical epistemological issues buried in seemingly simple fieldwork practices are not taken into account.

The 'naïve' sense of ethnography – as fieldwork activity, rather than as a Hymesian programme of 'comprehensive description' – elides the distinction between 'setting' and 'context'. The young people in this study draw on networks of people, experiences and resources to help them navigate the classroom setting. They often connect the present moment with people and events from far away in time and space. When Afnan (16, F, Somali), Eyob (17, M, Eritrean) and Sana (16, F, Afghan) said 'saboor' in chapter six, for example, they were discussing the classroom in relation to their separate – but mutually understood – histories of migration and schooling. When Eyob and Eugenio argued, in chapter seven, about what it means to be an adult they were trying to find common ground that took into account a different sets of cultural norms, the impact of one participant's experiences during his migration and another's during his professional life, and the particular discourses and individuals present at that moment. A view of ethnography as fieldwork relies on core tools (especially observation and interview) that are not necessarily able to engage with the participants' own ways of using 'context' to make sense of their 'setting'.

The contrast between 'full' and 'naïve' ethnography underpinned the development of the research design. The study began as an 'ethnographically informed case study' (the

term I used in the transfer report). This recognised that ethnography had moved from being an 'oppositional force confronting a dominant quantitative tradition to a position where it is now well established' (Hammersley 1992b: 195). I was originally interested in the relationship between young migrants and the policy reforms around academies and had planned to use relatively short periods of fieldwork in combination with extensive documentary analysis. My aim was to capture both the discourses around the policy development and the impact of those changes on the young people (the use of a panel of external participants, discussed below, was part of that plan). As I moved into the fieldwork, though, this approach was less and less able to sustain the analysis I was developing from the data. A fuller approach, one that engaged with the ontological, epistemological and methodological 'architecture' of ethnography, was needed.

Towards a full ethnography

One characteristic of ethnographic inquiry is that often evolves over the course of a long period spent in the field. The mode and duration of this fieldwork are significant factors in each project's development and they can be described using Jeffrey and Troman's (2004: 538) three 'ethnographic time modes', from intensive periods of fieldwork to 'episodic' engagement with the research. The three time-modes are strategies for imitating the 'long and sustained' immersion that (citing Walford 2002) Jeffrey and Troman (p. 537) argue characterises a 'classic' or 'full' ethnography. Sustained engagement is valued because it responds to the meta-theoretical commitments that are characteristic of ethnographic enquiry: that social life is *ontologically subjective* and that the warrant is justified in part through detailed description of the social structures in which meaning is made. In this sense, ethnography does not sit within a single paradigm

and is compatible with a range of epistemological positions – so long as they enable a focus on 'processual matters, not products', and recognise that:

> Social life is ongoing, developing, fluctuating, becoming […] This again emphasises the need for long and sustained researcher immersion in the field[.]
>
> (Woods 1994: 5)

'Sustained' occurs again and again in the literature on ethnographic research: sustained engagement, a willingness to revise findings and to engage with the perspectives of the participants (see e.g. Goffman 1961: 7-9, Hymes 1996: ch. 1, Blackledge and Creese 2010: ch. 3). These are not the methods of ethnographic fieldwork but the practical expression of an ontological and epistemological 'architecture'.

The range of activities involved in ethnography is broader than its data-collection strategies. Geertz (1973: 5-7), for example, argues that researchers should 'look at what practitioners […] do', but he glosses *doing ethnography* as a range of non-observational activities: 'establishing rapport, selecting informants, transcribing texts, taking genealogies, mapping fields, keeping a diary, and so on'. These are all part of a process of *creating* interpretations, writing, rather than dispassionately *observing*. Walford (2002: 1) wrote of the need to 'generate data', a term that emphasises the researcher's agency. Conteh *et al.* (2005: xxiii, 132) wrote of 'collusion', a social process of cooperation and co-construction, or 'how members of any social order must constantly help each other to posit a particular state of affairs' (citing McDermott and Tylbor 1983: 278; see also Chick 1996: 35-37). The role of the researcher becomes significant in such accounts, an active participant in an iterative process of *gathering* and *interpreting* data, in contrast to the 'deep hanging out' (Geertz 1998) that is more rooted in the anthropological tradition (see also Ahearn 2012 and Duranti 2009 on linguistic anthropology).

This explicit recognition of the researcher's role in collaboratively generating data foregrounds issues of power and agency. In the sense that Hymes (1980) used the term, ethnography is *critical*. It seeks to 'problematize current, dominant and common sense understandings' of the issue being studied (Barron 2013: 119) and to document the impact of these assumptions on individuals. This is again underpinned by the study's meta-theoretical commitments: where it challenges the dominant understandings of 'EAL' and young migrants (for example, in chapter four) it puts into practice the ontological stance that sees such labels as subjective; when it emphasises particular methods of data collection it commits to an epistemology in which observed interaction gives meaningful insight into social life. Many of the data I collected– including a great deal of verbal interaction – are in the form of field notes (though see chapter six for examples of how these were layered with other data-types). This reflects the ethnographic origins of the study, but as the fieldwork progressed I focused more on the ways that the participants used language to negotiate the classroom setting. I needed to introduce new procedures to guide data collection and analysis. The study therefore began to move from what I thought of as a 'full' ethnography to the emerging approach of 'linguistic ethnography'.

Linguistic Ethnography

Unlike ethnography, where a robust meta-theoretical framework is able to support well-established forms of enquiry and theorisation, linguistic ethnography (LE) is more exploratory. Neither 'prescribe[s] a set of data collection or analysis tools' but LE researchers particularly emphasise their shared 'analytical disposition' that 'involves a focus on data and close analysis of situated language in use' (Copland and Creese 2015: 29, see also Snell and Lefstein 2015). LE 'has yet to reach the position where we can

claim it to be a clearly defined approach' and it may be difficult to 'successfully defend […] in a viva examination or a bid for funding' (Snell *et al.* 2015: 1, 6), but it creates a space in which new ways of working with data can be explored. It is able to do so because it engages directly with the ontological status of data, using both linguistics and ethnography as anchors. They are not easily reconcilable – not least because the 'challenge of resolving the conflict between realism and constructionism will need to be tackled' (Hammersley 2007: 693) – but it offers a valuable way to scrutinise my own role in the research and to account clearly for the role of language (or, more broadly, semiotic) data in the study.

Two principles act as articles of faith for linguistic ethnography. The first is that close analysis of semiotic data is able to reveal, among other things, much of the identity work that language performs. The second is that meaning is made in context, and that context must be accounted for in the analysis. As Rampton *et al.* (2015: 18) put it, these principles are that:

1) the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed. Meaning takes shape within specific social relations, interactional histories and institutional regimes, produced and construed by agents with expectations and repertoires that have to be grasped ethnographically;

2) analysis of the internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data is essential to understanding its significance and position in the world. Meaning is far more than just the 'expression of ideas', and biography, identifications, stance and nuance are extensively signalled in the linguistic and textual fine-grain.

Rampton *et al.* (2015) also suggest that either linguistics or ethnography will take precedence in a given study (pp. 18-19). Each study is therefore left to define its own

boundaries: Rock's (2006, 2007) work on the police caution, is 'deep but is not the "thick description" that Lutz associates with the term ethnography' (2006: 8, citing Lutz 1981). Her study involved collecting written and spoken examples of the police caution, which then had no nationally standardised form. The work was conducted over months, but the need to gather data from a range of locations meant that some sites were visited briefly and others for a period of months. This fits comfortably with the 'time modes' (Jeffrey and Troman 2004) and meta-theoretical assumptions of ethnography, but she creates space to draw in:

> methods usually seen as part of discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics, to investigate a specific set of theoretical questions around the use of formulaic texts in largely pre-determined and relatively regulated institutional settings.
>
> (Rock 2006: 8)

A useful analogy might be the role of a matrix language (see Poplack and Sankoff 1984), in which either ethnography or linguistics offers an organising framework that can incorporate elements of the other tradition (see chapter eight). Rock's study takes ethnography as its 'matrix'; Snell's (2014, 2015) report on language and social class, in contrast, uses 'ethnographic fieldwork' (p. 10) but positions her own linguistic ethnography in the variationist tradition of sociolinguistics. In this thesis, ethnography provides the ontological and epistemological 'matrix'.

Documenting the process

This section of the methodology chapter documents the steps taken to secure the research sites and to involve the participants, showing how the design of the study grew

to cover two class groups. It then moves further into the detail of the project, recording how and why the study design evolved into its present form.

Finding the sites

The work of finding the sites and building a working relationship with the participants began before the PhD proper, during the master's year of a 1+3 studentship. This extra year proved invaluable: the studentship meant that it was closely tied to the doctoral project and that I would begin meeting with my supervisors before the PhD formally started. It brought classes on research design and philosophy that helped me to think through the project I was preparing and it gave me time to engage with potential research sites before I started collecting data. I was interested, early on, in 'EAL' in the context of 'academies' – state-funded independent schools that were largely enabled by educational reforms in 2010. During the master's year I wrote assignments on the policy changes, mapped the academy chains that were active locally or which were trying to move into the area, and interviewed the people responsible for opening new schools at a number of organisations. The influence of this early interest in policy remains in chapter four of the thesis, though much altered as my focus has moved closer to the experiences of the young people themselves (see chapter nine on the implications of this study for policy-makers). I was also able to interview the official responsible for auditing schools at the local authority, John Johnson, whose advice would be invaluable in finding Pine Wood Academy. I began contacting local schools and heard that 'School A', a medium-sized secondary comprehensive, was looking for help with their reading programme for newly arrived students. I started as a volunteer in the English and 'EAL' departments in the first week of December 2012.
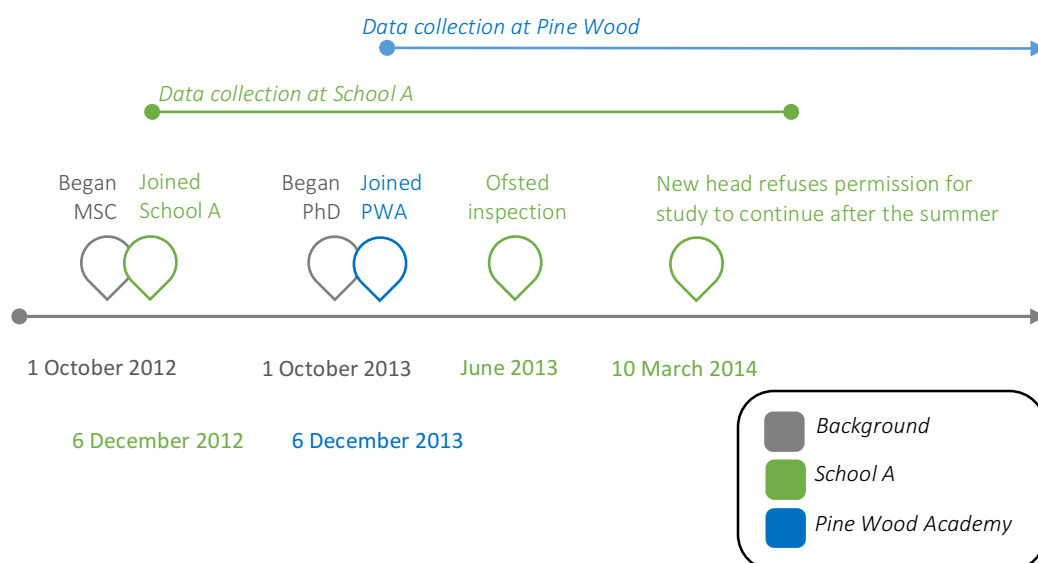
Figure 2: Timeline of data collection (October 2013 to July 2014).

My notes from the first meeting with my supervisors, back in May 2013, record the injunction to 'build strong relationships with the site' and I moved progressively closer to the 'EAL' department. I talked with each teacher I worked with about my thesis and made it clear that I was collecting preliminary notes, but I was treated primarily as a volunteer – a classroom assistant offering in-class support to newly arrived pupils, with a timetable set by the head of the 'EAL' department. I spent much of my time in English classes and developed good working relationships with the teachers there, but I also helped in science, religious education, maths, art, French and history lessons. This lent an unusual perspective: a classroom assistant but also an apprentice researcher, working across different subject areas but always with a focus on newly arrived young migrants. It was a time of great upheaval that would eventually see the school close and re-open as an academy, and I was part of the circulating discourses against the government's educational reforms and the continuing marginalisation of young migrants. I was definitely partisan: even though I was not a full member of staff, I felt then that I was part of a team. I was expected to support the teachers' line on discipline (which wasn't

hard when the occasional chair was sent skittering across the room), but in return I gained access to the world of an 'EAL' department that would have been impossible without having first earned my place by volunteering in the classroom. My master's dissertation (Sharples 2013) was a study of that 'EAL' department and the different spatial, relational and political contexts of their work.

An Ofsted inspection and a move towards a second school

Disaster, and a silver lining, struck towards the end of the 2012-13 school year. Following an inspection by Ofsted, the education inspectorate, School A was downgraded from 'Good with Outstanding Features' to 'Inadequate'. The head teacher retired at Christmas 2013 and at the end of the 2013-14 academic year the school closed and was reopened as an academy. The incoming head teacher refused permission for the research to continue there, effective when he took over the following September, by email on 10 March 2014.

The staff knew that an inspection was due – they are carried out at set intervals and can often be predicted to the term or month, though not to the day – and there was a widespread expectation that it would be politically motivated. Rumours circulated that the chief executive of an academy chain (the same chain, in fact, that later took over the school) had visited to see the site before the inspection. On the morning of the inspection the head teacher distributed small enamel badges of the school logo, giving me the impression of an *esprit de corps* in the face of a hostile takeover. Throughout this period of turbulence, I conducted interviews with the teachers in whose classes I had volunteered. They record a great deal of anger and frustration, but also grounds for cautious optimism among those who hoped that a change would bring new opportunities and new ways of working.

Realising that my access to the research site was not secure, I had agreed with my supervisors to seek a second school in case I lost access to the first site (see the timeline in figures two, above, and three, below). The selection criteria were the same as before: I sought a school with a high proportion of young people identified as 'EAL' and some form of organised provision for their needs. Pine Wood Academy was quickly identified: the local authority consultant, who visited all the schools in the area, recommended them as having a very well-defined approach to 'EAL'. A science teacher at School A, who had spent her qualifying year at Pine Wood, mentioned their International programme as something she was interested in imitating. Finally, reviewing my notes, I found that the local authority officer I had interviewed during the MSc year had recommended Pine Wood as a model of inclusive practice. I made contact with the school and, after preliminary visits to discuss the project, I started at there on 6 December 2013.

There was a noticeable difference between my roles at the two sites. In School A I was a volunteer, working as a classroom assistant and deeply embedded; at Pine Wood Academy I was explicitly a researcher, as my early field notes record:

Field note, 6 December 2013

Siobhan's classroom is in the new building – she welcomes the dozen students as they come in and […] take their places. Siobhan introduces me as a researcher. We talk a little about what that means (as a class) and Siobhan gives the students an opportunity to ask me questions.

This wasn't always an easy transition. In School A I had some limited responsibilities and would play a marginal role in the assessment and placement of young people – usually by talking with the teacher between classes about the young people I worked with. I was strongly aligned, in other words, with the institutional ways of understanding young people even when I disagreed with the particulars. Pine Wood Academy offered a fresh

start, building on the months of observation, participation and reflection at School A to take a much more consciously neutral role from the outset. This came at a cost of feeling (in those early days) as though I were doing much less of value:

Field note, 10 January 2014

My role here is definitely different. I'm a researcher – sitting at the back and making notes. I helped out a little in Siobhan's class (monitoring and checking answers) but in Margaret's this week I'm just sitting quietly. It's freeing in a way ... I can get on with learning about the school and pupils, and it feels more honest (I'm only wearing one 'hat'), but I don't necessarily feel I'm contributing as much / at all.

The time I spent at School A had a direct impact on this thesis. It was an in-depth look at a school that was finding it 'exceptionally difficult', in the head teacher's words, to provide coherent 'EAL' support 'alongside declining budgets' and with very high levels of mobility (interview, 2 May 2013). When I noted that I was not contributing to the school's work it was perhaps a reflection of the different circumstances I found myself in – especially the difference in atmosphere between the two schools – and a sign that I was still new to the researcher role. The time, though, was a chance to become familiar with the broader movement of young migrants through a school. It led me to appreciate the near-impossibility of responding to the different needs of each individual if 'EAL' were conceived as the domain of a small department within a larger school. As I argued in the MSc dissertation (Sharples 2013: 2, referring to Blommaert 2013b):

Taking the school as the unit of analysis in a sociolinguistic study is deeply problematic. It involves an assumption that the sociolinguistic system under analysis is bounded and stable, a coherent entity that can be meaningfully

dissected. Rather, this study focuses on the EAL department as one 'centre' in a polycentric, historicised system[.]

My time at School A was not a formal pilot study, but when I moved to Pine Wood Academy I took this line of thinking as my starting point. I entered the new school looking not for the implementation of curricula, as I had at School A, but at the movement of people through institutional space.

Ethics and ethical review

Because this study began in the master's component of a 1+3 studentship, ethical approval was originally dealt with as an MSc critical study (dissertation). It was reviewed as a PhD study by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee and granted provisional approval on 12 March 2014, with full approval granted on 4 April 2014 (ref.: AREA 13-089). An amendment to allow for the panel interviews was approved on 4 June 2014. Full details are given in appendix II.

I had originally set out two levels of participation, differentiating the key participants from their classmates. Ethical approval was granted on the basis that teachers were able to act as gate-keepers and that my interaction with the participants' classmates would be in the context the teachers' professional activity. Informed consent was sought through regular whole-class discussions of the project in which I clearly identified myself as a researcher (see figure three). I had planned to seek informed consent from the key participants individually and – in the case of those younger than 16 – from their parents. This quickly proved problematic: I was often working with very marginalised young people and if I had insisted on written consent I would have been at risk of excluding the voices that I felt were most important to hear. At the same time, the shift to a focus on

groups meant a less intensive focus on individuals. I also realised that issues of competence to consent were more complex than I had allowed for in the study design. Many of these young people were living complex and mobile lives, and their competence to participate in the study had to be continually reviewed. I discussed the situation with my supervisors and we decided to take a more situated approach to informed consent. I confined the study to the school (my original plan had been to include their experiences in youth clubs, faith groups and similar) and so was able to use the head teacher to give consent in place of the parents. This had the further advantage of working more firmly within the school's approach to safeguarding and managing risk.

The formal procedures for gaining informed consent were important because they required me to think about the ethical implications of the research, but they operated very much within the University's institutional world view. The school's was slightly different, as this note on making classroom audio recordings suggests:

Field note, 27 February 2015

I showed Siobhan the audio-recorders. There was some confusion over whether I wanted to make the recording immediately or next week. Siobhan said: 'you always get such a long lead-in with Rob' (as near verbatim as I can remember).

The two institutional world views conflicted here. At the university, caution was valued and power imbalances always kept in mind. At the school, time was precious and the adult participants very capable of exercising their authority. The approach I took to informed consent and gate-keeping was appropriate – it offered an excellent framework within which to manage risk while still including the young people I was keen not to exclude – but it aligned me more closely with the institution I sought to scrutinise. It meant that I had to create spaces in which the participants could decide whether or not to participate. A good example is in the use of microphones for the classroom audio

recordings. To capture the front-stage talk I used lapel microphones attached to the adults, who were able to turn them off as they chose. This also captured the young people's interactions with them, but such exchanges already involve a more powerful other and the young people had proven themselves adept at managing those relationships. To capture the back-stage talk, though, where there was a greater expectation of privacy, I gave microphones to individual young people and encouraged them to move them, pass them to friends or place them out of range. Several did, others did not and a number played with the possibilities of speaking directly to the recorder. When interviews were conducted in the classroom – as they often were, using an iPad, so that participants could comment on events as they happened – they began with me saying that the device was recording. One option would have been to record discreetly, but by bringing it out into the open it gave the participants the power to manage their own engagement with this part of the research. One participant, Habtom, fell silent when I brought out the recorder but was willing to dictate slowly enough for me to write. Consent, in other words, could be negotiated if the students' capacity to make decisions about what to share were taken seriously. This had a significant effect on the data: the young people were often active participants in shaping the data that I collected, showing me examples of language use that prompted discussions about specific incidents in their lives (such as Afnan's use of Turkish, chapter six). In many ways I was a resource that the young people used as they developed new senses of themselves and their relationships with others in the setting (see chapter eight and Sharples forthcoming, 2017).

The methodology sought to involve young people in the consent process, but it was not the only ethical consideration. As an email exchange with Jane, an assistant head teacher (27 March 2015), phrased it: 'the safeguarding duty supersedes any employment / research role'. This placed limits on how far the young participants could be involved. After Eyob asked me to co-write his travel story (chapter seven), Siobhan told me that

she had notes on other young people's similar experiences. I wondered aloud about an informal oral-history project with some of them, but Margaret rejected the idea on the grounds that the young people were not necessarily able to deal with the emotions this would bring up. The idea was quickly dropped: although I wanted to explore how the young participants could be supported to negotiate consent on their own terms, I would never be confident enough of the longer-term impact of such a project to gainsay her greater experience. The desire to take the young people seriously, to involve them in the research and to put their voices at the forefront of the writing, often conflicted with the legal, professional and ethical obligations of conducting the project.

Recruiting participants

Although the study features 23 young people, many more were part of the class groups in which the study was set and contributed to the data. Thirteen members of staff at the school took part, along with a further 12 professionals from other organisations, who were interviewed alongside the main research. These three groups were recruited separately and are described below.

Young people

The young people were recruited through the International Group. I had agreed with the school that my study would focus on the two lowest-proficiency (in English) classes as I wanted to understand the experience of migration-into-schooling from the perspective of those identified as least able (and to understand how 'deficit' came to be understood and enacted in the process). This focus on the groups rather than on individual students came about accidentally: the high degree of mobility within the International Group

meant that focusing on a small number of individual young people risked a very high drop-out rate. At the same time, there was widespread interest in the study that made a group-level focus both achievable and appealing. It allowed me to see the 'group' as an artificial construct and to recognise the enormous degree of difference that it contained. It allowed me to build relationships with a wide range of participants, some of whom would only figure briefly in the study but whose involvement helped me to understand the social networks that operate across and within groups. It also gave an ideal setting for studying the sociolinguistics of contact. This made a major contribution to my use of the theoretical literature: working with two groups meant that I could see how the locus of the contact zone was neither the classroom nor the International Group. Instead, I was able to focus on how young people moved through physical spaces (such as classrooms) at different time-scales (from hours to years), and how social relationships formed and reformed around such mobility. The contact zone, in other words, appeared wherever the young people were.

Adult participants

The adult participants were recruited by virtue of their role: all those who worked in the EMAG department (and therefore taught in the International Group) were asked and agreed to participate. Although the young people interacted with a relatively wide range of adults in the school, not all were of equal interest to the study. Those who were only tangentially involved (such as teachers who only taught a few lessons on the International programme) appear only rarely in the data. Others began as peripheral participants but became more significant: Jane (an assistant head teacher), for example, had little to do with the research until a series of concerns about a young person brought us into close contact through her responsibility for inclusion.

A final group of adult participants are those who contributed to the project but who were not employed at Pine Wood Academy. These are people whose perspectives I wanted to work with, professionals active in the field and not allied to the particular approach that Pine Wood took in establishing the International Department. As the research progressed I asked a number of these interlocutors to join a panel who would comment on the findings as they emerged. This group includes teachers, school leaders and union representatives from other schools, youth workers, officials at the Department for Education, local authority advisors and independent consultants. They are not featured directly in the thesis, which focuses on interaction in the contact zone, but their input has helped to locate the study in the wider policy and professional context (see table three, below). They have agreed to be identified publicly and their involvement is detailed in appendix I.

Collecting data

The fieldwork at Pine Wood Academy lasted for 19 months, from December 2013 to June 2015, or a little less than two school years. I visited the site weekly at first (spending another day at School A) and twice weekly from September 2014. Sometimes other commitments meant I could not attend and training days, school trips and exams often meant cancelled site visits, but the fieldwork still resulted in a wide range of data. Table three (below) summarises the range of data collected: field notes, interviews, classroom audio recordings (using multiple microphones in seven individual lessons) and photographs of literacy products, events and the linguistic landscape. In addition, I collected a wide range of objects and documents – some in physical form (such as lesson handouts, drawings and policy documents), some as photographs (such as images of the course books used in class or of the young people's work). They form too much of a

miscellany to include in table three but they are incorporated into the field notes, which record the objects gathered and the photographs taken. Along with the calendar on my computer, they recorded every interview, tutorial, site visit, seminar and conference along the way. They orient and organise the material, forming the core of this thesis.

Data type	Total collected
Field notes	93,000 words (59 instances)
Photographs	300+ (including photo-surveys)
Recordings of classroom interaction	22 hours (6 instances)
Interviews from Pine Wood Academy	18 hours (108 instances)
Interviews with panel members	8 hours (6 instances)

Table 3: Summary of data collected.

Finding a 'researcher role'

Being explicitly positioned as a 'researcher' meant that I was also something of a novelty and a resource. For Siobhan, I was someone who could be used as a counterpoint in her own teaching:

> **Field note, 16 May 2014**
>
> Quite an active start to the class. The students had been learning about films (*Cutting Edge Elementary*, pages 68-69). I was called up to the front of the class to be asked questions ... Hugo and I cheated where we could.

The notes show where I began to relax into my new 'researcher' role and the students began to accept me as part of the group. Here, Siobhan was using me to test the young people's understanding of the text: they had just answered a series of questions from the course book and were now asking me those same questions, only able to confirm my

answers if they had understood the material. Hugo (18, M, Brazilian), is gesturing

theatrically to give me the answers and I'm playing along as Siobhan faces the class. It's

light-hearted and depended on my reading her intentions accurately to know whether it

was appropriate (perhaps my own experience of teaching this same material in a

different context came into play), but it distanced me from the authoritative quasi-

teacherly role that I had struggled with at School A. Throughout the data collection

period, playfulness would be a key element in defining my own position in the classroom.

Finding a non-teacher adult role was an ongoing process. I needed some distance: I

would have to write about these young people in an authoritative way, appropriating

their voices to further my own arguments, so it was important not to position myself as a

completely neutral figure. At the same time, I wanted to move away from the teacher-

student interaction to create space for the young people to influence how our

relationships developed. It wasn't always straight-forward, but coding the field notes for

examples of my own positioning revealed the fluidity of the 'teacher' and 'student' roles

(see chapters five and six). I was often used as a counterpoint, showing a shift in the

other's position almost as a gravitational effect on myself. Sometimes I was pulled into

the role of a teacher's assistant:

Field note, 14 March 2014

My role – I'm called on as an example (e.g. to give questions that the students

can answer) and I help check the pupils' answers when they're working on book

answers – but also a semi-teacher role re: discipline.

At other times I was more of a collegial friendly ear, particularly when the teacher's

concern was more focused on the young people's well-being and socialisation than on

their mastery of the curriculum:

Data collection at Pine Wood

Data collection at School A

Data collection at Pine Wood

1 October 2012
Began
MSc

Joined
School A

6 December 2012

1 October 2013
Began
PhD

Joined
PWA

6 December 2013
introduced to the young
people as a 'researcher'

June 2013
Ofsted
inspection

10 March 2014
New head refuses permission for
study to continue after the summer

2 May 2014
Re-introduced to the young
people as 'writing a book'

June-July 2014
Photo-survey
of PWA

August 2014
Telephone
interviews
with DfE staff

Began twice-
weekly visits
to PWA

Re-introduced to the young
people as 'writing a book'

September 2014   **17 October 2014**

January to March 2015
Panel interviews

May 2015
Photo-survey
of PWA

June 2015
End of
fieldwork

Background
School A
Pine Wood Academy

Figure 3: Timeline of data collection (October 2012 to June 2015).

Field note, 14 March 2014

Siobhan thinks the boys respond better when I'm there as they're (at least some of them) very sexist and respond well to a man.

Sometimes I acted as a resource for a team that is stretched, helping gather information on a new arrival's English skills:

Field note, 28 March 2014

Arrived and was dashed off to spend time with a (brand) new arrival – Mohabat. I was told that he had 'absolutely nothing' and needed to learn the alphabet. I spent the hour with him (period 1).

and where the a mixed-ability class is almost ready to be separated into two groups:

Field note, 16 May 2014

Maths ... I helped a small group with their sums at Margaret's request. The ability levels in the class are diverging and Margaret says it's becoming quite difficult.

At Pine Wood I consciously resisted positioning myself in the quasi-teacher role that I had adopted in School A:

Field note, 30 April 2015

Siobhan leaves me in charge [when she is called from the room momentarily]. I say to the students that I don't want to be so could they get on and write?

Field note, 19 March 2015

The maths lesson begins with another 'how many triangles' question from Jake (before he arrived, Margaret had popped in to tell me that she needed Maria

> and would I help Jake. I told him that I was here if he needed me … we both
>
> knew he wouldn't ask).

As I began to find a researcher role at Pine Wood Academy, I came to see the connections between the study design and the setting more clearly. The new role allowed me to build less hierarchical relationships with the young people than had been possible at School A. The insights this brought led me to think about how the participants drew on different resources to make sense of the everyday (and would later be articulated as *network* and *trajectory*). Their mobility and their frequent references to other places and other people encouraged me to emphasise *contact*. It also led me to reflect further on my own role in the research. If the young people were *networking* by drawing on the social, linguistic and material resources around them to create meaning, then many of the data I collected were also being drawn on and deployed by the participants. This lead to a greater focus on my own positionality by examining the interactions in which I appear in the data. It led me think more about power and representation, but the issues I found were not resolved before the end of the fieldwork. Some questions persist.

Persistent challenges

An ethnographic thesis can be 'rooted in anger, even fury' at inequality (Gregory 2005: x). It might be motivated by feelings of 'solidarity' (Van der Aa and Blommaert 2013), or a responsibility for 'ethics' 'advocacy' and 'empowerment' (which Cameron *et al.* 1992: 13-18 characterise as three distinct levels of engagement). This project cannot claim such sentiments. It was rooted in questions, a desire to learn more and – perhaps – to make a small number of marginalised voices audible to a relatively small audience. The anger, frustration and – at times – guilt emerged during the research process and were slowly

rationalised, eventually becoming part of the unexamined practice of the PhD. The purpose of this section is to revisit these issues and to subject them to scrutiny, preparing the ground for greater reflexivity in the analytical chapters.

An earlier section of this chapter charted the movement away from a more 'teacher' role at School A towards a 'researcher' role at Pine Wood Academy, and discussed how that shift was influenced partly by a change in locus and partly by an ongoing negotiation with the participants. What also emerged in that process was a conviction that researchers do not have an automatic right to be in classrooms nor to intervene in the lives of young people, and that doing so carries risks as well as responsibilities. I contrast this position with a monolithic other: a putative mainstream education-research view that grants education professionals the right to structure learning programmes, and to define the young people's needs in their own, authoritative terms.

This difference in perspective is important to explore because – as the chapters that follow show – we radically misread classrooms when we focus on standard tropes of schooling (a teacher, a class, a curriculum). I argue instead for a reading of classrooms as sites of contact between participants, each with their own goals, trajectories, resources and motivations. These are dynamic spaces, as each participant is influential on the others and change is continual. They operate at different time-scales but the one we might assume to be most important (several years of schooling followed by terminal examinations) is perhaps the least significant in the lives of the participants in this study. The arguments I make here are very broad; the chapters that follow pin them down in the data and draw out the implications in more depth. I sketch them here to emphasise the ways the researcher is part of the dynamic interaction of the research site.

Empowerment

Cameron *et al.* (1992: 4) take empowerment very seriously: 'It would be quite irresponsible', they argue:

> to deny the real effects of research in our disciplines or to play down the contribution they have made to maintaining and legitimating unequal social arrangements. And in this light, our hopes of 'empowering' the subjects of linguistic research might start to look at best naïve.

It is a sentiment others share: Hammersley (2009: 1) argues that *critical* social science often fails to justify its challenge to the 'socio-political status quo' because researchers do not sufficiently scrutinise their political and moral assumptions. Christensen (2004) emphasises that research is laden with power relations. She argues for a move away from seeing power as embodied in authoritative roles and towards seeing power as 'embedded in the process, that is in this case the "doing" of research' (pp. 166-187). In this sense, questions of empowerment and voice can never be resolved: they persist for as long as the research does. If they are seen as resolved, then we can be sure that a new status quo (what Foucault 1977 would call a 'regime of truth') has settled into place.

Representation

The thesis seeks to make young people's voices more 'audible' (see chapter five), but at points I felt compelled to stop recording their words in what I understood as their own interests. This needs transparency and clarification.

Excluding young people's voices *in their own interests* has the potential to reinforce marginalisation. Freire's (1970: 49-50) comments on dependence are relevant:

> Solidarity requires that one enter into the situation of those with whom one is solidary; it is a radical posture. […] The oppressor is solidary with the oppressed only when he stops regarding the oppressed as an abstract category and sees them as persons who have been unjustly dealt with, deprived of their voice, cheated in the sale of their labor—when he stops making pious, sentimental, and individualistic gestures[.]

Replacing 'oppressed' with 'marginalised' and these ideas can be applied directly to the present research project. (The corresponding link between 'oppressor' and – perhaps – 'teacher' or 'researcher' is less clear. A more relevant contrast may be between the settled and the globally mobile, see Hamann 2001). Precision and voice closely related: I argue that treating young people as vulnerable because they fall into an 'abstract category' (such as 'EAL') does little to challenge inequalities of power. Making allowances for those affected by such inequalities – 'soften[ing] the power of the oppressor' (p. 44) – is similarly insufficient. There is an important role for academic research to play here: not simple presenting the voices of the young people, but using formal written genres to engage with power and its effects. Eyob understood this when he asked me to help write his 'travel story' – and he left the paper copy behind on the chair once the story had been told satisfactorily (chapter seven).

Review

I began the chapter by discussing the meta-theoretical commitments that underpin this study. I argued that the ontology and epistemology existed in a dialectic relationship that informed the methodological decisions – from the stance I took in the research, to the sensitising concepts that guided the study, to the warrant I claimed and how I justified the validity of the research process and the findings presented here. I then described

that process in more detail, showing how it developed from an 'ethnographically informed' study to a 'full' ethnography and a linguistic ethnography. I showed the continuing influence of the meta-theory on that development, and the impact it had on the data-collection and analysis. I then gave a detailed account of the research process: finding the sites, recruiting participants, collecting data and finding a researcher role. The chapter closed with a discussion of what left unresolved: the persistent challenges around empowerment and representation. In this way the chapter as a whole moved from theory to principles, from principles to practice, and from practice again to the questions that remained after the study came to a close. I now move to part two of the thesis, where I show how that thinking was put into practice in the analysis.

Part two

Data and analysis

Preface to the analytical chapters

At the beginning of the PhD project I had a clear idea of how I wanted to write about the participants. I was certain that the thesis was an opportunity to make the young people's voices prominent, to unpick the dominant discourses around curriculum and multilingualism and to offer a counterpoint to what I saw then, and still see, as excessively negative portrayals of young migrants in the media. These motivations remain, but as I wrote I began to understand how difficult it was to balance the requirements of the thesis genre – a single author, an authoritative voice, a small number of thoroughly analysed excerpts from the data – with the complex web of incidents, objects, voices and texts that were drawn together through the fieldwork. The difference, I realised, was between the PhD-as-process and the thesis-as-product: between a recursive, interconnected set of experiences and a linear text that demonstrates particular forms of analysis and argumentation.

This is an important consideration in the thesis: Freire (1970: 20) is scathing about the 'distorted notion' that academic writing 'is monolithic, available to all, and "free of jargon."' Describing a 'call for writing clarity' as 'blind and facile', he argues that it:

> represents a pernicious mechanism used by academic liberals who suffocate discourses different from their own.

The challenges around representing the voices of the young people persisted throughout the writing process. It involved making decisions about whose voice should be represented, and how, and in what light. It involved excluding some participants to allow others to be seen more clearly, and drawing some people's experiences to the fore as a way to explain the broader patterns in the data. This preface is intended to orient the

reader to that process, to make it more transparent and to contextualise the work as a whole. It begins with an overview of the four analytical chapters and then offers commentary on the structure.

Chapter summaries

Chapter four ('What is EAL?') looks at the different meanings of 'EAL' in policy, research and practice. It finds that there is a fundamental tension between definitions of 'EAL' as a category of pupil (often in terms of the provision that schools can offer) and as an umbrella term for a complex of issues around migration, language and education. I take the two in turn, first focusing on how 'EAL' is defined in policy and in educational data, then looking at how those definitions are part of a broader model of provision that positions young migrants as language learners (a linguistic deficiency) rather than multilinguals (a broader linguistic repertoire). I argue that significant and systematic gaps exist in the policy around 'EAL' and that, at national level, this creates uncertainty and variability in the provision offered to young migrants. The result of this uncertainty is precarity.

The International Group was founded to respond to gaps in provision, and the data show how the staff mediate the policy around young migrants. Their approach is to create a separate space in which they can focus on the young people's specific needs, and they are very aware that they are working outside mainstream provision to do so. Margaret, the department head, described their approach as 'excluding to include later on', emphasising the role of the International Group as a transition programme within the broader curriculum offering of the school.

Chapter five ('Classrooms') is the bridging chapter, connecting the discussion of national policy and institutional structure to the close analysis of classroom interaction in chapter six. The shift in perspective is important: throughout the thesis I argue that young migrants are marginalised when they are seen through the lens of the 'settled' (Hamann 2001, 2016). This chapter shows how classrooms can be seen as both spaces of contact, where highly mobile young people encounter each other, and as institutional spaces in which young people are socialised into formal education. These tensions – between the settled and the mobile, between an education system that assumes homogeneity and the heterogeneity of the participants, between the local and the global, and between the individual and the institution – are negotiated through interaction in the 'contact zones' (Pratt 1987, 1991) of the International Group. Chapter five draws together the theoretical lenses needed to analyse such interaction ('trajectories', 'contact zones', 'audibility', 'inscription' and 'networking') and, by applying them to data from classroom, prepares the ground for the close analysis of the young people's interactions in the following chapter.

Chapter six ('Young people making their voices heard') shows those interactions in detail. It begins by looking at two words, 'halal' and 'haram', that were used briefly but intensively by the young people. I argue that they are used as tools used to negotiate difference, and by looking closely at how they were deployed I show how the young people make sense of each other and the institution. I extend this analysis by looking at materials drawn together from wider peer networks and show how the lesson taught by the teacher was not always the lesson followed by the young people. I identify examples of *parallel* and *covert* study and show that learning could mean different things in the

contact zone. Finally, I focus on one young person's use of her linguistic repertoire, showing how her migration experiences informed her understanding the classroom.

Chapter seven ('Eyob') turns to a single participant and examines his experiences in depth. I focus on three incidents from the data: the first is his 'travel story', one that he approached me to write and that we prepared together. The second is an anecdote he told me, with help from two classmates, about a fight with another boy. In this story, he looks back on his newly arrived self, laughing at how little he knew then and how much he has adapted to life in the International Group since. It shows Eyob adapting the dominant discourses of the school for his own purposes and positioning himself with increasing sophistication; but the third incident shows how difficult such positioning can be to maintain. It records an argument between Eyob and Eugenio, one of the adult participants, following a fight with another young person. The discussion is heated and the tensions and contradictions of Eyob's trajectory are brought to the fore. This chapter as a whole looks at a single young person's identity work across an extended period and in doing so shows the theoretical arguments of this thesis in action. Young people spend time in schools as part of broader migration trajectories, and they draw on all their resources and experiences to make sense of the new environment. It shows, above all, how poorly the policy assumptions around 'EAL' fit the reality of young migrants in schools.

Organisation of the analytical chapters

The main body of the analysis is organised as four chapters, followed by a discussion chapter that draws out the emerging themes and highlights what is original about the

thesis. The chapters move from what I anticipate will be familiar to readers and unfamiliar to the participants (a discussion of policy) and end with what I hope would be unfamiliar to readers and very familiar to the participants (a close analysis of how a young person understood the school in terms of his migration experiences). In this way the structure reflects my own immersion in the classroom lives of the participants: beginning with questions about the policy framework and ending with a greater appreciation of the young people's expertise.

Underpinning these decisions about the structure of this section was my growing awareness of 'voice': 'a manifestation of one's agency in discourse through the means of language' (Canagarajah 2004: 267). It led me to give greater emphasis to the co-construction of the data. This can be seen in the discussion around Afnan's use of Turkish (chapter six) and Eyob's retelling of his travel story (chapter seven). I have focused on a small number of participants who often appear in several chapters, so that they can become known to readers as individuals. I have also dedicated chapter seven to a detailed analysis of how a single young person presented himself over an extended period of time. I have tried to make my own role in the data collection and analysis clear so that, as the thesis progresses, the young people are increasingly visible in their own right.

Chapter 4   What is 'EAL'?

Overview

This chapter sets out the ways in which young migrants are systematically excluded from formal education. This exclusion is *systematic*, I argue, because it happens at the level of national policy, in the routines of system-wide data collection and in the expectations on which the national curriculum is based. In this chapter I also show how the staff of the International Group respond to that system-level exclusion. They are committed advocates for the young people in their care and have developed an innovative programme to respond to their particular needs.

The chapter works from the outside in: it begins by outlining the different definitions of 'EAL', building on the discussion in chapter two to show that it can mean different things to different people. It then examines how 'EAL' is constructed in policy, describing the material impact that this construction has on young people. In large part, this happens through the routines for collecting and analysing educational data: the chapter shows how 'EAL' can begin when parents talk to schools about their home languages, but ends with a label identifying whether the young person's first language is English. This distinction is also challenging for teachers, who find their work defined in terms of a binary administrative category rather than as specialist skills and knowledge. The section therefore closes by taking account of a persistent debate over whether 'EAL' should be seen as a distinctive specialism or as an aspect of all teachers' pedagogy.

The second section sets out how the education system provides for young people who use 'EAL'. I argue that the demands and expectations of public education – centred around *entitlement* to the curriculum and *provision* to help young people access it –

inherently position young migrants' multilingualism as a form of deficit. Together, the first two sections of this chapter show how different perspectives on language, education and migration define 'EAL' differently. There is a gap between these different definitions, and the young people in this study were at risk of falling through and being marginalised from school as a result.

The International Group was set up to respond to such a gap. It grew from an earlier programme designed to provide school places for recently arrived young migrants, and as such is distinct from more mainstream 'EAL' provision. In the third section of this chapter I describe the International Group's origins through an interview with Margaret, the department head. I then take three of the other adult participants in turn – Eugenio, Maria and Siobhan – and show how their professional histories helped to shape both their individual classes and the department's overall approach. These will also be significant in the chapters that follow: at times as the backdrop (chapters five and six) and at times explicitly (chapter seven). First, though, the chapter discusses the different definitions of 'EAL' and shows how they are constructed in policy.

Defining 'EAL'

English as an Additional Language, or 'EAL', can mean different things to different people. It is the designation of a professional field: there are 'EAL teachers', 'EAL consultants' and a 'subject association for EAL'. It is a policy area: there is a 'Lead for EAL' at Ofsted, the education inspectorate, and it is an area that inspectors are required to 'pay particular attention to' (Ofsted 2015a: 6-7). It is also an area of academic interest: there are researchers who describe their focus as 'EAL', master's courses in 'Education and EAL' (at Leeds) and research groups dedicated to understanding 'EAL' (including the

REAL group at Oxford). It is also a label for large groups of young people, some 15.7% of the secondary school population (and 20.1% of the primary school population, DfE 2016a), who are identified as needing extra support to complete their studies. In these ways 'EAL' is embedded in the broader education system, but there are inconsistencies. There is no specialist accreditation for 'EAL' teachers, only passing mention of 'EAL' in the Ofsted inspectors' handbook and no current guidance or policy documentation around 'EAL' available on the Ofsted or Department for Education (DfE) websites (as of 18 December 2016). Research into 'EAL' is highly interdisciplinary, spanning education, applied linguistics and psychology departments, but there is no refereed journal dedicated to their meeting point.

As an analytical construct, 'EAL' offers very little. It draws in such broad groups of young people that little can be said that applies to the entire category. It does not differentiate young people with successful careers in formal education, for example, from those who have never been inside a classroom before. It includes young people with sophisticated print literacy in several languages and those with none. It emphasises the English-language requirements of curriculum access without overtly acknowledging other factors that may be equally important (such as previous schooling), and without acknowledging that these change over time. It groups together young people without discriminating between other aspects of their lives that may affect their schooling, such as differences in their migration experience and legal status, in the social networks they can draw on or in their broader linguistic and cultural repertoires. The single term 'EAL' represents a composite of many overlapping ideas, ill-defined and often contradictory.

The challenge in defining 'EAL', then, is that it stands for two broad concepts at once: it is both an important professional identity and an analytically problematic construct. The two are distinct but not mutually exclusive; many schools and practitioners use 'EAL' as a

category to group young people despite being troubled by its inconsistencies. The community-run EAL-bilingual online group is an example of this: in one week (10-14 October 2016), for example, contributors requested translations of core texts, discussed new policy initiatives and circulated invitations to applied linguistics seminars and research projects. They shared their own experiences of supporting children who had experienced trauma and asked for the advice of colleagues, circulated links to story-writing competitions and to newspaper articles about poetry by young refugees, advertised network meetings and disseminated information from other networks. The participants engaged critically with the concept of 'EAL', repositioning it from a primarily linguistic feature to incorporate research, collaboration, advocacy and pedagogy, but without directly challenging the legitimacy of 'EAL' as a category. Later in this chapter I will show how the term is rigidly specified in education policy and how it often functions as a marker of linguistic deficit, but among practitioners it is also often treated as sufficiently flexible to accommodate a wide range of personal stances and professional activities.

This openness is reflected in the literature, where some studies work with 'EAL' as a category of pupil and others use the term to signal the writer's focus on a cluster of related issues around migration, language and education. The former can often be seen in research papers and policy documents that focus on *provision* for young multilinguals, including those addressing academic audiences (e.g. Barwell 2005, Andrews 2009) and those addressing policy-makers (e.g. Strand *et al.* 2015; QCA 2000, DfE 2006, DfE 2011a). A countervailing approach is to focus on the diversity captured by the term 'EAL'. Studies in this tradition often recognise the systematic relevance of 'EAL' and then turn quickly to the complexity inherent in the label. Conteh (2012), addressing teachers, describes the 'overarching aim' of her book on 'teaching bilingual and EAL learners' as to 'situate EAL centrally in the context of excellent primary education' (p. 1). This makes clear that

she sees young migrants and young multilinguals as a central part of mainstream schooling, but in the first chapter she discusses super-diversity and introduces detailed portraits of children from different backgrounds. In doing so, she works both with and against the language-focused definitions of 'EAL', problematising assumptions of homogeneity and connecting language learning to the young people's experiences of migration and the communities they live in. The difference in approach reflects a fundamental uncertainty around 'EAL': it cannot be both a necessary and sufficient analytical construct, distinguishing one relatively well-defined group of young people from another, and a deeply ambiguous and problematic label that indexes a range of concerns around language, migration, pedagogy and (often) social justice. This uncertainty is reflected in the broader policy environment, and in the data it draws on.

'EAL' in policy and educational data

In the broader policy context very little is said about what constitutes 'EAL'. There is no current guidance on the DfE or Ofsted websites (as of 18 December 2016). There is only one mention in the three key Ofsted documents (the School Inspection Handbook, the Common Inspection Framework and the Safeguarding policy, see Ofsted 2015a, 2015b, 2016), a reference to 'those with English as an additional language' as a group that inspectors should 'pay particular attention to' (Ofsted 2015a: 6-7). The Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b) similarly require all teachers to 'adapt their teaching to the needs and strengths of all pupils' and name 'those with English as an additional language' as a group whose needs they should understand. There is no sense of what those needs might be, nor of the knowledge and skills that characterise an 'EAL' teacher who meets those standards (though descriptors have been produced by a voluntary association, see NALDIC 1999, Franson *et al.* 2002). Elsewhere there is confusion, for example when the

examinations regulator (inaccurately) identifies 'EAL' as a protected characteristic under legislation (Ofqual 2013: 10) and this is explicitly contradicted in DfE documents (DfE 2014: 3).

This is marginalisation manifested in policy, and it has an impact on what happens in classrooms. In the current context there is little clarity over who counts as 'EAL', over what their needs might be and what, if anything, is distinctive about them. Surveys consistently find, for example, that teachers feel under-prepared to work with linguistic diversity (e.g. Hall and Cajkler 2008, NCTL 2015). Something similar can be seen in the professional knowledge-base around 'EAL': systematic reviews (e.g. Andrews 2009, Murphy and Unthiah 2015) have identified gaps around 'EAL' pedagogy and bilingualism, academic language and models of partnership teaching. These findings have been consistent since (long) before the 2010 election, but the policy response has changed. In 2008-9 a major workforce study was commissioned to review 'EAL' provision, based on the belief that 'that there is a need for policy and practice to change' to address 'the mismatch in the system between demand and the available specialist workforce' (Mallows 2009a: 1). It found that 'EAL' provision varied enormously (Wallace *et al.* 2009) but argued that support for 'language development across the curriculum of EAL learners is the responsibility of all members of the school workforce', as well as of specialist teachers (Mallows 2009b: 5). In 2010 this coordinated effort came to an end and at the same time a new policy approach to school organisation (and particularly to initial teacher education) was introduced – a 'school-led' system in which the role of local authorities and universities was greatly reduced (see e.g. Gilbert *et al.* 2013). Schools are increasingly developing local responses without access to a shared professional knowledge-base, and (as this chapter shows) any shortfall in provision is unlikely to be identified during the inspection process.

As far as accountability is concerned, 'EAL' is defined very simply:

> Either pupils have English as a first language, or don't have English as a first
>
> language. So that is, if you like, what is deemed EAL.

> (interview with Mark Sims, Ofsted Lead for EAL, 17 May 2016).

This is the official stance of Ofsted, the schools inspectorate for England, and it is

extremely restricted. It makes no distinction between young people's literacies, their use

of different languages in different domains or their family language backgrounds. It does

not recognise their lives outside school, from their schooling in other countries to their

experience of migration, their roots in a local community or their legal status in this

country. Instead it defines 'EAL' in terms of a binary choice between two categories:

those who have 'English as a first language' and those who do not. This label is

enormously significant in how schools are held accountable for the attainment of young

migrants, and because there are legal requirements relating to the collection and

management of pupil data it is possible to trace how this category is formed, analysed

and used.

From linguistic habitus to data-point

This section outlines how the label 'EAL' is constructed. It begins in an interview between

the parent (or caregiver) and the school. The information collected then enters the

school's data management system and is passed into and through the education system.

It eventually returns to the school as part of an aggregated data-set that is used for

accountability – but in a significantly different form. This has an impact on young people

identified as 'EAL'.

The 'EAL' label is partly an abstraction of how young people use language in their private lives. These non-school practices might incorporate a wide range of settings and experiences: from language use in multilingual families (see Curdt-Christiansen 2009 and Danjo 2015 on family language polices) to complementary schools (see Blackledge *et al.* 2008 and Melo-Pfeifer 2014 for analysis of home-complementary school boundaries) and faith settings (see Souza *et al.* 2012, Gregory *et al.* 2013). From these emerge the young person's linguistic *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991), the embodied and 'socially constructed dispositions' (p. 37) to use language in a certain way. From an educational perspective it is also useful to think in terms of the skills, discourses, relationships and knowledge that the young people are engaged with outside school. This perspective has much in common with the 'funds of knowledge' approach (Gonzalez *et al.* 2005, also e.g. Conteh 2011a, Conteh and Riasat 2014, Li Wei 2014, Zipin 2009), but with a significant difference. The young people's repertoires and 'funds of knowledge' did not only develop in a family unit. Other settings, including complementary schools, friendships struck up during long migrations and other education systems, may have also contributed (see chapter eight).

When young people arrives at Pine Wood Academy, they are interviewed by a teacher from the International Group. Their home languages are identified as part of this interview and are entered into SchoolPod, the software used to manage all the information the school holds about the young people. (This system can categorise young people according to over 500 codes for language and over 60 for ethnicity.) The linguistic practices that the young person brought into the school now exist in two forms: as habitus and as data. The two then begin to diverge: during the fieldwork, the adult participants often referred to the young people's family lives, social networks, connectedness to the local community and access to resources when they described classroom behaviour. These insights are largely held locally, as part of the body of

knowledge shared by the International Group staff, and only a small part of this

information passed into the institutional records through SchoolPod.

The data collected by the school is returned to the Department for Education through

the tri-annual school census. There it will join other 'data flows' from local authorities,

multi-academy trusts (MATs), exam boards and others. They will be collated, checked,

validated and added to the National Pupil Database (NPD), a management database held

by the DfE that is also used by researchers (such as Strand *et al.* 2015). Figure four shows

this in diagrammatic form.
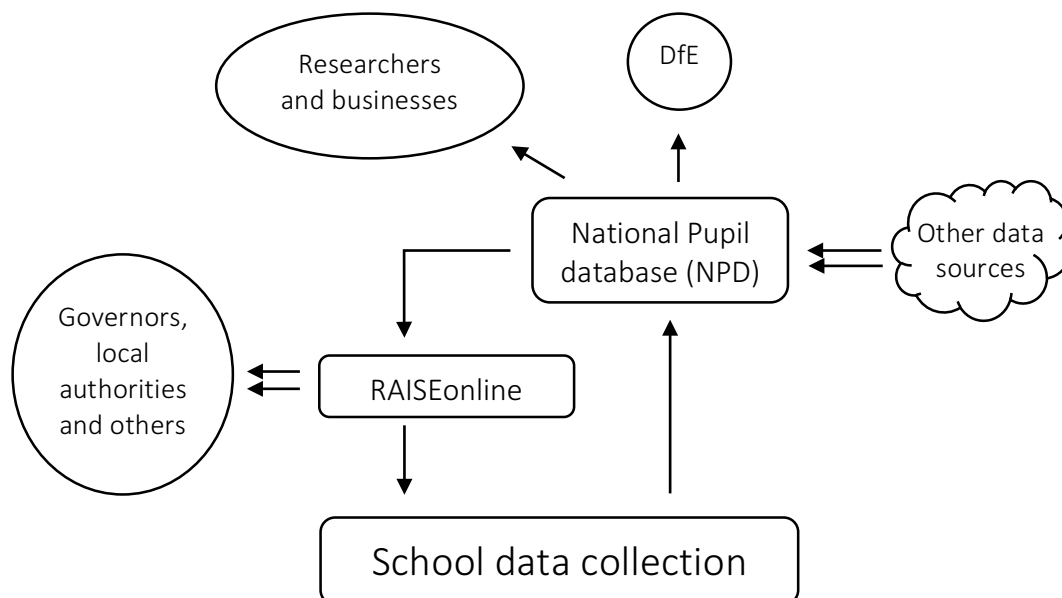
Figure 4: The movement of data through the education system.

Some of the data are then passed to RAISEonline, a system that is jointly run by Ofsted

and the DfE. Ofsted are the 'data owners' at this stage and will apply a number of

calculations to the base data, creating indicators of the progress of different groups of

young people. The relative breadth of the school's coding (and the DfE's own extended

code-set) is still there but is no longer used. Just two codes for language and sixteen (or

six composite categories) for ethnicity are used in a range of authoritative reports,

including the performance tables and the statistical first releases (generated from the NPD) as well as the school data dashboard (a simplified summary of the RAISEonline data) and the full RAISEonline report. Data have become a single datum: young people are known or believed to have English as their first language, or not.[1]

These systems, though they may appear remote from the day-to-day business of teaching and learning, are central to the question 'What is EAL?'. The RAISEonline reports are widely used to hold institutions to account and to understand whether schools are meeting the needs of the young people they serve. School leaders use them to analyse their own schools; the performance of MATs, local authorities and dioceses are all judged on the basis of these reports; regional schools commissioners and Ofsted inspectors use them to compare individual schools with national averages and to identify areas for improvement (the NPD is used to understand what is happening at a regional and national level). They have a powerful effect on how young migrants and young multilinguals are understood.

One DfE official described these reports as 'conversation starters', identifying areas of strength or weakness that the school will need to respond to using its own data analysis:

> Raise doesn't answer any questions, it just enables you to ask the questions.

> (Ian Dormer, RAISEonline team, DfE, interview 22 August 2014)

If those who regulate schools – from governors to local authorities, dioceses, MATs and Ofsted inspectors – don't get the answers from the data that are provided to them, then the system relies on schools having a strong enough grasp of their own data to go beyond the analysis required by the accountability framework. Not all do, and these

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[1] This discussion draws on interviews with Ian Dormer, Gary Connell and Richard Lumley at the DfE.

reports therefore have important consequences for young migrants. They are poorly

represented in the data and schools can struggle to get fine-grained insight into their

abilities, needs and achievements. The result is that important distinctions are likely to

be missed that could be picked up if the system allowed more cross-category

comparison, if the data contained more of the relevant indicators or if the variables it

relied on were less sweeping. Knowledge of whether a young person arrived in this

country unaccompanied (and is therefore in the care of the state), for example, is flagged

under 'looked-after children', but this is very difficult to cross-reference with 'EAL' and so

there is little specific accountability for unaccompanied refugees. There is also no

recording of the young person's prior experience of education, which would be very

relevant to understanding their progression in their UK school. The system of data

management struggles to account accurately for young migrants, and this creates

systematic gaps in provision.

There is a strong rationale for collecting and analysing more detailed information about

young migrants. When the accountability framework only provides 'conversation

starters', schools have to rely on their own data. These are not subjected to the

verification procedures applied to the NPD and RAISEonline data; they are not nationally

or regionally comparable and are not statistically robust. These weaknesses also (and

very notably) apply to the new stages of proficiency in English, a statutory requirement

since October 2016 (DfE 2016b: 62-64, see also chapter eight). The reliance on school-

level data also anticipates that schools have the capacity to perform robust analysis on

their own data that is significantly in advance of that performed by the regulator. As

interviewees from Ofsted and the DfE consistently noted, there is significant variation in

schools' ability to do this. This variability creates gaps for young people to fall through.

These gaps can be seen in how Ofsted inspectors assess schools. They rely on RAISEonline reports:

> National benchmarks, through Raise, are what inspectors look at. Anything else would have to be made as an additional argument to the inspectors.
>
> (Mark Sims, Ofsted Lead for EAL, personal communication)

To an extent, Sims is describing the policy climate in which Ofsted operates. The regulator has taken the position that no teaching style is preferred and, as Sims points out, inspectors cannot ask for the school to present information in a certain way; nor can they make 'a critical judgement' on how provision should be organised. (This has been extensively criticised, including by Ofsted's National Director, Education; see Exley 2015.) Ofsted inspectors look at RAISEonline reports for 'historical' outcomes before beginning an inspection, and this means that the needs of particular groups *within* the broader 'EAL' cohort are less likely to be visible. Although greater weighting is given to data on current pupils during an inspection (where there will not be national benchmarks), it is up to schools how they present this data to the inspectors. Detailed scrutiny therefore may rely on the lead inspector choosing to make 'EAL' a focus for the inspection (known as a 'trail'), but if the aggregated category shows an 'EAL' cohort performing broadly at the average, then there is no way to probe disparities in this enormously heterogeneous grouping. 'EAL' is one group that inspectors are encouraged to 'pay attention to' if it is particularly significant in the school (Ofsted 2015a: 6-7), but that significance is not defined and there is no requirement to inspect 'EAL' provision if questions do not arise from the RAISEonline report. Young migrants and young multilinguals who are not well served by their schools, or who just need extra help, are rendered invisible and inaudible.

Is 'EAL' a distinctive identity?

The data management procedures reduce young people's home language practices to a single, binary label, but that is not how it was treated in the International Group. The third section of this chapter will describe their response to the policy environment. Before it does, the present section extends the discussion by looking at the ongoing debate about the 'distinctiveness' of 'EAL' – whether it should be seen as a specialism or a cross-curricular discipline that is part of every teacher's practice.

The two stances are not mutually exclusive: the 'EAL' workforce strategy, for example, called for both specialist staff and a more widespread understanding of bilingualism and language pedagogy (Mallows 2009a). In policy terms there has been a broad shift towards *mainstreaming*, supporting learners in the mainstream classroom rather than in specialist tuition (see DfE 2012 for an explicit statement of mainstreaming policy, and Leung 2016 for a historical overview). Proponents of mainstreaming often argue that 'EAL' is the responsibility of every teacher, emphasising the belief that a language-rich pedagogy benefits every young person regardless of their own language background (see Coady *et al*. 2015 for discussion). The countervailing position is that 'EAL' is a distinctive specialism that should be treated on a par with curriculum subjects (e.g. NALDIC 1999). This emphasises a specialised knowledge-base that draws on the research into both pedagogy and language that is needed to support young multilinguals.

The issue of *distinctiveness* is therefore a question of how provision should be organised. This is the key to reconciling the divergence that this chapter has identified so far (of 'EAL' as datum and as habitus) and it opens the space that this thesis will explore in greater depth. Because the education system defines 'EAL' in terms of a first language binary, 'EAL' specialists have to orient themselves to that category before they can articulate a more nuanced stance on the young people's migration backgrounds,

linguistic repertoires and prior schooling (Conteh 2012, for example, can be seen in this light). We also see the *distinctiveness* as an important element of partnership teaching, which relies on each party holding specialist knowledge that the other can draw on (see Creese 2005: ch. 6-7 for a detailed typology; also Bourne 2001, and Martin-Jones and Saxena 1996 on bilingual teaching assistants). For many, the specialist knowledge about language learning, curriculum access and the educational needs of young migrants does distinguish 'EAL' practitioners from their mainstream colleagues, leading to the use of 'EAL' as a concrete label – though it is a very different labelling of 'EAL' from the purely linguistic binary put forward by Ofsted.

This goes to the heart of the International Group's work. Theirs is a distinctive programme that engages directly with the differences in literacy, repertoire, migration history and prior schooling, and this can sit uneasily with what they see as 'EAL':

> One of the key problems, I think, in EAL provision generally is that there's no understanding that there's a difference between somebody from Afghanistan or Somalia and somebody from … you know, well-educated student from – I don't know – Poland. That's the key.
>
> (Interview with Margaret, 9 July 2015)

This is more than just language proficiency. It recognises that young people's prior schooling is a key determinant of their success in formal education. English-language skills are required to access the curriculum, but they are not seen as an end in themselves:

> that's why I developed the provision, so it's very clear that it's all about what skills you have – it's a skills-based provision.
>
> (Interview with Margaret, 9 July 2015)

Margaret describes the International Group's approach as 'excluding to include later on' (discussed further below). This can be seen in a staffroom discussion about Nalka (15, F, Somali) when it came to light that she had been accepted into the International Group in year nine – earlier than the usual entry point in year ten:

Field note, 12 March 2015

Maria: 'Year nine! Why's she with us?'

Margaret: 'That's what [the head teacher] said to me the other day ... because I can do the best for her.

Specialist knowledge, a desire to advocate for young migrants and a distinctive view of their needs that goes beyond language learning; all of these are at the heart of the International Group's provision. Chapters five, six and seven will show how the young people made sense of this approach.

Entitlement, provision, deficit

The first section of this chapter examined the policy framework around 'EAL' and found that it offered little insight into the experiences of the young people in this study. Key data were conflated and the procedures for ensuring accountability rendered young migrants invisible and inaudible. It went on to ask whether 'EAL' should be treated as a distinctive specialism (with implications for who in the school should be responsible for the young people). In the International Group the question is moot: Margaret avoids the term 'EAL' because it doesn't cover the wide-ranging, 'needs-based' provision that they offer.

Different ways of defining 'EAL' point to different ways of understanding migration, multilingualism and education, but they all operate within the broader system of public education. This section extends the discussion by locating 'EAL' in terms of public service delivery and by showing the impact that these larger-scale forms of policy organisation have on individual young people and their classrooms. At its heart, this is an investigation of how different models of entitlement and provision create the conditions in which schools – and the International Group in this study – organise their own work with young migrants and young multilinguals.

In the UK all young people, regardless of their national origin, have a statutory entitlement to education (DfE 2012). Ofsted's Lead for EAL, Mark Sims, argues that the regulator would address any overt marginalisation of young migrants or young multilinguals through their focus on the school's leadership and management (interview of 17 May 2016; for example of such intervention see Ofsted 2014 and follow-up reports). Despite these safeguards, the entitlement is less clear for young migrants than it is for British citizens and a number of grey areas may contribute to their marginalisation. The first among these is the withdrawal of the national curriculum for academies (including Pine Wood Academy). The legal duty to provide a broad and balanced curriculum remains but the form that the curriculum takes is defined by the academy's governing body (or MAT). There is wide variation in the type of programme that young migrants join (Baker 2011: ch. 10 gives a thorough overview, though it is not specific to the UK; Arnot *et al.* 2014 give illustrative detail). Because the regulator is not able to request the school's own data, or to ask for RAISEonline data to be broken down to support a more fine-grained analysis, there is very limited scope to assess the impact of different programmes. This means that for the young people in this study, adolescents with limited English-language proficiency arriving from overseas, there is little *de facto*

restriction on full withdrawal from the curriculum from arrival until they complete compulsory schooling at age 16.

Young migrants are therefore in a precarious position. They have the right to *a* curriculum, but what exactly that includes depends on, *inter alia:*

- the type of school they attend (and therefore whether the national curriculum applies),

- the performance of other young people in earlier years in national examinations (and therefore whether 'EAL' is counted as underperforming, judged on 'validated' – i.e. last year's – data), and

- the approach their school takes to 'EAL' (and therefore whether any specialist expertise is available, whether the young person will be put in mainstream classes without support or fully withdrawn for a language or transition course, or something in between).

The *entitlement* to an education, in other words, depends heavily on the local specifics of the *provision* offered. Schools must develop their own systems, above and beyond those required by central government, if they are to account for the complexity of these young people's skills and experiences. Some will do it very well, but others will not. The result of this inconsistency is precarity.

The adults participants continually adapted their work as the needs of the young people changed, often contesting the boundaries of the institution and education system to do so. This underpins the analysis of classrooms as sites of contact: the young people in this study are not following a linear path through the education system. Instead, they bring experiences from many different places and of many different people, education systems and ways of learning, to the classroom. The International Group is a place where

difference and mobility are foregrounded and where all participants – adults and young

people – are engaged in a continuing process of *making sense* of each other and of the

institution. We deeply misread classrooms when we fail to take this into account and if

we assume that schools work the same way for everybody.

The connection is made explicit in a speech given by then Education Secretary Michael

Gove, who argued that the 'progressive betrayal' had specifically let down young

migrants:

> Defenders of the status quo say these [underperforming] schools shouldn't be
>
> judged in this way because they have a different approach – they are creative or
>
> inclusive. But you can't be creative if you can't read properly and speak fluently –
>
> you can't be included in the world of work if you aren't numerate.
>
> The same ideologues who are happy with failure – the enemies of promise – also
>
> say you can't get the same results in the inner cities as the leafy suburbs so it's
>
> wrong to stigmatise these schools.
>
> Let's be clear what these people mean. Let's hold their prejudices up to the light.
>
> What are they saying?
>
> If you're poor, if you're Turkish, if you're Somali, then we don't expect you to
>
> succeed. You will always be second class and it's no surprise your schools are
>
> second class.
>
> I utterly reject that attitude.
>
> (Gove 2012)

The broader policy agenda defines success so narrowly that many young migrants will fail

by definition, if not in any meaningful sense. Gove's speech recognises the enormous

importance of literacy and numeracy, but defines them in terms of *English-language written* literacy. This takes no account of the complex multilingual literacies that young migrants and multilinguals may have developed through schooling in other countries, or in complementary or faith settings in this country (Creese *et al.* 2011, Kenner and Ruby 2013, Li Wei 2014, Sneddon 2014; Gregory *et al.* 2013, Gregory and Kenner 2013; see also Datta 2007). The speech recognises the importance of 'results' (standardised examinations), but suggests that there is no difference between the needs of young people in 'the leafy suburbs' and young migrants in 'the inner cities', and that their successes can be defined in the same ways. It recognises that structural factors contribute to the high proportion of young migrants and young multilinguals in urban schools, but takes no account of the large numbers of such learners in suburban and rural schools. Literacy, numeracy and qualifications are vital to young people's lives, especially because they are important mechanisms by which capital is distributed. The definition of success, though, is drawn around a putative norm of young people who are monolingual, settled and homogenous. I have argued that the current systems for accountability systematically marginalise young migrants and exclude them from the data on which decisions are made (this is explicit in the regulations around 'discounting' new arrivals from the results used to calculate a school's league table position, see DfE 2012: 2-3). There are real-world consequences to a systemic lack of fine-grained data and of policy that recognises mobility and difference: young migrants are rendered invisible, inaudible and precarious.

A concrete example of this emerged in a maths lesson. The lesson was on measurements:

Field note, 17 October 2014

Jake [the teacher] takes a few minutes to ask why measurements are important.

Eyob offers two examples – if you're buying a home, you need to know the area,

plus for immigration who might ask e.g. your height. Another student suggests

measuring areas of countries and scale for maps [pointing to a map on the

classroom wall]. Eyob comes back in with travelling, how far you will go, how

long it will take and how much petrol you will 'waste'. They're mixing things up,

but suggesting really relevant uses of maths knowledge.

Where I noted that the young people were 'mixing things up', I was referring to their

bringing-together of the different measurements they had studied in the past few weeks

(particularly length, scales and volume). Eyob's example appears to have been taken

from his own migration journey across the Sahara (see chapter seven), where

miscalculating the volume of fuel, the distance and the time the journey would take

would have serious consequences. It shows the impact of the *entitlement-provision*

model in the context of an education system that cannot recognise the salient points of

young migrants' experiences.

When a young man like Eyob enters schooling in the UK he does so with expectations of

how schools work, of how teachers and students behave and of what counts as

legitimate knowledge. He brings linguistic and cultural repertoires that allow him to

articulate those experiences and expectations, but there is no way for these to be

recognised by an education system which assigns him to a category of 'not English first

language'. This lack of insight into his background in formal education, his skills and his

goals means that the education system has only one response: to ignore him (for

example by placing him in a mainstream class without support) or to provide additional

resources (such as language lessons or in-class support). 'EAL' specialists are an

important part of this provision, helping young people to access their entitlement to education and to succeed in the education system, but they are also inextricably part of the education system's view of young migrants as deficient. The adult participants struggled with this tension throughout the study, and the next section examines their approach in detail.

The school's approach: 'excluding to include later on'

The staff of the International Group are committed advocates for the young people they work with. My field notes record frequent examples of Margaret making phone calls to social services on behalf of young people, of Eugenio working through challenges with some of the boys (see chapter seven) and of Teresa driving a group of us to the hospital to visit a young person who had been admitted. They were very proud of the young people who gained a place at university and ran a hugely popular annual 'International Evening' where the students and staff dressed up in national costume, brought in dishes from 'home' and performed a talent show in front of hundreds of their peers. There was significant flexibility in the department's 'skills-based provision' and the staff opened or reconfigured classes relatively frequently to meet the changing needs of the young people. Still, a paradox emerges from the data. However strongly the International Group was located in a social justice and advocacy tradition, it was never able fully to escape the deficit perspective that is embedded in national education policy.

 Most students appear to do well in the International Programme – often very well, and the school's own tracking data suggest that they make a significant contribution to the GCSE pass rates in some subjects – but others do not. This paradox can be explained, in broad terms, as the effect of contrasting approaches to 'EAL'. The International Group is

part of a broader education system, one that prioritises a curriculum that leads towards standardised examinations and in which there is limited scope to recognise difference or to personalise programmes to the learners' specific needs. The staff of the International Group work extremely hard to create a bespoke, personalised programme but they are quick to admit that they are constrained by the resources at their disposal and the demands placed on them by the education system. This section explores that activity in greater depth. It builds on the introduction to the International Group setting given in chapter one by showing how the department head, Margaret, describes their work. It then takes three participants – Eugenio, Maria and Siobhan – to show how they brought their personal and professional histories to bear on the day-to-day life of the classroom.

The department's approach

The International Group can be seen as a response to the policy context described above. Margaret, the department head, explained that the International Programme was originally set up to provide school places for young migrants. (This extract has been edited lightly for readability as the interview included a number of interruptions):

> **Interview with Margaret, 9 July 2015**
>
> I worked for the borough originally […] they had a position going working with children who couldn't get a school place.
>
> There was a project going when I got here [Pine Wood Academy] for children in year 11 who had just arrived from abroad and they couldn't get a school place, so they were out of school because no school would take them in year 11 because they wouldn't be able to fit into a GCSE stream.
>
> […]

There was also another project running in the sixth form, the same idea and it was much more about – not so much about exams but about just trying to teach children a bit of English and a bit about London so they could sort of not be sitting at home, that was the idea of it. It sort of developed from there. And then the sixth form and the year 11 merged and I became responsible for all of it. [...] It started literally with eight children.

The advocacy element of the department's work stems, in part, from the adult participants' professional backgrounds. Margaret's background is in working with refugees and she was in that field when the opportunity arose to return to education at the precursor to the International Group. She highlighted several policy issues that are relevant here: the provision of school places, the incentives on schools to accept (or not) young migrants and the role of the curriculum. First, although every young person has a statutory entitlement to education, individual schools are not required to accept particular individuals and so it is not unusual for young migrants to face a delay before finding a school place. In the case of Pine Wood Academy, the school's data on the young people's date of arrival in the UK and their date of entry into the school suggest an average delay of four months (though the limitations in the data should be acknowledged). The fact that this programme was established also suggests the extent of the issue: despite rules that allow schools to 'discount' new arrivals from their examination results (subject to certain conditions, see DfE 2013: 2-3), there were still enough young people in the borough who were out of school for it to be worth establishing a new programme. The content she mentions, 'a bit of English and a bit about London', is not 'EAL' in the sense of curriculum-oriented language learning. The programme was defined clearly as alternative provision and there was little expectation in the early days that the pupils would go on to access the mainstream curriculum. Over

time this has developed into one of the underpinning principles of the International

programme: that otherwise the students would be abandoned.

The point Margaret raises about GCSE courses is especially relevant to the thinking that

informs the International programme: it is very difficult for young people who lack the

requisite academic language (and command of the appropriate registers and genres) to

follow an intensive examination course. This is true of all young people, and it is

especially true of young people whose repertoires and experiences are significantly

different from those envisaged in the exam. Young people with secure experiences of

education (the 'well-educated child from Poland') can jump stages in the International

programme 'quickly, because it's just about language acquisition' (interview with

Margaret, 9 July 2015). Such students might follow a lower-level English class (and

therefore follow the most English-focused timetable) but a GCSE class for maths (see

figure one). Margaret mentioned one young person as an example, who will sit the

foundation maths paper this year. That young person may not do well because her grasp

of the required language is still developing, but she will be in a strong position to re-take

the exam more successfully the following year. English-language skills are important, but

'EAL' is treated as a holistic measure of how easily the young person can transfer what

they know and can do into the school system here.

A distinctive approach emerges from these different beginnings:

Interview with Margaret, 9 July 2015

What's EAL provision? It's always been about … you're standing on the beach

and you want to get into the sea. If you've been swimming in a swimming pool

maybe you need a rubber ring for a few weeks and you're fine. If you've never

been near water you're going to drown. And you could say it's a label and there

are lots of issues perhaps about perhaps not integrating with the mainstream

and stuff like that, but actually the kids are quite happy to have been in the

International Group because it's good provision. If you say to them at the end of

the year – a lot of them, who will come back, will say, 'I really enjoyed my year'.

And it's <u>only</u> meant … it's never meant to be long-term. I know that some of the

weaker ones do stay long term but that's because it's provision that meets their

needs and I think if the provision meets their needs it doesn't have to be a label.

It can be: 'well here I am for a short period of time', it doesn't have to be a

negative label, 'but I'm going to then move into mainstream' or … it's a positive

experience.

The structure of the International programme, then, is deeply rooted in Margaret's

professional history. To a large extent, it is also defined by the gap in provision that it

responds to: a distinctive orientation that distinguishes and links between skills,

academic literacy and language repertoire. How this programme is enacted, though,

depends on the individual teacher's own background and priorities. The following

sketches of three key participants will illustrate these differences (see chapter one for

more general information about the participants).

Eugenio

Eugenio sees the International Programme very much within a broader approach to

working with language and migration. His own background is in adult ESOL, and he

describes 'EAL' as:

the same thing under a different name […] ESOL is aimed at adults, EAL is aimed

at people under the age of 18, it's identical in every single way.

(interview, 9 January 2015; see Williams and Williams 2007 on the 'unhelpful distinction' between terms)

Eugenio described the programme in detail, explaining how it was designed for young people to gain a qualification each year, moving up the classes so that if they arrived at 14 with very limited English they would have time to reach A Level classes before they left the school at 18. This trajectory allows the International Group to be part of a broader education system focused on moving young people towards formal examinations at 16 and 18. Many of the students in this programme did follow such a trajectory, but those arriving with limited experience of schooling faced a much greater challenge. Here again, Eugenio drew on his own professional experience. We had talked earlier in the interview about the differences between teaching in the ESOL sector and in schools, where he was classed as an unqualified teacher because he lacked Qualified Teacher Status (which is required to teach in schools but not in adult education). Before joining Pine Wood Academy, he had worked as a lead teacher for a private organisation that provided 'government programmes essentially … back-to-work programmes for the Job Centre and for refugees of different kinds'. He especially mentioned 'child soldiers from Angola, *lots* of Somali refugees' and 'political asylum seekers from Iran'; 'all coming with little to no education' (interview, 9 January 2015).

There is significant overlap with his work in the International Group, where he works primarily with the young people who arrive with very low levels of English and little experience of formal education:

> For children who come in and have no education level, have never done
> education, it's about giving them a foundation so that they can continue
> education after they leave here, no matter what age.
>
> (interview, 5 February 2015)

The programme anticipates that the young people will leave at age 19, and Eugenio casts this foundation in terms of what an adult might need to enter the workplace: the grounding to go on to study vocational courses, to operate a till or to fill out a form, for example (a full mapping of the International Group's courses is given as figure one). In Eugenio's description, there is very little to distinguish this provision from adult ESOL. There is much to distinguish this from 'EAL', though, with its greater focus on curriculum access. As Eugenio notes:

> If you can't read or write in your own language, the first year is about teaching you to form letters. I have students in here who have never held a pen before they came here.
>
> (interview, 23 January 2015)

There is an enormous challenge waiting for young people who move from the vocationally oriented Entry Level qualifications to the academically focused IGCSEs, with their very different linguistic and cognitive challenges (see e.g. Cummins 2000: ch. 3). Eugenio's is a distinctive voice in the International Group, and he works mostly with young people who are unlikely to make the move into the mainstream curriculum before they turn 19. In other areas of the International Group, though, a different focus can be seen.

Maria

Maria is a qualified teacher of English from southern Europe and began at Pine Wood Academy as a teaching assistant shortly before I arrived. She had just been offered a contract as a teacher when the data collection finished, but she had been performing

both roles for some time. In lessons she taught, she brought the perspective of her

professional training:

Field note, 17 October 2014

Maria is explaining the grammar to Margaret, who finds it all quite confusing

(the ELT approach) … Margaret says it is too complicated for the students. They

hash it out together. Maria says 'that's the rule they have to learn. That's how we

did it too.'

Maria's background is in teaching English as a foreign language, and I noted that her

description of the grammar was very familiar from my own professional history. It was

not immediately obvious to Margaret, whose own experience was rooted in the British

school system and her work with refugees. Their professional knowledge is compatible,

but translation is sometimes necessary.

For Maria, as for Eugenio, previous professional experience was the lens through which

she saw her current work. She described her job as a teaching assistant here as being

very similar to her work as a classroom teacher:

I work the same way to be honest cos … it's different when you are the teacher

because you have the total control of the classroom. When you are a teaching

assistant basically you try to follow the teacher's instructions but … when I help

them it's the same for me. I will do what I was going to do even when I was a …

even when I teach.

(interview, 30 January 2015)

Maria was deployed as both a teacher and a teaching assistant, the latter mostly for Jake

(the newly qualified maths teacher). She may not have had 'total control' of the

classroom when she was supporting him, but she brought other elements to her role. She was there to 'help' the students, even if that means not following the teacher's instructions exactly.

I observed Maria and Jake regularly, and she often focused on engaging the young people with the lesson.

> I think because I spend more time with them and I know them better. It's different for example when we've got maths with Margaret because they also know her, but because they see Jake once a week and he doesn't see them so often … that's why I do that. That's why I try to … I <u>know</u> them and I know what they do or even when sometimes they can't understand something. I will talk and say 'oh sir let's say that too', cos I <u>know</u> which are their – you know, their weaknesses and their strengths.

> [I asked Maria whether she felt she had a better grasp of the language teaching as well as a better understanding of the young people's likely difficulties.]

> Yes exactly … yeah, exactly.

> (interview, 30 January 2015)

Maria uses her knowledge of the students – and their particular circumstances – to mediate the lesson for them. Her membership of the International Group is an important attribute: she doesn't need to mediate Margaret's class because Margaret also knows the young people, and they know her. The linguistic and interpersonal aspects are combined: her background as an EFL teacher, together with her knowledge of the young people's backgrounds, gives her particular insight.

I asked Maria about what it meant to know the young people well:

> I would say it's not only the subject, of course, because you need to take all these things into consideration [when] teaching, and because all these kids … a lot of them went through a lot of things. You need to think about these things and find a way to teach [them].
>
> (interview, 30 January 2015)

Much of what she says accords with Eugenio's stance: that it is important to know what these young people have been through and that the teachers' role includes understanding those experiences and adapting to them. Later in the interview she mentions that some young people do not progress through the levels and that you have to design new materials each year so that they do not repeat the work. There is a tacit recognition that the standard journey through education – where years are not repeated, work is oriented towards examinations and the curriculum is equally accessible to all young people – does not apply easily to the complex trajectories followed by young migrants.

Siobhan

I asked Siobhan how she became an 'EAL' or EMAG teacher, and asked which term she preferred. 'Well, that's just the thing,' she answered, 'you don't even have a name for it.'

> I honestly think if you talk to a lot of special needs teachers, EAL teachers, there are some now who have trained specifically but, thinking of people my age, nearly everybody had drifted into those areas because of – and started off in a specific subject – drifted into those areas often partly because they wanted to work part time and things fitted.
>
> (interview, 6 February 2015)

Siobhan's own background is as a drama teacher, and she moved into 'special needs and EMAG teaching' because there were opportunities to work part time. It was an easy fit:

> *but* because I've always been interested in Amnesty [International, the charity] and I've – since starting all this – got an MA in Refugee Studies, the interest was there … so when I had a choice between going in an EAL direction or a special needs direction the choice was an easy one. You can see a lot more progress, also I am *genuinely* interested in the children's stories and their journeys […] but it was never something I planned to do deliberately.

> (interview, 6 February 2015)

This is important to the work of the International Group. Margaret and Eugenio both talked about the progression through the course, and of making sure that each young person would leave with something valuable, wherever they started from and however long they could spend in the programme. Maria talked about *knowing* the students well and using that knowledge in conjunction with her understanding of language pedagogy to reach the young people. Siobhan introduces a new element: a pre-existing interest in social justice, migration and refugees. She has this in common with Margaret, who worked for the Refugee Council before joining the school, but they have approached it in very different ways.

Siobhan's background in drama means that she spends a lot of time developing the confidence and speaking skills of the young people in her class. For a period she used a lot of nursery rhymes and my field notes recorded mixed reactions from the young people as I sat at the back of the class (see chapter six). Siobhan was aware of the downsides:

Yes so the problem is obviously that I am conscious that I might be doing stuff

that is babyish for them and, for a lot of the … say the Spanish and the

Portuguese speakers these are ch- tales that they know from childhood whereas

your Somalis your Afghans your Eritreans might not know the stories at all.

[…]

I only teach this class once a week and it's specifically a speaking lesson. I'm not

teaching them … there's not much writing in it at all, and I want to give them

confidence speaking – and so there's a drama input to it and I want them to have

fun.

(interview, 28 November 2014)

Like her colleagues, Siobhan is deeply engaged with difference. Here, she identifies the

difference between the young people from European countries, who seemed to have

learned these nursery rhymes in childhood, and those from further afield who found

them less familiar. There are other interpretations of this: young people with secure

histories of schooling may find that this is 'babyish' compared with their lessons in other

countries; those from less stable countries or with less experience of formal education

may find the style more accessible (or who appreciated the safe space it created), for

example. Such judgements should be withheld: chapter seven begins in one of Siobhan's

drama lessons and shows the tension between a challenging migration and the

classroom environment, but data from chapter six is also taken from a lesson on nursery

rhymes and belies assumptions about the educational histories of young migrants.

I have taken three adult participants as examples, and have shown that the International

Group is a complex constellation of histories, assumptions and ambitions. The teachers

each take a distinctive approach, from Eugenio's work to create opportunities for the

most marginalised young people, to Maria's linking of language knowledge and knowledge of the individual young people, to Siobhan's use of drama, rhymes and conversation to develop confidence. These are short sketches that cannot do justice to the complexity of each teacher's work, but the broad outlines are visible. The staff at the International Group are deeply engaged with issues of marginalisation, language, power, difference and mobility. They each interpret their work differently, creating distinctive experiences for the young people within the broader activity of the department.

Review

The discussion in this chapter has looked at the outside influences on the International Group. The first section took the term 'EAL' and subjected it to closer scrutiny. It found that the idea of 'EAL' was understood differently by different people at different times. In policy, for example, it was primarily defined in terms of an 'English first language' / 'not English first language' binary, or as a category of pupils who needed particular monitoring. It could be a rallying point for professionals, allowing those working with young people in contexts of high mobility and linguistic heterogeneity to articulate their work in terms that have currency in the education system. The discussion then moved to the school and located the particular programme the International Group offered in relation to 'EAL' provision more generally. It found that the policy definition of 'EAL' played a relatively minor role but that the gaps in policy created the space and the need that the International programme was established to respond to. Within that space, the teachers drew heavily on their own personal and professional histories to make sense of and to respond to the needs of the young people.

This chapter sketched the boundaries of the International Group, showing in broad terms the constraints the adult participants worked within and the experiences they drew on. The following chapters build on this, taking up the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two and looking closely at how classrooms can be understood as spaces of contact (chapter five), at how young people negotiate their relationships with the school and with each other through interaction (chapter six) and at how one young person's school career can be understood through the lens of his migration (chapter seven).

Chapter 5   Classrooms

Introduction

This chapter bridges two very different perspectives on 'EAL'. In the previous chapter I showed how the term can mean different things to different people, and how a lack of fine-grained data (and the political will to use it) left many young migrants marginalised and precarious. I also showed how the International Group was established in response to precarity, offering school places to young people who would otherwise be excluded from education. The following chapter (six) will focus on peer interaction, showing how young people draw on wide range of resources – both from the classroom and from their migration trajectories – to make sense of the school and of each other. The shift from chapters four to six involves a movement from the national scale of policy to the micro-scale of interaction; the job of this chapter is to show how they are connected. It focuses on classrooms because they can be approached from both angles: from the top down, they are spaces of reproduction and transmission in which the curriculum is taught. From the bottom up, they are spaces of negotiation in which young people position and re-position themselves through interaction.

The key to reconciling these two perspectives is to see classrooms as places of 'contact'. The International Group, by bringing together newly arrived young people from many different backgrounds, foregrounds mobility and heterogeneity; but it also exists within an educational system that emphasises linear progression and homogeneity. This is one form of 'contact': where a dominant group (embodied in the education system) and a subordinate group (young migrants) encounter each other. Another form of contact is when young people encounter each other. They come from very different backgrounds

and have different experiences, expectations and resources, and they encounter each other in the classroom. This chapter builds an analysis of classrooms as places of contact, and to do so it brings in two analytical lenses: those of migration as 'trajectory' and of 'contact zones' (I discuss these concepts below and in chapter two). I illustrate each with data from the fieldwork, showing how they contribute something distinct and together offer a powerful analytical perspective on the classroom experiences of young migrants.

The chapter begins by looking at how the adults talked about the young people, showing that they moved between detailed knowledge of individual experiences and more general assumptions about the types of students who attended. This movement was an important part of how young migrants were understood and as a consequence it was a key factor in what provision was offered to them. I argue that the necessary metaphor is one of 'trajectory', in which assumptions must be made about where the young people have come from and what they can achieve for their futures. These assumptions are then refined over time as the adults get to know the young people as individuals. The notion of trajectory can also be used to understand how the adult participants drew on their own professional and personal experiences to inform their teaching, and it helps to account for what is 'brought along' to the interactions being studied.

In the second section of this chapter I use the term 'contact zone' to describe classrooms as spaces where individual trajectories intersect, drawing on its original use by Pratt (1987, 1991) and its further development by Canagarajah (1997, 2013). Contact zones are 'social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other' (Pratt 1991: 34). In the context of the classroom, this can be seen in the young people meeting and trying to make sense of each other, at the same time as they make sense of the adults and the institutional environment of the school. I see this 'grappling' as an attempt to gain legitimacy as a member of the dominant discourse – something Miller (2003)

describes as 'audibility'. I discuss that concept in more detail and introduce a further

metaphor, that of 'networking', to describe how the participants drew on a wide range

of resources, people, experiences and expectations to negotiate their moment-by-

moment contact with others. In this chapter, then, I set out the key analytical concepts

that I use in this thesis and show that the classroom is a space where the local and the

global, the personal and the institutional, are negotiated.

Teachers making sense of migration

The adults in the International Group were deeply engaged with the young people's

mobility. They operated a 'rolling enrolment' in which young people could join the

programme on any Monday, and could leave at any point as their migration took them

away from London or away from the UK. The adult participants continuously adapted the

programme by opening and closing classes, replanning curricula and working with wide-

ranging sources of information to inform their decisions. The following extract shows

how Siobhan referred to her knowledge of the young people's migration journeys to

explain their classroom behaviour:

> **Field note, 17 October 2014**
>
> Tesfaldet wasn't sure which way to hold his paper (at all – he had it upside down
>
> [and] when I reached over to help he happily held it sideways). Eyob stuck some
>
> pictures in sideways – Siobhan said that some of the Eritreans have never used
>
> glue and scissors before.
>
> [...]
>
> Siobhan, at break, talked about the influx of Eritreans – five students in this class.
>
> They have come as a bit of a shock. Previously, Siobhan said, there have been

other students from the same ethno / national / linguistic background (e.g. Somalis) but there are no Eritreans to pair the new students with. Siobhan says that they may have come from the boats that we've heard about in the news – via Libya. They're 'very traumatised' (says Siobhan) [and she] 'can't imagine' the things they've seen. That have been several fights – between Eyob and others, for example [see chapter seven].

Siobhan's explanation shows how she makes sense of the young people's classroom behaviour with reference to broader patterns of migration. She notes the difficulties that Tesfaldet (17, M, Eritrean) and Eyob (17, M, Eritrean) have in following classroom routines and interprets that in the context of other young people she has worked with (Eritreans who 'have never used glue and scissors before'). These groupings have pedagogic value: she knows that young people from the same national / linguistic background can often offer each other valuable support, and may understand each other's experiences of migration in ways that the teacher 'can't imagine'. Siobhan also draws on other sources of information to inform her work, such as news reports. Finally, she makes use of own observations of the young people; she infers, for example, that they have experienced traumatic migrations from the fights she witnesses between them and from what she sees on the news. There is a useful contrast to be made between this activity (drawing on past experience and other sources of information to predict the young people's needs in immediate present and near-term) with the 'networking' activity I describe later in this chapter (in which young people draw on wide-ranging experiences and resources to negotiate difference through moment-by-moment interaction). Siobhan is embedded in the education system but contests the restrictions it places on her work by looking elsewhere for guidance.

This field note can be placed in context. The worksheet that Eyob and Tesfaldet were cutting up was a storyboard of Goldilocks and the Three Bears, part of a series of lessons that Siobhan had planned around nursery rhymes (see chapter four). She worried that it would be too 'babyish' but felt that the nursery rhymes were 'good anyway because there's so much repetition', 'the vocabulary's quite simple' and 'it's a good way of getting them participating' (interview, 28 November 2014). She noted that the young people from Europe were likely to know these stories well, but that those from (for example) Afghanistan and Eritrea were likely to be encountering them for the first time. Again, she used broad trends in the young people's experiences, grouped by national origin, to make decisions about pedagogy – in this case, to draw together young people from different backgrounds in a participatory lesson. These assumptions can be problematic – the discussion of Afnan in chapter six and Eyob in chapter seven shows how they can lead to young people's experiences and skills being rendered inaudible – but they are used as starting points by teachers working with highly mobile young people. Close observation and other sources of information then add detail to these initial assumptions and help to guide the teaching.

This movement between broad assumptions and detailed observations informs how the programme is organised, as well as how lessons are taught:

Field note, 9 January 2015

There's a touch of the ridiculous for a moment – Eugenio and Maria (& me) laughing. Eugenio says loudly: 'what happened when I left?!' (at the end of the day yesterday, after he and Maria had been discussing class moves and what to put to Margaret). He and Maria had said (to Margaret) that seven students need to move up and some move down [between the two lowest-level classes]. This

> had morphed into a more complex plan with Margaret ... splitting again in some
> English lessons to focus on literacy[.]

This was written during a regular free period, when Eugenio and Maria would prepare their lessons and I would catch up on field notes in the departmental office. It was often a good time to get the department's news and was usually light-hearted. Here, Eugenio and Maria had been working on new class lists and had left their recommendations on Margaret's desk when they went home. The next morning, they found that Margaret had instead sub-divided the groups to get a finer-grained focus on specific young people, and opened a new class for small-group tutoring in literacy. It shows some of the frequent adaptations that the adult participants made to the International Programme as they responded to changes in the literacy skills, educational backgrounds and language proficiencies of the young people. The number of people involved and the ongoing process of revision suggest the complexity of the task. Educational history, literacy and language skills are all taken into account and beyond the broad outlines of the programme little is static. The young people are mobile as they move into and out of the programme, and as they move between groups. The programme is mobile, too. New groups open or close, or are divided or combined, throughout the school year.

The participants' roles could also change. There may not have been any other Eritreans in the International Group when Tesfaldet and Eyob joined, but towards the end of the fieldwork period others arrived. I noted how Mera (16, M, Eritrean) and Habtom (17, M, Eritrean) seemed to take the new students under their wing, translating for them and stepping in to prevent fights. My own perspective shifted over time, too. At the time these field notes were written I was able to identify areas where the young people's behaviour differed from the classroom norms, but not to look critically at those norms or at what else the participants were doing. This can be seen in the first of the two extracts

above. It appears to show young people struggling with very simple aspects of schooling but it also shows a classroom routine (cutting up worksheets and sticking them into exercise books) that is specific to a certain type of school. Young people with different experiences of schooling might find these practices unfamiliar and instead have other ways of learning. As chapters six and seven show, these alternative ways of learning are often difficult to reconcile with classrooms in the UK – despite the autonomy, flexibility and responsiveness of the International programme.

Migration 'trajectories'

The previous section showed how Siobhan and her colleagues moved back and forth between broad assumptions and detailed observations as they made sense of the young people in the International Group. A useful metaphor is that of the migration 'trajectory'. It is important to distinguish this from the idea of a 'journey', which implies a destination and the possibility of arrival. The young people in this study did not always set out from their homes in the hope of reaching London; they made complex trans-migrations in which the UK may be only an intermediate point (see Conteh 2012: 12-13 and Hamann 2001 on 'sojourners'). The term 'trajectory' emphasises continuity between the young people's pasts, the present moments captured in the data and their futures. Arriving at Pine Wood Academy should not be seen as a 'new start' or as an arrival after a long journey. It was a period of negotiation in which the young person's earlier experiences and hopes for the future were used to help make sense of the new environment.

In this sense, trajectories are patterns of movement and encounter. The discussion so far has focused on the movement of people – particularly young people – along trajectories that have now intersected with the International Group. At earlier points, those trajectories will have intersected with others, encountering other people, objects, ideas

and institutions. This allows for considerable analytical flexibility: rather than categorising young people as those who are 'literate' or not, or as those who have 'been to school' before, we can look for the series of encounters that make up a person's trajectory. This better captures the mobility of the young people in this thesis: Afnan, for example, encountered formal schooling in Somalia, Turkey and at Pine Wood Academy, but the three were very disconnected. In chapter six, she describes how the work she did in her Somali school was repeated in her schools in Turkey and London. Eyob uses examples from his migration journey to illustrate an answer for his maths teacher (chapter four) and to justify his behaviour in an argument (chapter seven). Similar patterns appear frequently in the data, such as when Mera showed me a 'Chinese' character that he learned from a boy he played football with in the park near his house (chapter six); or when Mohabat described the improvement in his spoken English as the result of both his time in school and his time in the social care system (with its many meetings conducted in a formal spoken register); or when Rajaa drew on his past experiences and his expectations of the future to ask me about whether I was religious and what I thought would happen when I died (discussed further in Sharples forthcoming, 2017). The advantage of talking about 'trajectories' rather than 'journeys' is that it captures both this mobility and the impact of these many encounters, ideas and experiences in the young person's history.

The young person's passage through the education system, in contrast, can be seen as a journey. It is more limited in scope as it uses nominal start- and end points; in this case, beginning with the young person's arrival in school and ending when the entitlement to compulsory or school-based further education is withdrawn (at ages 16 and 18). Key events along the way – usually set by others rather than defined by the young person – act as milestones. These might include sitting examinations or passing to the next year-group or stage of the curriculum. Throughout the study, these two conceptions of how

young migrants move through schooling have been in conflict. They represent different perspectives: the age-groups, curriculum levels and set milestones all emphasise the education system's role in defining the context and content of learning. This may seem self-evident: schooling provides structure and shared experiences on the path from early childhood to late adolescence. Learning is built up along this journey, with each year adding to the knowledge and skills acquired before. Young migrants may have missed some of the earlier stages, this line of thinking goes, but a programme like the International Group should be able to help them catch up and access the mainstream curriculum. This, in large part, is what 'EAL' provision offers.

The young people in this study point to a different way of understanding schooling. They have not moved through the year-groups or followed the programme of knowledge- and skills development that is embedded in the curriculum. Instead, they are likely to have followed paths set out by other education systems, to have learned in faith or community settings, to have learned informally (particularly for those whose migration journeys took several years), or to have learned in a combination of such settings. This can be seen throughout the thesis: Eyob, for example, struggled with scissors and glue (above) but described his considerable ingenuity in escaping dangerous situations during his migration (chapter seven); Xanan (18, F, Somali) and George (15, M, Ethiopian) drew on informal peer networks to learn in parallel to the lesson being taught in the classroom (chapter six). There are many such examples in the data and they show young people drawing on their prior learning, their peer networks and their expectations of the future to make sense of the school. They are not simply trying to learn English so that they can access the mainstream curriculum.

Two senses of 'trajectory' can now be identified. The first is the one used in this thesis to describe the way that people, objects and ideas circulate along life courses. Another

sense of 'trajectory' can be seen in the way mainstream schooling is structured: it has a clear beginning and end, and is organised along regular milestones. This duality has much in common with the two definitions of 'EAL' identified in chapter four. The policy-oriented approach (which sees 'EAL' as a category of pupils who need specific provision) is predicated on the idea of a journey through school, and that young migrants will be able to join this trajectory after an appropriate transition period. The 'trajectory-as-life-course' interpretation that I have developed in this chapter aligns with an understanding of 'EAL' as a broader approach to mobility and (linguistic) difference in education. The staff of the International Group work hard to reconcile these differences. The following section builds on this by introducing the notion of 'contact' and showing how difference is negotiated – by adults and young people – in classroom interactions.

The classroom as contact zone

So far in this chapter I have argued that the adults in the International Group move between the general and the particular as they make sense of the young people. This can be seen in more general terms as a recognition of the young people's heterogeneity and mobility. Formal education offers one frame of reference through which the adults can make sense of the young people – defining them as 'EAL' and specifying language lessons to help them integrate into the monolingual mainstream, but it is not enough. The adults bring in other frames of reference, such as their earlier professional experiences (see chapter four) and information gained from news bulletins or other students (see above), to guide their activity. In the rest of this chapter (and in the next chapter) I examine the ways in which the young people construct their own frames of reference and try to get others to recognise them.

Key to this is an understanding of classrooms as places of contact. I begin by situating my work within the broader literature on 'contact zones', looking particularly at how the term has been used by Pratt (1987, 1991) and Canagarajah (1997, 2013). I then return to the idea of trajectories. I show how 'contact zones' can be understood as the points where different trajectories intersect, and that they can be analysed in terms of classroom interaction. I then introduce two terms, 'audibility' and 'inscription', to describe how the young people sought to make their voices heard and they experiences recognised. Finally, I introduce the term 'networking' to show how the participants draw together a range of different objects, references and people to negotiate the contact zone – an activity that chapter six explores in depth.

Contact zones

The notion of classrooms as contact zones is unsettling. It takes direct aim at what Pratt (1987) calls the 'linguistics of community':

> There is some irony, for instance, in the thought of schoolrooms as stable, harmonious, smoothly-running discursive arenas in which teachers and pupils go on producing the same orderly cycles together day in and day out.
>
> (Pratt 1987: 52)

These 'orderly cycles' can be understood as classroom routines (at a small scale, in the interactions and activities that make up each lesson, and at a broader scale, in the progress through the school years). They can also be understood as patterns of classroom interaction. Their orderliness, though, depends on taking an institutional, settled, monolingual perspective. In chapter four I argued that the education system is predicated on assumptions of homogeneity, and that this contributes to the systematic

marginalisation of young migrants. Pratt's work allows that argument to be extended: by rejecting a linguistics of community, based on implicitly static speech communities, in favour of one oriented towards contact, she shows classrooms to be places of constant negotiation in which orderly patterns of interaction mark the analyst's assumptions of homogeneity more than they indicate settled roles. A linguistics of contact unsettles both the assumptions and the power relations that underpin them.

Legitimacy is at the heart of Pratt's linguistics of contact. She contrasts the view of classrooms as contact zones with that of traditional studies of interaction and communication, which she argues are rooted in the ideals of 'orderliness', 'single sets of share rules and shared understandings' (p. 51). Metaphors of 'games' are commonly used in studies of interaction, but these assume relatively stable communities in which knowledge of the 'rules' is widely shared:

> in these game-models, only *legitimate* moves are named in the system, where 'legitimate' is defined from the point of view of the party in authority. Teacher-pupil language, for instance, tends to be described almost entirely from the teachers' point of view.

> (Pratt 1987: 51)

In this study I am interested in how young people (and the adults who work with them) make sense of each other and the institution. This means looking at how young people interact away from the adults' gaze, and how adults describe their work when the young people are out of earshot; at how young people contest the norms of classroom interaction; and how they subvert them by doing their own work during the lessons (see this chapter and chapter six for examples of each). It means, in short, scrutinising how speakers claim legitimacy through interaction, rather than how their use of specific

interactional patterns confer legitimacy. This can be seen in the discussion of 'halal' and 'haram' and the role of carnival and in the use of 'audibility' and the analysis of the discursive front stage (chapter six).

As Pratt sees them, contact zones are spaces where dominant and subordinate groups interact. She emphasises that a linguistics of contact allows the subordinate group to articulate their own experiences without reference to the discursive norms of the dominant group; a contrast, as she puts it, between ethnography and autoethnography (see also Canagarajah 2001, 2004). The latter is always in tension with the discursive and social norms of the former. Autoethnographic texts involve a 'selective collaboration with and appropriation of idioms of the metropolis or the conqueror' (Pratt 1991: 35) and are written for both dominant and subordinate audiences. This can be seen in the following episode from the International Group:

Field note, 28 March 2014

This lesson is about 'transport'. There's a page of images (a Google image search) on the IWB [interactive whiteboard]. On the board, the teacher has put the page reference (p. 43) and 'name 20 different types of transport.' We discuss bus and coach – this turns into a conversation about how different pupils migrated into the country. At the end, Siobhan says that after Easter 'we must get the maps out'.

A lot happens in this lesson and it shows a contact zone in action. Siobhan begins the lesson with a vocabulary focus and a course book, both of which index orderliness and which frame the session around the curriculum, but the discussion quickly turns to the students' own experiences of migration. It is ethnographic, in the sense that Pratt used the term: the students tell of their own experiences, but the overarching frame of reference is the lesson on modes of transport. Siobhan is able to close the exchange by

connecting it to classroom routines, by making reference to maps (a large map takes up the back wall of the classroom and there are atlases on a shelf by her desk).

This field note also records an exchange later in the same lesson, in which Fernando (17, M, Brazilian) and others re-enact a motorbike crash that had happened some years previously:

Field note, 28 March 2014

We get five types of transport on the board (the last of which is 'motorbike') and Siobhan says you must wear a helmet. Fernando says that he had a motorbike accident once, in Colombia. We act out the story, with 2 chairs arranged as the bike, another student as the pupil's cousin and Siobhan as the car that hit them, with Siobhan narrating each movement and checking with the pupil (Fernando) about what happens. Tells one pupil (Usman?) to be quiet because she'll ask him what happened next.

Then – Siobhan asks if they were hurt and Fernando says that his cousin was in a coma for 7 days and Fernando for 3. Apparently there was only one helmet and the (older?) cousin gave it to Fernando. The cousin (and Fernando) suffered burns, the cousin had a skin graft.

Fernando was 12 in this story, his cousin was 18.

The trigger for this story appears to be Siobhan's comment that the young people should wear helmets if they ride motorbikes. It shows a concern for their well-being that I frequently recorded in the field notes – later in this lesson, for example, she pauses to ask if Fernando was badly hurt. The format of the retelling appears to draw on Siobhan's own professional background – she often used drama in her lessons, and here the young people draw her into the scene they act out together. She plays a prominent role,

narrating the story but checking each stage with Fernando. The extract shows a shift away from the 'ethnographic' – from recounting the young people's experiences through the lens of the dominant group – towards the autoethnographic.

Contact zones emphasise subordinate discourses by complicating:

> notions of static, fixed, bounded sociocultural wholes as depicted in theories of "'acculturation' (with its overly linear trajectory: from culture A to culture B) or 'syncretism' (with its image of two clear systems overlaid)"
>
> (Singh and Doherty 2004: 12, quoting Clifford 1997: 7)

The 'acculturation' approach is the one embodied in policy (see chapter four). 'EAL' is explicitly positioned – in policy – as a clear binary based on static, fixed and bounded language identities. In this sense, a linear progression is imagined from not having 'English as a first language' to accessing the mainstream curriculum provision. A 'syncretic' approach is different, in that it imagines the school and the young people as belonging to separate habitus which meet (for example) in the classroom. Neither fits with the data collected in this study, which show participants drawing on a wide range of experiences and resources from across their life-courses. Schooling was shown to be a process of constant negotiation (see chapters six and seven) in which very little was ever settled and the participants met, clashed and grappled (Pratt 1991: 34) with each other and the institution. The adults and the young people contested settled definitions (such as 'teacher' or 'student') and sought to create spaces in which they could make their voices heard.

In the extract from Siobhan's classroom (above) the roles of teacher and student were not prominent. Siobhan began the lesson using the curriculum as a frame of reference (although, as I have argued in this chapter and chapter four, that curriculum is already

deeply influenced by her experience and expectations of the young people). She maintained it, perhaps loosely, through the first part of the lesson as the young people described of their own migration trajectories. She allowed space for this discussion, showing concern for their non-school lives and reasserting the curriculum frame in a way that legitimised their participation (by referring to the map on the classroom wall). There is a broader methodological point here: it was common for Siobhan to create space within her lessons, in which the young people could negotiate difference (see chapter eight). In this case, when Fernando tells the story of his motorbike crash her role changed to accommodate him: she participated in the drama, re-narrating the story (from the discursive front stage, see below) and using her authority to silence other young people who threatened to interrupt. The serious consequences of the crash – in which both Fernando and his cousin were badly injured – means that she was unable to reassert the curriculum frame without a significant shift of focus.

In this example, Siobhan and the young people stepped outside the curriculum frame to create a space in which these stories could be told. (I was an observer here, but in contrast to chapters six and seven where I am drawn into other retellings by the participants.) Canagarajah (1997), in a study of African American students in an academic writing course, emphasises the importance of these exchanges. He uses the term 'contact zones' to refer to the 'complex ways in which subordinate groups negotiate power in intercultural communication' (pp. 173-174). He notes that contact zones generate new forms of literacy but argues that they can be more collaborative than Pratt allows (Canagarajah 2013: 30). 'Teacher' and 'student' participants have differential access to the discourses, resources and roles that legitimise speakers in the classroom contact zone, but they often collaborate to create spaces where different experiences can be recognised and legitimised. Canagarajah's most recent work (e.g. Canagarajah forthcoming, 2017a, forthcoming, 2017b) extends this by looking at contact zones

among migrant adult professionals. He notes that it was not 'that there were no power differences [but] simply that they adopted equal footing to negotiate meaning in that communicative context' (Canagarajah forthcoming, 2017b: 74). The data I present on young migrants in schools show something different – young people negotiating difference in a setting where the differences in power between 'teacher' and 'student' roles are significant and enshrined in statute – but they are connected. Rather than seeing the young people through the lens of the school, it may be more relevant to see them through the lens of their life trajectory. They use the tools at their disposal to make sense of their environment and move forward with their lives, just as the adults in Canagarajah's recent studies do. Part of that involves making their voices heard.

Audibility and inscription

This section begins the examination of 'contact zone interaction' by looking two key principles: the desire to be heard (audibility) and to leave an enduring mark on the environment around you (inscription). It does so by first discussing Miller's (2003, 2004) original theory and then by looking at data from the classroom.

Both 'audibility' and 'inscription' are part of a broader analysis of how highly mobile young people negotiate the differential distribution of power in the contact zone, and they often involve a reframing of classroom discourse from the dominant ways of understanding the young people (discussed in chapter four) to their own ways of articulating their experiences. Later in this chapter, and in the next, I will show how the classroom contact zone can be seen as a number of distinct interactional spaces (or 'stages'), each with its own possibilities for the participants to make their voices heard. I prefigure that discussion here because I see them as intertwined: in the contact zone, the participants draw on the resources around them (as well as those they have carried

along their migration trajectory) to negotiate their relationships with others. Audibility and inscription, in other words, are situated. Much of the struggle to be audible takes place on a discursive 'front stage', where there is a larger audience and greater possibility to be recognised as a legitimate speaker. There are also 'back stages' – small-group interactions where there is both less pressure and less scope to be seen as legitimate. I add to this set of concepts as the chapter progresses, focusing first on voice and audibility.

'Audibility' is developed from Miller's work in Australian schools, referring to 'the degree to which speakers sound like, and are legitimised by, users of the dominant discourse' (Miller 2004: 291). This is an important departure from the more common understanding of 'EAL' described in chapter four: drawing particularly on Bourdieu, Gee and Giroux, Miller argues that the label 'ESL' marks a discursive position in the school – one that is produced and maintained through discourse and can be contested in the same way. She argues that the label ESL indicates a subject positioning in a 'politics of speaking':

> Linguistic minority students must achieve self-representation in the dominant discourse, if they are to participate in mainstream social and academic contexts, renegotiate their identities in new place, and accrue the necessary symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1991) to successfully integrate into school and the wider society.
>
> (Miller 2004: 291)

Her analysis of that education system comes to very similar conclusions to my own in chapter four of this thesis: that 'in educational contexts, one often reads or hears of learning a language, as if there were only one, or one with a finite content'. ESL should

instead be as a process of 'mastering complex sets of discursive practices [...] involving social membership, culture and identity' (p. 291).

'Inscription' is the counterpart of 'audibility', referring to the marks that individuals leave on their environment rather than the words they exchange. Sometimes these will be durable: there are wall displays bearing the young people's work, and some adults have pinned up posters for causes they support. At other times these marks are transient, written on surfaces that are likely to be erased or hidden very quickly: both adults and young people use whiteboards to inscribe signs of ethno-linguistic diversity, often in the liminal periods between lessons or between activities. Figures five and six show two possible inscriptions:
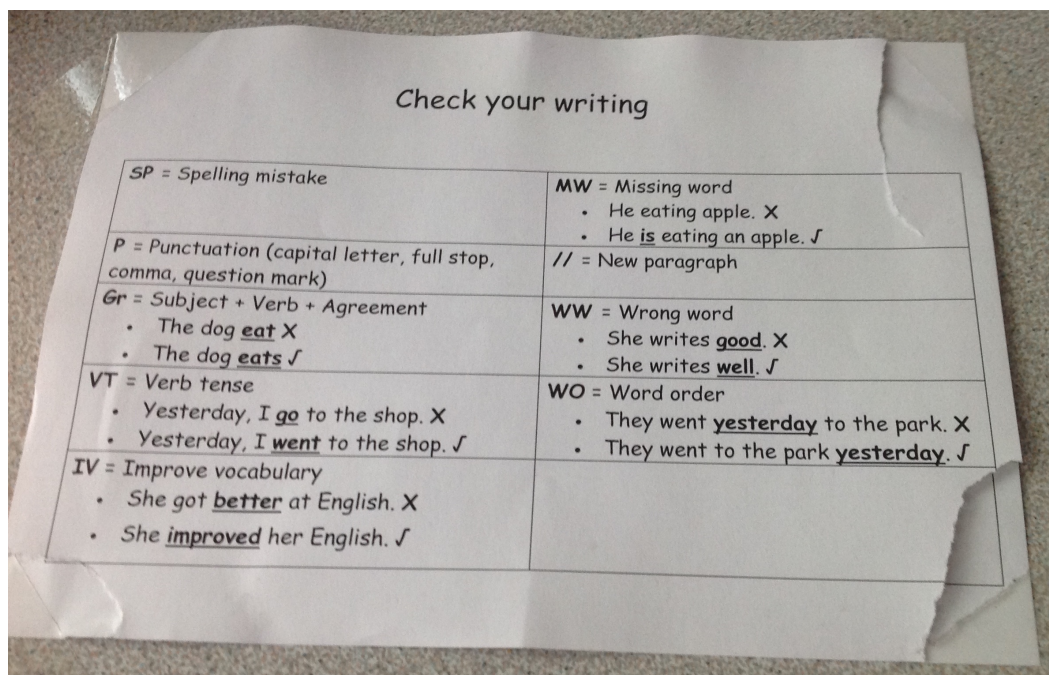
Figure 5: A correction code found taped to desks.

These inscriptions were made at different times, using different media and by different people, but they both show attempts to position the author and others in the discursive community of the International Group. Figure five shows a correction code, listing the
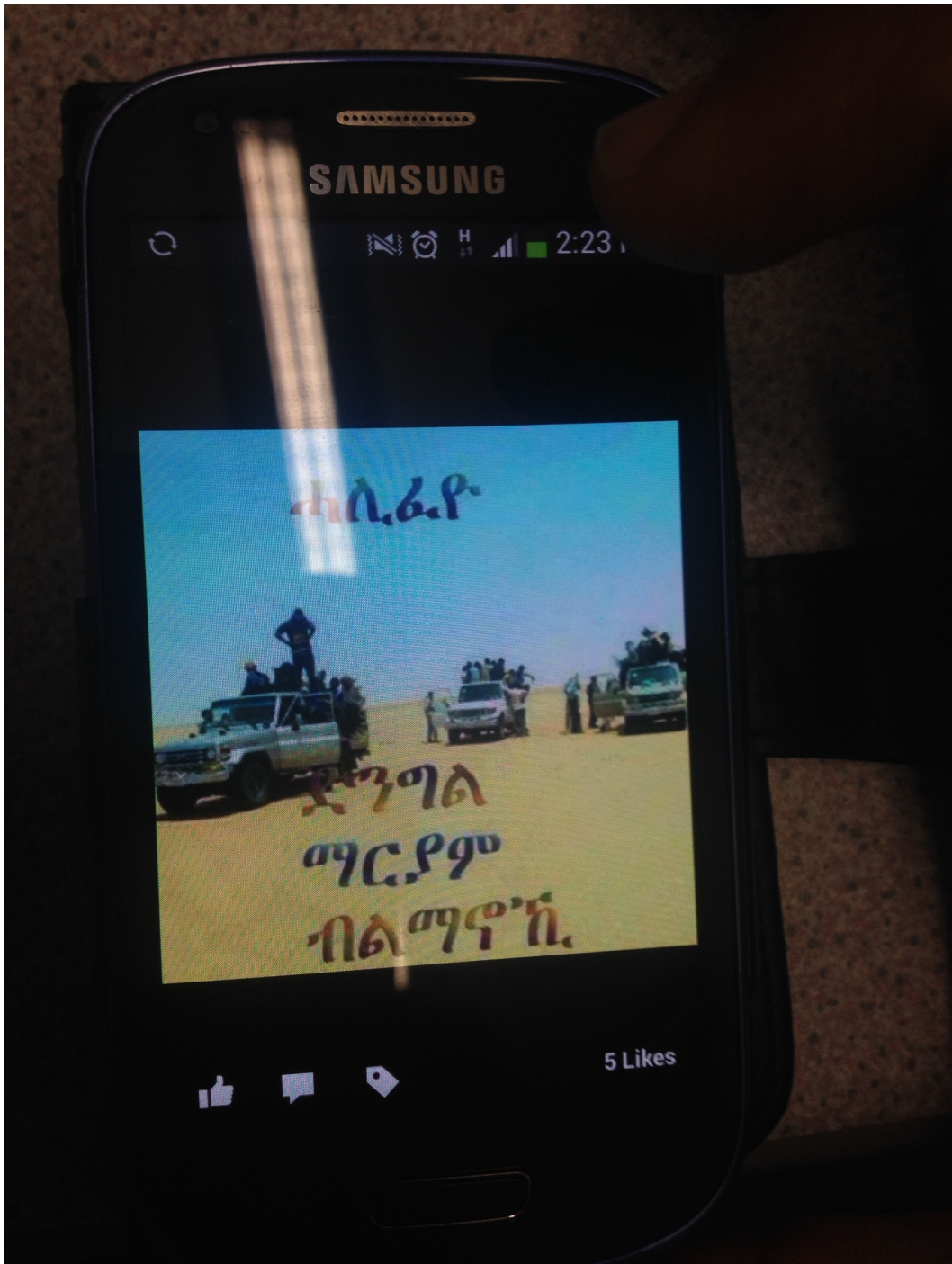
Figure 6: Photograph taken from Habtom's phone.

abbreviations that adults will use in marking the young people's work. When the young people returned from half-term these were taped to each desk in one classroom. The use of tape gives them some durability and the text ('Check your writing') is clearly addressed to the students. They are a form of inscription: they contribute to the discursive construction of a good student (as someone who checks their work for errors and who responds to the teacher's highlighting of morpho-syntactic 'error' in his or her written work), and then incorporate that identity into the fabric of the classroom.

Compare this with figure six, a photograph of an image on a student's mobile phone. This field note records my reaction to it:

Field note, 4 December 2014

While I was in the office, writing up some notes, Habtom came in – taking a break from his lesson. We talked about food – and Libya (he showed me a pic that I photographed of […] men on trucks in the desert. It's not clear what his relationship with the people in the photo is.) Margaret says he's lost both brothers in the past month.

The image was important to Habtom. He was in the office, rather than in the classroom, because he was too upset to follow the lesson. Food was always a good, neutral topic when emotions were running high, but he turned the conversation to his migration through Libya and the photograph. Margaret's comment about his losing his brothers is significant. A month later he would tell me the same, unsolicited, as we were walking between office and classroom together:

Field note, 9 January 2015

I walked down to the drama class with Habtom – he told me almost immediately that his two brothers were dead. As we leave the staff base I ask him if I can

record our conversation. He's happy to, and interested in the iPad, but clams up.

I put it away again. Eugenio is a good teacher, he tells me.

That was another emotional occasion: Habtom had been told that he was to move down a class and wanted to argue with his teachers; he was angry and frustrated but eventually calmed down and asked Eugenio to help him with some reading. I interviewed Eugenio and Maria about this after Habtom had left and Eugenio said that he thought that Habtom was dyslexic:

Interview with Eugenio, 9 January 2015 [1:15-2:48]

```
 1  Eugenio:   Habtom has (2)

 2             I think Habtom's very dyslexic

 3             I:'ve (.) had-

 4             worked with a few dyslexic students before

 5             I've never had an EAL student write down and say

 6             a word twenty times

 7             and two minutes later get it wrong

 8  RS:        fair enough (.) yeah

 9  ((26 seconds omitted — Eugenio explains why he thinks

10  Habtom is dyslexic))

11  Eugenio:   he's not stupid-

12  RS:        yeah

13  Eugenio:   in any way shape or form

14             he wouldn't be here if he was stupid he wouldn't

15             have made it here if he was stupid

16             you know?

17  ((lesson bell rings in background))
```

```
18              he:'s (.) obviously had difficulty in education
19              in the past
20              obviously (2)
21              has a chip on his shoulder because of it (2)
22              probably comes from schools that (.) that
23              have (.) forty students and can't recognise
24              dyslexia don't understand dyslexia [so you are
25              probably             ]
26  RS:                                          [has he been
27              to school before?]
28  Eugenio:    as far as I know he's been to school before I
29              just he's-
30  Maria:      I think so
31              I think he has
32  Eugenio:    but (.) he has the same stigmas that most
33              dyslexic kids in the 70s and 80s would have had
34              that their teachers didn't understand or know
35              what dyslexia was
36              so the assumption is you're stupid you're stupid
37              you're stupid
38              and everything that I get from him is
39              is that he's been told by teachers all his life
40              that he's stupid he's stupid he's stupid
```

There is a complex interaction of trajectories, voices and opportunities for inscription here. The immediate point of reference is that Habtom showed me a picture of something far away in time and space, but that was immediately relevant at that moment. He chose to show it: I didn't know of its existence and had deliberately chosen a neutral topic of conversation. He appeared to be upset at the news – received very

recently – that both his brothers had died within a month of each other. He told me this himself when he was frustrated at being moved down a group. This seems to be the proximate cause of his frustration, but the incident also seems to be a nexus (see chapter two) that drew in other experiences from his trajectory. Imagination plays a role in the analysis, as Eugenio (who is dyslexic himself and works extensively with beginner readers) drew on his experience of other learners to construct a lens through which to understand Habtom's behaviour (see the character sketch in chapter one). The two participants here are each drawing events far away in time and space into the interaction in the present moment. Doing so allows them to understand (and legitimate) the other's behaviour. Imagining Habtom's trajectory through schools where 'he's been told by all his life that he's stupid' means positioning him in a way that the school can respond to.

Reading the full set of field notes from that morning makes this clear: Margaret suggested that students like Habtom find schooling beneath them, and Eugenio sketched a narrative in which Habtom is in a 'race' against himself to improve his English and should therefore should not worry about which class he is in. These narratives position Habtom so that certain behaviours are legitimised (include previously illegitimate ones, such as being angry with your teachers). They evoke an alternative trajectory for Habtom, in which he should focus on his school work and on competing with himself, using the criteria set down in the curriculum as a measure of his success (see figure five, where this is inscribed into the fabric of the school). Habtom's own opportunities to make himself heard, to chart a different course, are limited. In the first extract he was deeply upset and chose to show me the image in figure six instead of talking. Time and space are both important here (see discussion in chapter two). There was very little opportunity for him to be audible in the classroom because there was no place for such emotions. At the right moment, the office was a space where he could legitimately be upset and be taken seriously.

Habtom was upset and took control of the space by showing me an image relating to his migration rather than articulate his emotions. This is a form of inscription: he introduced a material object into the space so that I could understand more of what he wanted to communicate. In that moment, where the participants and space were temporarily stable enough for him to inscribe his meaning, that could have an effect. It was fleeting, though: very soon the moment passed, teachers left for lessons, new people arrived and the expectation that we be in class was reasserted. The opportunity for him to mark his meaning on the physical environment was gone, and the phone went back into his pocket. The second instance showed similar processes: Habtom told me about his brothers as we walked from the office to the classroom. Again, this was a temporarily stable time-space in which specific modes of expression were available to him. He was audible: he spoke and I listened, taking him seriously as a member of the (fleeting) discourse community we created. Then I did something that significantly altered the time-space, introducing a new object that changed the relationship and the opportunities for expression: the iPad, my usual recording device. My interpretation of this is that he is happy to talk and to be heard in the subject position that he wanted to secure, that of a young person explaining his behaviour in a reasonable and articulate way to a sympathetic adult, but not in the subject position that my action pushes him into, that of a student and research participant explaining himself, possibly to someone with a more teacher-like authority. He shifts to a topic of conversation that seems more suitable to the position I claimed for myself – that Eugenio is a good teacher.

In this section I have shown two images, supported with field notes and transcribed interviews. Each of them showed an attempt to position participants within the discursive environment of the school. I have argued that two analytical concepts are useful to explain them: audibility and inscription. They also rely on the broader ideas about trajectories developed earlier in this chapter. The first image, the correction code,

showed an attempt by an unspecified (and presumed) member of staff to direct the young people to engage with their work in specific ways by inscribing a subject position on the desks. The second showed an attempt by one student, Habtom, to articulate his emotions, his migration and the loss of his brothers. He moves between time-spaces (classroom, office, corridor), occasionally introducing a material object into the locus (a form of inscription, though a fleeting one) and at other times managing to establish a subject position in which he could speak and be heard (be audible). That position collapsed when I introduced another object, the iPad, which repositioned him as a research subject and student. All participants are always active in their attempts to secure subject positions that allow them to articulate a sense of self. Earlier in this study I said that the adult participants are caught between deficit and advocacy, between embracing mobility and prioritising stability. Concepts such as 'contact', 'audibility' and 'inscription' allow insight into the terrain that such contests are fought on.

Networking

In the examples given so far, the young people have drawn on a wide range of resources and experiences to make their voices heard in the contact zone. This gives rise to an analytical challenge: how do we bring events, ideas, people and experiences that are far away in time and space into the interaction? In this brief section I will outline a concept that sits alongside the discussion of 'trajectories' and 'contact zones', using it to describe how the participants brought their experiences into the moment-by-moment interactions captured in the data. I call this activity 'networking'.

When young people network, they draw on people and experiences from different times and places to make sense of the present. The data contain many examples of this: when

Mohabat (17, M, Afghan) leaned over during a lesson on family vocabulary and told me that he misses his mother, whom he had not seen since he left Afghanistan, for example, he is evoking someone who is temporally and spatially distant to help make sense of the present moment. When Jimmy (19, M, Brazilian) came to talk to me, because his father (in Brazil) had not replied to the mobile phone messages that Jimmy had sent him that morning he was bringing someone spatially distant but temporally present into the interaction. George (15, M, Ethiopian) behaved in ways that his teachers found 'annoying', but which can be understood as performances of classrooms practices from Ethiopia (spatially both present and distant, temporally distant). To understand what is happening in the classroom, in other words, it is necessary to examine how the participants draw together events, ideas, people and experiences to make sense of the present moment.

The idea of a 'network' has been used before, though not in the same sense. In a special issue of the *AILA Review* on reflexivity, Pérez-Milan (2015) specifically refers to 'networks' and 'trajectories'. He sees reflexivity as a key skill in navigating schooling:

> In increasingly neoliberalized educational institutions [...] adolescents have to negotiate a complex set of discursive positions in the making of their academic trajectories across changeable social networks, communicative genres and regional/national boundaries.

> (Pérez-Milan 2015: 5)

The activity he describes, a combination of 'trajectory' (movement into, through and out of schooling) and 'network' (the relationships that enable schooling to be negotiated and understood), is similar to my own analysis. There are differences: where he describes a 'social network' (a set of social relations between actors), I use 'networking' to refer to

the dynamic process of pulling-together a network of indexical and referential signs, objects and participants to make meaning. Where he describes an 'academic trajectory', within the confines of the education system, I am looking for traces of the broader migration / life history trajectory that is brought into the classroom. Like Pérez-Milan, though, I seek to position my understanding of networks 'in line with accounts in which practices are investigated diachronically with reference to the speakers' trans-local, trans-cultural and trans-lingual trajectories' (2015: 6).

Two particular aspects need more detailed attention. The first is how to account for past experiences in the immediacy of their day-to-day, minute-by-minute interactions with the young people. Following Lemke (2000), I argue that these different time-scales are mutually informing: micro-scale interactions form patterns and patterns become sedimented into what Lemke calls 'episodes', but at the same time that sedimentation is guided and constrained by what is happening at larger scales of abstraction. The second aspect to consider is how the different classrooms spaces – each shaped by the patterns of interaction that happen between different combinations of young people and adults – are connected. Linking these different interactional spaces together allows us to think of the International Group as a whole without either losing the fine-grain of the interaction that happens within or focusing so much on the particular as to lose sight of the meaningful (if porous) boundaries that the International Group offers. In essence, the 'networking' metaphor is an attempt to introduce analytical flexibility: recognising that different analytical and interactional scales are relevant without enumerating and stratifying them, and without homogenising them.

Seeing classrooms as contact zones, in which norms are never settled and in which participants are continually renegotiating how they are positioned relative to each other and the institution, is one way of foregrounding the heterogeneity captured in the data.

It also give insight into what Blommaert (2014: 446) calls the 'infrastructure of superdiversity': 'the complex logic that ties together the seemingly incoherent dynamics of the place, the apparently contradictory forces that operate on it and the absence of uniformity it displays'.

Review

This chapter acts as the bridge between the discussion of policy and school-level analysis (chapter four) and the close examination of young people's classroom interaction (chapters six and seven). In doing so it had work to do of its own: it set out the key concepts of 'trajectory' and 'contact zone', supporting each with worked examples from the data. The notion of trajectory is a direct response to the ahistorical, context-free definitions of 'EAL' that are embedded in education policy. It showed that the young people's experiences of schooling were part of much longer histories, and it identified some of the resources that they brought with them. The classroom, I argued, is not simply a place where young migrants receive the provision that enables them to access the mainstream curriculum. It is also a space where these different trajectories come into contact, and this has significant consequences for the analysis that follows.

Pratt (1987) describes the stable linking of person, place and language as 'linguistic utopia' (Canagarajah 2013 calls it the 'Herderian Triad'). Such a 'non-place' is explicitly imagined in policy (e.g. DfE 2013: 3) and underpins the binary categorisation of young people as 'EAL' or not 'EAL' (see interview with Mark Sims, chapter four). The adult participants in the International Group worked hard to mitigate this rigidity, developing a 'skills-based' programme to meet the needs of young people who would otherwise be excluded from education. Even this, though, fails to capture the complexity of the young

people's experience. The adults in this study are still part of the education system and have legal obligations to provide a certain type of educational experience (however inconsistent that obligation may be at a national level – see chapter four). For the young people who arrive in the International Group as adolescents, little can be taken for granted. They may have strong track records in formal education and be ready to move into qualification-bearing courses very quickly; they may arrive traumatised after a long and dangerous migration; they may be literate or not, have legal status in this country or not. They are likely to be many of these things and more.

The classroom, then, is a special place. It is a space of enormous heterogeneity and mobility, where every week brings new arrivals from all over the world. It is also an institutional space in which adults carry legal obligations towards the young people they work with (something that distinguishes the classroom from, say, Pennycook and Otsuji's 2015 market traders) and seek to maintain the orderly routines of the school so that they can prepare the young people for work or further study. In this chapter I argued that the young people carried a wide range of experiences, resources and expectations with them into the classroom. I needed further tools to explain how they drew on those resources to guide their interaction with each other. I introduced the terms 'audibility' (with its partner, 'inscription') and 'networking' to support my analysis of the classroom contact zone, showing how the young people were engaged in constant negotiation over how they were positioned and positioned each other. In the next chapter I extend this further, showing how these concepts allow insight into different forms of learning, of teacher-student interaction and of educational experiences in other countries.

Chapter 6   Young people making their voices heard

Introduction

The first two analytical chapters set out my argument that 'EAL' is not a single identity and that it should not be seen as a marker of linguistic deficit. In chapter four, I showed that 'EAL' is both an important professional identity and a (deeply problematic) way to categorise young people. I argued that the dominant conception of 'EAL' rests on specific ways of thinking about deficit and entitlement, which are rooted in the ways that the state understands its legal obligations and makes provision to meet them. I also showed how this leads to difficult decisions at Pine Wood Academy, as the teachers find themselves 'excluding to include later on'. In chapter five, I introduced the term 'trajectory' to describe how people's life histories and experiences, relationships and resources travel with them. Arriving in the International Group, in this light, is not a new beginning but a continuation of the young person's migration. The classroom is one space where these trajectories intersect and I used the term 'contact zones', drawing on Pratt's (1991) original use of the term, to investigate the setting of this contact. I then introduced two concepts to support the analysis of interaction in the contact zone: I used the term 'trajectory' to emphasise the importance of prior experiences and 'networking' to describe the process by which young people draw together signs, objects and people to help position and reposition themselves relative to the institution and each other.

These concepts come together in the present chapter, which looks closely at classroom interaction between young people. It shows the mechanisms by which they use their

trajectories and networks to *make sense* of the school and each other. The young people in this study have very few opportunities to make their voices heard, and this chapter examines how they make use of those opportunities that do exist. The first section shows that two words, 'halal' and 'haram', give insight into the ways that young people negotiate difference. This requires close attention to how they manage the legitimising power of public talk, which I analyse in terms of 'stages'. The chapter then moves deeper into the 'back stage', looking at how some young people engage in learning without engaging with the lesson. I show examples of how materials and relationships from the participants' wider networks, informed by the attitudes to learning developed along their trajectories, enable them to engage in *parallel* or *covert* learning. Finally, I focus on one young person's use of her linguistic (and scriptural) repertoire to share information about her migration trajectory. I consider how that information could be accessed by those designing the curriculum, and find that significant elements of her engagement with the lesson are influenced by her earlier experiences. This prepares the ground for chapter seven, which focuses entirely on one young person and how his time at Pine Wood Academy should be seen as a continuation of his migration trajectory.

'Halal' and 'Haram'

I begin this section with a brief discussion to locate the analysis in the broader literature. Dell Hymes told us that where there is difference, there is inequality (e.g. Hymes 1980: 110-111). At the societal or institutional level this can be seen clearly, particularly in the discourses around 'diversity' and 'multiculturalism' that treat different 'communities' as cohesive groups, if not homogenous identities. Heller (2007) reminds us that categories such as 'community', 'identity' and 'language' are socially constructed and cannot be mapped directly onto national origin and ethnicity. Canagarajah (2013: 20-22) describes

the grouping of language, place and community as the 'Herderian triad' (as do Jaspers 2005, Jørgensen 2008, Vertovec 2011 and Mutsaers and Swanenberg 2012), part of a 'monolingual orientation' that sees language as a bounded and free-standing system based in cognition rather than social interaction (though see Hall 2013 for a commentary on plurilingualism and cognitive SLA, and Ortega 2014 for a related critique; see chapter two on models of language). This is the understanding of language that is at the heart of language education policy in UK secondary education.

This study takes a different approach, one rooted in the research tradition of plurilingualism (Pennycook 2009), translingual practice (Canagarajah 2013) and translanguaging (García and Li Wei 2014). This approach emphasises *individual* repertoires (a sense that I develop further in this chapter; see also Blommaert and Backus 2011: 19-24 on 'repertoires as indexical biographies', Li Wei 2011 on repertoire and 'translanguaging space', Busch 2012 on repertoire and individual 'language portraits') and considers how those repertoires can be shared among groups of people (the canonical sense of the term, see Gumperz 1972: 20-21) – without assuming that those groups are fixed or naturally occurring. As Blackledge and Creese have argued (Blackledge *et al.* 2008, Blackledge and Creese 2009b, 2010), notions of heritage are often contested and repertoires are often deployed to undermine assumptions about the relevance of young people's histories, communities and experiences to their sense of themselves in any given moment.

Originally and still references to Islamic religious practice, 'halal' and 'haram' gained a brief but intense currency among the young people in the International Group. This made them analytically invaluable: elsewhere in the data were examples of two students using 'nonsense language' and snatches of song to mark their distance from the official work of the classroom, and using insulting terms as an in-group identifier among

Spanish- and Portuguese-speakers, for example. 'Halal' and 'haram' were unique in the data because they were so widely shared, used among young people of different religious, cultural, national, socio-economic and migration backgrounds, and because they were so intensively deployed. This allowed me to construct a small corpus of their uses (see tables four and five), and gain insight into language and identity practices that would otherwise be inaccessible in a study of this scale.

Religious and cultural significance, gender expectations

The religious significance of 'halal' and 'haram' was never far from the surface. When the words were used there was always an undercurrent of prohibition being negotiated and of boundaries being tested, but it would be wrong to suggest that this was always a solemn business. Often it was fun, and funny, as the extract below shows. Mathew (16, M, Spanish) had been joking that accidentally touching another (male) participant was 'haram', and so as we left the classroom I pulled a few young people aside to ask them what it meant. We began with Mathew, Jason (17, M, Bulgarian), Farah (17, F, Pakistani) and Mine (18, F, Pakistani) and sat at a small table in the break-out area between the classrooms and the office (see figure six). Other young people drifted over, and in the recording participants can be heard breaking off to chat to their friends, call new people over to join the conversation and leave when a more interesting conversation was happening elsewhere. This was a busy space and the interlocutor roles shift between participants as the interview unfolds. Sometimes I am questioning one young person in particular, sometimes observing a disagreement between several; at one point Mine and Farah switch to Urdu to discuss their answer to a question and they re-join the interview once they have reached agreement.

#	Key word(s)		Date	Instance	Participants	Brief description
1		Haram	12 December 2014	She will be haram!	Omi, Mine.	Laughing comment about 'your brother has a new girlfriend', back-stage.
2	Halal	Haram	30 January 2015	Touching other students.	Mathew, Asksay Kumar, Maria, the class.	Mathew claims front stage from Afnan and Maria, front-stage performance with Asksay Kumar.
3		Haram	30 January 2015	Mathew and Xanan explain.	Mathew, Xanan, Nalka, Afnan.	Two definitions, fairly serious, then front-stage performance.
4	Halal	Haram	30 January 2015	A pen is not halal or haram.	Afnan, Asksay Kumar.	Back-stage, serious discussion then front-stage performance.
5		Haram	12 February 2015	Seeing is haram.	Mathew, the class.	During drama game, M. using 'haram' re: touching other students or seeing them through blindfold.
6	Halal	Haram	12 February 2015	Interview.	Jason, Mine, Farah, Mathew, Afnan, Nalka, Yandal.	Definitions, explaining other instances, describing how the term developed other meanings.
7		Haram	13 February 2015	James Bond is haram.	Asksay Kumar, Maria.	Negotiating differences in cultural knowledge?
8		Haram	27 February 2015	Not completing your homework is haram.	Jatt, Eugenio.	Eugenio using 'haram' to connect with young person – but perhaps not entirely serious?

9		Haram	30 April 2015	Don't you be lying!	Afnan, Omi, Eyob, the class.	Improvisation, class joining in. Laughter. Front-stage.
10		Haram	5 June 2015	Don't speak Arabic.	Jason, Mostufa.	Teasing friend. Nominally back-stage, but perhaps aware that I am listening?
11		Haram	19 June 2015	Lying during Ramadan.	Mohabad, Siobhan.	Front-stage, negotiating classwork with teacher.
12		Haram	19 June 2015	I don't want to see it.	Mohabad, Merry.	Merry shows photos on her phone, Mohabad thinks they might be 'haram' and turns away.
13	Halal	Haram	19 June 2015	I would like to be a dancer.	Merry.	Front-stage, negotiating whether boys can be dancers.

Table 4: Instances of 'halal' and 'haram' in the data.

#	Area of negotiation	Instances in the data	Comments
A	Language play.	7, 9	Jason and Mostufa (instance 11) could be seen in this light.
B	Distancing from the norms of the classroom (indexing otherness).	1, 11	Also note how adult participants are involved.
C	Challenging the teacher's dominance of the front stage.	7	
D	Acknowledging difference and connecting with others.	8, 11	Often using humour, perhaps indicating awkwardness?
E	Negotiating (e.g.) gender roles.	2, 5, 12, 13	Note reaction of peers in instance 5.
F	Retains religious significance.	3, 4, 7, 12	This significance is often contested.

Table 5: Areas of negotiation where 'halal' and 'haram' are used.

Figure 7: Open space in the corridor, with tables and chairs.

The first extract shows how the terms 'halal' and 'haram' first moved from their purely Islamic context to join the shared repertoire of the two groups I worked with.

Interview with Mine, Farah, Jason, Mathew and Afnan, 12 February 2015 [5:23 – 5:40]

```
1   ((Mine explains that the word 'wallāhi' [والله] is used in
2   the Qur'an))
3   Mine:      so it's like
4              Afnan started
5              when we talk to boys
6   ((8 seconds omitted))
7              and ((s))he said (.) Mine it's haram it's haram
8              ((laughter))
```

```
9    Farah:      it's wallā:hi=
10   Mine:                    =yeah [wallāhi]
11   Farah:                         [oh yeah] [wallāhi oh my god]
12   Mine:                                    [wallāhi oh my god]
13   Farah:      it's (mean) =
14   Mine:                 =yeah=
15   Farah:                      =oh my god (.) wallā:hi
```

'Wallāhi' (وَاللّٰه) is an exclamation equivalent, here, to 'by God' or 'oh my God'. Farah (aged 17) and Mine (aged 18), two girls from Pakistan, explain that the joke began with Afnan, a 16-year-old girl from Somalia. The in-group here is exclusively female: they link together religious prohibition ('haram') and their day-to-day lives ('when we talk to boys') with an exaggerated exclamation ('wallāhi'). They are doing more than mediating the tension between conservative families and a more liberal school environment. Mine and Farah are part of a group a group of three friends (with Omi, 16, also from Pakistan) who almost always sit with each other – audio recorders left near them capture their use of Urdu and how they interpret the lesson together. Two of these girls wear headscarves, as Afnan does, but the third wears her hair long with a scarf loosely wrapped at shoulder level. Afnan – in so far as the data-collection could capture – mixed with a wider group of friends. She was often found with Sana and Eyob (see chapters six and seven), but also sat with others. There is little in the data, in other words, to suggest that these young people are caught between binary identities. Instead, they show young people drawing on their cultural and linguistic repertoires to create a space in which they can explore different ways to position themselves – in this case around 'talking to boys'.

What stands out in this interview is the humour that 'halal' and 'haram' provoke. The transcript shows Mine and Farah speaking rapidly, interrupting each other in their

excitement and laughing as they do. This humorous dimension attracted others: as they recount, it began with Afnan 'and then Asksay Kumar and then Mathew started' using it and the joke spread rapidly. It was used in many different contexts, but the next extract – from field notes made four months later – shows that the use of humour to mediate gender expectations remained relevant:

Field note, 19 June 2015 (instance 13)

On board: 'In the future I would like to be _____ '

Rajaa: 'I would like to be a dancer'

(all laugh)

Merry: 'Michael Jackson ... it's halal not haram!'

The lesson began with a practice test based around writing a job application letter and as Siobhan, the teacher, moved into reviewing the answers there was much discussion of exams, jobs and the future. Merry (17, F, Eritrean) had already mentioned that her hobby was hairdressing and had been advised by Siobhan that it could be a job for the future. When she asked how to say 'I speak little bit English not perfectly?' Siobhan told her not to worry because 'we're not telling them [the recipient of the letter] that'. When Rajaa (16, M, Somali) joked that he wanted to be a dancer, there was already a pattern of the young people's responses being shaped into forms that were more compatible with the future that their teacher imaged for them.

Rajaa draws on these discourses and on the discursive frame established by the question on the board, which anticipates a specific form of words in answer. By subverting them he earns the approval of his peers (indicated by their laughter), but doing so introduces the idea that being a 'dancer' is not an appropriate ambition for a young man. It appears to be this that Merry objects to: she contests the gender stereotype in his answer

directly by introducing the example of a popular male dancer ('Michael Jackson'). Her

use of 'halal' and 'haram' speak to several audiences simultaneously: she draws on other

speakers who have used those words to negotiate gender expectations and, as a non-

Muslim, connects her argument to the language of prohibition and permission from her

interlocutor's religion. Her challenge is a many-layered thing, drawing on multiple

discourses in a single voice (or double voice, in Bakhtin's 1981 term). Using 'halal' and

'haram' allows Merry to make a nuanced argument: she does not challenge Rajaa on her

own authority, but brings in an incontrovertible example (Michael Jackson) and uses

references to faith and gender expectations that other members of the group (Afnan,

Mine and Farah) have already subverted. In doing so she moderates the threat to 'face'

(Goffman 1967), both Rajaa's and the teacher's, as overt conflict would contravene a

norm of classroom behaviour. She also positions herself as a legitimate speaker: she has

addressed the entire class, shown her familiarity with another religion, cited strong

examples and used them to support her own claim.

It's not clear that she was entirely successful, though, and to understand why it is helpful

to bring together the discursive role of words like 'halal' and 'haram' with the notion of

'stages'. In Goffman's (1956) terms, Rajaa and Merry both spoke on the 'front stage'.

They both sought to command the whole group as their audience and to use their

attention to claim a more powerful subject position (Davies and Harré 1990) for

themselves. These were public utterances, performed to present the speaker in a certain

light and contrasting the 'back stage' private spaces, where we might expect to speak in

a more unguarded manner. Goffman (1956) notes that the stages could be both

connected through time both sequentially (such as when a married couple argue before

their guests arrive, but present a unified front in company, p. 85) and concurrently (such

as when television presenters relax off-camera during a broadcast, pp. 72-73). Those

options are not open to the young people in this study: they are bound to a strict

timetable and – until the bell rings – cannot leave the room to discuss their teacher, the work or their peers. Staging works differently here: restrictions on how young people can move about the room means that the front of the classroom, where the teacher usually stands, is a powerful space. It can be seen as the *physical* front stage, though any movement that involves standing and commanding attention could be seen as front-stage activity (it mimics the norm of teacher behaviour, and is a strongly marked form of movement). There is also a *discursive* front stage: speaking loudly and addressing the group as a whole, as when Rajaa and Merry spoke. Merry's success depended not only on being able to position herself advantageously, but on commanding the attention of others as she did so.

Challenging the teacher's dominance of the front stage

The discursive and physical 'front stage' of the classroom might be thought of as the teacher's space. There is a rich literature recording documenting the importance of the teacher's talk for learning (e.g. Mercer 2001, van Lier 2001, Lefstein and Snell 2011), and how cycles of initiation, response and feedback allow little space for the students to develop their ideas through talk (e.g. Walsh 2002, Baynham 2006, Creese and Blackledge 2010). When the focus moves to just the young people, though, they can be seen to use that space to make sense of each other and to find a space for themselves. They do it through the use of popular words and phrases (such as 'halal' and 'haram'), through song and physical comedy and even, in the case of two young people, by using nonsense languages.

Power and legitimacy are at play in every interaction, but when young people take to the front stage they are foregrounded. Legitimacy can flow from the teacher and from the young person's correct performance in the discursive frame they establish, but it can

also be achieved by taking the front stage and performing in a way that commands the attention of the audience. Young people have few opportunities to speak and to be heard, to make decisions about the space they will occupy and what they will do. Power lies in the spaces and activities that are directed by the teacher and it is here – on the discursive and physical front stage of the classroom – that the young people's voices are legitimised and made audible. Rajaa and Merry both made explicit bids for that legitimacy by calling out: Rajaa by subverting the teacher's sequence of initiation, response and feedback, and Merry by interrupting the laughter that followed. Sometimes, though, the participants have less choice about when they take the stage.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *</p>

In a quiet moment at the beginning of Maria's mid-morning English class she had told me that she expected it to be a popular lesson. That certainly seemed reasonable: it was a lesson on spies, built around a feature on James Bond in the course book. It wasn't something that particularly interested Maria herself and she was a little unclear about the finer distinctions between MI5 and MI6, the CIA and the FBI, but these were distinctions that fans of the film series were happy to clarify. The early part of the lesson, before the extract below, had seen a process of negotiation as several participants (including myself) had contributed to defining the scope of the discussion by commenting on the intelligence services and – in Mine and Nalka's case –on each other's contributions. Having established the background knowledge needed for the lesson Maria turns to the topic itself:

> <u>Field note, 13 February 2015 (instance 7)</u>
>
> Mine is answering a question from Maria (a definition question, along the lines of 'What's MI5?') – it's a fairly long answer, and Nalka muttered something. I gestured for her to clarify and she said: 'we can't understand her voice'.

[…]

Maria asks about James Bond, and asks whether the students know (of) him.

Asksay Kumar replies: 'his movies so kissing scene ... is haram miss'

There's a sentence or two in the middle that I couldn't catch, but what I heard is noted verbatim. There was more back and forth among the students after. Lots of laughter, Farah turns to me to make sure I get it.

The note does not quite capture how successful Asksay Kumar's utterance was: he provoked laughter across the room and it was funny enough for another young person to turn to me in case I needed it explaining. Asksay Kumar, a 16-year-old Pakistani boy whose pseudonym is based on the name of a Hindi-language actor, is a keen performer. He frequently seizes the stage: jumping up to come to the board, dancing in drama lessons, singing and joking. He is one of the two students who used nonsense languages (the other was a boy called Usman, believed to be 18 and also from Pakistan) and he appeared to have a reputation as both a widely liked joker and as someone who was never quite at ease with the norms of the classroom.

In this extract the young people are at play, and they reveal a little more of the complex ways that they 'stage' their speech to make themselves heard. Maria held the *physical* front stage but she invited others to share the *discursive* front stage when she asked them to help clarify details around the different intelligence agencies. There is a lull in the class when she asks whether anyone knew about James Bond. These lulls are important, because they are moments when no speaker dominates the discursive front stage and it can be seized by any participant. There is an opening, therefore, for Asksay Kumar; but there is also a risk if he does not take the stage. The discussion has turned to a film series that is well known for its 'kissing scenes' and not necessarily something that

would form part of his fund of knowledge (Gonzalez *et al.* 2005). Asksay Kumar subverts his teacher's question, not answering directly but invoking cultural conservatism ('his movies so kissing scene'), religious prohibition ('is haram') and using a stylized 'Pakistani' accent (cf. similar accents in Rampton 2005). This is an accent he has used before, one that suggests a less articulate speaker than he is, and it distances him from such conservatism by rendering it ridiculous. The subject position he establishes for himself – recognising a conservative upbringing but not bound by it, confident he could command the attention of his peers but not confident enough to admit not knowing about James Bond films – is a nuanced one.

It was also extremely successful with his peers. They started laughing and commenting loudly on his performance, to the extent that no voice could be heard clearly. This offers a good example of *audibility* – the right to be recognised as a legitimate speaker by users of the dominant discourse (see chapter five). Users of the dominant discourse are able to *impose reception* on others; that is, to have others respond to their words when they would have ordinarily done something else. Staging is important to this: Maria deliberately created a situation in which she expected the young people to know more about James Bond than her, and in doing so is less audible when speaking about the topic. Crucially, though, she maintained her position on the physical front stage and when she spoke she commanded the attention of the group. Contrast this with Mine, who did have knowledge of MI5 but who commanded neither the physical nor discursive front stage when she spoke. This part of the lesson followed a recognisable pattern: the (physical) front stage of the classroom is where speakers are legitimised, and Maria occupied that space. She invited contributions and although she was less audible on a specific topic she was able to re-impose reception of her voice by switching back into the dominant discourse and directing another question to the class.

Asksay Kumar's performance was significantly different. His performance was extremely successful with his peers (as seen in their laughter) and it rendered the physical front stage temporarily powerless – any attempt to speak from there would have been lost in the sound of other voices. Seeing this as a challenge to his teachers would be too simplistic. The discursive front stage is the space where all speakers are legitimised. Although the adult holds more power than the young people to command that space, it is always open to contest. Asksay Kumar's performance met a positive response from his peers that legitimised one subject position that he could occupy in the class (a position that, simplified, might be termed the 'class joker'). Their response was powerful enough to over-ride, temporarily, any attempt by his teacher to reposition him negatively. He was often described by the adult participants as a facetious student but he can also be seen as a young man making a claim for recognition and legitimacy in the eyes of his peers. He could even be understood as a young man who risked losing face on the terms set by the a more legitimate speaker, and who took the front stage to prevent himself being overtly delegitimised.

Bridging distance between interlocutors

The use of 'halal' and 'haram' had their origin in humour and transgression, and the participants used them to reach out to each other. Here, Jason (17, M, Bulgarian) is teasing his friend Mostufa (16, M, Moroccan):

> **Field note, 5 June 2015 [instance 10]**
>
> Jason to Mostufa: 'don't speak Arabic' (a joke, they're playing around together). I ask why he said that: he grinned and told me it's haram.

These two young men were negotiating difference through play. It happened in a private conversation at their table – on the physical and discursive back stage, an important space for young people to test out different subject positionings in a small group, semi-private setting. Interaction on the back stage makes less of a claim for audibility. It involves a smaller number of interlocutors and there is correspondingly less scope to legitimise the speaker's use of the dominant discourse. The game that Jason and Mostufa played engages directly with this notion of back-stage audibility: the objective is to position your friend to their disadvantage, leaving them with no come-back – in other words, to render them inaudible. Jason's first move was to parody the teachers' expectation that they speak English, adapting the words to refer specifically to his friend (a bilingual Arabic and Spanish speaker). This is an effective way to position his friend at a disadvantage but a reference to language alone would allow Mostufa to respond with 'don't speak Bulgarian', positioning them both at odds with the monolingual norm of the classroom. By bringing language and religion together he has an unassailable advantage: there is no secular or Christian equivalent to 'haram' at play in this group and Mostufa has no come-back. Jason's comment seems spontaneous, he added the reference to 'haram' when I joined their conversation and in doing so recruited me into his joke: now two non-Muslims (who were therefore immune to the charge of haram behaviour) were arrayed against Mostufa. Jason grins at his victory, and Mostufa turns around to go back to his work.

The back stage plays a distinctive role in the classroom. It is not a space where young people can be unguarded, as in Goffman's (1956) sense of the term, because the participants – adults and young people – are constantly in sight of each other (see below in this chapter for analysis of what is kept out of sight). Instead, we can see the young people using the back stage as a space where smaller audiences and correspondingly lower expectations to command an audience mean that audibility can be negotiated with

less legitimacy at stake. In one sense this is well established: young people create *safe spaces* or *safe houses* (Conteh *et al.* 2007, Conteh and Brock 2010, Canagarajah 1997) in which they can make sense of the world around them. In an educational context, adults and young people use these spaces to:

> co-construct meaningful relationships in particular ways that can sometimes disrupt or subvert normalised practices; learners construct experiences that are meaningful for themselves out of what educators intend for them[.]
>
> (Conteh and Brock 2010: 349)

Jason and Mostufa do something similar. They take the emphasis on speaking English from the dominant discourse into a safe, back-stage space. They turn it into play, working in popular memes (such as using 'haram') and experimenting with different subject positionings around monolingualism and multilingualism. This is ordinary, unremarkable activity; it needs close attention because this kind of play often goes unrecognised in the classroom setting where monolingual norms dominate (see e.g. Wallace 2005). For young people in the contact zone, back-stage play provides a crucial space for making sense of the formal institution of the school.

Distance and carnival in a drama lesson

Much creative use is also made of the tension between the front and back stages. The following extract is taken from my participant observation notes on a drama lesson. The class takes place in the school's drama studio and Siobhan has set an improvisation task:

In the drama / improv. there's a new interaction pattern – the actors are up on stage and the audience participate by commenting to each other on the action, calling out phrases they enjoyed, laughing or inhaling sharply and clapping.

[...]

Nalka and Omi: 'Don't you be lying'. Laughter from the class – one student repeats 'don't you be lying' ... another chuckles 'haram'!

Eyob calls out 'punch her!' several times. There's audience involvement here, a running 'commentary' and appreciative repetition of the words.

Siobhan: 'I don't think you'd say sister, I think you'd say her name.'

> Siobhan giving feedback on the performance.

Here there is a physical stage (actually an area of the studio marked out with chairs) and an auditorium (rows of chairs, where I am sitting making notes). Nalka (15, F, Somali) and Omi (16, F, Pakistani) are on stage, in character, and there is much interaction between the front- and back stage as the audience contribute to and comment on the performance. If an audience member makes a particularly loud comment – if they cross into the discursive front-stage – the performers pause rather than talking over them. Sometimes they shoot looks at the speaker, if the comment was unwelcome or threw them off their track. There is much laughter, and the phrase 'don't you be lying' provokes particular mirth. My impression, sitting in the back corner of the audience space, is that the phrase was a current one with shared resonance for the participants. Perhaps it was heard in the wider school, the local community or on television; it certainly hints at the rich repertoires that are used to negotiate difference, of which 'halal' and 'haram' are one example.

There is much of the 'carnival' about this drama lesson. Blackledge and Creese (2010, drawing on Bakhtin 1968) note that discourse is always dialogic, 'shaped and influenced by the discourse of others' (p. 126), and identify three characteristics of *carnivalesque* performance. It is foremost an act of rebellion, born not of anger but of satire and play. It parodies existing power structures, inverting them and introducing voices that unsettle the 'prevailing truth and established order' (Bakhtin 1986: 10). Finally, it involves *grotesque realism*, the lowering or debasement of the ideal or the abstract into the messy complexity of the profane and the everyday. Nalka and Omi's improvised performance can be read as a moment of *carnival*, embedded within the discourse norms and power relations of a normal drama lesson.

Siobhan, the drama teacher, is largely absent. She established the boundaries of the stages and the focus of the activity earlier in the lesson, creating physical 'stage' and 'auditorium' areas and assigning the two 'actors' their characters. During the sketch itself she stands off to one side and only speaks towards the end, commenting their completion of the task she set. She is off-stage, both spatially and in Goffman's (1956) terms, and her relative absence affords an opportunity to reconfigure the discursive staging of the lesson. It changes the power dynamics: the dominant discourse is temporarily in abeyance, and the boundary between front- and back stages becomes much more porous. Young people participate playfully in the front-stage performance by calling out, echoing words first spoken on stage, laughing loudly and inhaling or gesturing as they follow the performance. This is carnival: their laughter overturns the norms of behaviour and language use that call for school pupils to conform to classroom discourses. It is also inclusive, binding the audience to the performers rather than addressing the group through the teacher. In Bakhtin's (1994: 209) terms it represents 'the people's unofficial truth', a pattern of interaction that bypasses the established authority figure. The use of the back stage as a safe space, seen in Jason and Mostufa's

play, is seen again here: words heard on the stage are repeated among the audience, commented on and reacted to in the lower-stakes environment of the 'auditorium'.

There are elements of the grotesque, too. Eyob calls out that one character should 'punch' the other – echoing his own threatening behaviour towards a classmate in this same room some seven weeks earlier (see chapter seven). Then, he had complained that the behavioural norms of the classroom were emasculating; now, even though his teacher is only a few feet away, the carnival dislocates those norms. The boundary between the front stage and the back stage is blurred in this moment, and back-stage talk becomes the legitimising discourse on the front stage. That talk, with its use of popular phrases (such as 'don't you be lying' and 'haram') and the liberating (Bakhtin 1986) use of language such as 'punch her!', stands in contrast to Siobhan's intervention. She comments not on the audience's participation but on the performers' fidelity to their roles in the improvisation, replacing a colloquial address ('sister') with a proper name. The carnival aspect of this drama lesson – made possible by the changes in staging and the focus on improvisation – has brought into focus how voice and power are negotiated in the International Group.

'Halal' and 'haram' in review

Two words, 'halal' and 'haram', have served to show how the young people in this study negotiated difference. It was not the words themselves that had power – they were two of many such words and phrases and the data captured others ('don't you be lying', 'wallāhi') serving similar purposes – but they gave insight into the underlying processes by which young people negotiated difference. This activity should be distinguished from 'crossing' (Rampton 2005) in the same way that difference should be distinguished from diversity. There were broad linguistic or regional groupings, but the young people were

not engaging with each other from within a base in their own ethno-cultural group. Instead, the International Group can be seen as a contact zone in which the participants make use of the resources that their networks and experiences make available. This can be seen as a contrast between diversity (the emphasis on commonalities in comparison with a dominant norm) and difference (in which heterogeneity was foregrounded). There appears to be solidarity in such heterogeneity: it allowed young people to distance themselves from their 'own' ethno-linguistic group. Asksay Kumar, for example, deflected attention from his uncertainty about James Bond films by using a stylised Pakistani accent and making reference to a stereotypically conservative culture. During the carnival of the drama lesson, Nalka and Omi were free to make use of the multiple other groupings they were party to. Fleeting linguistic practices such as 'halal' and 'haram' can, in this way, be used as a heuristic, allowing insight into broader process of languaging and identity work.

Learning alongside the lesson

The young people in this study were often deeply engaged with learning, but the data show that this encompassed more than the lesson that the teacher had prepared. In this section I look more closely at the back stage, finding literacy practices that are ordinarily hidden from the teacher's gaze. In this space, young people can be seen expanding their repertoires with elements of other scripts and languages, and using them to maintain relationships as much as to complete school work. This chapter shows educational resources passed through peer networks and used for what I term *parallel* and *covert* learning at the margins of the lessons. It also shows mobile phones used to carry religious texts in different languages (and elsewhere to carry pictures from the migration journey and to communicate with friends and family in other classrooms, cities and

countries). This means that the classroom was also a space where young people drew together wide networks of people, resources and ideas, allowing them to maintain complex and layered relationships and subject positionings.

In this section I show two examples from a single lesson: Siobhan's English-language class in the first period of the morning (see figures eight and nine). It was one of a series of lessons in which she used nursery rhymes, dedicated to encouraging 'confiden[t] speaking' through 'conversational' work (interview, 28 November 2014), and this is the last of that series before the half-term break (see Siobhan's description of this work in chapter four). She began by reviewing the rhymes that they have covered this term and then introduces the focus of this lesson, 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf'. The class watched a video of the story from YouTube and there is some resistance; Eyob told me that it was a 'bad story' because he found it boring. Siobhan distributed the text of the story and the students read it aloud, taking turns, before they stuck it into their exercise books. Figure nine shows George's book and these lesson materials; figure eight, which I will discuss first, shows what another student, Xanan (18, F, Somali), was doing at the same time.

Figure eight shows the first of two stapled pages with a typed narrative visible. From the typesetting and the layout it appears to have been produced by an individual rather than commercially, and then content (with allusions to The Beatles, Manchester and academies) suggest an author who is at least familiar with the UK. I know from Xanan that the document reached her from another student (most likely Habtom), but not its ultimate source. The page is titled 'Hand writing practice' but there are no instructions for how to complete the activity. Xanan had traced over some of the letters (this can just be seen in the image). The photograph was taken on 24 October 2014; Xanan had arrived in the school a month earlier (25 September) and the previous day I had noticed signs that she seemed to be new to schooling:
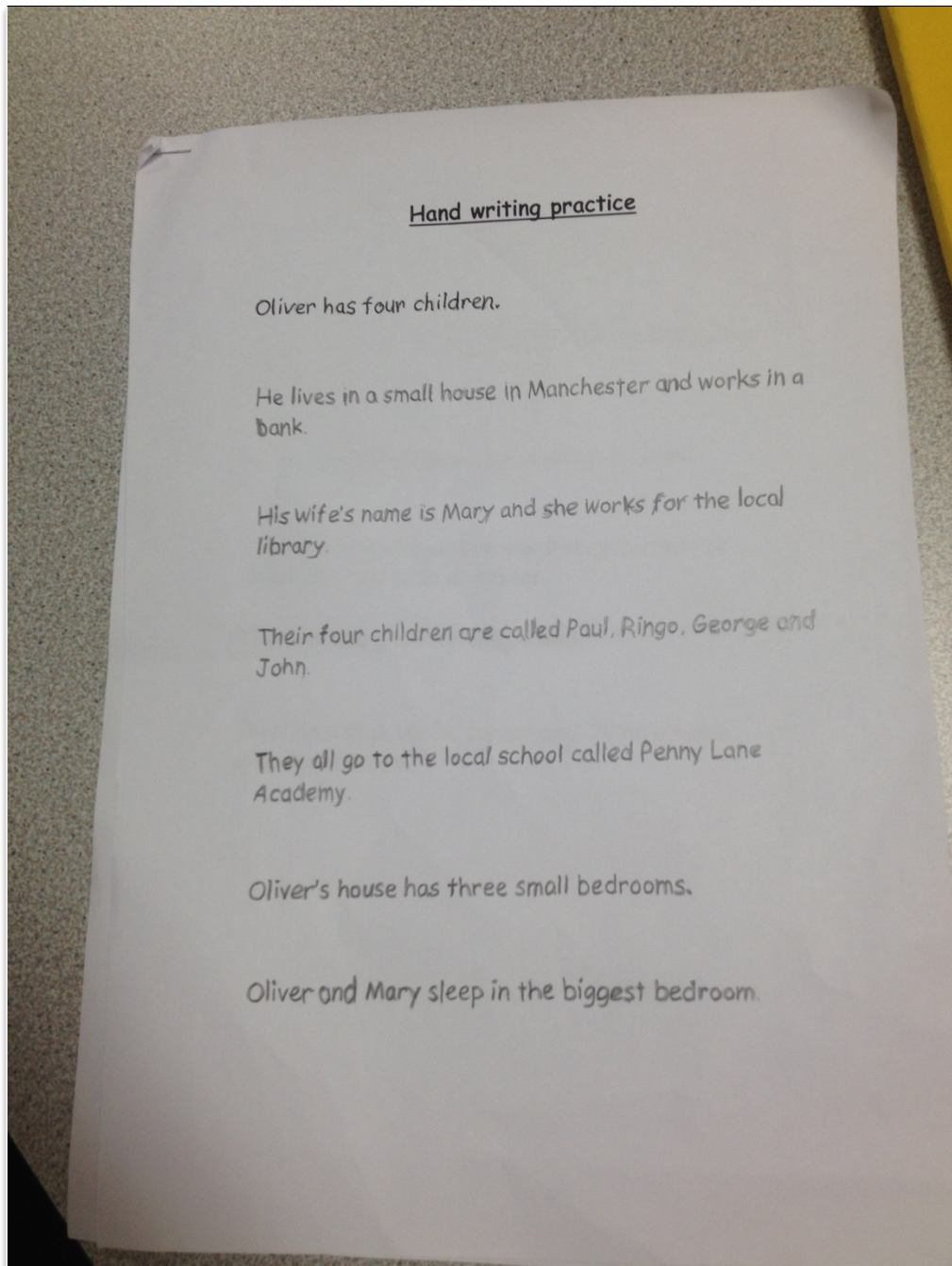
Figure 8: Handwriting practice.

> The students that I'm sitting next to (Xanan and Nalka) are really struggling to
>
> control ruler and pencil. I helped Nalka draw a parallelogram and asked 'have
>
> you ever done this before?': 'No' [she said,] 'I never went to school in Somalia'.

At this point, Xanan and I did not have much language in common and most of what I
could learn – including the exchange captured in the field note – was with the help of
other young people translating and from observation. We might suspect that Xanan, like
Nalka, had not been to school before she came to Pine Wood Academy, but it is worth
digressing into an interview with Nalka's brother, Rajaa, for salient detail.

Rajaa

> I interviewed Rajaa (16, M, Somali) in March 2015. He told me that he had spent
>
> four years living in Uganda with his grandparents and talked about the
>
> responsibilities he had taken on to support the family during that time. He
>
> described watching films with his grandfather and studying the Qur'an, and
>
> mentioned that his father and a brother were living in Sweden.

While still recognising that each young person's trajectory is unique, it is clear that
difficulty in manipulating classroom stationery is not the same thing as a lack of literacy
or learning. Rajaa describes literacy practices (watching and talking about films, and
studying the Qur'an) that may transfer well to the formal classroom. Something similar
can be seen with Xanan: she lacks access to the medium of instruction (and to the
dominant discourses) but she is far from powerless. Within weeks of arriving in the
school she had become part of a network of peers who circulate learning materials for
new arrivals. At the margins of the lesson she had found a way to engage with learning,
although in parallel with the lesson on the front stage.

Unlike Xanan, whose use of a 'hand writing practice' sheet appears to work in parallel to the work of the class, George demonstrated both *parallel* and *covert* elements. Figure nine shows the papers he had open on his desk when I passed by him: a handwritten piece of paper with basic Spanish and English phrases, and his exercise book. The book is open at the work of the lesson, a photocopied sheet with the text of 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf' that the young people had glued into their exercise books, next to which he had copied down and answered a series of questions from the white board describing these pictures. He has also written the following:

Key word

Lie

The wolf is looks Angry.

Wh~~ay~~ ~~me~~ a wolf did come into

the fold? beca

When I asked him where these notes came from, George told me they were 'from [his] head' and that they were 'important for learning'. They are not from Siobhan's lesson: the extra text he has written in his book does not appear on the white board. The Spanish-English text appears to be in George's handwriting but its origin is also unknown. There was a group of Spanish speakers in the class and I had recorded on another occasion that he seemed interested in being friends with them, which may be a factor. The different elements do not have the same value in each interaction (cf. Miller's 2003: 20 'economy of reception', and Badwan's 2015 'exchange value'); it
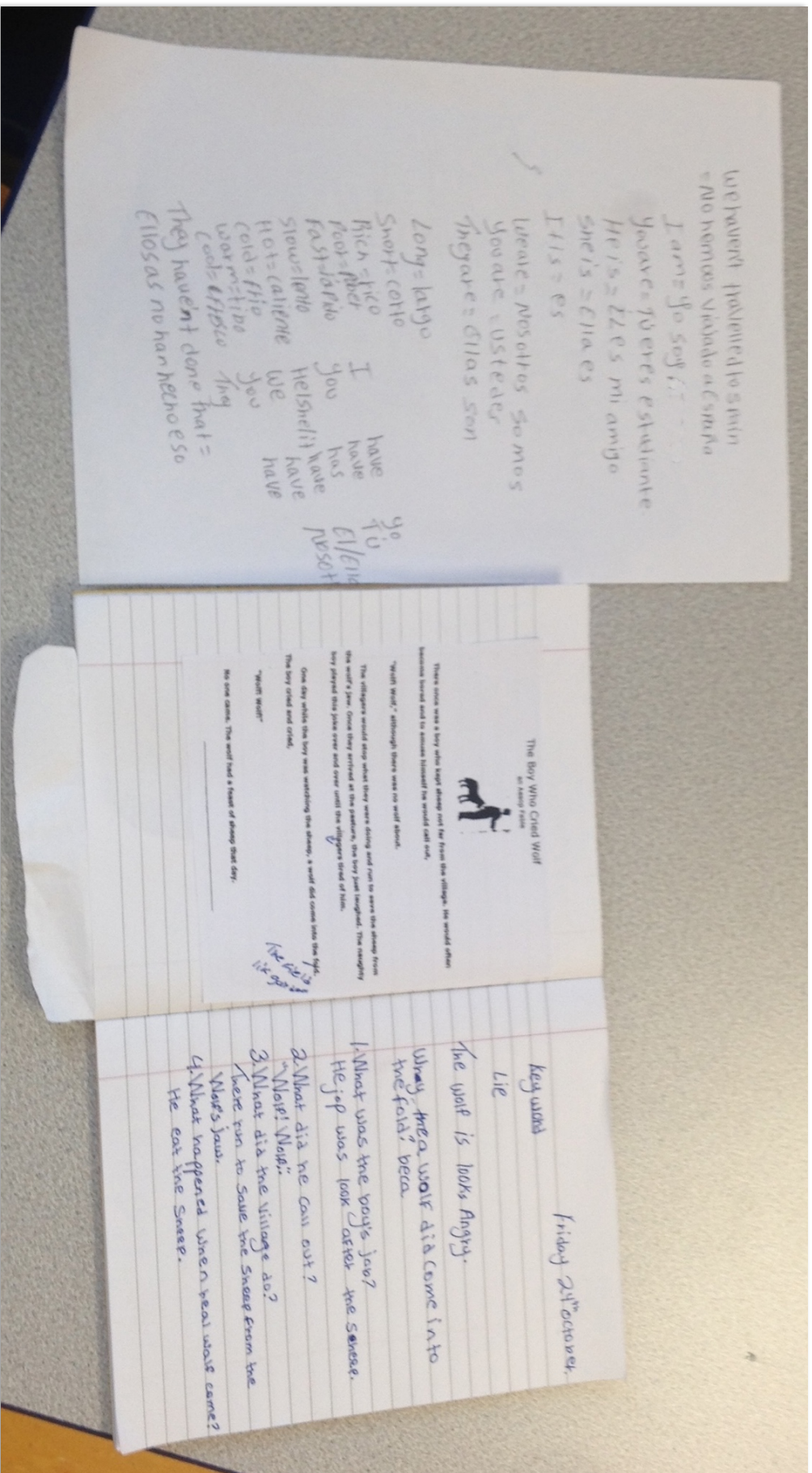
Figure 9: Spanish phrases alongside 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf'.

may be relevant that George was learning Spanish through English, but did not go further by translating them into Amharic. He may not need to: his repertoire certainly contains enough English to work bilingually without referring to his strongest language.

Figure nine shows three texts (the class work and the additional writing in his exercise book, plus the sheet of Spanish phrases) and each can be seen as part of George's trajectory. There is the nursery rhyme itself, part of a series that the young people have been taught in the past weeks. When Siobhan introduced the topic, the participants knew that the lesson would follow a familiar format of text, comprehension questions and performance. The class had watched a video of 'The Boy Who Cried Wolf', read through the story and glued the worksheet into exercise books. The next stage is predictable: comprehension questions based on the text. While the other young people finish sticking in the worksheet and while the teacher writes the questions up on the board, George starts writing out his own 'key words' and questions. This is also part of his trajectory at a larger scale and in other interviews (15 January, 12 February and 15 June 2015) he described his schooling in Ethiopia and how teachers expected young people to remain focused and 'just revise' if they finish working before the teacher is ready. He appears to relocalise (Pennycook 2010) the patterns of behaviour from his earlier schooling, passed through the lens of his more recent experiences, into this learning activity in the present.

Darvin and Norton (2014: 66), in an article on digital story-telling, discuss the 'transnational identities that evolve from a rich, dynamic convergence of differing ideologies, communicative practices and multi-stranded relations.' They argue that, 'to affirm these complex identities, classroom practices need to draw from and legitimize prior knowledges, competencies, and experiences'. This legitimisation should happen in a Third Space (Gutiérrez et al. 1999, Gutiérrez 2008): an unscripted, heteroglossic

discursive space in which 'cultures, discourses and knowledges are made available for all participants' (Gutiérrez *et al.* 1999: 467). The data here show something different: George and Xanan are working at the 'point of convergence' of 'prior knowledges, competencies and experiences', but they are not doing so in direct response to a hegemonic discourse. George is deeply engaged with the processes of formal learning. He brings his expectations of how classrooms work from Ethiopia to London and behaves in ways that teachers expect (revising keywords, looking at comprehension questions after the text). At the same time he is doing something that is definitely not part of the lesson: he has a sheet of Spanish and English phrases that are pushed under his exercise book whenever the teacher came near. All of these interact as he *networks*, bringing together the experiences, expectations and resources from his trajectory with those from the present setting.

Xanan is not operating in an unscripted, spontaneous Third Space, either. She appears to have less experience of formal schooling to draw on and is largely silent on the front stage of the classroom. The worksheet seems unlikely to be effective in developing formal reading and writing (she appears to be tracing letters that she does not understand) but, taken in the context of her own trajectory, it is important. She has quickly become part of a peer network and it has brought access to resources that allowed her to engage in classroom activity when the lesson is otherwise inaccessible to her.

Mobile phones are also an important resource for covert and parallel learning. The following example shows an e-book of the Bible in Tigrinya (figure ten). Reading a religious text is a legitimate activity, but not during the lesson and especially not with a mobile phone (such devices are banned in the school, see figure eleven). This renders the activity illegitimate and pushes it into the marginal spaces of the classroom.
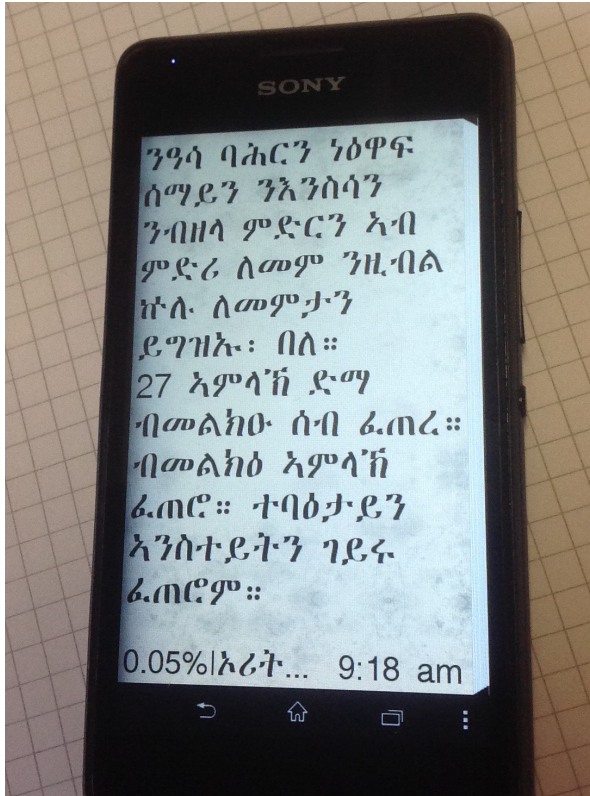
Figure 10: An e-book of the Bible in Tigrinya.

Figure 11: Academy code, including the ban on mobile phones.

```
 1   ((noise of classroom in background))

 2   RS:        OK (.) it's on

 3              (5)

 4              would you say it was easy for you? Semat

 5   Mera:      maths (yeah)

 6              maths is better

 7   RS:        what's that?

 8   Mera:      maths (.) better

 9   RS:        (.) is better

10   Mera:      yeah

11   RS:        why's that Mera

12   Mera:      for (.)

13              English is hard (.) for (2)

14              yeah? (2)

15              English about (    )

16   RS:        why's that

17   Mera:      spelling

18   RS:        spelling=

19   Mera:                =yeah spelling

20              spelling in English is very difficult I agree

21   Mera:      you know my language

22   ((26 seconds without speaking, noise of class continues in

23   background))

24   Mera:      look

25   RS:        oh cool (.)

26   Mera:      yes=

27   RS:               =so you've got pictures of (.)
```

```
28                     is that Amharic

29     Mera:           is (clear?) Tigrinya

30     RS:             Tigrinya?=

31     Mera:                   =is (clear?) (yeah)

32     RS:             yeah

33     Mera:           this and English is a (big) different look

34     RS:             yeah I can see [it looks different]

35     Mera:                          [a (big) different]

36                     (3)

37     RS:             can I take a photo of it?

38     ((interview continues))
```

The interview serves as a good illustration of the methodology used in this study, and how the young people helped to create the dataset. Participant observation provided the backbone of the study and allowed me to identify a moment (see Li Wei 2011) in the classroom that might respond to further investigation (in this case, Mera and Semat's seeming disaffection from the lesson). It also meant that I had time to develop good relationships with the participants and for them to become used to the routines and tools of data collection (note, for example, the quick confirmation that I was starting to record the interview on my iPad, line 2). The interview did not follow my questions at all closely: I asked Semat about the difficulty of the work, but Mera took over and began talking about how he found the language, rather than the subject content, difficult. He also took the opportunity to show me language and text that he did know, and the long pause in the transcript marks the time he spent getting out his phone to show me. Again using the iPad (and with permission, line 37) I was able to take a photograph of his phone, adding the object and text to the data. This approach allowed me to layer my own observations with the practices, repertoires and experiences that the participants

wanted to make public (see below and chapter seven for more detailed analysis of such co-constructed data).

Mera showed me an e-book of the Bible as an example of his linguistic repertoire. As he did I learned more about his language repertoire and the role of this text in his life. He went on to explain that he read this e-book regularly: on the bus, on the train and in quiet moments in class. When I mistook the text for Amharic I made a potentially serious error, confusing the dominant languages (which largely share a script) of two countries that have a history of conflict. I also inadvertently created an opportunity for him to take on a more expert role. The combination of Tigrinya and Christianity was itself significant: it is often a contributing or causal factor in young people's decision to migrate (see a report by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2013, and chapter seven). It also created opportunities for other texts to be brought into the interaction.

A brief digression will show how methodology generated insight into the networks that Mera and others drew on in the classroom. A little earlier in the lesson, the teacher had been checking the meaning of a mathematical symbol:

Field note, 19 March 2015

Jake [the maths teacher] checked the meaning of ≈ (i.e. approximately or roughly): 'roughly'?

Afnan: 'Roughly and smooth?'

Jake asks if the students know what 'exactly' means, as a way around to 'roughly' or 'approximately'. Afnan, quietly, calls out 'cliaster' (Somali), saying that it means roughly.

I asked her to write it in my book with an explanation in English, which she did.

The field note records my misspelling of the word ('cliaster' for 'qiyaas') and Afnan's correction is shown in figure twelve, below.
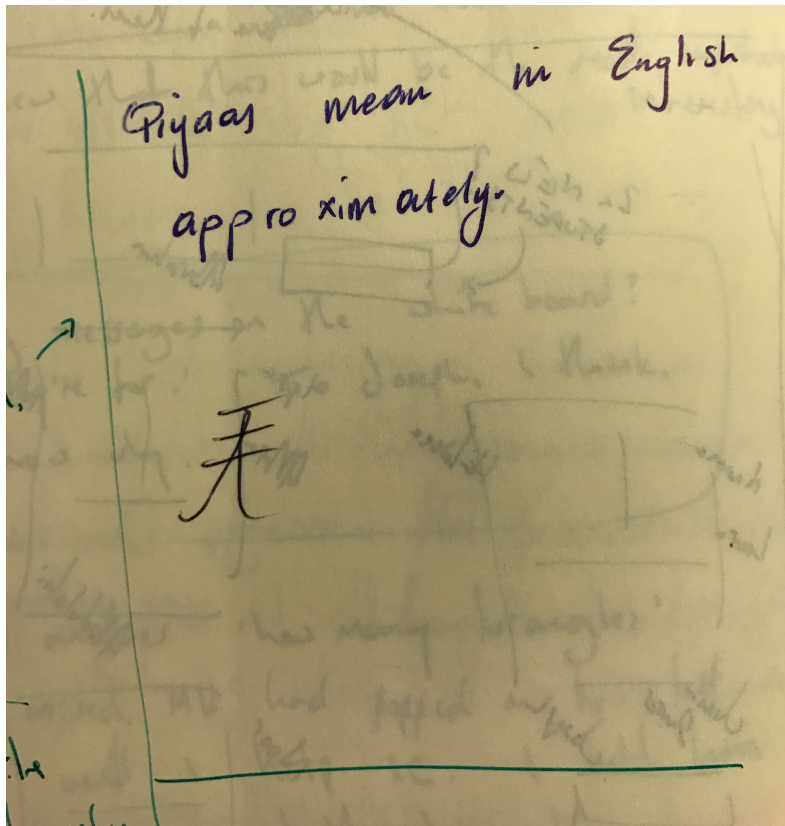
Figure 12: Qiyaas and a 'Chinese' character, from my research notebook.

Mera, who was sitting nearby, saw Afnan writing in my research notebook. Shortly after I had asked him about the difficulty of the maths, and he had shown me his e-book of the Bible in Tigrinya, he started drawing 'Chinese' characters on his mini-whiteboard. Mera rubbed them off his board when I started showing interest, but he was willing to talk about them and to write (one of) the characters in my notebook, next to Afnan's writing (pictured). He told me that he learned the characters from a boy he plays football with in Brixton, South London (near where he lives). He told me that this boy was British and that he had a Chinese father, but that he, Mera, was not sure what the characters meant. When Mera came to rewrite the characters in my notebook he only reproduced one of the two, telling me that he could not remember the other. It would be easy to

dismiss this as doodling because so much of the background to these 'Chinese' characters is unobtainable: I do not know who this football friend is, what exposure to Chinese languages Mera may have had in the past, or even detailed information about his migration trajectory and prior schooling that might help to put these symbols in context. Even such small-scale examples, though, reveal backstage interactions to be important spaces where identity is negotiated through language.

This has not been greatly recognised in the literature and classroom studies are more likely to focus on the spaces created through 'teacher-student' interaction. Cummins and Early (2011: 3), for example, define 'identity texts' as 'the products of students' creative work or performances carried out within the pedagogical space orchestrated by the classroom teacher'. I have described such spaces in terms of the powerful front stage, where the participants' audibility (their legitimacy as users of the dominant discourses) is validated by others, and the less powerful back stage, where there is less potential for legitimation – or for participants to be recognised as illegitimate. The marginal spaces examined here are the extreme backstage: the phones tucked into bags, the erasable whiteboards, the scraps of paper – and others not shown here, such as the backs of hands, whispered conversations and the literal margins of exercise books. These are the spaces where more tentative and private negotiations can take place.

These spaces do not depend on the teacher's involvement: Xanan's use of a 'hand writing practice' worksheet shows how she drew on a peer network to mediate the classroom and her own goals. George's use of Spanish was hidden from his teacher but highlights the economic aspect of classroom interaction, in which the forms of language and learning desired by the teacher compete with others (see Miller 2003 and Badwan 2015). Mera's 'Chinese' characters show the breadth of the networks that young people draw on. The young people were exploring mobility and difference, expanding their

repetitoires as they encountered different scripts and different languages. They were *doing school* in ways that make sense to them: using worksheets, writing out the sort of questions that teachers expect – relocalising their experiences from earlier in their trajectories to the classroom, to adapt Pennycook's (2010) term. This sort of activity is difficult to relate to the demands of the curriculum. Robertson (2010: 129), writing about complementary schooling and initial teacher education, found that '[e]thnic minority communities were typically perceived as separate from and outside the schools' funds of knowledge [and] outside the norm'. These marginal spaces represent the extreme back stage: activity here is kept apart from the teacher-led activity on the front stage and the semi-private back stage, where negotiation is rarely truly unguarded because it is so easily observed. Keeping such marginal spaces private is an important part of classroom life, and the following section shows how Afnan made strategic use of the different stages to make herself heard among users of the dominant discourses.

'Seni çok seviyorum'

This final section looks at one student's trajectory in more detail, and at how she brings other elements into the classroom to help her negotiate a disadvantageous subject positioning. The following vignette is based on a series of brief field notes made in class but has been lightly edited to make it more readable as a whole:

Vignette, 22 January 2015

Period 1, maths.

In the back of a maths lesson, Sana, Afnan, Eyob and I are a little bored. They are chatting in English and Afnan is writing idly on the mini-whiteboard that the teacher has handed out for an arithmetic quiz. I notice that she had filled her

board with Arabic script [figure fourteen]. I show interest and take a photo using my iPad, and while I do Sana wrote my name on her own board [figure fifteen]. I ask her what language she wrote in and she tells me that 'Arabic is my language same writing' (i.e. that Arabic, Pashto and Dari share a script).

While I talked with Sana, Afnan had wiped her board clean and written something more [figure sixteen]:

Seni çok seviyorum

Senin için yaşam ahiret kadar arkadaşım

:)

Sana writes greetings phrases in Pashto and Dari on her board, and then rubs them off again. I suggest that we get back to the work that the teacher had set, but Eyob tells me 'we've done this'. It seems to be much too easy for them.

Eyob says 'saboor' and the three young people explain that it means 'patience'. Afnan writes it in my research notebook [figure seventeen] and on her mini-whiteboard.

Figure thirteen shows where we sat. I was in the seat marked '2', between Eyob (1) and Afnan (3). Sana sat next to her (4). Later in this lesson, George later sat with us at '5'. Sana, Afnan and Eyob's reaction to him is discussed in chapter seven.

Figure 13: The classroom, with our table marked.
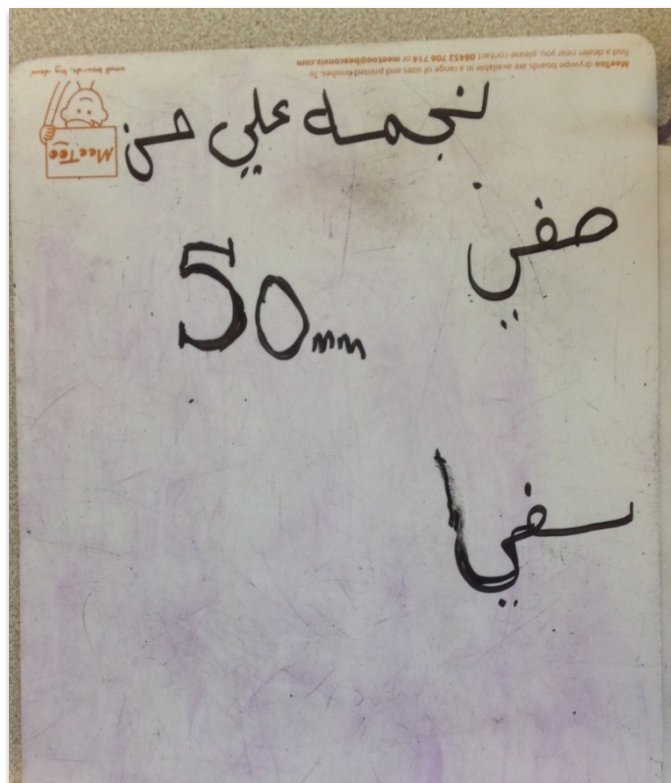
Figure 14: A mini-whiteboard with Afnan's writing.
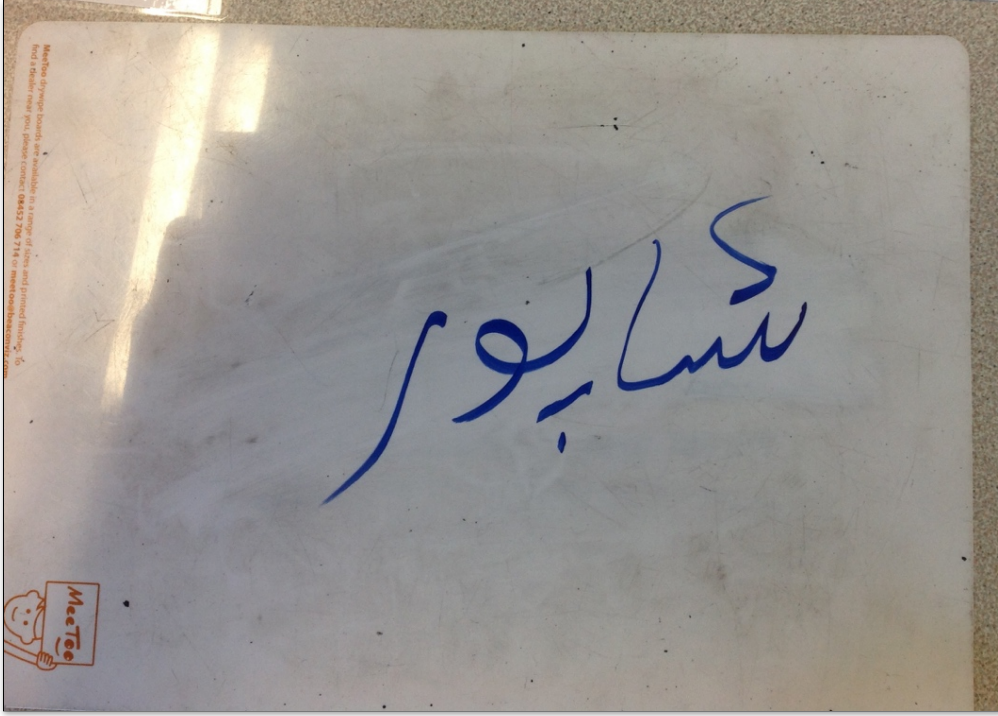
Figure 15: My name.
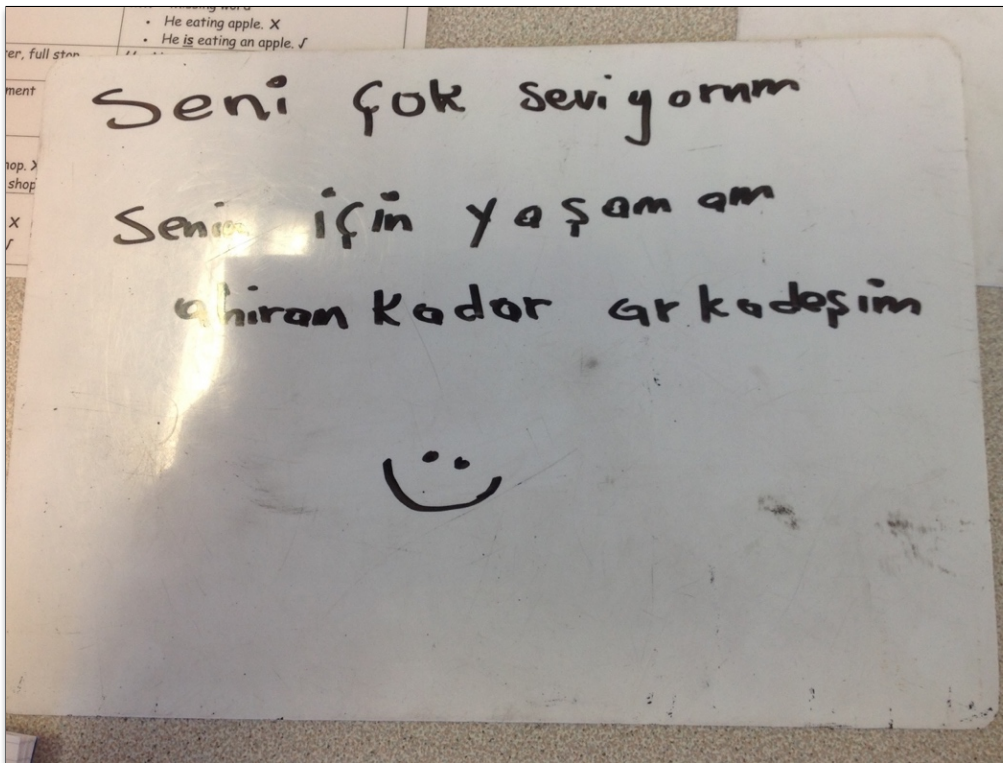
Figure 16: Seni çok seviyorum.
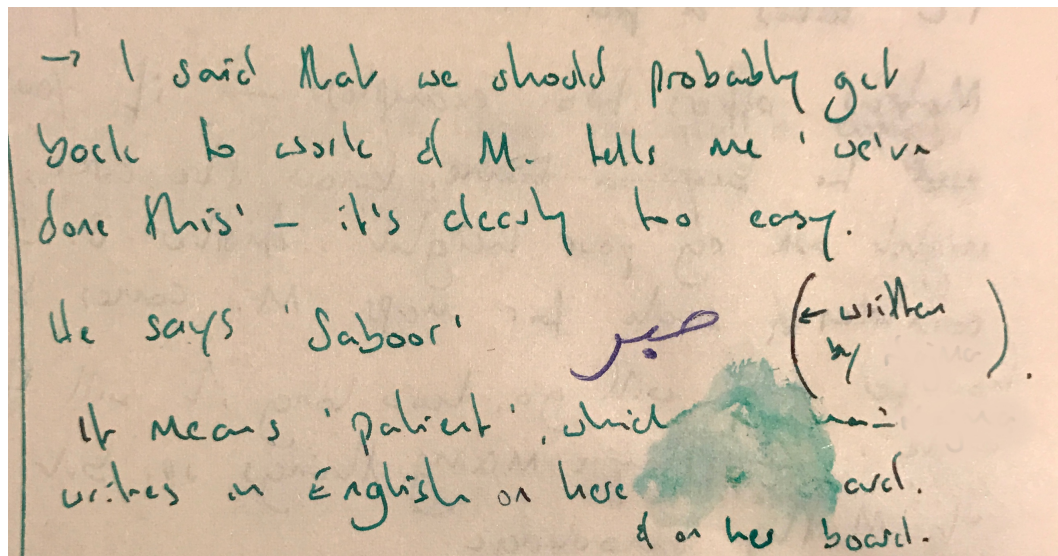
Figure 17: 'Saboor', written in my research notebook.

The process of arranging, photographing, cropping and printing these images separates them from the interaction they were part of. At the time, a small group of us sat around a table together, passing whiteboards between us. Afnan and Sana each saw what the other had written and created something new in response; my involvement seems to have been taken as tacit permission to ignore the work of the classroom for a few minutes. Eyob watched but did not immediately take part. He stepped in to explain why they were drifting away from the lesson and introduced 'saboor', meaning 'patience', which appears to be part of their shared repertoire but was is new to me. These texts show young people using the back-stage space to mediate the lesson, to articulate a view of themselves as capable of more than the lesson demanded of them, and to co-opt me into their dissatisfaction with the curriculum.

The texts shown in figures fourteen to sixteen can be understood as a sequence of turns. In each turn, the participants pull a slightly different network of references, experience and signs into alignment, creating new subject positionings for themselves to occupy. The first turn is Afnan's. Her board already contained the answer to the maths question ('50mm') and she added script from her own repertoire (Arabic, though note that the

school has recorded her language as Somali). This may have been a deliberate choice, using a local lingua franca. Sana's main languages (Pashto and Dari, she also speaks Urdu) both use a variant of Arabic script; Afnan (Somali and Turkish) and Sana are both likely to be familiar with Arabic for religious purposes; and the field notes (24 October 2014) also record mention that it is part of Eyob's repertoire from his migration journey. Sana's turn draws on her own repertoire to transliterate my name into (what I understood to be) Pashto, engaging me directly as both audience and addressee. There is a strong element of play here, and a sense of young people showing off their language skills. I am a keen audience, showing interest and taking photographs of what they produce, but the layering of texts is led by the young people.

Afnan's next move introduces a new element, and shows how the young people use the different stages, and my presence, strategically. The Turkish text she writes on her board (figure sixteen) contains a number of non-standard forms and is partially obscured by the reflection of the overhead light, but it translates roughly as:

I love you so much.

My friend until the last day on earth.

:)

When I asked her what the Turkish meant she began to translate, but then blushed brightly and fell silent. Clearly, I was the audience for this display of her linguistic repertoire but not the addressee of this message; by introducing Turkish she was also introducing an aspect of her migration trajectory. It emerged as we talked that she had spent two years in Turkey after leaving Somalia, only arriving in the UK a year before. I interviewed the teachers in the department: none had heard that Afnan had lived in Turkey, or knew that she had been to school in Somalia.

Afnan, Sana and Eyob agreed to stay after class to talk to me and I asked them what 'saboor' meant:

Interview with Afnan, Sana and Eyob, 22 January 2015 [0:10 - 1:18]

```
 1   RS:        and you were talking about Dari and Pashto

 2              and you wrote um

 3   Afnan:     saboor ((/sæbr/))=

 4   Sana:                         =saboor ((/sabɔːr/))

 5   RS:        sab-oor

 6   Sana:      ye:s (.) saboor ((/sæbr/))=

 7   RS:                                    =ok

 8              in my book

 9              which means patience

10   Sana:      yes patient

11   RS:        um why were we writing that

12              (2)

13   Eyob:      she say

14              this is (.) er

15              this is (.) e:r

16              easy

17              she say easy

18              I say saboor for her

19   RS:        be patient ok cos the work was too easy for you

20              tell me about that did you find the work very

21              easy in maths

22   Sana:      easy ((emphatically))=

23   RS:                              =yeah

24   Afnan:     yep ((bored tone))

25   Sana:      ye:s
```

```
26   RS:          tell me more (.) why

27                (2)

28                where did=

29   Afnan:                =we learned

30   RS:          where

31   Afnan:       °when we [a:re (.) in our country°

32   Eyob:                 [we know it (.) easy]

33   Afnan:       when we are in (our) country

34   ((interview continues))
```

As we talked, the participants described and compared their studies. Eyob told me that all his learning had been 'in the community'; Sana reported studying a smaller range of subjects with a stronger emphasis on religious instruction in Afghanistan; and Afnan had followed a seemingly broad primary curriculum in Somalia. Looking back through the data, I found that Afnan had told me that she spoke Turkish the previous week (interview, 15 January 2015). The previous autumn I had been sitting near her when a supply teacher asked the class to fill in worksheets about what they had been studying two years previously (22 November, field notes). Afnan gave a list of subjects that she had been learning in Somalia, but did not mention the school in Turkey that – by her chronology – she would have been attending at the time.

Afnan, it appears, was telling her story little by little and in increasingly formal contexts. Her friends, Sana and Eyob, showed no surprise and asked no questions when she told me about living in Turkey. There are several possible explanations: perhaps the social norms of the International Group (where mobility and difference are foregrounded) precluded asking questions about each other's backgrounds, or that they already knew. In any case, the move to tell me about it seems significant. It suggests that I was seen a more-audible speaker but not someone with a teacher-like authority (in chapter seven, I

show how Eyob, too, draws on that audibility). This enabled Afnan to use me to create a

context in which she could reposition herself within the discursive community of the

International Group (see also chapters three and seven). The network she drew together

to do so included a material resource (the white board) and a resource from her

linguistic repertoire. She linked this to the pseudonym she had chosen for this study,

drawing me into this interaction. She had mentioned that she spoke Turkish when I had

asked about the participants languages before; now that the focus is on the scripts the

young people have access to she introduce Turkish script. Afnan controls the release of

information about her personal trajectory, choosing when and whom to engage in its

telling, and what resources to use.

Review

This chapter has shown how the young people's trajectories are built up of many small-

scale interactions, and that the trajectories should be seen as an important part of their

experience of schooling. These trajectories intersect in the contact zone, and by

describing classrooms in such terms I have emphasised both the importance of their

earlier repertoires and experiences, as well as the mutually shaping interactions through

which schools and young people make sense of each other. I began with two words that

were briefly but intensely popular during the fieldwork period: 'halal' and 'haram'. I used

them as a heuristic to investigate the ways in which the participants negotiated

difference: they allowed the participants to contest gender expectations, to mitigate the

ways in which they were positioned by the adults, to bridge distance between peers and

to test the boundaries of the dominant ethnic, linguistic and national identities.

Membership of the International Group may have been too fluid for settled group-level

repertoires to emerge, but the high popularity and widespread recognition of phrases like 'halal' and 'haram' appeared to create new opportunities for solidarity.

In this chapter I also looked at how the contact zone could be further divided into interactional spaces where more or less legitimacy was at stake. I borrowed the metaphor of 'front stage' and 'back stage' from Goffman (1956) but used it in a significantly different way, emphasising the interplay of physical and discursive stages and introducing Miller's (2003) work on 'audibility'. The young people called out in front of the class, chatted quietly, used mobile phones and jotted notes for each other (and for me), but all of these can be seen as part of them making sense of the school and of each other. I described *parallel* and *covert* learning, such as George's interest in Spanish phrases, his attempts to get on with the teacher's work more quickly by using his own questions, and Xanan's use of a 'hand writing practice' sheet and the network of peers it suggests. These show the interaction of individual trajectories and the formal classroom, a focus that I developed at more length by looking at Afnan's use of her linguistic (and scriptural) repertoire to share information about her migration trajectory. In the chapter that follows, I extend this argument by looking at how one young person's time at Pine Wood Academy can be seen as a continuation of his migration trajectory.

Chapter 7   Eyob

Overview

The three previous chapters focused in turn on the national policy context, the classroom and the young people. They showed that official accounts of young migrants emphasised a perceived linguistic deficiency and erased much of the experiences, skills and resources that are required to migrate successfully. A similar erasure could be seen in the teachers' professional activity. The lack of clear policy created a gap; the staff of the International Group filled that gap by drawing on their own personal and professional experiences. Similarly, the heterogeneity and mobility of the International Group foregrounded the young people's 'trajectories'. I used the term to describe how their experiences, repertoires and expectations travelled with them as they migrated, and formed the basis of their engagement with their school in the UK. Looking more closely at the classroom, I used Pratt's (1987, 1991) notion of 'contact zones' to describe what happened when young people from very different backgrounds were brought together and their trajectories intersected, working with Goffman's (1956) metaphor of staging and Miller's (2003) work on audibility to examine contact-zone interaction in detail.

This final analytical chapter looks at the trajectory of a single participant: Eyob, a sixteen-year-old boy from Eritrea. My aim is to show how the discussion in the preceding chapters comes together when viewed through the lens of one person. To do so I take three incidents from the data and use them to show how Eyob positioned and repositioned himself as he moved through the International Group. The chapter begins with the story of his migration from Eritrea to the UK, as told over several weeks early in

the fieldwork. This is the history that is erased by the dominant definition of 'EAL' (see chapter four), but examining the successive drafts and Eyob's own amendments shows a writer making strategic use of that history and the resources at his disposal, including myself. The second incident followed an argument between Eyob and George, a fifteen-year-old boy from Ethiopia. As Eyob and two friends retell the story of that fight, they reveal the interaction between themselves as individuals and the institutional boundaries of the school – and how this structure-agency tension is used as part of their identity work. The final incident shows such identity work in crisis: a disagreement led to an argument, which in turn led to disciplinary action. The ensuing telling-off, captured on a lapel microphone that Eugenio was wearing, sheds light on the complex relationships between the young people, the adults and the institution.

Eyob was chosen for this chapter primarily because he appeared in two powerful and well-defined points in the data. First, he asked me to write his travel story with him, creating a set of recordings and texts around one of the key themes in the study; second, a classroom recording captured his private interaction with Eugenio, a teaching assistant, in which they negotiated what counted as legitimate behaviour, explicitly contrasting Eyob's migration experiences with the school environment. These two incidents were neither solicited nor expected, but they constituted 'rich points' (Agar 2009) in the data that demanded further investigation. They also offered insight into the ongoing relevance of migration to the young people's experiences in school. I began re-analysing the data for other incidents in which Eyob described his migration, and chose the story of his fight with George because it was observed, explained and recounted in the data – another particularly rich point. This gave a series of three incidents, each representing different stages of Eyob's movement into and through the school.

Narratives of migration

Each of these three incidents can be seen as an interaction between the habitus (see chapter four) of Eyob's migration journey and that of the school. They are always in contact, and in this sense the school is a 'contact zone', but these incidents show where they are brought to the fore and contested. Such moments of contest and 'crisis' are when identity work gets 'interesting, relevant and visible', say Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 19):

> [W]e see identity as particularly salient in contexts where multiple interpretations or meanings collide, resulting in a power struggle as to whose interpretation prevails.

In each of the incidents in this chapter, Eyob is engaged in a struggle to make his voice audible and his interpretations prevail. I refer to 'contact' rather than collision, because they are not all moments of crisis. In the first incident, as he tells his travel story, the identity work is focused on making his story 'audible' – having it recognised as a legitimate part of the dominant discourse, and himself as a legitimate user of such discourse. To do so he has to work with his interlocutor, and the analysis shows him building my understanding of his experiences and guiding me towards a standpoint from which I can legitimise his story.

In the second incident, Eyob's retelling of a fight with George shows how the structural aspects of schooling – the adults' authority and the school rules – are co-opted into conflicts between young people. George failed to recognise the discursive norms of a lesson, but Eyob's increasing familiarity with the school rules allowed him to claim a comparatively more authoritative positioning at George's expense. This is one way in which young people's trajectories change: they engage with the institutional habitus through their interactions with peers, and over time come to adopt the norms,

discourses and practices of schooling in their own habitus. The final incident, though, shows that process in crisis. Eyob responded to a perceived threat according to the behavioural norms of his migration journey, in an immediate and aggressive reaction that appears to have been a strategy for maintaining personal safety. Eugenio and Eyob talked at length about what constitutes appropriate behaviour. Again, they engaged with the differences between the institution and the individual, but the heightened emotion of the moment meant that they could find little common ground.

Such tensions can be found throughout the literature on migration journeys. Wallace (2011), in London, describes the challenges that globally mobile young people face in 'becoming a pupil'. Amadasi (2014), in Italy, describes young migrants using their personal stories to negotiate membership of different cultural groups in school. Vathi *et al.* (2016) report on the educational experiences of 'returned migrants' in Hungary, and the tensions between their transnational experience and the way they are positioned by the education system. Catalano (2016) notes that 'participation in ESL classes' not only 'differentiated [one participant] as "foreign", but also kept him back' in lower-level classes. She argues that the young people are often aware of the 'limitations that the label "ELL" can have on their education' but that they 'often remain powerless to change the system' (p. 92). Similarly, Cooke's (2008) study of three adolescent migrants found that they were 'positioned by policy as "ESOL adults"' (p. 24), rather than 'EAL'. These studies show in detail how different education systems both constrain and enable young people to make their voices heard. They all emphasise peer interaction as a key lens through which young people make sense of their schools and colleges, and recognise that group membership is a more salient context for identity work than language deficiency. This has strong parallels to the present chapter, which examines how one young person sought to make his own voice heard in the school.

Eyob's travel story

At this point I want to present Eyob's travel story. This is the version that we produced together and I introduce it with information about that production process. Including it here gives context to the ensuing discussion, allowing me to show how the findings from each chapter inform the understanding of individual narratives, before I examine those connections in more depth in this chapter.

Background

Eyob approached me one morning during an English lesson and asked me to write his 'travel story'. My field note records my surprise:

> **Field note, 24 October 2014**
>
> Eyob told me that he wants to tell me his 'travel story'. I said he should come and see me at break. It was completely spontaneous and unsolicited, but very interesting.

He did come to see me that day and he told me the story of his migration from Eritrea to the UK. He wanted it written down so that other people could read it and recognise the importance of what he had been through. I recorded the conversation and later transcribed the text to produce the first written version for his comments. We read through it together in a second interview, also recorded, with him commenting on the text and the narrative. I worked these two transcripts into a prose draft, which he amended and approved in a third (also recorded) interview. It is this final version that I use and quote from here when I describe his migration (and it is reproduced in full as appendix III). The process is detailed in table six. Eyob, incidentally, is the name of a friend who travelled with him but who did not survive the migration journey.

	Date:	Content:	Duration:
Interview 1:	24 October 2014	initial telling, transcribed.	27m 31s
Interview 2:	27 November 2014	review transcript, add detail, produce prose version.	23m 33s
Interview 3:	27 February 2015	approve prose version, discuss picture.	10m 53s
			61m 57s

Table 6: The data collection and writing process for Eyob's travel story.

Eyob's travel story

Eyob's migration journey began when he was four years old, in May 2002, when he moved from Eritrea to Somalia. His mother made the journey with him, but died the same year. Eyob lived with the woman whose house they had rented and describes her as his mother. He describes Somalia as a dangerous place for a young Eritrean boy, as the Sudanese government 'put Eritrean people in prison or send them back to Eritrea or to the Sinai desert'. He told me that he didn't have family in Eritrea and 'would have to become a soldier' if he returned.

Eyob describes wanting to move to Libya, and aged fifteen found an 'agent' who would take him. He had no money but says that he told the 'agent' his story and was allowed to travel for free along with four paying adults. They travelled to Libya across the Sahara in a 4x4 with an open flat-bed, over nine days. Eyob describes the vehicle as very over-crowded:

I was in the car with too much people – 27 or so. It was very dangerous if you fall off. I know one man who fell off and he broke his neck: he died. They left him there. Sometimes you are fed up – some people threw themselves from the cars.

Eyob arrived in Libya without documents and was arrested in Benghazi. He spent six months in prison, with no funds to bribe the guards for his release. He describes it as 'very bad', with regular beatings. After six months he and the four other Eritreans escaped by starting a fire in a bin while cleaning outside. They fled on foot, without food, and Eyob was (at times) carried by one of the men. He spent fifteen days in the Sahara around Christmas 2014 before getting help at a small town. The others called their families for funds for the journey across the Mediterranean, and Eyob said he was again allowed to travel for free with them.

The boat was heavily over-crowded and there was no food. The 'captain' carried a 'phone, a big phone' and called for help. An 'oil boat' picked them up, and took them to Italy, where they hid from ticket inspectors on the train to 'Ventimilano', then to Nice, then to Calais. They came to England in a refrigerated lorry. It 'was very cold, in with the bananas'.

Telling and retelling

An extract from the first interview will show how his travel story was constructed through a series of questions, answers and elaborations:

Interview with Eyob, 24 October 2014 [01:27-02:22]

1 **RS:**   did you live in many places in Sudan?

2 **Eyob:**   uh yeah (2) I know (.) all I know Sudan [   ]

3   (1) I live eleven years

```
 4   RS:                                                    [mm-hm]

 5   RS:        eleven years in Sudan that's [long] time (2)

 6   Eyob:                                         [yeah]

 7   RS:        with (.) the woman [    ] you say ok

 8   Eyob:                         [yeah]

 9   Eyob:      (2) and (2) for my (2) safety (.) Sudan no

10   RS:        ((softly:)) ok

11   Eyob:      and (.)

12   RS:        and why is Sudan not safe for you?

13   Eyob:      I go to Eritrea I go to (.) soldier (1) and

14              ((tails off))

15   RS:        you would have to join the army?

16   Eyob:      yeah (.) is (1) permanent

17   RS:        mm-hm

18   Eyob:      after ten (.) ten? (.) and (1) seventeen years

19              (.) soldier army

20   RS:        so-ok so you would have to become a soldier

21   Eyob:      yeah (.) in the:= ((tails off))

22   RS:                          =in in Sudan or in [Eritrea   ]

23   Eyob:                                            [in Eritrea]

24   RS:        ok
```

This is a semi-private setting (an empty classroom at break time) with a limited number of interlocutors, but there is a great deal at stake. Eyob is making a strong claim for audibility. For him this appears to mean getting me to understand the significance of his migration, and not just telling me the facts. The setting allows us to create a 'safe space' (Conteh and Brock 2010, Canagarajah 1997) in which I can come to understand what his migration journey signified to him.

I was not aware of being repositioned at the time. I asked questions to elicit the basic narrative, such as: 'did you live in many places in Sudan?' (line 1) and 'why is Sudan not safe for you?' (line 12). Eyob answered these questions with key details (such as: 'I live eleven years', line 3, and 'I go to Eritrea I go to soldier', line 13). Where aspects of his story aren't clear, I asked questions or recast his words to clarify (such as: 'so ok so you would have to become a soldier', line 20). There is not a great deal of elaboration in the first interview, but this basic pattern of questions and answers, recasts and added details became the raw material for later interviews and the final, prose version of his story.

In one sense I am the more powerful interlocutor and am leading the conversation, but it is clear that Eyob is telling me more than I am able to understand at the time. He tells me of a well-known migration route, from Eritrea to Sudan to avoid military service, which he emphasises 'is permanent' (line 16). My own lack of contextual understanding is clear in lines 15 and 20, as I summarise the particular significance of military service in Eritrea in general (and inexact) terms. Eyob is building my understanding – patiently, it seems – and confirming my interpretations as I venture them (e.g. lines 6, 8, 16, 21, 23). The discussion around becoming a soldier shows this interaction in detail (lines 13-21). Eyob begins by explaining that 'I go to soldier', which I recast as having to 'join the army'. Eyob accepts this interpretation, but it doesn't get the full sense of military service in Eritrea and why it is so important that he leave his adopted home and undertake this perilous trans-continental journey to avoid it (see also a report for the UNHCR by the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada 2012). He explains that military service 'is permanent' and that he was approaching the age, 'seventeen', when he would be conscripted. I miss this and restate my interpretation, which Eyob finally accepts ('yeah', line 21). Although my questions and recasts dominate much of our interview, Eyob is guiding, explaining and validating the story as we go.

In this next extract (still from the first interview), Eyob describes his escape from prison in Libya and the limits of my understanding are made very clear:

Interview with Eyob, 24 October 2014 [6:08-7:05]

```
 1   RS:        (2) so you escaped from the prison

 2   Eyob:      yeah

 3   RS:        how did you escape

 4   Eyob:      (2) burn (1) the rubbish outside

 5   RS:        you burnt it you made a fire

 6   Eyob:      yeah me and four [friends] (.) and the guard no

 7              look us in that time

 8   RS:        ((quietly))       [and and]

 9              and you ran away=

10   Eyob:                        =this guard

11              ((mimes guards dealing with the fire))

12   RS:        yes (.) ok

13   Eyob:      we run (.) to ((too?)) (.) long time

14   RS:        yeah

15   Eyob:      (yeah) (.) and no food (2)

16              one man (1) he (2) he [     ] he's big (2)

17   RS:                               [mm-hm]

18   Eyob:      he (1) me in this ((mimes carrying))

19   RS:        on your back?

20   Eyob:      one man (.) big man (.) I (.) me (     )

21   RS:        yeah [so      ] oh he carried you=

22   Eyob:           [he (.) he]

23                                       =he carried me

24   RS:        wow thank goodness
```

Eyob was not simply telling his story to a sympathetic audience; he was using his past experiences as a resource to claim a more advantageous positioning for himself in the present. In the early stages of the interview he had given brief responses to my questions (e.g. lines 1-2 in this extract). Now the conversation turned to events that lie far from my own experiences, and I was unable to keep up the pattern of questions and answers. As he told me about his escape from prison in Libya my responses show that I was listening, sustaining a longer turn on his part (lines 8-9, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21). At points my responses collapsed into expressions of surprise or disbelief: 'yes ok' (line 12), 'yeah' (line 14), 'wow thank goodness' (line 24). These followed some of the more high-tension elements of Eyob's story (distracting guards, fleeing, reaching exhaustion and having to be carried).

Eyob's travel story does not appear to be a single narrative that is retold in the same form each time. It emerged as he responded to his interlocutor, adding detail where explanation was necessary, introducing new elements when prompted either by questions or by relevant links in his own telling. He brought in each element separately, checking that I could follow and learning what needed to be restated, contextualised and explained as he went. This interaction had to happen on the back stage: I was listening from the perspective of someone who is very settled and Eyob was drawing me into his experiences of being highly mobile (see Hamann 2001, 2016 on the 'settled' and the 'mobile'). Interaction on the discursive or physical 'front stage' tends to focus on the speaker as a legitimate user of the dominant discourses; here, in a more private space, Eyob was addressing my legitimacy as an audience for his story. Notwithstanding Rampton's (2003) warning about 'putting rapport before theory development', I was Eyob's audience (see chapter three). At times I was hanging on his words but I was also his scribe, and he was using my greater experience with written English to produce a version of his story in that comparatively authoritative register.

One final set of extracts show how the different tellings were layered, from the initial

outline, through a shift in modality and a more detailed discussion of Eyob's migration,

to simplification and summary in the prose version. I focus on Eyob's explanation of his

reasons for leaving Ethiopia and the threat of military service. It was first mentioned in

the first interview:

Interview with Eyob, 24 October 2014 [1:06-1:26]

```
1    Eyob:      yea:h (1)

2               and (2)

3               Sudan no (.) for me? no good

4    RS:        mm-hm

5    Eyob:      because (.) I go (.) I don't have family in

6               [    ] Eritrea?

7    RS:        [mm-hm]

8    Eyob:      >Sudan Ethiopia< (  ) police government

9               sometimes (.) Eritrean people to move
```

Eyob gave the immediate reason for his transnational migration as the risk of being

swept up by the Ethiopian police and returned to Eritrea where, I later learned, he may

still be required to complete military service. Some weeks later we met again for the

second interview. I had transcribed our first conversation and was ready to look over the

transcript with him, but we began instead with an image he wanted to show me on his

phone (figure eighteen, below). This image, he told me, had been taken during the

Sahara crossing *en route* to Libya. The introduction of a new mode appears to have had

an effect on his telling of the story, and as I began reading the transcript of the first

interview to him he re-told the story in much greater depth.

Figure 18: Image on Eyob's phone, 27 February 2015.

As I read the transcript of our earlier interview back to him, Eyob expanded on the

problems with staying in the Sudan (that he risked being rounded up and imprisoned or

deported to Eritrea). He identified the risk of conscription as the proximate cause for

migrating from Eritrea and religious persecution as a broader worry. He said that Eritrean

people in the Sudan and Ethiopia are sometimes deported to the desert instead of being

returned to Eritrea, and described the Rashaida people as instrumental in people

smuggling in that region (see Humphris 2013, a report on the Rashaida for the UNHCR).

He contextualised and filled gaps in my knowledge, correcting my understanding of key

concepts (such as his age when he left), answering follow-up questions and continuing

(after a long pause) only when I had indicated that I understood. At points, our

overlapping speech showed Eyob listening, picking up on my back-channelled responses but not relinquishing the turn until he was ready to ask a direct question to probe my understanding (lines 1-9, above).

The multiple drafts of Eyob's travel story create a data set that includes recordings and transcripts from each stage of the (re-) writing process, and examining them closely suggests that the notion of 'repertoire' should be revisited. In its original meaning it referred to 'the 'totality of linguistic resources' available to a community (Gumperz 1972: 20-21). In my interactions with Eyob, repertoire was something that was built up between us. We came from such different backgrounds that the kind of audibility Eyob appeared to be seeking required us to establish common ground through interaction (see Benor 2010 on the problematic notion of 'ethnolinguistic repertoire' and Busch 2012 on repertoires expressed as an individual property). Blommaert and Backus (2011: 22) describe repertoires as 'records of mobility', and this may be what is visible in these extracts. In retelling his story, Eyob and I worked with verbal interaction, the texts we produced and the image he introduced (as well as gesture and spatial arrangement, which are not captured in the data), and each became part of our ongoing negotiation. This creation of a shared repertoire can be compared with Cummins and Early's (2011) 'identity texts' (see chapter six): our collaboratively created texts are 'invested' with identity and hold up 'a mirror' in which identity is 'reflected back in a positive light' (p. 3).

In this light, Eyob's careful telling of his travel story has important implications. As Blommaert (2009) notes, there are strong expectations around how migrants should present their experiences and around what experiences can be recognised within the prevailing discursive order. As Eyob told and retold his story, he was able to challenge this order and the apparatus that sustains it. He co-opted me into the telling, a willing adult who is only partially a member of the school institution. He persisted, answering

my questions until the time came to take over the telling, building a shared repertoire of words, ideas and images so that I could – to the extent I am able – appreciate the experience and what it signifies about him. In the next section we see a similar process, as Eyob retells another story in the company of his friends.

'I punched him'

The second incident is the retelling of an altercation between Eyob and George (15, M, Ethoipian), which had apparently taken place shortly after Eyob arrived at the school some five months previously. I learned about it during a first-period maths class, when George asked to come and sit at a table with Eyob, Afnan, Sana and myself (see figure thirteen in chapter six). The others reacted strongly, and this led to a discussion about their relationship with him. I asked them to hang back for an interview later in the day to talk more.

The class had been studying units of measurement, especially millimetres and centimetres, and most of the young people were working quietly on exercises in the course book. Eyob, Afnan and Sana were working together in the back corner of the room and I was sitting near them. We had been distracted: they were showing me the scripts of the different languages they spoke on their mini-whiteboards (shown in chapter six) when George came over to ask me to check his answers:

> ### Field note, 22 January 2015
>
> George comes over to ask me for help. He asks (after I've checked his answers) if he can sit at our table to keep working. Eyob and Afnan object – quite rudely! They say 'annoying' a lot […] and complain to me and Jake [the teacher] that they don't want George to sit with them. I said that they were being rude and

> our earlier conversation petered out. […] I work with him and Eyob for much of
>
> the rest of the lesson.
>
> Things get a bit heated between George and Eyob – I say 'Eyob, stop it … George,
>
> stop it' and try to bring the temperature down.

There was a different power dynamic here, compared with when I sat with Eyob to work

on his travel story. The space had not changed (we were sitting in a classroom as before),

but the time and staging had. This interaction took place during a lesson and Eyob's

friends were present, meaning that there was more scope for him to use the interaction

to claim legitimacy as a user of the dominant discourse. (Because this has features of

both front and back stages, it also suggests that staging should be seen as a continuum.)

In the lesson, the adults (Jake and I) also had greater authority to legitimise the young

people's interactions. This has an impact on the data collection: the conversation came

to an end after I told them that they were being 'rude' (that is, that their behaviour

contravened the norms of this time and space).

I noted conflict between George and the others. They rejected his attempt to join them,

calling him 'annoying' in his earshot, and the tension between him and Eyob began to

rise as they sat at the same table to work. At the end of the morning I asked Eyob, Sana

and Afnan to hold back so that I could talk to them about the maths lesson and about

their negative reaction to George. The interview lasted for approximately 14 minutes and

also took in other topics. In the extract below, Eyob recounts an occasion when he

reacted overtly against George. He told George to 'shut up', and describes feeling that he

had the teacher's support in doing so:

Interview with Eyob, Afnan and Sana, 22 January 2015 [8:06-8:40]

```
 1   Eyob:      is not only (bah-) in maths

 2              is drama

 3              when you go (.) English when you go sport.

 4              is annoying

 5              when I ONE day (.) when we go in we went to

 6              PE ((/pɪːhɪː/))

 7              and is annoying the (.) behind the teacher

 8   RS:        mm-hm

 9   Eyob:      I say fo::r (.) for him

10              ↑shut up

11              and th- the teacher ((laughs)) he is so angry

12              and he say please ↑listen him he say ((laughs))

13   Sana:      I am all the time I'm just sitting

14              I'm (.) don't want to

15              e::r [e::r   ] yes

16   Eyob:          [comment]
```

Eyob suggested that George's 'annoying' behaviour is characteristic and happened in a range of subjects (maths, drama, English, sport; lines 1-4). George's annoying behaviour took place behind the teacher's back (seemingly as they were queuing to enter the lesson). Eyob's intonation in line 10 suggests that he spoke for an audience and for dramatic effect (moving their interaction onto the front stage). His claim for legitimacy was successful, and the teacher seemingly told George to pay attention to Eyob (and 'shut up', line 10). Some elements remain ambiguous: did George anger the teacher (line 11), in which case 'behind the teacher' (line 7) may not mean covertly? Or is the teacher angry with Eyob, in which case the Eyob's claim that 'he say please listen him' (line 12) may not have meant that he approved of one young person telling another to 'shut up'?

It may be relevant to see this interaction in the light of Blommaert's (2009) argument that migration narratives should be understood in the context of their telling. He challenges the 'commonsense presumptions' about how the 'settled' expect globally mobile people to narrate their experiences (pp. 416, 426). Eyob's retelling of this incident can be read as an attempt to reposition himself relative to his interlocutors – to claim audibility – as one moment in the ongoing series of interactions along his migration journey. It is also relevant to the methodology: I do not have access to that original encounter, so I have to interpret it in terms of the interactions I am party to (the discussion captured by the field notes and in the interview). As Eyob retells how he told George to 'shut up', and how the teacher joined in, he is able to rewrite his own trajectory to claim a more advantageous positioning in the present. In this instance, the narration took place in the context of a disagreement in which two adults (authoritative in the context of the lesson) had asserted the behavioural norms of the institution – that young people cooperate with adults and with each other. In his retelling he was able to reassert his legitimacy as a user of that dominant discourse by citing an example of a teacher who supported his non-cooperative behaviour.

The retelling can also be understood as a 'small story' (Georgakopoulou 2007): a narrative that is told in the service of another discursive goal. Eyob tells this story to illustrate that George's 'annoying' behaviour in class that day was typical and also occurred in other settings. It created a 'referential world' and how Eyob constructed it 'points to how [he] wants to be understood, what sense of self [he] index[es]' (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou 2008: 380). He seemed to enjoy telling it, laughing out loud and giving dramatic emphasis to his words. It presented him – and him only – as a fully integrated member of the classroom community and as someone who spoke with an extension of the teacher's authority. Sana neither supported nor undermined this telling. Eyob seemed to recognise this, helping her to complete her phrase ('I don't want to

comment', lines 14-16). Like Afnan, she had little to add because this was not the re-telling of a shared anecdote. It was identity work: Eyob was telling a story from his early days in the school that positioned him in a certain way. Sana could not add anything without commenting directly on this re-positioning. Like her, we have to suspend our disbelief (and our memory of counter-examples, such as those in the 'the telling-off', below), allowing Eyob to write himself a good part in the story.

The third extract comes a little later in the interview. It follows a section in which Eyob, Afnan and Sana had described George as 'annoying', someone who 'wants to know everything' and who calls out 'miss me me me', irritating the whole class. My attention had been caught by the way that the participants described their learning as something important but simultaneously seemed to get annoyed with George for wanting to 'know everything'. I asked why they found his behaviour so frustrating:

Interview with Eyob, Afnan and Sana, 22 January 2015 [10:14-10:27]

```
1   RS:      and I wondered what it (2)
2            why is why is it annoying if it's
3   Afnan:   you know sometimes when you're talking to
4            teachers you're gonna say to (.) shut up
5            something like that
6   RS:      who the teachers will say that to you
7   Eyob:    (     )
8   Afnan:   no
9            George
```

Afnan presents the act of telling someone to 'shut up' as a routine occurrence ('you know sometimes when …', line 3) and the emphasis with which she corrects me ('no', line 8) suggests that it should be obvious whom she's talking about. (The pause in line 4 appears may mark where she was about to add a name.) Whereas Eyob describes using

'shut up' to tell George to stop talking, the emphasis for Afnan seems to be on

preventing George from interrupting her when she is talking to teachers. She holds the

floor forcefully, but in the next extract (which follows immediately from the one above),

she recognises that some teachers try to encourage the students to speak to each other

more respectfully. The conversation moves quickly to another form of holding the floor:

the fight between Eyob and George:

Interview with Eyob, Afnan and Sana, 22 January 2015 [10:27-11:19]

```
 1  Afnan:     and Miss ((Margaret))
 2             every time she said she (gon') say
 3             [when you say ] shut up people that's so rude
 4  Sana:      [it's not your]
 5  Sana:      =[it's not your business if you said someone]
 6  Eyob:      =[when I when I when I                       ]
 7             (.)
 8  Sana:      do it rude
 9             it's not good
10  Eyob:      when I am new he he say for me
11             shut up
12             when I come i- in the school
13             I don't know the rule
14             anything
15             I punch him straight away
16  RS:        (1)
17             right
18             ((Eyob laughs))
19             ok
20             so you had a fight almost immediately
```

```
21  Eyob:     [yeah]

22  Sana:     [mm  ]

23  RS:       ok right

24  Eyob:     because I don't know the rule and he is er

25  RS:       you don't know the rule about no punching

26  Afnan:    no

27            [rule] of the school

28  Eyob:     [no  ]

29            is the school rule

30  RS:       ok

31            is it?

32            ok

33  Eyob:     is the school rule

34            and when (2)

35  Afnan:    yes

36  Eyob:     is rude for me (3) ((mimes punching))

37  RS:       so you (1)

38            right
```

The right to speak emerges as something that is continually contested. First, Afnan introduces the head of department's disapproval when students tell each other to 'shut up': 'that's so rude' (lines 1-3). Sana interrupts to give a different interpretation. For her, it's not that the teacher will tell you off but that it's 'not you business' to 'do it rude' (lines 5-8). Eyob tries to take the turn in line 6 and is successful in line 10. He tells of his own reaction when George told him to 'shut up', shortly after he had arrived in the school: he threw a punch (lines 10-15). This had come up in a number of occasions during the fieldwork, often in the form of Eyob being asked to leave the classroom as a dispute escalated and kicking a chair over on his way out. It seems to revolve around his

experiences of migration, in which an immediate violent response was a defensive reflex (note the explanation that if someone 'is rude for me' then he punches them, line 36, which foreshadows the explanation he gives to Eugenio in 'the telling off', below). It will be apparent that I was a little non-plussed by this admission and that the interview took on a comic aspect. I was not sure what to say, pausing and saying 'right … ok' (lines 16-19). Eyob laughed (line 18), but all three young people joined in to explain the situation (lines 21-22, 26-29,33-36). Eyob began by making clear that he didn't know that punching people was against the school rules. I initially took this as meaning that he wouldn't have hit George had he realised. This ignorance of something obvious may seem comic at first, but is consistent with the behaviour of other young people and was taken at face value by Afnan (lines 26-27). Eyob said twice (lines 29 and 33) that this is the *school's* rule, a conclusion that Afnan appears to support (line 35), and Eyob still made clear that he would punch anyone who is rude to him.

The young people's trajectories through schooling can be seen clearly here. Key concepts, such as how to deal with conflict, are encountered again and again in different times and places along the migration journey. In each, different norms prevail and the young people draw on them cumulatively to develop their own understanding of how the school works. The first incident in this chapter showed that Eyob had developed survival skills in situations where other people could not be relied on for help. He brought these into Pine Wood Academy and, in the second incident, reacted violently to George. The prohibition on punching was identified as the 'school rule', but Eyob laughed as he told this story. In doing so, he claimed legitimacy as a user of the dominant discourse in contrast to his five-months-earlier self. These positionings are claimed but not fully secure, and the following section shows how they can collapse in a crisis.

'The telling-off'

The final focal point is an incident in which Eyob was reprimanded for behaving aggressively towards Afnan. It took place during a drama lesson that I was recording using lapel microphones attached to the adult participants and myself. One was attached to Eugenio, a teaching assistant, and towards the end of the hour the recording captured his voice becoming louder, shouting across the drama studio and telling Eyob to leave the room. They spoke briefly in the corridor, but Eyob appeared to be insufficiently repentant and Eugenio took him to the departmental office. Both raised their voices and Eyob became tearful, saying that the school had made him a 'lady'. Eugenio talked at length about what it means to be 'a man': primarily about using brains instead of fists, and understanding the impact of violence on friendships and families. He stressed that he and the other adults cared about Eyob as a person and that they wanted the best for him. The whole is emotional, personal and often tense.

The relevant extract is 14m 30s long. Later in the recording Eugenio can be heard bumping into me in the corridor, remembering that he is still wearing his microphone and returning it to me. He mentioned that:

> I didn't press stop or anything when I was with Eyob … I wouldn't use any of it obviously because it's a bit personal … confidential. You can listen to it yourself but …

> (Audio recording of period 3 classroom, 5 March 2015)

I did listen to the recording later that evening, and interviewed Eugenio about it the next day. Both Eugenio and Eyob agreed to let me use it as part of this thesis (see chapter three on ethics and persistent challenges), and under closer examination it shows both how Eyob's travel story is known to the staff and how it becomes part of his schooling.

The exchange unfolds in a series of relatively clear stages: first anger and emotion, then a reconciliation of sorts, then a lecture. I will take each stage in turn.

Anger and emotion: 'she rude for me yeah I rude for her'

The initial reprimand, when Eugenio and Eyob were standing in the corridor outside the drama studio, was focused on his behaviour:

Classroom recording, extract featuring Eugenio and Eyob, 5 March 2015 [56:30-56:51]

```
 1   Eug.:      ((to Eyob)) come and stand here
 2   Eyob:      you (listening)
 3   Eug.:      come and stand here
 4              listen to me very carefully
 5              you don't put your finger in people's faces
 6              EVER
 7              THAT (.) ok (.) is not only rude is very
 8              threatening
 9              do you understand me
10   Eyob:      I don't understand
11   Eug.:      you don't understand=
12   Eyob:      ((sounding upset))
13                                 =she rude for me yeah I rude
14              for her (.) that's=
15   Eug.:                      =>no no no no no no< this (.)
16              is threatening
17              ((louder)) rude is one thing [if somebody-]
18   Eyob:                                   [if I (    )] I
19              punch her (    ) if [somebody (    )] I punch
20              her
```

```
21  Eug.:                            [>no no no no no<]

22           ok come with me
```

The tension escalated quickly and the volume rose after line 6, when 'ever' was said loudly. Eugenio's speech took on a slow and emphatic rhythm, punctuated by pauses (e.g. line 7). Eyob retorted that he didn't understand why he shouldn't respond aggressively when other students behave that way to him. He sounded genuinely upset when he told his teacher what he understood as appropriate: 'she rude for me yeah I rude for her' (lines 12-14). Eugenio didn't accept this argument: he made a strong distinction between rudeness and threatening behaviour (the rhythm of his speech on the recording at lines 15-16 suggests that he might be demonstrating the physical behaviour – waving his finger in someone's face – that got Eyob in trouble). When Eyob talked about punching other students (lines 18-20) he seemed to cross a line and Eugenio put their exchange on hold until they were in the comparatively private space of the office.

When they reached the office, issues of identity came immediately to the fore:

Classroom recording, extract featuring Eugenio and Eyob, 5 March 2015 [58:53-59:40]

```
 1  Eug.:    sit down

 2           (8)

 3           who do you think you are

 4  Eyob:    (2) Eyob

 5  Eug.:    (2) you think you're more special than every

 6           other student in the school?=

 7  Eyob:                            =I (didn't) think

 8           that

 9  Eug.:    no? well cos that's what yu- yu- yu- you're

10           telling me
```

```
11            you're telling me (.) that you can do stuff

12            and break rules that other people can't

13            (1)

14            she's rude to you (.) you come to me

15            (2)

16  Eyob:     you listen (her)

17  Eug.:     do you

18            >no no no no<

19            ((raising voice:)) I don't want you to say a

20            word

21            I want you to listen and understand

22            because I've told you this before

23  Eyob:     ((very emotional voice, angry, close to tears))

24            I want to die to understand me that that is it

25            If you understand [me I understand you]

26  Eug.:                      [>no no no no<       ] it

27            doesn- it seems to be you don't understand me

28            ((raising voice further))

29            because I have told you before

30            that if you have a problem with a student

31            you come to me

32            I've told you this before

33            yes or no

34  Eyob:     (2)°(yes)°
```

Eugenio's first question was about identity: 'who do you think you are'? (line 3). He

asked Eyob whether he thought he was 'more special' than his peers (lines 5-6, 9-12),

presumably because he acted in a way that contravened the behavioural norms of that

time and space. The emphasis was strongly on conformity, but Eyob denied thinking he

was 'special' (lines 7-8) without backing down. Earlier in this chapter I showed that Eyob, Afnan and Sana identified a 'school rule' as something external to them, and here we see other 'rules' taking precedence. When someone is 'rude' to you, which set of behavioural norms should you follow?

It appears that Eyob and Eugenio were defining his behaviour towards Afnan in two different ways. Eugenio saw it as rule-breaking by someone who does not feel that rules should apply to him. Eyob saw it entirely in his own terms, as an appropriate response to Afnan's behaviour. In one interpretation, Eyob's experiences of migration were stripped of their uniqueness and he was treated no differently from any other pupil; in another, Eyob's experiences were crucial to correctly interpreting his actions. Two trajectories have come into contact, each carrying expectations about what counts as legitimate behaviour, and they were negotiated through interaction (see chapters five and six).

Eugenio was very clear about the behavioural norms that govern peer interaction in the lesson: young people should turn to adults for help in managing conflicts (line 14). This positions adults as impartial arbiters (lines 5-6, 9-12), but Eyob suggested that adults are not impartial ('you listen her', line 16). That comment elicited a strong reaction from Eugenio: he interrupted ('no no no no', said very quickly, line 18) and raised his voice as he told Eyob to stop talking (lines 19-20) and restated the norm that young people ask for adult help to resolve conflicts. The two uses of 'understand' (lines 21 and 24-25) show that their trajectories have intersected but not merged. Eyob's voice was emotional as he told Eugenio that 'I want to die'. Eyob's experiences on his migration journey provided important context for his behaviour in this extract: he defended himself aggressively in response to perceived threats. When Eugenio emphasised that the context had changed and that new norms prevailed, he stripped these defences away and it was deeply destabilising for Eyob. He wanted his own sense of what is

normal to be acknowledged ('if you understand me I understand you', line 25) but

Eugenio refused (lines 26-27) and demanded that Eyob acknowledge the school's view

(lines 32-34). This is not solely an argument over whether Eyob's behaviour broke the

rules, but over the norms that govern such interactions (see chapters two and eight).

They continued to speak and Eyob told Eugenio that he was angry too. Eugenio told him

that it was his own fault, that this anger could be avoided if he had asked for help rather

than taking matters into his own hands. The following extract shows Eyob's response to

being told that he should let Eugenio 'deal with' these disputes:

Classroom recording, extract featuring Eugenio and Eyob, 5 March 2015 [1:00:17-1:00:35]

```
 1   Eyob:      ((very upset:)) I can't deal with it?

 2   Eug.:      no you can't

 3   Eyob:      yes I

 4   Eug.:      no you cannot

 5              you can not

 6              if you want to be in this school

 7              you can not

 8              you are not special

 9              you do not get to break (.) the rules (.)

10              [like everybody else]

11   Eyob:      [(I am (.) I am-)   ]

12   Eug.:      [listen to me        ]

13   Eyob:      [I didn't say special]

14   Eug.:      ah

15              [because what you're saying]

16   Eyob:      ((very upset))

17              [because listen to me     ]

18              she say (   ) to me I say die
```

Eyob seems taken aback by Eugenio saying that he can't deal with the situation himself (line 1), but Eugenio brooked no argument. Four times, with heavy emphasis, he repeated that Eyob cannot try to resolve his problem directly with Afnan (lines 2, 4, 5 and 7) 'if you want to be in this school' (line 6). They were talking over each other (lines 10-11, 12-13, 15-17) and each was asking the other to 'listen' (lines 12 and 17). In other words, each was attempting to make himself *audible* – to establish himself as a legitimate user of the dominant discourse. The problem appears to be that they were both seeking to establish the primacy of different discourses, one based on the habitus of the school (in which Eugenio is deeply immersed) and the other on the habitus that Eyob has carried with him along his migration journey.

Reconciliation: 'of course I like you'

The intersection of two trajectories can also be seen as the meeting point of two or more habitus, each with its own history. In the three preceding chapters I showed that the institutional habitus of the International Group exists in tension with that of the broader education system (chapter four) and that the adult participants operated according to a set of dispositions that drew heavily on their earlier professional and personal experiences (chapter five). The young people in this study, though, were significantly more mobile than the adult participants and I sought to account for that mobility the analysis of classroom activity (chapter six). The notion of 'trajectory' emphasises this history and mobility, and where these habitus meet can be seen as a contact zone.

The following extract shows some of the micro-scale interactions within the contact zone, by which habitus / trajectory is negotiated. It comes at a point where the emotional intensity has reached its peak: Eyob insists that his friend's behaviour should

be met with a violent response (line 18, previous extract) and Eugenio's attempts to re-impose the behavioural norms of the school have not been successful. The extract follows very shortly after the previous:

Classroom recording, extract featuring Eugenio and Eyob, 5 March 2015 [1:01:02-1:02:10]

```
 1  Eug.:      ((calming voice))

 2             listen to me

 3             ok

 4             put your coat down

 5             put your coat down

 6             put your coat down

 7             (3)

 8             Eyob

 9             (2)

10             what do you want with your life

11             you think I'm doing this because I don't like

12             you

13  Eyob:      yeah

14  Eug.:      really?

15             you think all the work that I've done with you

16             you think I don't like you

17             look at me

18             Eyob

19  Eyob:      no

20  Eug.:      get your head up

21             show me the respect that you have for me

22             I'm showing you the respect I have for you by

23             looking in your eyes
```

```
24    Eyob:      no

25    Eug.:      Eyob

26               of course I like you

27               you know why I'm tough on you Eyob?

28               because I like you

29               because I can see the potential that you have

30    Eyob:      ((very upset))

31               this school?

32               it make me lady

33               I (.) I think I am lady you know?

34    Eug.:      good (.)

35               good

36               let me tell you something Ey-ob

37               where you come from

38               the men that you think are men are not men

39               they're cowards (1)

40               they're cowards (1)

41               people who think that violence is the right way

42               to deal with something

43               is a coward

44               you know why?

45               because they can't use their brains
```

Using a calming voice (elongated vowel sounds, falling intonation, lines 1-3), Eugenio

acknowledges that their conversation has broken down (the overlapping turns and

disconnected topics of lines 10-18 in the previous extract). He introduces three new

framings that allow some common ground: the first is that of a teacher-student

relationship. Eugenio reasserts classroom routines such as taking off coats (lines 4-6),

waiting for the young person's undivided attention (lines 7-9) and expecting eye contact (lines 17-23). He also frames the interaction as a conversation about Eyob's future ('what do you want with your life?', line 10) and about the personal relationship between the two of them ('you think I'm doing this because I don't like you?', lines 11, 15-16). These all shift the power balance back towards Eugenio: it positions him as the teacher in a teacher-student relationship, the one who wants the best for this young man's future and the person professing his friendship and regard for the other. There is little space for what Eyob was trying to accomplish here – audibility, through recognition of his experiences as legitimate within the dominant discourses of this time and space. This can be seen in his reaction: he offers only one-word replies (lines 13, 19 and 24) and refuses eye contact (lines 19 and 24), while Eugenio takes much longer conversational turns.

Eugenio's three framings remain in tension for the rest of their conversation, both with each other and with Eyob's own framing of his behaviour as a legitimate response to Afnan's provocation. When Eugenio tries to explain that he's tough on him for his own good (lines 27-29), Eyob picks up on 'tough' and contrasts it with his own understanding of the word. The past is vividly present for Eyob: for him, nothing in the school is 'tough' when compared with his previous experiences. The habitus of the school makes him feel emasculated ('it make me lady', lines 31-33). For Eugenio the reverse seems to be true: his regard for Eyob is based on his capacity to adopt the behavioural norms of the school. His sense of Eyob's 'potential' (line 29) underpins his critique of the men that (he imagines) Eyob valorises as 'tough' (e.g. lines 36-45). Eugenio directly challenges the norms, expectations and predispositions that Eyob has built up during his migration: he says that men who resolve conflicts through violence are 'cowards' 'because they can't use their brains' (line 45). When Eyob told his travel story he created an image of someone who used his 'brains' a lot – and skills in persuasion, and bravery – as well as

someone who used an immediate, aggressive response to perceived threats to maintain his personal safety. Eugenio introduced new framings to the conversation but none of them can incorporate the experiences that Eyob has carried with him along his migration journey.

A lecture: 'is violence good or bad?'

At this stage of the 'telling off' the focus has moved from the original infraction – Eyob's aggressive behaviour towards his friend, Afnan – to the behavioural norms of the school. Eugenio has reframed the conversation in three ways (as a teacher-student interaction, as a conversation about Eyob's future, and as a personal relationship). He moved between them as he explained why his and the school's expectations (which align on this point) should take precedence over Eyob's. This final extract is taken from a much longer section of their discussion, continuing for another 250 or so lines until the end of the period, when they both left for other lessons. It shows the negotiation in detail, but at the end it remained unresolved:

Classroom recording, extract featuring Eugenio and Eyob, 5 March 2015 [1:02:14-1:02:51; 1:10:17-1:10:27]

```
1   Eug.:      when I sit

2              and I see

3              and I sit with you Eyob

4              when I sit and I talk to you Eyob

5              do you know what I see (.)

6              I see someone with a brain

7              (2)

8              I see somebody that's smart

9   Eyob:      ((sounding very upset))
```

10		really [really really]
11	Eug:	[listen to me]
12	Eyob:	when Africa when Libya
13		when somebody call me dog
14		I kill him
15		I kill him
16	Eug:	yeah
17		is this Libya (1)
18		did it make you happy to kill someone
19		does it make you happy to use violence
20		yes or no
21		you're a religious man
22		what does it say in the Bible
23		is violence good or bad
24		is violence good or bad
25		Eyob

((251 lines omitted))

276	Eug:	and it's not because I don't like you
277		it's because I feel like you're letting yourself
278		down
279		look at me
280		((school bell ringing in background))
281		do you understand me=
282	Eyob:	= ˚yes˚
283	Eug.:	you understand me
284	Eyob:	˚yes˚

Eugenio moved between expressing his regard for Eyob (lines 5-6), emphasising his expectations for Eyob's behaviour (lines 277-278) and talking about Eyob's future (e.g. lines 18-19, here through contrast with the past). Eyob, though, had not relinquished his own framing of his actions – that a violent response was merited by Afnan's actions (lines 9-15). The difference between two habitus – one embodied in the institution and one in Eyob's migration trajectory – is explicit and unresolved. When Eugenio praised the qualities he wanted Eyob to display ('a brain', 'somebody that's smart', lines 6-8), Eyob responded with disbelief (line 10) and restated what his experience tells him is the 'smart' response (lines 12-15) – the behavioural norms that have helped him to survive his migration to the UK. The emotion in his voice is raw and his phrasing ('dog', 'I kill him', lines 13-15) seemed out of all proportion to (what seemed to me to be) a relatively minor disagreement with a friend. I interpret this as a sign that Eyob felt destabilised and under threat. He knows how to deal with threats, and in his travel story he described instances where his life depended on getting those responses right. Now, though, they leave him isolated and in trouble.

Eugenio continues making explicit appeals to Eyob to adopt the behavioural norms of the school and contrasts two interpretations of Eyob's identity: a 'smart' student and an angry, tough young man. To do so he engages directly with Eyob's past experiences: 'did it make you happy to kill someone?', 'does it make you happy to use violence?' (lines 18-19). The answer is simple – clearly it does not – but to respond simply means accepting that the circumstances that have required an aggressive, defensive response have changed. Eugenio brings in the Bible (perhaps recognising religious persecution as the root cause of Eyob's migration, but also with echoes of his use of 'haram' to encourage another young person to do their homework, see chapter six) and offers a stark choice between leaving the past behind and accepting the new identity positions that the

school offer (that of a well-behaved, studious pupil), or maintaining the identity positions that he occupied previously. At its simplest, Eugenio presents it as a binary choice: 'is violence good or bad'. There was nothing in the thesis data or in my experience of conducting the fieldwork that makes me doubt Eugenio's sincerity or his care for the young people, but Eyob does not respond until prompted (lines 281-284), and even then only very quietly.

Review

Eyob's argument with Eugenio demonstrates one reason why the young people's migration trajectories should be seen as continuing into and through their time in school: the context changes much more quickly than their habitus. Young people like Eyob carry their migration experiences with them, and in this chapter I have shown how he negotiated the difference between his earlier experiences and the new environment of the International Group. The thesis as a whole asks how young migrants make sense of their schools; in this chapter I have shown that much of that *sense-making* is a process of telling and retelling personal narratives. In each retelling, Eyob was able to claim a more secure positioning for himself – whether by using me as an audience and making sure I understood the significance of his experiences, or by co-opting teachers and peers into his story. Though I have focused on the stories that Eyob told to me or in my hearing, the chapter showed that adults were not always available or desirable as interlocutors. This supports the findings in chapter six, that much of the identity work took place on the back stage, out of sight of the adults.

One of my goals in preparing this chapter was to see whether the different elements examined in each of the previous analytical chapters were valid and useful when seen

through the lens of a single person. I argue that they are: this chapter shows the central

and continuing importance of young people's migration experiences to their

understanding of the school and their place in it. This is not simply a matter of getting

used to a new environment. Making sense of the school is a complex and iterative

process in which the young people are very active participants. There are several

fundamental differences between the school and the young people: the latter

foreground mobility and difference, for example, and are continually involved in a

struggle for legitimacy that underpins much of their activity. These can be seen in the

present chapter: Eyob is centrally concerned with making his voice heard and in gaining

recognition as a legitimate user of the dominant discourse. He emphasises how his

outlook has changed as he has spent time in the school, and shows evidence of drawing

on the behavioural expectations of the teachers as he does so. This points to a key

finding of the research: that young people make sense of the school by incorporating its

norms and practices and expectations into their sense of themselves. Chapter four

showed that reverse is also true: the adult participants look beyond the formal policy

framework to create courses that responded directly to the young people's mobility and

heterogeneity. As the final incident in this chapter showed, though, this contact cannot

be forced or hurried. It takes time, and when young migrants arrive in late adolescence

that is a very precious commodity.

Part three

Discussion and conclusions

Chapter 8   Discussion

Introduction

This chapter brings together the thesis as a whole. It begins with a brief outline of the

discussion so far, showing how the four analytical chapters make a cohesive argument

about young migrants in formal education. It then presents five specific findings that

stem from that analysis. Four are substantive, contributing to the theoretical and policy

literatures, and one is methodological. The following section then looks across these

findings, considering the study from a methodological perspective, in terms of its current

relevance and in relation to the gap in the literature identified in chapter two. It closes

with a discussion of the limitations of the study and a brief review of the chapter.

Overview of the discussion so far

In the preceding chapters I argued that the young people's time in school should be seen

as a brief period in their ongoing migration 'trajectories', during which they come into

contact with both a formal system of education (which determines access to

qualifications and hence to many future opportunities) and with each other. I drew

together a theoretical framework (introduced in outline in chapter two) based around

the concept that classrooms can be understood as 'contact zones' (Pratt 1987, 1991,

Canagarajah 1997, 2013), spaces where people from different backgrounds encounter

each other. I suggested that a metaphor of 'networking' is valuable. It allows the analysis

to focus on how the participants pull together objects, signs, ideas and people to claim or

contest subject positionings. Often, the resources they draw on are far away in time and

space; 'networking' therefore works in tandem with 'trajectory' (past experiences viewed

through the lens of migration) to describe the relationship between migration and classroom learning.

Developing this, I suggested that classrooms are more complex sociolinguistic spaces than is commonly allowed. I used, and heavily adapted, Goffman's (1956) concept of 'stages' to show how the classroom space was subdivided and stratified into distinct interactional spaces. These differed in terms of the size of the audience and the potential for speakers to claim legitimacy as users of the dominant discourse – or to be delegitimised if they were unsuccessful. I used Miller's (2003, 2004) work on 'audibility' (and introduced the corresponding concept of 'inscription') to describe this contest for legitimacy. This framework, I suggested, can offer insight into the relationship between schools and young migrants, and between the young migrants themselves. It is flexible enough to account for performances in front of the whole class and those in private spaces where adults are not welcome. It also allows the impact of young people's past experiences, which can otherwise be seen as misbehaviour, to be given full recognition in the analysis. In this way, I hope it will offer both practical and theoretical value to practitioners and policy-makers.

Key findings

The thesis as a whole makes a simple argument: that we radically misread classrooms when we focus on standard tropes of schooling (a teacher, a class, a curriculum). The theoretical framework developed in this thesis shows how socialisation happens through contact with others, often through interactions that the teacher is excluded from, and that the young people's existing knowledge and experiences play an important role in

their understanding of curriculum content. This is made explicit in the findings below, which are summarised in table seven.

Finding	Theme	Cross-reference
1	Trajectories	Chapters two, three, four, five, six and seven.
2	Classrooms as contact zones	Chapters one, two, five, six and seven.
3	Classroom learning	Chapters six and seven.
4	'EAL' and related labels	Chapters two, three and four.
5	The 'matrix' of LE	Chapter two, three, five, six and seven.

Table 7: Summary of findings.

1. Trajectories

The focus on 'trajectories' – life experiences, seen through the lens of migration – allows the analysis to emphasise what the young people bring to the school, rather than focusing on the implementation of the curriculum (see chapter two for why that is an important approach at this historical moment and chapter three for a discussion of the commitments and stance that underpin it). I also distinguished 'trajectory' from 'journey' as a way to emphasise the ongoing relevance of the young people's migrations to their schooling (chapter five). They did not *arrive* at the International Group, as if at the end of a long journey. Rather, their time there was one brief period in their ongoing movement; a place where different people came into contact for a limited time. What happened in that short period was hugely important for the young people's future life chances, though, and the International Group programme was designed to ensure that they could secure qualifications even if they only stayed for a short time (chapter four).

The young people's trajectories were never fully knowable to the adults. In chapter five, I showed how they instead moved back and forth between broad assumptions and

detailed observations as they worked with the young people. This gave enough information to guide their work (particularly in organising the class groups and offering pastoral care) but it was not perfect. It did not reveal that Afnan, for example, had studied in two other national education systems and disengaged from her maths lesson because (she said) it was already familiar (chapter six); but it did allow Eugenio to engage with Eyob's own life experiences as they argued over the expectations of the school and the role of supportive adults (chapter seven). This emphasises a point made frequently by the adult participants: that their job involves much more than teaching English. That is partly why they reject the label 'EAL' and may see little distinction between 'EAL' and 'ESOL': the International Group programme aims to meet all the young people's needs, whether that involves language learning, adapting to the UK education system, catching up on curriculum content or overcoming trauma. As Margaret said, it is 'provision that meets their needs' (chapter four).

The importance of welcoming young migrants' wider knowledge has been a point of discussion in the literature for decades. The Bullock Report (1975: 286), for example, made clear that young people should not be 'expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as [they cross] the school threshold'. The lack of attention generally accorded to children's different experiences has been extensively criticised in the UK (Conteh 2006, Ainscow *et al.* 2010, Conteh 2011b) as has the strong assumption that the mainstream curriculum in many countries should be monolingual, settled and culturally homogeneous (e.g. Chick 1996, Canagarajah 1999, 2001, Heller 2006, Van Der Wildt *et al.* 2015, Karrebæk and Ghandchi 2015). There is a complex relationship between such findings and the International Group's approach. They frequently cross thresholds: Margaret drops into lessons to check on attendance and progress, adults call home to keep parents informed, and young people move in and out of the office, sitting out lessons, asking questions, serving detentions. It is all-encompassing, and embraces the

young people's backgrounds as an important part of their time in the International Group. Simultaneously, there is a strong emphasis on speaking English in the lessons and on getting the grammar correct before moving up to the next class. Classrooms are spaces of contact, and that includes being a places where assumptions of monolingualism and homogeneity are reinterpreted by the adults and young people.

2. Classrooms as a contact zone

Trajectories meet where the young people encounter each other, the institution and the adult participants: in classrooms, particularly, and in the other areas where young people gather. I describe these meeting spaces as 'contact zones', building on Pratt's (1987, 1991) and Canagarajah's (1997, 2013) use of the term (chapter five). This works closely with the concept of 'trajectory' (finding one): the contact zone is where the participants negotiate the difference between their own earlier experiences and those of others. Chapter seven offers a powerful example: following a fight between Eyob and another young person, he and Eugenio disagree strongly about what counts as acceptable behaviour. For Eugenio, Eyob contravenes school rules against violence. He tells Eyob that he understands the reaction (making explicit reference to his trajectory), but refuses to accept it. For Eyob, preventing him from defending himself is tantamount to emasculating him: it makes him feel like a 'lady', he retorts, with emotion making his voice hoarse. Other examples were less dramatic: when Merry contests gender expectations by calling out in class that Michael Jackson was a skilled dancer, for example, or when Asksay Kumar deflects attention from his conservative upbringing by using a stylised Pakistani accent to joke about the amount of kissing in a James Bond film (both chapter six). There, too, the participants are seen to negotiate the difference between their earlier experiences and what they feel is expected of them.

The focus on contact also challenges the assumption of 'orderliness' (Pratt 1991: 38) that underpins much of the curriculum (see also chapter six and Blackledge and Creese 2009a on 'carnival'). Pratt (1991: 34) describes contact zones as 'social spaces' where 'cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other'; in doing so, participants are able to overturn the discursive norms of the dominant culture and to make their voices heard. This was seen in the study, for example in both the drama improvisation lesson and the widespread use of 'halal' and 'haram' (both chapter six). A particularly telling example is Eyob's interaction with Eugenio (chapter seven) where both are struggling to make their voices heard. One of the reasons that such a contest is so hard-fought, perhaps, is that the winner will get to set the norms of encounters like these.

Orderliness depends in part on predictability, and when the young people bring resources from other times and other places into the interaction they make it less predictable: a process I describe as 'networking'. This can be seen when Xanan and George learn alongside the lesson that the teacher is leading (see finding three, below) and in the explanations of how 'halal' and 'haram' came to have such currency (both chapter six). These were occasionally accessible to the adult participants but not always (note Eugenio's frequent use of Spanish but his difficulty in presenting a young person's lack of homework as 'haram', chapters one and six). The young people could make their voices heard by conforming with the discursive norms of the classroom or by successfully overturning them; but as chapter seven showed, this was fraught with risk.

This ties into the current literature on translanguaging space: 'a space for the act of translanguaging as well as a space created through translanguaging' (Li Wei 2011: 1223 and chapter two). In this study, I found that the contact zone was not a single space and that the participants created new spaces through interaction. This allowed them greater flexibility to negotiate difference and to claim legitimacy for themselves. My use and

reinterpretation of Goffman's (1956) 'stages' was an analytical response to this. It showed 'fundamental but hitherto under-explored dimensions of multilingual practices' (Li Wei 2011: 1223) by examining how the classroom contact zone could be further sub-divided and stratified as a series of distinct, *ad hoc* interactional spaces. I labelled them the 'back stage' (where fewer interlocutors were involved and there was less opportunity to be legitimised as a user of the dominant discourses) and the 'front stage' (with a larger audience and more opportunity for legitimisation, but correspondingly greater risk, chapter six).

I used Miller's (2003, 2004) work on 'audibility' to recognise the legitimising power of classroom talk, and further divided the 'front stage' into discursive and physical spaces. Unlike in Goffman's (1956) original model, there are few unguarded spaces during the lesson in which the young people could be 'off stage'. Any position in the classroom that commands attention would count as a discursive front stage, but it is often a threat to the person occupying the physical front stage at the front of the classroom. That 'threat' does not have to be destabilising – it could also mean jumping up to offer help, to make a joke or (very often, and perhaps fittingly) to satirise the discourse and routines of the classroom. The front stage could be a space of conviviality as well as one of contest. I also suggested that such staging can be seen as a continuum, varying according to the degree of legitimisation possible and the audience involved (this also depends on the exact participants – Jason and Mostufa, for example, were careful to minimise power imbalances through humour, chapter six).

3. Classroom learning

By acknowledging the young people's trajectories (finding one) and recognising the important role played by contact (finding two), the study finds that teacher-led lessons

are not always a necessary or sufficient context for learning. Independent learning also takes place during the classes, in private back-stage spaces. It is often connected to the lesson being taught but is informed by the young person's prior experiences of learning as well as by the peer networks they have access to in the school. Xanan, for example, was working on a sheet of 'hand writing practice' in the front row of Siobhan's class (chapter six). She had little access to the lesson content (she had just arrived in the school and the work appeared to be too difficult for her to follow) but did have access to a peer network which provided other learning resources (a printed text used as a worksheet). By using the worksheet she was keeping up with the norms of classroom behaviour, but not the specifics of this classroom. George did something similar for a different reason: he appeared to want to move more quickly than the lesson allowed, and skipped ahead (answering questions before they were written on the board) by using his own experience of other classrooms to predict what the content would be (also chapter six). There were many examples of such activity in the data, from young people using apps to learn English during the lesson, to learning from friends and family members, to introducing relevant knowledge from other settings into classroom discussions.

A relevant approach looks at the 'funds of knowledge' brought into schools by young people (Moll *et al.* 1992, Gonzalez *et al.* 2005). It recognises the 'historically accumulated and culturally developed bodies of knowledge and skills' (Moll *et al.* 1992: 133) that are held by households. It also notes particularly that these funds of knowledge 'contrast so sharply with typical classroom practices' (*ibid.*) because they are flexible, adaptive and involve a number of people across a number of settings (see Kenner *et al.* 2007, Zipin 2009, Conteh and Riasat 2014). In that sense they have much in common with learning in the contact zone. There, young people draw on knowledge accumulated in different settings, with different people, and apply it flexibly to the situation at hand. To align this

with the young people in this study, it may be necessary to reconsider what constitutes a 'family' in the funds of knowledge approach. The young people may have moved several times (as Afnan's family did) or may have made multiple moves over a period of years, with different family members present in each (as Rajaa did, both chapter six) or migrated alone (as Eyob did, chapter seven). The study shows that the young people's body of historically accumulated and culturally developed knowledge goes through several permutations – each instance of *contact* along their trajectory adding something and casting something else in a different light.

4. 'EAL' and related labels

'EAL' is a problematic term in this thesis. The adult participants largely reject it because they feel it over-emphasises language learning and does not give enough recognition to prior education and literacy (chapter four). I argue that the term is overly general: it is used in different ways by different professional groups, creating the gap in the literature that this study responds to (chapter two). When used as a category in educational data it conflates young people from very different backgrounds and makes it very difficult to hold schools accountable for their education (chapter four). This runs counter to the meta-theoretical commitment to distinguish objective and subjective categorisations and it motivated my use of a linguistic ethnographic approach to capture how the term is applied and comes to have the signification that it does (chapter three). It also fits poorly with my own understanding of language and learning, as described in the 'stance' I took towards the study (chapter three – it is underpinned by the discussion of monolingualism and translanguaging in chapter two). This is more deeply problematic because there are few alternatives to the label 'EAL'. As I describe in chapter nine, I have become more involved in supporting its use in the professional community even as I have grown more

critical of the term 'EAL'. See chapter nine for specific recommendations relating to these criticisms.

5. The 'matrix' of Linguistic Ethnography

This study developed from an 'ethnographically informed' project to become a 'full' and finally linguistic ethnography (or 'LE'). As it did, the study design evolved alongside the deeper understanding of the meta-theory and the stance that came with the PhD. Chapter three, for example, states an ontological commitment to distinguishing the object of enquiry from the subjective labels that are commonly used (such as 'EAL'). LE offers an approach that can account for the construction, use and significance of such terms, and develop the *emic* (or insider's) understanding of the setting that allows me to critique them. In this way the title of this thesis ('rethinking "EAL"') is as much methodological as it is policy- or practice-oriented. That close relationship between meta-theory and methodology, though, needs further examination. Unlike its ethnographic or linguistic antecedents, researchers working within LE are still developing their own robust procedures of enquiry and theorisation. It 'has yet to reach the position where we can claim it to be a clearly defined approach' (Snell *et al.* 2015: 1) and there is scope to contribute to the field as it grows.

There is a current discussion in the LE literature over the relative weighting given to linguistics and ethnography. Recent studies have tended to emphasise ethnography: Rampton *et al.* (2015: 44) describe a 'collective consolidation' in that direction that is 'gathering momentum', but it is not universal. Snell (2015), for example, positions her work explicitly in the variationist tradition of sociolinguistics and employs 'micro-ethnographic analysis' to 'analyse the use of linguistic variants in their discursive context' (p. 235, see chapter three). At a methodological level these differences are relatively

easily bridged. Snell may have used her transcripts as a 'workspace' to record her thinking but her study still involved observation, the creation of field notes and the collection of objects from the setting (p. 235). The greater challenge is to reconcile the meta-theoretical commitments of the two – the 'conflict between realism and constructionism' (Hammersley 2007: 693). For Rampton *et al.* (2015: 33), 'the LE enterprise [is] fundamentally ethnographic', and uses tools from linguistics to 'make [its] contribution really distinctive'. They note that 'linguistics offers a very rich and empirically robust collection of frameworks and procedures for exploring the details of social life' but argue that this 'linguistic apparatus' must be 'epistemologically repositioned' as 'sensitising concepts' that are an 'extension of ethnography' (pp. 33-34).

My contribution is to argue that LE involves a clear decision at the level of meta-theory, and that ontological commitments cannot easily be repositioned at the level of epistemology (although they are increasingly in dialogue, see e.g. Hall 2013, Ortega 2013, 2014). I describe this decision-making as a 'matrix' (with deliberate echoes of the code-switching literature, see e.g. Myers-Scotton 1989) in which either linguistics or ethnography must provide the meta-theoretical framework that the other fits into. That has implications for the study that proceeds from it, particularly for the warrant that can be claimed, and in an emerging methodological approach these need specifying. In the present study, ethnography provides the 'matrix'. (In fact the study developed into a 'full' ethnography, at least in large part, because a philosophy of research class in the MSc pushed me to think about the relationship between meta-theory and methodology). The stance I took towards the research (described in chapter three) strongly emphasised the social context of communication, rather than the internal organisation of language. It supports the extensive use of field notes as well as transcribed interaction to show the 'internal organisation of verbal (and other kinds of semiotic) data' (Rampton *et al.* 2015: 18), but this constrains the warrant. An ethnographic matrix would not support strong

claims based primarily on the interactional data. This can be seen in my development of an analytical framework across chapters two, five and six: when I turn to use data from recorded interaction more intensively (in chapter seven), I have already developed a robust ethnographic framework to show the how the interaction came to take place.

Overarching themes

Having identified the key findings, this section extends the discussion by looking back on the thesis from a methodological perspective, then showing why this particular study is important at this time, and then clarifying how it responds to the gap in the literature identified in chapter two. It is followed by a brief discussion of the study's limitations and a summary of the chapter.

Methodological considerations

This section reviews the methodology from the perspective of the completed study. This allows me to connect the three parts of the thesis and show how it informed the project as a whole. It also informs the discussion of the study's limitations (below) and of the possible future directions (chapter nine).

The methodology chapter (chapter three) is organised as a broad move from the theoretical to the practical (in a similar way that the analytical section is organised as a move from national policy to the micro-scale of interaction). It begins with a discussion of the study's meta-theoretical commitments (see finding five): I describe an ontology that sits uneasily with broad categorisations such as 'EAL' and that requires closer attention to the 'object of study' and the 'knowing subjects' (which I address in chapters four and six). This leads to a 'stance' that draws on García *et al.*'s (2016: 50) 'necessary

mindset […] for educating bilingual students'. It also makes heavy use of the discussion in chapter two (particularly the sections on translanguaging and timespace). This stance then informs the theoretical framework (outlined in chapter two and developed in chapters five and six) through its focus on repertoire, personal history and the negotiation of power.

The (linguistic) ethnographic approach taken in this study emphasised a dialogic relationship with the study's participants that I describe in terms of 'collusion' (Conteh *et al.* 2005: xxiii, 132). This became a key element in the study, from Afnan and Eyob explaining the significance of the data they showed me (chapters six and seven) to others challenging me to explain the value of the study or acting as gate-keepers as I built rapport with the participants (see Sharples forthcoming, 2017 for a fuller discussion). This analytical framework would not have been possible without this collusion, but that brought ethical considerations that were first discussed in the methodology chapter (where I also described ethics as a potential grounds to judge the study's contribution). Some young people were keen to tell their stories, particularly in the first months after they joined the International Group, and I had to recognise myself as one of a possible long line of adults that they had explained themselves to (often including social workers, immigration officials and police officers in several countries) and decide whether it was in their best interests to continue. Eyob's story (chapter seven) was by no means unique, but it was the only one I felt able to include in the thesis.

In this way the methodology was a deeply integrated part of this study. It drew directly on the literature review to inform the meta-theoretical commitments and the stance. These in turn guided the analysis in chapters four, five, six and seven and the findings that emerged.

Current relevance

In chapter one, I argued that the thesis was a product of its time and place. It was written during a period of rapid change in the education system and at a time when public attitudes towards migration and multilingualism (and even expertise in general, see Gove's comments in Mance 2016) appear to be hardening. That speaks to the relevance of a study that foregrounds the voices of the young people who are likely to be most exposed to intolerance (see e.g. Zhu Hua and Li Wei 2016). The contributions described in chapter nine and the response to the literature (below), though, are based on there being a closer relationship between the study and its setting. I discuss that briefly here.

The current period is not only one of rapid change in the education system. It is also a period in which the 'EAL' sector is losing expertise very rapidly, particularly as budgetary pressures lead local authorities to close advisory services and as academisation shifts priorities within schools. This is compounded by the move to school-led initial teacher training, which shifts responsibility to teaching schools and MATs in place of universities (chapter four). New teachers are less and less likely to receive pre-service training in 'EAL' and only 34% of schools report that they employ an 'EAL' coordinator in school (Straw *et al* 2016: 13). At the same time, the sector is becoming increasingly fragmented as the loss of local authority teams reduces coordination between schools (functions that are not necessarily replicated by the new mid-layer bodies such as MATs and regional schools commissioners). In the short- and likely medium-term, the support available for teachers working with young migrants is likely to decrease further as the remaining local authority advisors approach retirement or redundancy. There are few signs of leadership from central government and few viable centres of expertise with sufficient influence to

bring these issues to the active attention of larger MATs. This means that the present study comes at a time when new thinking on 'EAL' is urgently needed.

The arguments I present here (and particularly in the following chapter) are shaped by those circumstances. They recognise that enormous expertise still exists in the system, but that increasing fragmentation means that practitioners are less likely to be in contact with each other. They also respond to the likely entrenchment of the entitlement-provision model described in chapter four. Without clear arguments to the contrary, multilingualism and mobility may be seen more firmly as deficits to overcome, by a workforce in which specialists are decreasingly supported (chapters one and four). It also recognises that non-state actors are likely to play an increasingly important role, whether that involves the subject association, funding bodies (such as The Bell Foundation, which supported Arnot *et al*. 2015 and Schneider *et al.* 2016), or others yet to be established. In the absence of a robust national policy framework, research and practice need to engage with this new landscape.

Gap in the literature

This new landscape is also reflected in the literature. The brief history of 'EAL' (in chapter two) suggested that policy, practitioner and researcher audiences are unusually distant from each other. This creates a gap in the literature for studies that connect the policy framework, the professional specialism (and the advocacy that often accompanies it) and that emphasise the young people's own perspectives. I have sought to make those connections in this thesis: tracing the movement of data through the education system to show the limitations of 'EAL' as an analytical category (chapter four); examining how the adult participants talk about the young people to highlight the role of professional knowledge in anticipating needs (and the challenges inherent in such an approach,

chapter four); and exploring the young people's classroom interaction to show how they draw heavily on their own prior experiences, and the resources around them, to make sense of the school (chapters six and seven).

This also points to another sense of 'gap': there is often little overlap between the researcher and practitioner literatures. This thesis contains much that may be relevant to practice: it shows young people engaging deeply with learning alongside the lesson (chapter six) and making sense of schooling through contact with others (chapter five) and on the basis of their earlier experiences (chapters five, six and seven). All this suggests a need for collaboration between researchers and practitioners, especially in a changing landscape. If researchers are to have impact and practitioners to find approaches that work for adolescent migrants, both need common grounds for discussion (see chapter nine).

Limitations

This study has focused on a single department, within a single school, at a particular moment in time. That places limits on how widely the findings can be applied (and I have been transparent about these from a methodological perspective in chapters three, eight and nine). Most importantly, it saw the young people only during their time in the school. I was able to draw on the literature around other learning environments (such as complementary schools, faith settings and family learning, see chapters one and two) but it was not able to see how the young people moved through these different spaces (and others – from parks to cafés to youth clubs and more) and how they connected those experiences as part of their broader migration trajectory. Much more research is needed to test and extend my theoretical framework in other settings. It was also

constrained by its focus on the specific period of time that the young people spent in school. I was not able to begin the study when they arrived in the UK (or before) and the school's data suggest that there is often a period of months before they joined Pine Wood Academy that is unaccounted for in this study.

The study also focused on a particular grouping within the broader field of 'EAL'. Its findings are highly relevant to the 'rethinking' of the field that I call for but, because the study looks in depth at a single setting, further work is needed to test its implications more widely. South London is a particularly diverse urban area, including pockets of great affluence and areas of significant deprivation, as well as long-settled communities and areas of high mobility. These overlap and rub against each other, and because the school accepts young people from across the borough (and beyond) this diversity is an unremarked aspect of day-to-day life. The field of 'EAL', though, is enormously diverse and these findings will apply differently to different urban/rural context, different educational phases and different demographics – and these are constantly changing. The core findings (above) are likely to apply widely, but the specific mechanisms by which they operate may vary. Further research is therefore needed.

The thesis genre also imposed its own limitations. It set out to make the young people's voices more prominent, but also required an authoritative authorial voice. Navigating the balance of the two has deepened the thinking behind the study, but can never wholly satisfy both demands. That connects again with the methodology. In chapter three I noted that issues of representation and empowerment were left unresolved at the end of the study, citing Cameron *et al*. (1992: 4) about the 'irresponsibility' of downplaying the effects of research in 'maintaining and legitimating unequal social arrangements'. Producing the thesis has involved making decisions about whose contribution to include or exclude, sometimes in what I felt were the best interests of the young person. It is

implicated in the kind of unequal social arrangements that Cameron and colleagues describe, even as it sought to critique those imbalances.

Review

This chapter has brought together the thesis as a whole. It first outlined the discussion in the preceding chapters, showing how the analysis made a cohesive argument about young migrants in formal education. It then presented specific findings, and considered three overarching themes. It also discussed the limitations of the study. The following chapter takes up that discussion, summarising the thesis and outlining the contribution it makes.

Chapter 9   Conclusions

Introduction

This final chapter reviews the thesis as a whole. It begins by summarising the arguments from each chapter and then identifies the contribution that the study makes to the work of practitioners, schools, and policy-makers, and to wider discussions around migration, language and education. These are summarised at the end of that discussion. It closes by recording some personal observations on the contribution that this thesis has made to my own work, and where it might lead in the future.

Summary of the thesis

This section gives an overview of the thesis as a whole, showing the connections between the different chapters and how they contribute to a cohesive analysis of young migrants in a South London secondary school.

Part one: Setting the scene

The first chapter established the setting of the study and introduced the participants. It identified the key concepts that would later underpin the theoretical framework I use in the analysis (see chapters five and six). It also began making the argument that the education system is significantly underprepared to respond to changes in global mobility (chapter two) and that this contributes to the systematic marginalisation of young migrants (chapter four).

The second chapter located the study in the broader research and policy literatures. It gave a brief history of 'EAL', showing how the current period of flux in education policy has coincided with a rapid increase in global mobility. This means that young people are encountering school systems in ways that were unforeseen even a few decades ago, and that settings such as the International Group must bridge the reality of the young people's lives and the programmes offered by the national education system. It also identified a gap in the literature for studies that connect both policy and practice, and that make the voices of young people prominent. It then looked at different ways of thinking about monolingualism, diversity and 'nexus' (or the spaces where people encounter each other) – the themes that orient the study. The chapter closed by setting out the research questions – asking how young migrants make sense of their school, and how their school makes sense of them – and the theoretical framework I developed to answer them.

Chapter three described the methodology. It began with a discussion of the study's meta-theoretical commitments, showing how the thinking about young people and migration (chapters one and two) informed the ontology, epistemology and stance. It set out the study design, tracing the development of the project from being 'ethnographically informed' to a 'full' and then linguistic ethnography – a process that mirrored my own growing experience of the fieldwork. Finally, it discussed the persistent challenges around empowerment and representation; issues that emerged during the early stages of the project and were not resolved by its end (see previous chapter).

Part two: Data and analysis

Part two comprised the four analytical chapters and a short preface, which gave an overview of the arguments and showed how they worked together to move from the large scale of national policy to the micro-scale of individual interactions.

The analysis began by examining how young migrants were positioned in policy (chapter four). I argued that the high degree of centralisation in the UK education system, combined with a deliberate withdrawal of central policy from issues of migration and multilingualism, mean that there is very little common approach to 'EAL'. This lack of consistency leaves the young people in a precarious position. I described a model of provision in which young migrants are positioned as linguistically deficient and contrasted this with the highly responsive approach taken by the International Group.

Chapter five bridged the discussion of policy (chapter four) and the close analysis of classroom interaction (chapter six), responding to the gap in the literature identified in chapter two. Combining the research literature with data from field notes, photographs and interviews, it developed the theoretical framework that I used in chapters six and seven (particularly the concepts of 'trajectory', 'contact zone', 'audibility', 'inscription' and 'network').

Chapter six applied this framework to classroom interaction, introducing the concept of 'staging' (developed from Goffman 1956) to show how the young people stratified the classroom into different interactional spaces. They bring resources and ideas from other times and other places into the classroom (chapter two), negotiating the subject positionings available to them and sometimes learning *covertly* or in *parallel* to the lesson taught by the teacher. The chapter closed by showing the significant role that the young people's personal histories ('trajectories') play as they make sense of the school.

Chapter seven focused closely on the narratives of one young person, Eyob, a seventeen-year-old boy from Eritrea. It drew together three incidents from the fieldwork – when he asked me to help write his 'travel story', when he retold the story of a fight, and when he and Eugenio (a teaching assistant) argued over what was acceptable behaviour. It showed the theoretical framework of this thesis in action, and also how some of the young people were active participants in the data collection, using me to articulate more complex subject positions that they might otherwise have access to.

Part three: Discussion and conclusions

The final part of the thesis began to step away from that close contact with the setting and the participants. Chapter eight identified the key findings and discussed the broad themes that emerged from the study; the present chapter shows how they contribute to the issues facing practitioners, schools, policy and our wider public discussions.

Summary of the study's contribution

In this section I summarise the contributions that this thesis makes. I work outwards from the locus of the study, cross-referencing to the findings (chapter eight) and other sections of the thesis to show why this research matters to practitioners, to schools, to policy-makers and to our wider discussions around migration, language and education. These contributions are summarised at the end of the section.

For practitioners

I hope this study will make its greatest contribution with classroom practitioners (see chapter eight and below for the increasing importance of researcher-teacher

collaboration). 'With', because I come from a different professional and academic background (see chapter one) and this study's warrant does not extend to telling others how to teach. Instead I hope that the study sheds light on existing questions, offers new ways to think about young migrants and identifies challenges that will need the expertise of both practitioners and researchers to meet. The study has been shaped by many conversations with practitioner colleagues (particularly through the South London EAL Group, see below) and there are many more discussions yet to have. The following are my suggestions for starting points.

Classrooms as sociolinguistic contact zones

The study showed classrooms to be complex sociolinguistic environments. The teacher is still the dominant figure, usually holding the discursive and physical 'front stage' (chapter six), but there is much more going on. Challenges to the teacher's dominance are often less about contesting authority than about legitimising the speaker as a member of the group and as a user of the powerful discourses of the classroom. Successful interruptions (such as Merry's, or the carnivalesque production in the drama lesson, both chapter six) could even be welcomed as a sign that the young person is testing the boundaries of the dominant discourse, and thereby incorporating it into their own repertoire. Quieter interactions are important, too. With no teacher involved and with a smaller audience, pair and small-group talk create an important space to test out boundaries and to claim new subject positionings. Jason and Mostufa's play (chapter six) is one example, but there are many in the data and they range from social talk during a poster-making activity to note-passing and *sotto voce* arguments. What appears to be off-topic talk, in other words, may be an important part of how the young people make sense of school.

The study also showed that individual practitioners can do much to support young migrants through their day-to-day teaching. One important approach is to recognise (and even embrace) the role of the classroom as a contact zone, where people from different backgrounds encounter each other and the curriculum. This is in contrast to approaches which expect the young people to adapt themselves entirely to the curriculum (which contributes to marginalisation, see chapters four and five). Maria, for example, used her knowledge of the young people's prior education to help them access Jake's maths lessons (chapter four). Crucially, this involved seeing the young people not in terms of what they lack (a deficit perspective) but in terms of what they already know from elsewhere, and helping them to connect their knowledge and abilities to the curriculum content (see finding three). This might involve welcoming complex examples, such as when Jake described volume and, instead of using the empty cola bottle as an example, Eyob described the volume of petrol needed to cross the Sahara (chapter four); or recognising that apparently simple words can have multiple meanings that prevent young people from communicating what they know, such as when Afnan struggled to get across her knowledge of 'roughly' (chapter six). In this study, the teachers tended to be successful when they embraced difference and recognised that the young people had other, valid ways of seeing the world – which could be brought into contact with the curriculum.

The importance of personal history to classroom learning

In chapter four, Margaret described the importance of young people's educational histories to their learning in the International Group. Those with more a secure grounding in formal schooling, she said, were more likely to succeed because they could transfer their learning to the new school. I would extend that: when young migrants

arrive in a new school, their earlier experiences provide the framework through which they make sense of every aspect of their experience. George, for example, used the routines of schooling that he had learned in Ethiopia to guide his classroom work in London (chapter six). This also applies to the young people's expectations of how to behave, such as when Eyob described learning the 'school rule' about not punching people (chapter seven). This behaviour does not always fit easily with classroom routines but we should acknowledge just how different the young people's experiences can be from our own. Expectations need to be made explicit because what settled adults take as common sense is not always obvious to others (Eyob, for example, felt it was obvious that he should fight back if someone was rude to him because that had kept him safe in the past, chapter seven).

Personal histories are often vividly relevant to the classroom in ways that might not seem obvious. The absence of loved ones can be keenly felt, such as when Mohabat leaned over during a vocabulary lesson to tell me that he missed his mother, or when Jimmy worried about his father in Brazil because his messages had gone unanswered (both chapter five). The adult participants tried a number of approaches to respond to this. Siobhan used drama, for example, creating spaces where the young people could negotiate difference, and interrupting a lesson to act out the story of Fernando's motorbike accident (chapters five and six). The study suggests how important it is to 'know' the young people well – from a pastoral as well as a pedagogical perspective. The adult participants used broad assumptions (based on sources as varied as the television news and the young people they had taught before) as starting points, and refined them as they got to know the individuals in their classes over time (chapter five). The data collected by the school are not sufficient – and the data offered by RAISEonline reports are definitely inadequate (chapter four). The people in closest contact with the young

migrants are the ones who carry the responsibility for gathering, applying and sharing their insights (see chapter eight).

Advocacy and policy in the classroom

The adult participants in this study are committed advocates for the young people, but they work within a broader education system that positions multilingualism as deficit and mobility as an abnormal condition (chapters two and four). This means that much of their advocacy work is on a small scale and often happens through personal interaction (I discuss the implications for larger-scale programme design below). It can be seen, for example, when Habtom was allowed to sit out lessons in the office without asking permission (chapter five), when Eugenio tried to set out a new trajectory for Eyob (chapter seven) and when Margaret stayed late to reorganise classes so that new arrivals could get extra support (chapter five). The study also shows how the national policy framework makes it very difficult for specialist teachers to account for their work in the terms recognised by Ofsted (chapter four). This leads to three conclusions: that the involvement of school leaders is essential if advocacy is to be recognised as part of the specialist role (see Mallows 2009b: 5); that those in closest contact with the young people need to be able to use (and contest) educational data to show the impact of their work (see chapters two and eight); and that individual teachers can advocate for young people by recognising that classrooms are spaces of contact, and by allowing the young people to find spaces in which they can make sense of school's norms and expectations (see also García *et al.* 2016: ch. 4 on translanguaging stance).

For schools

At a time when the education system is in flux (chapter two), the study offers valuable insights into local and system-level responses to mobility.

Programme design for adolescent migrants

The International Group is distinguished by the programme it offers to young migrants. It is labour-intensive (several of the participants pointed out that they work longer hours, with more contact time, than they would in other subject departments) and it requires the support of both the school and the local authority (which allow it to operate with significant autonomy). These are both features that may be difficult to replicate.

The following characteristics may be more readily implemented elsewhere. First, the emphasis on short-duration courses gives considerable flexibility within the broader structure of the school, allowing the young people to move through the programme at different speeds. Second, the use of alternative assessments means that the young people could gain valuable qualifications even over short periods. The use of Skills for Life examinations in the 'lower-proficiency' groups, for example, appeared to recognise that many of the young people would be leaving formal education relatively soon (chapters one and two). At other levels, the use of IGCSEs and intensive GCSE courses mean that the young people can study for challenging qualifications in less time, adding other subjects if they stay with the International Group for longer. The programme appeared to be anchored in the standard GCSE examinations, but opened multiple pathways to reach them and ensured that those leaving sooner could carry recognised qualifications with them.

Other lessons emerged from the study that could be applied to a wide range of programmes. One was that the face value of different courses needs to be taken seriously, particularly given that the young people often had experience of several education systems to compare their UK programme with. Because there is little published material available for late adolescent migrants, the International Group often uses EFL course books. These had little currency with the young people once they began to find their feet in the community (see Canagarajah 2001) – and did little to support access to the important qualification-bearing courses that many aspired to. It may therefore be worth engaging more closely with practitioners from other disciplines (such as ESOL and community learning) to explore new approaches that could contribute to the 'distinctive' specialism of 'EAL' (NALDIC 1999). One example could be an approach that integrates subject content and language learning (CLIL), adapted to give greater weight to the young people's prior learning and the demands of an academic curriculum.

Contribution to other phases

This study was set in a secondary school but it may be relevant to other phases, too. Much of the discussion is likely to transfer well to post-compulsory settings, for example: the Skills for Life qualifications are used in both, and both work with young people for a comparatively brief period before they go on to adult life (this further supports the recommendation to engage with ESOL practitioners for late adolescent migrants). The contribution to earlier phases is more complex. The overarching themes (that young migrants are marginalised by policy, that contact is an important way to understand classrooms, and that past experiences are a crucial lens for making sense of schooling) are likely to apply well; but age-related developmental expectations, the stronger emphasis on literacy development and the greater role of the family in learning are all

likely to complicate the contribution. Most importantly, there is nothing in this study to

suggest that withdrawal or transition programmes are appropriate for the youngest

children, and little to suggest that primary-age children in general should be withdrawn

from the mainstream. The International Group was a specific response to a specific set

of circumstances: a brief slice of time in which young people must make sense of the

education system, secure qualifications and be prepared to join the workforce (though

not necessarily in this country). Younger migrants are likely to have longer remaining in

formal education (though see below for recommendations on adapting the curriculum to

greater mobility).

For policy-makers

The findings from this study support significant reforms to the education of late

adolescent migrants, but also recognise the risk of further marginalisation that would

come with their withdrawal from the mainstream (chapters two and four). The

contribution of this study to policy discussions, therefore, is to suggest ways to

incorporate heterogeneity and mobility into mainstream programmes.

Rethinking curriculum for an era of global mobility

In this study, I argued that young people are engaging with the education system in ways

not imagined even a few decades ago (chapter four). I put forward strong criticisms of

(what I termed) the entitlement and provision model (chapter four) and noted that the

adult participants invested considerable energy in mediating a challenging policy

framework so that they could better support the young people (chapters one, four and

five). I also highlighted the breadth of educational settings that mobile young people are

likely to be involved with (chapters one and four). They are increasingly likely to engage with different national education systems over their lives, as well as learning with their families (Kenner *et al.* 2007) and in faith- (Lytra *et al.* 2016) and community settings (Blackledge and Creese 2010). There is no emphasis in the regulatory and accountability framework for schools to prioritise such learning, and no way for inspectors to recognise whether they do (chapter four). The study therefore supports significant changes to the way that 'EAL' is identified and understood by policy-makers and regulators (below).

The current approach marginalises young migrants because it is rooted in two sets of assumptions that are not tenable under conditions of high mobility. The first is that the curriculum offers a necessary and sufficient context for learning. This implies that the curriculum need not change to accommodate learners from different backgrounds. The second is that difference from a monolingual, settled norm should be construed as a barrier to learning, with appropriate provision offered so that the young people can access the curriculum. This study, in contrast, has shown a classroom environment in which teaching does not always depend on the teacher (though that person is still a hugely significant figure) and that the interaction (or contact) between people who have experienced very different forms of learning is an important resource for the young people's own development. Far from expecting the young people to access the mainstream curriculum unproblematically, the emphasis should shift to understanding and drawing on the resources they bring to the classroom. Similarly, their difference from the putative mainstream norm need not be reified as either a cause for celebration or for concern. It can, though, be a resource. The young people learned much about schooling from each other and from recognising the differences between what they knew and what the curriculum expected of them. This is not a deficit to overcome, but a source of rich insights and potential learning.

I also noted that the education system is in a period of flux just as young people are becoming increasingly mobile (chapters one and four). The findings – and the recognition that mobility may be a new normality in Western education systems (chapter two and Leung 2016) – sit uneasily with the current political emphasis on national borders. The contrast can be seen in the disparity between plans (now apparently dropped) to make school places dependent on legal status (Kuenssberg 2016, see also Scott 2016) and the official policy position that all young people have a legal entitlement to education (DfE 2012). The young people in this study and their families did often migrate for opportunities (see the vignettes in chapter one) but they also brought a great deal of experience with them – including those who have no formal qualifications and little formal schooling. They also demonstrated important qualities that are highly in demand, such as resilience and adaptability (see chapters six and seven particularly). There is enormous potential to harness these young people's contribution.

Categorising 'EAL'

The study supports strong criticism of the way that the label 'EAL' is used in policy (see finding four). It showed that the term means different things to different audiences (chapter two) and that it offers very little fine-grained insight into the experiences or capabilities of young people (chapter four). This lack of clarity, combined with a recent lack of leadership from central government, has contributed to the marginalisation of young migrants in the education system. The most important contribution of this study to policy discussions must be to support calls for an urgent reassessment of how young migrants are classified in educational data.

There are some encouraging moves in that direction already: late in the study period the Department for Education introduced a new variable to the tri-annual school census to record young people's 'proficiency in English' (see DfE 2016b: 62-64). This is cautiously welcomed: it may support practitioners to engage more closely with educational data and to articulate their work in those terms (see above and chapter eight) and it may give greater prominence to young people who are otherwise not visible in the data (chapters four and eight). There are significant causes for concern, however. The stages of proficiency are notably vague and insubstantial. There is a very strong focus on 'native speaker' norms and key areas are not addressed: there is, for example, no guidance on what assessments are preferred (meaning there can be little consistency between schools), nor on how the highest stage should be used or whether young people are expected to move between stages as their language skills develop relative to the demands of the curriculum (see also comments from experienced practitioners in Brentnall 2016 and Demie 2016). At the time of writing there appears to be no plan to release standardisation or moderation materials, meaning that they are not comparable between or (without separate action by practitioners) within schools. The findings from this study suggest that those shortcomings are significant: the International Group programme was distinguished by its approach to prior learning and by its flexible course pathways, and the new stages presently offer little to support such practice.

Educational data

The study supports a number of specific actions to make the category of 'EAL' more insightful and less marginalising. In chapter five (and finding one), I showed how the adult participants work with broad assumptions about the young people's backgrounds and refine them over time. I also noted that the accountability framework makes it very

difficult to describe the impact of such programmes on the young people, because they are poorly captured in official data (chapter four). As a consequence, I recommend a more robust approach to the data collection and management procedures around 'EAL'.

The requirement to record young people's ethnicity and home language(s) for the school census means that more detail is captured than is used in (e.g.) RAISEonline, where the categories are collapsed into larger groupings (chapter four). That data could as easily be retained and used to offer a more fine-grained picture of the young people in the school. Other variables are reportedly easy to add (interviews with DfE staff, see chapter four), as the recent addition of a 'proficiency in English' variable suggests. Similar variables could be added for measures of literacy in different languages, flags for unaccompanied minors, and more. There are challenges in this: the data analysis routines used by Ofsted and by schools (and intermediary bodies such as local authorities, MATs and similar) are seemingly problematic. They rarely account for statistical effects such as clustering, and do not seem to distinguish between categorical, ordinal and scale variables when measuring progress. Because measures of progress are problematic, and because young migrants are already marginalised in educational data, there is a risk that more finely grained data may lead to smaller groups being singled out and further marginalised. It further suggests, therefore, that practitioners and researchers would have to engage critically and ambitiously with educational data.

A further recommendation is that central government engage much more actively with 'EAL'. The latest school census figures put the total 'EAL' population at over 1.2 million (DfE 2016a – though note that the present study is primarily concerned with late-adolescent migrants, a much smaller group) and I argue that their multilingualism, mobility and heterogeneity are an increasingly normal condition in Western schools (see Leung 2016 and chapter one). At the same time, there appears to be a policy of

disengagement by central government. Although there are many experienced and knowledgeable individuals in Ofsted and the DfE, all guidance on 'EAL' has been withdrawn from their websites (last checked 18 December 2016) and there is no longer any mention of 'EAL' in the School Inspection Handbook (Ofsted 2016). There is, as I argued in chapter four, little *de facto* barrier to adolescent migrants being withdrawn from the curriculum until the leave compulsory education. Without some form of coordinating leadership – ideally but not necessarily from central government – the dismantling of 'EAL' provision (Anderson *et al.* 2016) is likely to continue and further limit the opportunities for young migrants to succeed in school and to go on to further and higher education – something that the staff of the International Group work hard to make possible (chapters one and four).

For wider discussion of migration, language and education

There is little warrant for a single study to try and shape the wider debate. Its role instead is to contribute to the body of knowledge that such discussions can draw on (chapter three). Specific contributions have been identified in the preceding sections, and here I add some brief general observations that stem from the several years of reading, writing, observing and thinking about young migrants in education for this thesis.

It is important to recognise what the current context tells us, and what it does not. We appear to be entering a period of political change and greater instability. At the time of writing (in late 2016), migration has been widely discussed and borders seem likely to be reinforced across Europe and North America. This does not mean that the young people in this study will simply disappear. They are part of an increasingly integrated world economy and this appears unlikely to change. An greater focus on national concerns in

the West is also likely to make coordinated international responses to migration less effective: note the reaction to the movement across Europe of people seeking refuge in the summer of 2016 (see also Sharples 2015). The highly mobile young people in this study are not a temporary phenomenon but part of a new normality in Western education systems that reflects and is part of an increasingly connected world.

I argued in chapter one that the education system is seriously under-prepared to accommodate highly mobile young people (and, as a result, that they are marginalised within education). This study gives insight into what might be needed to adapt to mobility. First are the specific changes: from the way we categorise data to the way we structure educational programmes (above and chapter eight). Second is a theoretical framework that allows greater insight into the actual classroom experiences of mobile young people (see chapters two, five and six). The data that emerged support calls to re-evaluate certain assumptions about whom and what the education system is for. Third is the recognition that there are no deserving or undeserving young people: those in this study engaged with their lessons, sought out opportunities for further learning, contested the teacher's authority and made sense of the world around them irrespective of their migration status or personal background. There are important differences between them that require thoughtful responses from practitioners and policy-makers, but they do not change the overall finding. Young migrants make sense of their school as best they can, and schools can make sense of young migrants better.

Summary of contributions

In this section, I have discussed the contribution that this study makes to practice, schools, policy and public debate. Those are summarised below.

For practitioners:

I identified a number of areas in which the study might shed light on existing questions, offer new ways to think about young migrants and identify challenges to address.

1. Classrooms as sociolinguistic contact zones
2. The importance of personal history to classroom learning
3. Advocacy and policy in the classroom

For schools:

I focused on the key principles that emerged from the thesis for those that design and implement programmes of study for adolescent migrants. I also considered how they might be applied to other settings.

4. Programme design for adolescent migrants
5. Contribution to other phases

For policy-makers:

I grouped the contribution under three themes, which the study suggested were the most pressing for those working with adolescent migrants in a period of increasing mobility.

6. Rethinking curriculum for an era of global mobility
7. Categorising 'EAL'
8. Educational data

For public discussions around language, migration and education:

At this broad scale, there are limits to the claims that can be made from a study of a single school (chapter three). With that in mind I made a few, more general observations that stem from the research project.

The remainder of the chapter will now focus on the contribution that the opportunity to study for a PhD has brought to my own work.

The PhD as apprenticeship

The PhD project has been my apprenticeship as a researcher, and the thesis marks the culmination of that process. In this final section I record the lessons learned and identify some of directions that they might lead in the future.

Lessons learned

More than anything, the PhD has been an opportunity to learn from the young people I worked with. They have let me see the notes they passed, explained jokes, shared stories and given up their time to be interviewed, photographed, written about and recorded – more than is reasonable to expect, even given that it was a good excuse to duck out of a lesson from time to time. The PhD has also brought insights I never expected: I have learned new geographies of the city, advocated for young people in legal processes and with state agencies, seen the mental health and social care systems from new angles, written to MPs and shared celebrations. Not all the young people could be mentioned in this thesis, but they have shaped the thinking behind it. The staff of the International Group also left a mark. Theirs is a difficult job and – though it is a characterisation they

dislike – I think of it as a constant weighing of needs and opportunities so that they can do the most they can for the young people with the resources they have. They run a path-breaking programme and achieve great success with very marginalised young people; where I disagree with their approach it is underpinned with enormous respect.

I also have come to be more involved with the wider academic and professional field. I became a member, and then a committee member, of the Linguistic Ethnography Forum (a special interest group of the British Association for Applied Linguistics and the main disciplinary home for LE). Through my supervisors I was also introduced to the 'EAL' professional association (NALDIC) and was later co-opted to their committee. I currently edit their new publication (the *EAL Journal*) and have begun to write for publications read by practitioners – allowing me to engage with others on the centre ground between research and practice (see Sharples 2015, 2016a, 2016b). I also convene the South London EAL Group (which is also a regional interest group of NALDIC). My work in these areas has shaped and been shaped by the thesis, particularly the recognition that we need to create new, collaborative spaces where researchers, practitioners and other can meet. Mine has become an unusual position: a research student with an ethnographer's insider/outsider relation to the school system, an experienced English language teacher who has never taught in a mainstream school, and a critic of the term 'EAL' who sits on the committee of the 'EAL' subject association. It gives me a valuable perspective, but my understanding of the day-to-day experience of teaching 'EAL' comes from many others.

Future directions

The first chapter identified a gap in the literature and a period of instability in the professional field. This study has made a contribution to both: linking policy and practice through the findings and recommendations, and emphasising the voices of a small group

of marginalised young people through the analysis. This chapter has identified a number of contributions that the study makes to debates around practice, programme design, policy and our wider discussions around migration, language and education.

Two challenges stand out: the first is to advocate for young people and to find ways to make their voices heard more prominently. This is partly an effort towards gaining wider recognition for the very complex work these young people do, but also to inform policy, research and practitioner responses. As chapters three and eight noted, this will involve significant attention to research practice to balance the competing priorities that advocacy brings. The second is to work to counter the fragmentation of the professional community. There is little appetite to address the problem from central government and expertise is being lost at an alarming rate.

The study also presents several lines of enquiry for the future (see chapter eight). More insight is needed into how the young people move between different settings (from home to school to complementary and faith settings to leisure activities). The methodology of studying contact also needs further development. Much of the literature on contact zones uses self-reported data such as interviews (e.g. Canagarajah forthcoming, 2017a, forthcoming, 2017b) or some use a combination of texts produced by the participants and their commentaries on the production process (e.g. Maxson 2005). This thesis used a range of data types to show how contact zone interactions unfold over time, and this approach would merit further development. Finally, the theoretical framework used in this study would benefit from wider application and development.

Closing

This thesis began with a simple pair of questions:

> how do young migrants make sense of their school, and

> how does their school make sense of them?

In answering them it found an education system in flux, struggling to respond to increasingly mobile young people. It set out a theoretical framework based around 'contact', 'trajectories' and 'networking', showing how the adults and young people drew on their earlier experiences as well as the opportunities of the moment to make sense of each other. It showed classrooms to be complex sociolinguistic environments, composed of different interactional spaces, and that much of the important work that young people do to negotiate difference and make sense of the school happened in the spaces that adults were excluded from. It identified five specific findings and drew on them to make a series of contributions to discussion among teachers, schools and policy-makers, as well as to our broader public debate around migration, language and education. In that debate there is often an assumption that these young people will go away once migration is brought under control. I suggest instead that they represent a new normality, and that the responsibility to adapt is ours.

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Appendices

I will engage you to crowd your margin sufficiently, and scribble you four or
five sheets besides at the end of your book [...] at least, such a flourishing
train of attendants will give your book a fashionable air[.]

Cervantes, *Don Quixote*

Appendix I Participants

Adult participants at Pine Wood Academy

Margaret	Head of the International Group
Maria	Teacher, teaching assistant
Eugenio	Teaching assistant
Siobhan	Teacher (former Head of EMAG)
Jake	Teacher (maths department)
Jane	Assistant head teacher
Teresa	Former teacher, now semi-retired as a teaching assistant
May	Mentoring coordinator
Julia	Teacher
Harriet	Cover teacher
Victor	Cover teacher

Interviewees outside Pine Wood Academy

Gary Connell	Team Leader, Data Development Unit, DfE.
Ian Dormer	RAISEonline Team, DfE.
Richard Lumley	National Pupil Database & Transparency Team, DfE.
Mark Sims	Lead for EAL, Ofsted.
Diana Sutton	Director, The Bell Foundation.

Panel members

Kathryn Almond   EAL Coordinator and Assistant Principal (Raising Achievement) St Gabriel's College.

Richard Bartholomew   Former Chief Research Officer, DfE, and Joint Head of Government Social Research.

Audrey Brown   Former Deputy Director, Standards Analysis and Research Division, DfE.

Nick Butler   Head teacher, St Gabriel's College.

Anita Conradi   EAL and MFL Teacher, NUT Representative.

John Johnson,   Assistant Director of Education and Social Services, Wandsworth Borough Council.

Graham Smith   Director, The EAL Academy.

Tameeka Smith   Director, Cauis House.

Appendix II Evidence of ethical review

Letters of approval from Faculty Research Ethics Committee, dated 4 April 2014 and 4

June 2014, pp. 333-336.

Sample consent form for professional participants, pp. 337-339.

Sample consent form for young people, pp. 340-343.

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Robert Sharples
PhD candidate
School of Education
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee
University of Leeds

4 April 2014

Dear Robert

Title of study:	**Identity and affiliation among multilingual pupils in UK secondary schools.**
Ethics reference:	**AREA 13-089, response 1**

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 13-089 Ethical_Review_Form_V3[1] v2014-03-21.docm	2	21/03/14
AREA 13-089 Info and consent form - head teacher (2014-03-16).docx	2	21/03/14
AREA 13-089 Info and consent form - parent (2014-03-16).docx	2	21/03/14
AREA 13-089 Info and consent form - professional (2014-03-16).docx	2	21/03/14
AREA 13-089 Info and consent form - pupil (2014-03-16).docx	2	21/03/14
AREA 13-089 Consent form - adult (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Consent form - head teacher (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Consent form - parent (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Consent form - pupil (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Consent form - pupil recordings (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Consent form - staff (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Ethical_Review_Form_V3 Robert Sharples.docm	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Fieldwork assessment (med risk) RS signed 2014-02-21.pdf	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Information sheet - adult (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Information sheet - parent (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Information sheet - pupil (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Information sheet - pupil recordings (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14
AREA 13-089 Information sheet - staff (2014-01-29).docx	1	21/02/14

On the basis of the information provided, the Committee made the following comments for consideration:

- The Committee notes you said you will not be lone working but if you will be visiting students and parents in their home on your own this would count as lone working. A fieldwork risk assessment for visiting pupils and their parents at home should also be undertaken.

- The committee felt that the following sentences in some of the information sheets could be clearer: *"The audio and/ or video recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for analysis and (anonymised) for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings".*

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer BlaikieSenior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service
On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Robert Sharples
PhD candidate
School of Education
University of Leeds
Leeds, LS2 9JT

ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee
University of Leeds

4 June 2014

Dear Robert

Title of study: **Identity and affiliation among multilingual pupils in UK secondary schools.**
Ethics reference: AREA 13-089, amendment May 2014

I am pleased to inform you that your amendment to the research application listed above has been reviewed by the Chair of the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 13-089 amendment May 2014 Amendment_form - panel (2014-05-27)	1	02/06/14
AREA 13-089 amendment May 2014 Info and consent form - panel (2014-05-27).docx	1	02/06/14

The Chair made the following comments:

- Provide the giving of data to the focus groups doesn't break with anonymity or data use promises made to those originally supplying the data, this amendment is fine.

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any further amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval as all changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation, as well as documents such as sample consent forms, and other documents relating to the study. This should be kept in your study file, which should be readily available for audit purposes. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie
Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service
On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

Identity and affiliation among multilingual pupils in Academies.

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the purpose of this research?

This research is for my Ph.D. at the University of Leeds. I am researching school pupils who speak more than one language, and trying to find out more about their experiences of school.

I am working with a small number of pupils in the school as the progress through years 9, 10 and 11. I will be interviewing them at regular intervals, observing their lessons and asking them to document their lives in school and outside. I will also be interviewing their parents, teachers and other members of staff at the school.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because your work involves Pine Wood Academy.

> **What do I have to do?**
> I would like to interview you at regular intervals (we can agree how often, but I suggest once per half term). The interviews will cover your professional background, your thoughts on your professional activity, the community and education. I would also like to observe some of your lessons and make audio/video recordings of some classes. Your participation will help me to understand the school more deeply, so that I can understand what the pupils are experiencing.

Do I have to take part?

Not if you don't want to – it is completely voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. You can still withdraw at any time and you do not have to give a reason.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

No risks are anticipated from taking part in this study.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There are no material benefits (such as payment or gifts), though I hope that you will find the process interesting and enjoyable.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

Absolutely. Everything you say in the interviews will be kept in strict confidence, as will any other information (such as notes from classroom observations). When I write my thesis (or any other publications, such as journal articles or conference presentations) your name will be removed.

> ➢ It may always be possible for a colleague or other person to recognise you in the publication (for example because of your job title). I will give you a chance to read any interview transcripts before they are included in any publication.

I will keep the data you provide and would like your permission to use it – in anonymised form – In future publications.

Will I be recorded, and how will the recordings be used?

Our interviews will be recorded so that I can refer to them later. For teachers, I would like to make audio and video recordings of classes but I will ask for your specific permission before I do. Please note: the video recordings are only to help me know who is speaking (using audio only can be unclear in a busy classroom) and my focus is on the pupils.

The audio and/or video recordings of your activities made during this research will be used only for analysis and (anonymised) for illustration in conference presentations and lectures. No other use will be made of them without your written permission, and no one outside the project will be allowed access to the original recordings.

Who is organising / funding the research?

The research is organised by me, Robert Sharples, as part of my doctoral research. It is supervised by Dr Jean Conteh and Dr James Simpson in the School of Education, University of Leeds.

The research is funded by a studentship from the Economic and Social Research Council (www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc).

Contact for further information

The main contact for this research is:

Robert Sharples   email address: ed12rs@leeds.ac.uk

You can also contact my supervisors:

Dr Jean Conteh   email address: j.conteh@leeds.ac.uk

Dr James Simpson   email address: j.e.b.simpson@education.leeds.ac.uk

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Many thanks for taking part in my research project. Please ask if you have any questions.

Identity and affiliation among multilingual pupils in Academies.

CONSENT FORM

	Please initial next to the statements you agree to:
I confirm that I have read the information sheet (dated 16/3/2014) explaining the research study and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.	
I understand that I do not have to take part in the research study and I can drop out at any time without giving a reason and without there being any problem.	
I agree to take part in: - five interviews (audio-recorded).	
(*For teachers:*) I agree to take part in: - classroom observations (max. one day per week) - classroom audio/video recordings (max. one day per term	
I understand that interviews will be audio recorded, but that only the researcher will have access to the audio recordings.	
I agree for my contributions, as well as notes from the observations, to be included in the PhD thesis and in future reports, presentations or publications.	
I understand that my name will not appear in any published study or presentation.	
I agree to take part in the research activities described above and will inform Robert Sharples (email: ed12rs@leeds.ac.uk) if my details change or if I wish to withdraw.	

Name of participant:

Participant's signature and date:

Name of researcher:

Researcher's signature and date:

Identity and affiliation among multilingual pupils in Academies.

You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

Why are you doing this research?

I want to find out more about pupils who speak different languages and how they experience school.

Pine Wood Academy includes pupils from many countries, speaking many languages. I want to know what you think about school, how you find the work and whether anything in school is linked to things you like to do outside school.

It is important to know that I am a student researcher, not a school teacher.
  - ➢ I do not work for the school, and whether you participate or not it will have no effect on your school work or their grades.

  - ➢ I will not share anything you tell me with the school or the teachers.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you are a pupil at Pine Wood Academy, because you are in the International Group and because you speak more than one language. I am inviting several pupils to take part.

Do I have to take part?

Not if you don't want to – it is completely voluntary. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and asked to sign a consent form. You can still withdraw at any time and you do not have to give a reason.

What do I have to do?

I would like to interview you at regular intervals (we can agree how often, but I suggest once every two weeks). We will talk about your school, about the things you enjoy and don't enjoy, and about your school work and teachers. We will also talk about the languages you speak with your family,

what you like to do in your spare time and other personal topics. This is to help me understand how school fits into your life, and you don't have to tell me anything you don't want to.

I would like to observe your classes one day each week so that I see what life is really like in school. This will mean coming into your lessons.

I would like to meet your parents two times a year (this could be at home or somewhere else) and to talk to them too.

I would like to see any data that the school holds about you but not your grades. This research does not affect your school work or grades in any way.

I would like you to wear a portable audio recorder and a microphone (maximum one day each term) so that I can hear the language you and other people around you use.

I would also like to ask you to use a camera to take photographs of things that interest you, for example. If there is anything you don't want to do, you can just say no.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

I do not expect there to be any risks from taking part in this study.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There are no material benefits (such as payment or gifts), though I hope that you will find the process interesting and enjoyable.

Will my participation be kept confidential?

Absolutely. Everything you say in the interviews will be kept in strict confidence, as will any other information (such as notes from classroom observations). I will remove your name from everything I write. I will keep the data you provide and would like your permission to use it in future publications.

> ➢ If you tell me anything that makes me think you or someone else might be in danger, I will have to tell your school. Otherwise I will not tell anyone else what we talk about.

Will I be recorded, and how will the recordings be used?

Our interviews will be recorded so that I can refer to them later. I would like to make recordings of one class each term but I will ask for your specific permission before I do.

When you wear a microphone it will record everything people say around you (including what you say). I will use this to understand how you and other people use language.

Some of the classes or interviews might be video-recorded. This is to help me know who is speaking because it can be very difficult to follow an audio recording if there are several people speaking at once. The videos will not be shown to anyone and I will only use them to know who says what unless I have your written permission.

Who is organising / funding the research?

The research is organised by me, Robert Sharples, as part of my doctoral research. It is supervised by Dr Jean Conteh and Dr James Simpson in the School of Education, University of Leeds.

The research is funded by a studentship from the Economic and Social Research Council (www.esrc.ac.uk/about-esrc)

Contact for further information

The main contact for this research is:

Robert Sharples   email address: ed12rs@leeds.ac.uk

You can also contact my supervisors:

Dr Jean Conteh   email address: j.conteh@leeds.ac.uk

Dr James Simpson   email address: j.e.b.simpson@education.leeds.ac.uk

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Many thanks for taking part in my research project. Please ask if you have any questions.

Identity and affiliation among multilingual pupils in Academies.

CONSENT FORM

	Please initial next to the statements you agree to:
I confirm that I have read the information sheet (dated 16 March 2014) explaining the research study and that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about it.	
I understand that I do not have to take part in the research study and I can drop out at any time without giving a reason and without there being any problem.	
I agree to take part in: - short interviews every two weeks - classroom observations (one day per week) - audio recordings (one day per term) - an interview with my parents/guardians twice each year.	
I understand that interviews will be audio recorded, but that only the researcher will have access to the audio recordings (they will not be shared with the school).	
I agree for my contributions, as well as notes from the observations, to be included in the PhD thesis and in future reports, presentations or publications.	
I understand that my name will not appear in any published study or presentation.	
I agree to take part in the research activities described above and will inform Robert Sharples (email: ed12rs@leeds.ac.uk) if my details change or if I wish to withdraw.	

Name of participant:

Participant's signature and date:

Name of researcher:

Researcher's signature and date:

Appendix III   Eyob's travel story

This is the version we agreed, including the introductory note, on 12 March 2015.

Eyob told me his story in two long interviews, in late 2014. I have written his travel story

based on those interviews, using his words wherever possible. He has given permission for

me to use this story in my research, but has asked me not to mention any religious

aspects, and to use the pseudonym 'Eyob' if I share this story with others.

I was born in Eritrea and I moved to Sudan when I was four years old, with my mother,

on the 5th May 2002. My mother rented a house from an Ethiopian woman, but my

mother died that year. I don't know my dad. He died in Eritrea. After that, the woman I

was living with, she kept me. She is my mother. Sudan was no good for me. The

Sudanese government sometimes put Eritrean people in prison or send them back to

Eritrea or to the Sinai desert. I don't have family in Eritrea. I would have to become a

soldier.

I wanted to move to Libya. I went with four other people who also lived with the woman

who brought me up. I was fifteen. I told them my story and they asked the agent if he

would let me go for free. They told him my background and he said 'OK'. I didn't have

any money, but they asked him if I could go for free with the four people who paid. In

the Sahara there was a lot of sand – all sand, only sand. The car sometimes got stuck in

the sand. It took nine days. It was very difficult, not easy. We went by car, a land cruiser

with the back open. I was in the car with too much people – 27 or so. It was very

dangerous if you fall off. I know one man who fell off and he broke his neck: he died.

They left him there. Sometimes you are fed up – some people threw themselves from

the cars. I know one girl who did this but she didn't die. The Libyan people wanted to

rape her but she didn't want that. She wanted to fall off and she did. But she didn't die –

she broke her leg. They didn't touch her – they left her near to the Saraha, near the

Libyan border.

When I got to Libya I had no passport, nothing. I was arrested in Benghazi. We didn't

know the place or the people, and somebody called the police. I stayed in prison for six

months, in 'Karyambursha' prison, about 45 kilometres from Tripoli. I had no money to

pay the guards, so I had to stay. It was very bad. They beat the boys. After six months,

me and the four other Eritreans were cleaning outside the prison and we started a fire in

the bin. The guard didn't watch us and we ran away. We ran for a long time – too much

time. We had no food. One man – a big man – he carried me. I spend Christmas 2014 in

the Sahara, fifteen days in the Sahara. We went to a little town and Habesha people

helped us. The others called their families to get money, and they asked the agent if I

could go for free.

In the boat, the oil fumes made me ill and I fell over. I had no food. There were heavy

waves and water was getting inside the boat. I was very hungry and I was very sick. I

thought I would die. I didn't have any hope. There were heavy waves and the boat was

rocking. There was water in the boat, it was rocking and three people fell in the water.

We were hungry, begging for food. The boat was about nine metres long and it had 90 or

120 people on board. We called emergency. The captain had a phone, a big phone. A

very big boat – an oil boat – came to help us.

In Italy we got the train to 'Ventimilano'. We hid from the ticket inspectors. Then we

went to Nice, then to Calais. We came to England in a refrigerated lorry. It was very cold,

in with the bananas.