

**BECOMING BRITISH: A MIGRANT'S JOURNEY**

**By**

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## **ABSTRACT**

In 2002, the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act was passed which required migrants to demonstrate a ‘sufficient knowledge’ of English and ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ in order to become British citizens. This thesis investigates some of the linguistic practices during the citizenship process of a Yemeni migrant named W.

This eleven month ethnographically-informed case study examines four forms of becoming. Firstly, becoming through the LUK (Life in the UK) test is analysed using Messick’s unified concept of validity. Secondly, Bakhtin’s ‘ideological becoming’ is used to capture the bilingual practices in engaging with the LUK test as well as offering an entry point to understanding notions of community and belonging. Thirdly, adult ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) is positioned as a ‘space of becoming’ (Baynham and Simpson 2010). W negotiates his way through the qualification framework and his sense of investment and identity is challenged. Finally, the citizenship ceremony as a moment of becoming is analysed through Foucault’s examination and Derrida’s shibboleth.

The LUK test and ceremony represent two very different trials for W. Community life and ESOL education are characterised as gradual forms of development.

## **DEDICATION**

*For my family*

- El valor de tenir valors

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## Origins of the Study

The idea for this study came from my supervisor at the University of Birmingham, Professor Adrian Blackledge. In Blackledge (2005), it was noted that studies were needed detailing the process of becoming British as a migrant. This PhD was in collaboration with the University of Melbourne under the U21 (*Universitas 21*) agreement with my co-supervisor, Professor Tim McNamara.

Chapter six explains in more detail how the original title of this thesis evolved from ‘*Investigating Pathways to Citizenship in ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes in England and Australia*’ to ‘*Becoming British: a migrant’s journey*’. However, suffice to say that there were a number of circumstances which dictated the direction of this study.

## **Introduction**

‘It’s a journey of life to the passport’. This was W’s comment at the end of the British citizenship ceremony. It is W’s journey to citizenship which is the unit of analysis for this thesis. The ceremony arrived at the end of an eleven month study which included the five months between submission of W’s naturalisation papers and the ceremony.

W’s comment incorporates many factors. It references the journey to the ceremony which involves leaving Yemen to come to Birmingham. As part of the British citizenship requirements, W negotiated the LUK (Life in the UK) test as part of his journey to gain citizenship status. Furthermore, the ‘journey of life’ includes his day to day life and his aspirational journey in taking ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) classes in order to go to university. These are some of the journeys which led to the citizenship ceremony. Hence, this is reflected in the following research questions which this thesis interrogates:

1. How are the technical and ideological aspects of the LUK test negotiated?
2. How do the linguistic practices of a community contribute to ideological becoming and notions of belonging?
3. How is ESOL policy identification experienced?
4. How is the British citizenship ceremony performed?

W came to the UK in 2006 from Yemen. He came to Birmingham when he married and left behind his family. He worked during the day in a factory for an Islamic charity and attended evening ESOL classes. One of W’s aspirations during this study was to go to university. This was something he was unable to do in Yemen despite gaining the requisite grades. This

ambition to go to university was every bit as valuable to W's journey to citizenship as gaining a passport.

I spent eleven months with W and tracked the final part of the citizenship process. It was in the ESOL classes that we met but this study moved beyond the ESOL classroom. Our interactions included chewing khat<sup>1</sup>, a leaf which when chewed possesses an amphetamine-like quality, Friday prayers at a local mosque and, conversations on empty storeroom floors at the back of local supermarkets and in a local park. Other than the citizenship ceremony, all our interactions occurred within the Sparkbrook area of Birmingham where we both live.

Sparkbrook was the setting of Rex and Moore's (1967) seminal ethnic relations study: *Race, Community and Conflict*. At the time, Rex and Moore examined the segregation of newly-arrived Commonwealth citizens which was due in part to prohibitive housing policy. Almost half a century later, the present study is conducted by the son of one of those Commonwealth citizens about a 21<sup>st</sup> century migrant seeking to become a British citizen.

The notion of British national citizenship in 1981 was created through the British Nationality Act. Given Britain's history of established institutions, this is an unusually late development (Favell 1994, 2002; Hansen 2000). Furthermore, British citizenship was a response to immigration over more than forty years. Thus, citizenship did not exist within a form of national constitution but instead through immigration legislation. Britain had gone from an 'open door' immigration policy of Commonwealth citizenship in 1948 to a restrictive national citizenship policy in 2002. By the time the data collection of this study concluded in 2011, those seeking citizenship and Indefinite Leave to Remain were required to demonstrate their English language proficiency either through the LUK test or ESOL with citizenship classes.

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<sup>1</sup> Khat is eaten commonly in Yemen and Somalia. Khat was legal during the data collection of this thesis and was banned in the United Kingdom in 2013.

Tests can represent sites of becoming by ensuring that the individual must undergo a trial in order to access resources (Bakhtin 1981). The LUK test was introduced in 2005 as a response to legislation implemented through the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002. The LUK test has been viewed as highly ideological in creating a linguistic marker as an obstacle and condition for the settlement of migrants (Blackledge 2005, 2009). *Chapter seven* examines how W negotiated the LUK test by analysing how his test preparation engaged with yet undermined both the technical and ideological aspects of the test. This multilingual engagement raises questions about issues of test validity. W's language planning for the LUK test is one of two multilingual approaches in the Yemeni and local Chinese community which is highlighted in this study.

*Chapter eight* will demonstrate how bilingualism is crucial to the development of migrant communities. This context includes W's own 'ideological becoming' (Bakhtin 1981) through the LUK test as an entry point to understanding notions of belonging. 'Community cohesion' has become a prevalent phrase in British political discourse. When Prime Minister David Cameron (2011a) lamented the failure of multiculturalism as an integration policy, he linked social breakdown to fragmented communities due to a lack of English proficiency among migrants. This study examines how personal communities (Alexander et al. 2007) as a series of networks created by migrants provide a more apt description of real life.

ESOL education is conflated with wider political and immigration discourses (Cooke and Simpson 2008, 2012; Han et al. 2010). Such language provision is primarily aimed at migrants who live in the UK. ESOL is dependent on funding regimes which are vulnerable to government funding cuts. Success for ESOL educational institutions is also susceptible to examination targets which can influence subsequent funding (Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson 2011).

Against the backdrop of austerity and wider educational cuts, this study follows W in his negotiation of rigid, ESOL qualification frameworks. *Chapter nine* charts how W's aspirations clash with an imposed identification as a test-taker (Baynham and Simpson 2010) by the college in order to ensure funding for the next year. W believes his progress out-strips his level placing for the exams for which he has been entered. This had practical consequences as W could be delayed in entering mainstream qualifications such as A-levels for university entrance.

I return to the first line of this section, 'It's a journey of life to the passport'. Citizenship is, in its purest form, about legal recognition of being a member of a society (Hansen 2000, 2010; Joppke 2010). The citizenship ceremony is a moment of becoming *par excellence*. Only once the national anthem has finished and the ceremony is over can someone be a British citizen. The new citizens can then apply for a British passport. *Chapter ten* investigates the performative aspects of the ceremony as well as micro-language testing which takes places even during the ceremony.

In this thesis I follow four forms of 'becoming' on W's journey to citizenship. Firstly, the LUK test is a site of becoming through demonstration of English proficiency and knowledge of British life. Secondly, 'ideological becoming' (Bakhtin 1981) is examined in relation to LUK test negotiation and how this links to more personalised notions of 'community' and belonging on a psychological level. Thirdly, I analyse the challenges of ESOL education both in terms of policy and personal experiences as a 'space of becoming' (Baynham and Simpson 2010). Finally, the actual moment of becoming British at the citizenship ceremony is captured. All of these areas of becoming are refracted through the prism of W's journey to citizenship.

# CHAPTER ONE

## The Methodology of Reading

### A methodology of reading

Franklin (2012) describes academic work as a way of explaining what is done, how, why and the outcome. With this orientation, I position this section as a way of describing the role of reading in this thesis, how it was done, why it was done this way and its consequences. This is not strictly a literature review chapter. It is not strictly a methodology chapter nor is it an analysis chapter. However, I have endeavoured to demonstrate the fluidity of combining reading, methodology and analysis in the interests of transparency. I feel it necessary to include an account of how reading was conducted because not all literature reviews can be the same.

The great philosopher, Francis Bacon, stated ‘Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man; and writing an exact man’ (Bacon 1985: 209). In this sentence, Bacon refers to reading, conference and writing as proffering roles in a more holistic development of the individual. Reading was imperative to the development of my thesis, and to me as a professional and person. ‘Conference,’ by which Bacon refers to discussion, also sharpened my thoughts. I was able to confer with my supervisors on the types of reading that I was undertaking and able to ask questions to others in my field as well as regularly presenting my work at conferences and seminars. Greene (2012) suggests that interactions and conversations with experts in a kind of mentored setting are central to developing a mastery of a given field. The act of writing about literature, producing this thesis and regularly presenting work from it required me to find a level of precision so that my work could withstand the criticisms of my peers.

The works of Sheikh Hamza Yusuf and Michel Foucault have contributed significantly in shaping my mind as a person and as a doctoral researcher. Hamza Yusuf is one of the eminent Islamic scholars today. As a Muslim researching another Muslim, the use of Islamic scholars has been important to me for my study and conduct. I say this to give an insight into who I am and why I would gravitate towards such scholars. This will be of greater relevance later in this section. As an aspirant researcher, the work of Foucault has been challenging and insightful to my development.

I noticed that both Yusuf and Foucault made reference to the work of Francis Bacon in their own lectures. Yusuf makes frequent reference to Bacon in his excellent dissection of the act of reading (Yusuf 2012). Foucault recommended ‘I am not much in the habit of giving you advice concerning university work, but if any of you wanted to study Bacon, I don’t think that you would be wasting your time’ (Foucault 2009: 267). I could do worse than to heed such valuable advice.

Of interest to this section are Bacon’s thoughts on reading. Francis Bacon wrote on a range of subjects, some of which have informed the use of scientific methods and thinking even today. His role in empiricism has been particularly significant. Bacon viewed the role of reading as essential to the development of the mind in an essay written in 1625 entitled ‘*Of Studies*’. Bacon was at pains to highlight that reading was not a passive, one-dimensional act of acquiring knowledge, nor should there be a single approach. Bacon (1985: 209) stated:

‘Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted; others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is some

books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly and with diligence and attention’.

Bacon is making two things clear. Firstly, not all reading can be undertaken in the same way. Secondly, how books are to be read requires evaluative judgments upon the level of effort and focus required. In this thesis, not all the references that appear in this thesis have been read in the same way nor do they all carry equal weight in informing this research and shaping my mind.

The discernment of how texts are used is no simple matter. Bloom’s (1984) taxonomy has been widely respected in educational training. I recognise this as a point of reference having previously been an adult ESOL teacher of migrants since 2005. In Bloom’s taxonomy, the learning objectives of synthesis and evaluation are considered to be the highest cognitive domains. A literature review requires a synthesis of a text. There must be an evaluation not only of the text on its own merit but also in relation to other texts and overarching research interests.

Much as in the same way that an orthodox methodology chapter provides a description of how data were (1) collected and (2) analyzed, I shall offer a similar account of (1) how texts were selected and (2) what types of analysis were required in accordance with the type of text. I cannot account for all the texts in this section but I will provide a rationale for what I have done, and why I have done so. These methods and rationale lead to analysis.

I referred to the Islamic scholar Sheikh Hamza Yusuf earlier in this section. Yusuf (2012) was a former student of Mortimer Adler, who wrote ‘*How to Read a Book*’ (Adler 1940) and co-wrote the revised edition (Adler and van Doren 1972). Adler and van Doren (1972) conceptualized reading as a conversation between reader and author in which there is an

‘obligation’ for the reader to contribute to the reading. What we bring as speakers in terms of knowledge, beliefs and effort to interactions presupposes such conversations.

Early in my doctoral journey, I was drawn to hermeneutics in which the goal is ‘to understand what is involved in understanding’ (Schwandt 2003: 304). What I bring to and take from a text will differ from someone else. In understanding a text as the reader, Gadamer’s ‘fusion of horizon’ (Gadamer 1975: 273) idea is relevant:

‘In fact the horizon of the present is being continually formed, in that we have continually to test our prejudices ... the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past. There is no more an isolated horizon of the present than there are historical horizons. Understanding, rather is always the fusion of these horizons which we imagine to exist by themselves’.

The idea of horizons implies a familiarity or tradition existing in understanding or knowledge which precedes meaning (Hodkinson 2004). Horizons are never fixed and are subject to change. Once this fusion between my knowledge and interpretation of the text or concept occurs, my horizon has more latitude. You read this thesis in relation to your own presuppositions. By the end of this thesis your ‘horizons’ will hopefully have expanded slightly.

## **Methods**

Before I articulate the ‘methods’ of how texts were read, I would like to crystallize the selection of texts in accordance to those methods. Adler and van Doren (1972 : 167) advise ‘To become well-read in every sense of the word, one must know how to use whatever skill one possesses with discrimination by reading every book according to its merits’. Thus, prior

to selecting a method to read, it is necessary to present the relative merits of a given method. Some books may require a different approach from others. This may depend on a number of factors.

I return to my 'fusion of horizons'. Books around ethnic relations such as Rex and Moore (1967) were quite straightforward. As a British-Pakistani Muslim I have held a long-standing interest in issues of race and exclusion. Similarly, the work of Cooke and Simpson (2008) was familiar thanks to my background in sociolinguistics and TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language). Reading such texts 'intrinsically' (Adler and van Doren 1972), that is to say in isolation, was not unusual. The 'conversation' with the text could take place through annotations and remarks within the text itself.

Following this intrinsic reading process, it became evident that further reading was required in certain cases. This extended reading took several forms based on initial re-readings of the same text. This can be undertaken according to the principles outlined around 'analytical reading' (Adler and van Doren 1972). This requires the reader to (1) understand what the book is about; (2) form an interpretation of the content; (3) hold back from criticisms of the text; (4) find flaws in the text itself. I found this to be quite useful in reading books particularly within applied linguistics in which I was fairly accustomed. However, in some cases this analytical reading was still insufficient for some of the most difficult yet rewarding conversations that I encountered during my doctoral journey.

I present examples of the complex task of reading. In one case, I wished to define the difference between monologism and dialogism according to the Russian literary philosopher, Mikhail Bakhtin (see chapter two). In Bakhtin (1981), it was fairly obvious what monologism may be due to the absence of dialogism, however this was not enough. Thus, I began searching for solutions through the work of Holquist (2002) and Vice (1997). The

commentaries and contextual knowledge offered by Holquist and Vice guided me. In the end, I was directed towards '*Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*' (Bakhtin 1984).

In another case, I was considering the work of Jacques Derrida. As with Bakhtin, reading extrinsically would be necessary which means 'reading a book in the light of others' (Adler and van Doren 1972: 168). Not only was I reading Derrida, I read sections of the Old Testament, McNamara (2005; 2012) and Caputo (1997). This is known as 'syntopical reading' (Adler and van Doren 1972) in which one refers to an original text, but also generates a list of references in relation to that text. Thus, there may be multiple readings of other texts, but they are in relation to an original text. This was the case with both Bakhtin and Derrida.

Adler and van Doren (1972) state that the quality of reading can be judged by how active it is. How active this engagement is depends also on the difficulty of the text in question. They suggest that the text ought to make demands of the reader. Adler and van Doren (1972) hierarchize books in order of the exigencies required for engagement. They state 'if a book belongs to the highest class-the very small number of inexhaustible books-you discover on returning that *the book seems to have grown with you*' (original emphasis - Mortimer and Adler 1972: 343). This was very much the case with the works of Messick (chapter seven), Bakhtin (chapter eight), Foucault and Derrida (chapter ten). This process of growing with the text continues even as I write these words and I hope continues long after this thesis.

In order to make the reading as active as possible with the 'high end' texts such as Bakhtin, I began to use 'mind maps'. For an example of this, please see appendix 1. Mind maps are different to standard linear notes in that they are drawn with different colours and geometric shapes and place main ideas at the centre. The rationale is that mind maps enable reading to be (a) more engaging and (b) use both the left and right cortex of the brain (Buzan and Buzan

2003; Buzan 2006). As a result, this reduces the cognitive load of information through text by using pictures and colours and provides a more active experience. For me, this was highly useful. I switched to more orthodox note taking as I approached the demands of writing. This smoothed the transition from abstract thoughts and ideas to writing for the thesis by switching from mind maps to notes to writing.

In some cases, I wanted to see how ideas derived from reading worked together. Thomas (2009) describes the alchemy of combining texts as a ‘molecular reaction’ in which texts can speak to each other and produce a particular idea or way of thinking (Adler and van Doren 1972). An example of this is provided in appendix 2. The advantage of using mind maps in this way was that I could see how the ideas worked together and how they may not on the same A3 page. Wolcott (2009: 85) highlights this in asserting that such visual qualities ‘emphasize connectedness among the approaches; what they share in common and how they are differentiated’. By engaging in this approach, it was hoped that the ‘molecular reaction’ caused by bringing texts together could be both analytical in understanding ideas and creative in generating new ones.

Finally in this section, the reading for the literature review was not solely undertaken prior to data collection. Reading was ongoing and as important and as collecting data through interviews or fieldnotes. Such reading is essential in constructing one’s own writing (Pallas 2001). For this reason, this section has been dedicated to the methodology of reading.

### **Literature review overview**

Having now elucidated the methodology and analysis of reading, four chapters follow which foreground the empirical aspects of this thesis. These chapters are the literature review sections. *Chapter two* provides the historical basis of British citizenship. The chapter

outlines major legislation as well as the introduction of the LUK test. The LUK test is viewed through its technical, ideological and social aspects drawing heavily on Messick's unified concept of validity. *Chapter three* examines citizenship and belonging in legal and more affective ways. Furthermore, historical integration models for immigrants are linked to more contemporary discourses around community and belonging. This is analyzed through 'ideological becoming' (Bakhtin 1981). *Chapter four* offers a theoretical understanding of identity in language learning. This is contextualized through the development of ESOL education policy. *Chapter five* sets out the organization and performance of a British citizenship ceremony. This is contrasted and compared with similar ceremonies in Europe and uses the post-structuralist frameworks of Foucault's examination (1977) and Derrida's shibboleth (2005).

At the end of each of these four chapters, the relevant research question and empirical chapter to which it pertains is stated. This offers clarity as to why the literature is salient and offers a direct link to the empirical analysis chapters (from seven to ten). At the beginning of chapters seven to ten, the research question is re-stated in order to maintain internal coherence.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Immigration Legislation, British Citizenship and Testing

*‘This is not a test of someone's ability to be British or a test of their Britishness. It is a test of their preparedness to become citizens, in keeping with the language requirement as well. It is about looking forward, rather than an assessment of their ability to understand history’.*

Tony McNulty (2005), The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government

#### A historical background

In Britain, ‘the story of post-war migration is the story of citizenship’ (Hansen 2000: 35). British national citizenship has never existed independently of immigration. British citizenship was created as late as 1981 through the BNA (British Nationality Act). It was the result of successive immigration legislation which became progressively restrictive. Britain went from the ‘open door’ of Commonwealth citizenship in 1948 to British national citizenship in 1981. Herein lies a fundamental paradox of the UK. Despite the country’s long institutional history, the concept of national citizenship is relatively new (Hansen 2000).

More than twenty years after BNA 1981, a standardized test named the LUK (Life in the UK) test was introduced. Migrants wishing to become British citizens were now required to demonstrate their level of English through negotiation of the LUK test. This emphasis on British citizenship was a response to social unrest among British-born Asians, far-right white extremists and the police in three northern towns over the summer of 2001. However, this is a moment that was prefaced by the settlement of migrants over a period of over fifty years.

This chapter will first provide a historical background between 1948 and 1981 leading up to the inception of British national citizenship. The most significant legislation will be examined. Following this, there will be an analysis of the 2001 events which led to the introduction of the LUK test. Having analyzed the political events which led to the LUK test, this study will assess its technical qualities and ideological aspects.

### **British Nationality Act 1948**

In 1946, it was announced that Canada would be formulating a Citizenship Act. This act would make Canadian citizens first and British subjects second; however, British subjecthood could only be acknowledged on the basis of holding Canadian citizenship (Karatani 2003). The basis of the UK as an imperial leader was based on ‘the vision of a single, universal, and equal nationality throughout the empire’ (Paul 1997: 14) which would be threatened if other nations also wished to assert their own national identity over an allegiance to the Crown. Fearing other Commonwealth nations would follow Canada’s lead, the British government set out to establish its status as a third global force in the face of the Soviet Union and US pre-eminence during the wake of World War II (Hansen 2000; Karatani 2003).

The British government’s answer was the BNA (British Nationality Act) 1948 which created a citizenship category of CUKC (Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies). BNA 1948 not only allowed colonial citizens the right to entry but also allowed, as British subjects, the right to work in the UK. This was ‘an extraordinarily inclusive citizenship norm’ (McLaren and Johnson 2007: 711). In theory, CUKCs would have the same rights across the Commonwealth in the UK regardless of race and colour. The multi-racial idea of the Commonwealth was a source of pride to the British government (Hansen 2000), but the subsequent reality of colonial immigration would be less welcomed.

Mass migration was not envisaged by the British government (Paul 1997; Hansen 2000; Hampshire 2005). Hansen (2000) notes that little mention was made of migration within parliamentary debates; mass migration simply did not appear to be a possibility. Hansen (2000) and Hampshire (2005) describe the period following the enactment of the BNA 1948 and before the CIA (Commonwealth Immigration Act) 1962 in different ways. On the one hand, this period signified a moment in history during which Britain sought to reimpose itself as an imperial and global presence through Commonwealth citizenship. On the other, the period marked a time when the door was open for Commonwealth immigrants to enter Britain (Hiro 1993). Migrants from the Commonwealth (in particular the Caribbean) took advantage of this freedom of movement and came to Britain in unexpected numbers in search of work (Paul 1997; Hansen 2000; Karatani 2003; Hampshire 2005). To stem this flow, Britain was now moving from a phase of commonwealth inclusivity to a period of exclusionary immigration policy through the introduction of the Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962 (Hampshire 2005).

### **Commonwealth Immigration Act 1962**

The CIA (Commonwealth Immigration Act) 1962 was introduced in 1962. Its aim was ‘to amend the qualifications required of Commonwealth citizens applying for citizenship under 1948’ (CIA 1962: 1). In keeping with a desire to create restrictive legislation based on employment, work vouchers would be distributed to migrants. Immigration between 1962 and 1967 was marked by a shift towards a greater concentration of Pakistanis and Indians (Rose 1969).

Hampshire refers to CIA 1962 as the dawn of ‘an exclusionary phase in the politics of immigration’ (Hampshire 2005: 25). While the intention may have been to stem the flow of

migration, its impact also served to solidify the presence of colonial migrants. CIA 1962 convinced those who were not sure whether their residence was temporary or not to remain in the UK. This destroyed 'the myth of return' (Anwar 1979) for some migrants who decided to settle in the UK. CIA 1962 permitted the reunification of families through chain migration; thus facilitating a family base to begin life in Britain. All these factors led to the permanent settlement for many migrant families.

### **Commonwealth Immigration Act 1968**

In response to the influx of Kenyan Asians following their displacement from Kenya's Africanisation policy, the British government passed the CIA 1968 (Commonwealth Immigrants Act) in just three days (Lester 2000). The legislation deemed that not only would the immigrants require a British issued passport (as in CIA 1962), but they would also need a 'qualifying connection' (Hansen 2000) which appeared in sections 2Aa and 2Ab of CIA 1968. This stipulation required the applicant to demonstrate that at least one parent or grandparent was born in the UK. Almost all Kenyan Asians were unable to demonstrate such lineage and were ineligible.

### **Immigration Act 1971**

Perhaps the most significant change in the IA (Immigration Act) 1971 was the introduction of 'patrial' and 'non patrials'. Patriality was divided into three categories: (1) UK Born CUKC, (2) resident for more than five years and (3) parent or grandparent was born in the UK. Hampshire (2005) acknowledges that this favoured mainly white citizens from Old Commonwealth countries such as Australia and New Zealand who could claim to have a parent or grandparent from the UK.

IA 1971 represented an exclusion based policy movement from ‘quasi-ancestry’ to ‘clear ancestry’ (McLaren and Johnson 2007: 711). The consequence of this was that the British government had introduced ‘an ethnic marker’ (Joppke 1999: 105). Due to the restrictions that this would place on New Commonwealth citizens (from countries such as Pakistan and India), this created an ‘awkward assemblage of citizenship’ (Hampshire 2005: 42) which was linked to Commonwealth immigration yet differentiated migrant access based on the lines of ancestry.

### **British Nationality Act 1981**

By the end of the 1970s, the Commonwealth was becoming obsolete as the seams of imperial unity were splitting due to decolonization. The previous legislation which had been built on the amalgamation of Commonwealth nations now required reformulation. Post-war citizenship was centered on Commonwealth links and a national British citizenship would not be possible until these links weakened (Karatani 2003). BNA (British Nationality Act) 1981 moved from *jus soli* to *jus sanguinis*. *Jus soli* refers to the right to nationality and citizenship based on birth on that territory (for example the United States). *Jus sanguinis* refers to the same right through proof of descent and lineage (for instance Germany). Now being born in the UK would no longer allow one to gain British citizenship. The legislation was prohibitive of those who were not a part of ‘the exclusive familial community defined by blood and culture’ (Paul 1997: 26). Instead, citizenship would require proof of a lineage of British descent. This converted the concept of patriality of 1971 to citizenship (Hansen 2000).

Perceptions vary of BNA 1981. Hansen (2000: 219) viewed BNA 1981 as ‘a noteworthy accomplishment’ in light of ‘the tortured history of British nationality’ as it clarified British citizenship despite the awkwardness of previous legislations built on the now redundant notion of Commonwealth citizenship. In contrast, Tyler (2010: 63) interpreted the passing of

BNA 1981 as ‘a moment when, through citizenship, racism was implicitly incorporated within the judicial body of the state becoming an active component part of its operational system of ‘legal justice’. Tyler’s reasoning is based on the idea that BNA 1981 deliberately excluded blacks and Asians.

British citizenship existed primarily as a form of legislation (Karatani 2003; Joppke 1999).

Karatani (2003: 181) notes that ‘the substantive aspects of citizenship - its entitlements and obligations - were of little concern to either party’ in discussions about citizenship. Tyler (2010) highlights how little attention was paid to creating a relationship between the citizen and the polity. This would appear to be a result of a citizenship design that was primarily envisaged as a form of a legislative control over immigrants through legal status rather than a multifaceted ‘polyvalent’ (Joppke 2010) form of national citizenship.

In the immediate lead up to introduction of BNA 1981, Blake (1982) noted the lack of discussion about what a nation was among policy-makers particularly in relation to nationality. Previously Commonwealth citizenship was based on the unity of the Commonwealth and Britain rather than a form of national citizenship (Karatani 2003). BNA 1981 may have been the foundation of a national British citizenship but the lack of a historic constitution meant that national citizenship was a rather hollow concept. BNA 1981 also contained a language requirement which although existed in the legislation was rarely used and lacked a standard test (Crick Commission 2003).

### **Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2001**

The summer of 2001 saw riots take place in the north of England. The riots occurred in three towns: in Oldham on 26<sup>th</sup> and 27<sup>th</sup> May, in Burnley on 23<sup>rd</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> June and in Bradford on 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> July (Denham 2002). Asians youths (mainly second generation Pakistanis and

Bangladeshis), the police and white youths were involved in the riots. The rising levels of poverty and unemployment in industrial milling towns as well as increasing racial tension between the Asian and white communities created a combustible climate which was heightened by the burgeoning popularity for far-right groups such as the British National Party (Kundnani 2007; Dancygier 2010).

Three post-riots reports referenced English language as a cause for a lack of community cohesion and self-segregation (Cantle 2002; Denham 2002; Ritchie 2001). Denham (2002: 12) declared that ‘there are a number of reasons why people choose to be close to others like themselves ... For ethnic minorities, such as the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities in Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, language may also an important factor if they do not speak English’. Cantle (2002: 4) reported ‘communities leading parallel lives delineated by high levels of segregation in housing and schools, reinforced by differences in language, culture and religion’. Cantle in this section, placed emphasis on differences which were caused by the immigrant community’s ‘otherness’. The report came to represent a failure of multiculturalism (Turner 2006). Ritchie (2001: 82) perhaps offers the strongest criticism, ‘there is resentment that many Asians have only a poor understanding of English. This results in a lack of interaction between the white and Asian communities. This lack of interaction leads to suspicion and fear’.

The Home Secretary David Blunkett’s language was becoming increasingly strident about English proficiency. A lack of community cohesion and English language proficiency was said to be stretching ‘the norms of acceptability’ (Brown 2007). Blunkett continued that ‘those who come into our home ... should accept those norms’ (Brown 2007). As part of this home, English was the language to be used (Alexander et al. 2007).

Language requirements for citizenship would be the ‘panacea’ (Greenwood and Robins 2002: 507; Sasse 2005: 678) to the ills caused by a lack of integration. According to Blunkett, ‘citizenship should be about shared participation, from the neighbourhood to national elections. That is why we must strive to connect people ... and overcome hostility and ignorance. Of course, one factor is the ability of new migrants to speak English’ (Blunkett 2002a: 76). An English language requirement was to be demanded of migrants in their acquisition of British citizenship.

The logic was clear: citizenship creates a sense of commonality for which English is essential and thus community cohesion will be possible (Kundnani 2007). Castle and Davidson highlight that language and culture are both seen as signs of Otherness and ‘markers of discrimination; giving them up is seen as essential for integration and success. A failure to do so is regarded as indicative of a desire of separatism’ (Castles and Davidson 2000: 125). By taking the terrain of language, the government was seeking to account for ‘the controllability of difference’ (Castles and Davidson 2000) between immigrants and natives through immigration legislation.

The White Paper *Safe Border, Secure Haven: Integration with Diversity in Modern Britain*, which was published in 2002 (Home Office 2002), outlined the new citizenship proposals. The legislative response to the riots arrived in the form of NIAA 2002 (Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act) demanded that immigrants and would-be citizens would require ‘sufficient knowledge’<sup>2</sup> of English and ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ (NIAA 2002). This would take the form of ESOL with Citizenship classes or a new test called the LUK (Life in the UK) test about English language and British culture.

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<sup>2</sup> The exact requirement in NIAA 2002 was in section 3(ba) which stated that there must be evidence that ‘a person has sufficient knowledge of a language for the purpose of an application for naturalization.’ This may include English, Gaelic and Welsh. English as the dominant is the language that many migrants will use.

Language requirements were framed within the same legislation which deals with illegal immigration, asylum and citizenship (Greenwood and Robins 2002; Walters 2004).

After 50 years of post-war immigration, citizenship legislation would be a solution for an apparent lack of integration (Joppke 2007). The solution lay in the assimilative properties that citizenship could filter. Through language, community cohesion and citizenship, it had become necessary ‘to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past’ (Hobsbawm 1983: 1). Rosenberg (2007) notes that this was the first time that a generation of migrants were required to show their level of English even though other generations (for example Yiddish speaking Jews at the end of the 19th century and post-war Polish migrants) had successfully coexisted and contributed to British society with no need to demonstrate their language proficiency.

### **The Life in the UK Test**

Following the riots, an advisory group was created ‘to advise the Home Secretary on the method, conduct and implementation of a LUK (Life in the United Kingdom) naturalisation test’ (Crick Commission 2003: 1). The group was headed by Sir Bernard Crick and consisted of thirteen members who ranged from professors to researchers to principals of colleges. The objective of the Crick Commission was to provide guidance on how best to implement the requirements of NIAA 2002 for ‘a sufficient knowledge’ of English and ‘a sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’. This meant mobilizing the ‘often perfunctory and sometimes uselessly minimal’ (Crick Commission 2003: 4) language requirement from BNA 1981 into a formal citizenship requisite.

The results were two-fold. The LUK test<sup>3</sup>, which was introduced in 2005, could be taken. At the time of the empirical phase of this thesis the format was 24 multiple choice questions over 45 minutes to be answered online. The pass mark was 18 out of 24. The report promoted the use of ‘language with civic-content’ ESOL classes (Crick Commission 2003). These classes would later be known as ‘ESOL with citizenship classes’ in which the emphasis was on progression of English language proficiency for those unable to deal with level of the LUK test. Classes would take place at approved centres. Upon the completion of these classes, the learners would receive certification.

The basis of both the classes and LUK test is the *Life in the United Kingdom* (LUK) handbook. The second edition LUK book, which is the basis of this thesis, consists of nine chapters. The book covers history, changing society, a profile of the UK today, government, everyday needs, employment, the law, sources of help and information and government perspectives on shared values and communities (TSO 2007). There have been three versions of the LUK handbook. The first version was produced in 2005 with a revised version in 2007. The latest edition was released in 2013 after the data collection.

### **The LUK test - an assessment**

This thesis has already reviewed how the social unrest of 2001 in the north of England led to a renewed focus on British citizenship as the unifying force which would fuse together ‘parallel lives’ (Cantle 2002). The racial segregation of British Asian communities and white British communities was viewed as a cause of the riots. Central to the supposed fragmentation of British society was the language proficiency of migrant communities. The result in 2005 was the introduction of the LUK test for migrants seeking to become British citizens.

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<sup>3</sup> The test format outlined is based on the 2007 edition of the LUK book.

The White Paper, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*, promoted the necessity for migrants to learn English and a citizenship test in order to:

‘... strengthen the ability of new citizens to participate in society and to engage actively in our democracy. This will help people understand both their rights and their obligations as citizens of the UK, and strengthen the bonds of mutual understanding between people of diverse cultural backgrounds. It will also help to promote individuals’ economic and social integration’ (Home Office 2002: 12).

What becomes clear is that values besides language are infused with the rationale behind the test as civic rights. The following section will examine both the technical and ideological aspects of what the test entails. The most significant technical aspect of language testing concerns the issue of validity. This is the focus of the next section.

## **Validity**

Bachman and Palmer (1996: 23) state that ‘the primary purpose of a language test is to provide a measure that we can interpret as an indicator of an individual’s language ability’. ‘Testing’ as McNamara (2006: 32) posits ‘is a procedure for drawing inferences about the unobservable ... procedures for gathering evidence’. This evidence, which the test yields, is the basis for making predictions about the abilities and behaviours of the test-taker in other contexts (McNamara 2000, 2006). Thus, there is an inevitable leap of faith about the test-taker which is inferred from the test score and what that score represents.

Key to understanding the inferences drawn from test scores is the concept of validity. Crooks et al. (2002: 265) assert that ‘validity is the most important consideration in the use of assessment procedures’. Validity is defined by Messick (1989a: 13) as ‘an integrated evaluative judgement of the degree to which empirical evidence and theoretical rationales

support the adequacy and appropriateness of inferences and actions based on test scores or other modes of assessment'. Validity 'refers not just to the accuracy of score inferences but also to evaluation of the appropriateness, meaningfulness, and usefulness of score inferences, which involve judgements not only of truth but of worth' (Messick 1998: 41). Inferences are made based on the test score, that is what the score means. In other words, validity involves the meaningfulness and relevance of the 'evidence' gathered and the inferences made which are based on this evidence.

It must be noted that validity does not end after the test has been scored and initial inferences may have been made. On the contrary, 'validity is an evolving property and validation is a continuing process. Because evidence is always incomplete, validation is essentially a matter of making the most reasonable case to guide both current use of the test and current research to advance understanding of what test scores mean' (Messick 1989a: 13). Post-test evidence can be accumulated in order to contribute to the evidential basis that guides the evaluation of the validation process. This leads to questions of whether the inferences made from the test score mean what the testers intend for them to mean. This is an essential point because by considering post-test evidence, a fuller account of how the LUK test is experienced and how its validity is demonstrated or otherwise is provided.

Messick's unified concept offers a multifaceted approach to understanding validity by emphasising both technical and social dimensions of testing. This unified concept has been described as 'the most influential current theory of validity of relevance to language testing' (McNamara and Roever 2006: 12). Davies (2012: 39) remarks 'it is important to point to Messick's major contribution which was to make the link between testing and arguments and the wider social and ethical turns. Messick's particular achievement has been to characterize validity as a simple and coherent question'.

By incorporating an explicit reference to the social dimension to complement rather than to replace analyses of technical aspects of testing, Messick has provided a holistic approach to how validity may be viewed (McNamara and Roever 2006; Wolming and Wikström 2010). Messick (1989a: 14) states: ‘validation occurs more and more frequently in a political context, which means not only that scientific judgement must be attuned to political considerations but also that political judgments may become more scientifically grounded’. This is all the more important as testing becomes increasingly prevalent in political debates about immigration and citizenship (McNamara and Roever 2006; Shohamy and McNamara 2008; Blackledge 2005, 2009; Extra et al. 2009).

In the context of this thesis, such an expanded approach as outlined above is very much necessary. Focusing solely on the technical aspects of the test may neglect an analysis of the policy that has driven the test; in contrast, concentrating only on the political aspects will negate an understanding of the test as an instrument (McNamara and Ryan 2011) and open up potential for a superficial treatment of the LUK test. Incorporating both the technical and social aspects of a test and validity can contribute to a deeper understanding of its impact.

Below is a table, in which Messick (1989a: 20) sets out the various aspects of a unified concept of validity. The cells in the table will then be analysed.

	<b>Test Interpretation</b>	<b>Test Use</b>
<b>Evidential Basis</b>	Construct Validity	Construct Validity and Relevance/Utility
<b>Consequential Basis</b>	Value Implications	Social Consequences

## **Construct Validity**

Messick (1998: 37) argues that ‘all validity is of one kind, namely, construct validity’. Before analysing Messick’s unified concept of validity, it is necessary to define what is meant by the term: construct. Cronbach and Meehls (1955: 283) define a construct as ‘some postulated attribute of people, assumed to be reflected in test performance. In test validation the attribute about which we make statements in interpreting a test is a construct’. Chapelle et al. (2008: 3) define a construct as ‘a proficiency, ability, or characteristic of an individual that has been inferred from observed behavioural consistencies and that can be meaningfully interpreted’. A construct refers to what the test is seeking to assess; this may take the form of an attribute, knowledge state of ability which are to be reflected through the test and upon which subsequent inferences can be made.

In relation to the LUK test, the construct can be defined through the wording of the NIAA 2002 legislation that requires migrants to demonstrate ‘a sufficient knowledge’ of English and a ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ (NIAA 2002). In the official LUK test preparation material (TSO 2007), the construct is made explicit in that ‘The questions are deliberately written in a way that requires an understanding of the English language at the level (called ESOL Entry 3 level) that the law requires of people becoming British citizens. So there is no need to take a separate test of knowledge of the English language’ (TSO 2007: 4). In short, the test covers both the ‘sufficient knowledge’ of English and the ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ requirements. The construct and test deem ESOL Entry level 3 (or level B1 on the Common European Framework of Reference) as being ‘sufficient’ English.

The test constructs for the LUK test represent much more than a technical basis. Engagement with the test is an indicator of a readiness of the migrant for citizenship. The knowledge

required by the test-taker is linked to broader discourses linked to the acceptability of the individual into the host society. The beginning of this chapter was precluded by a quotation by Tony McNulty (2005), the Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government in 2005, who stated: ‘This [LUK test] is not a test of someone's ability to be British or a test of their Britishness. It is a test of their preparedness to become citizens, in keeping with the language requirement as well. It is about looking forward, rather than an assessment of their ability to understand history’. McNulty makes references to the future in linking the ‘preparedness’ to take the test with fulfilling the test constructs and for the individual’s place in society in the future. Hence, the test and a willingness to engage with the test on the part of the migrant are indicators of symbolic qualities of ‘preparedness’ and a willingness to become citizens.

Having defined the term construct, construct validity can now be discussed with greater focus. ‘Construct validity pertains to the meaningfulness and appropriateness of the interpretations that we make on the basis of test scores’ and the ‘extent to which we can interpret a given test score as an indicator of the ability(ies), or construct(s) that we want to measure’ (Bachman and Palmer 1996: 21). The test scores can be read as a ‘sign’ (McNamara 2012) which can represent an individual’s ability. In turn, this score infers certain claims about what the individual can and cannot do. These claims may also be disputed based on subsequent performance. Thus, there are a series of inferences: (1) the score is an inference of an individual’s ability or knowledge, (2) the claims that can be made based on this score make further inferences and (3) the eventual performance of the individual may be disputed or confirmed that preceding chain of inferences.

The two greatest dangers that are posed to construct validity are construct underrepresentation and construct-irrelevant variance (Messick 1989a; 1989b; 1996; McNamara

and Roever 2006). To some extent, all tests contain elements of construct under-representation and construct-irrelevant variance as ‘the test is never a completely faithful exemplar of criterion behaviours’ (Messick 1996: 244). Construct under-representation and construct-irrelevant variance are always a prevalent threat to the validity of a test; however, the question then is whether the inference made from the test score remains adequately robust.

Construct under-representation ‘warns of the danger that the assessment requires less of the test-taker than required in reality’ (McNamara and Roever 2006: 18). Construct under-representation is when the ‘test is too narrow and fails to include important dimensions or facets of the construct’ (Messick 1989a: 34). In relation to construct under-representation, the narrowness of the demands that the test makes on the test-taker may be reflected not only by the test itself, but also the test specifications. In both cases, the test score and subsequent inferences may not adequately represent the test-taker’s ability.

Construct-irrelevant variance ‘warns the differences in scores may not only be due to differences in ability being measured but that other factors are illegitimately affecting the scores’ (McNamara and Roever 2006: 18). Extraneous factors beyond those which the testers had envisaged enter the equation and distort both test scores and interpretations. Two forms of construct-irrelevant variance may be of importance here: construct-irrelevant easiness and construct-irrelevant difficulty. Construct-irrelevant easiness means that the test-taker is able to respond successfully in a manner which is beyond the construct of the test. Individuals who are particularly ‘testwise’ may highlight construct-irrelevant easiness. Testwiseness refers to ‘a set of behaviours that allows examinees to maximize their test score’ (Downing 2002: 237). As a result, the individuals may attain scores which are distorted by their capacity to master the test through effective strategies which are irrelevant to the construct of the test (Messick 1989a). Construct-irrelevant difficulty means that parts of the test are

irrelevantly difficult for certain groups. As a result, an individual's score may be invalidly low; therefore, the score may be distorted. For example, an exam using a computer may be more difficult for those who are not computer literate.

An important aspect of validity is the issue of reliability. Davies (2012: 38) succinctly explains 'Reliability gives form to a test; validity gives it its meaning'. Bachman and Palmer (1996: 19) define reliability as 'a consistency of measurement'. They continue 'A reliable test score will be consistent across different characteristics of the testing situation. Thus, reliability can be considered to be a function of the consistency of scores from one set of tests and test tasks to another' (Bachman and Palmer 1996: 19). This means that all test-takers should be able to take a test which is consistent across the board for all takers. For example, should one test-taker take a test which is inconsistent with tests taken by other takers, the scores and inferences made from those scores no longer have the same validity because the goalposts have been moved from one test-taker to another. One test-taker may have taken a test which was easier or technically flawed compared to others.

Davies (2012: 38) states 'the relationship between reliability and validity is one way: the higher a test's reliability, the greater the possibility for validity'. A test must be reliable (and consistent) in order for the meaning of the inferences to be more meaningful. It is also possible for a test to be reliable and invalid (Davies 2012). It is possible that the test can be consistent and reliable, but inevitably consistent and reliably invalid. Alderson et al. (1990: 187) uses the following example: 'multiple choice tests can be highly reliable, especially if they contain enough items, yet some testers would argue that performance on a multiple choice test is not a highly valid measure of one's ability to use language in real life'. This highlights how the connection between reliability and validity is not as straightforward and causal as it may first appear.

The LUK test can be assumed to be a reliable test. For those with B1 level English or higher (in accordance with the Common European Framework of Reference) the LUK test, which was introduced in 2005, consists of 24 multiple choice questions over 45 minutes answered online. Alderson et al. (1990) note that multiple choice tests can be highly reliable. Multiple choice tests possess several positive attributes which may be particularly attractive to testers. A multiple choice test format has (1) a historical body of research evidence, (2) versatility in testing knowledge and (3) administratively easy to manage (Downing 2002). Between 2005 and 2009, over 900,000 people took the test (Citizenship National Report 2009). It is clear why a multiple choice may be desired from a test administration point of view; particularly given the volume of test-takers. Furthermore, a person taking the test in Liverpool can expect consistency in test administration and scoring with someone in London.

### **Value Implications**

Messick (1989a: 59) links validity to values by stating:

‘among the most subtle and pervasive of values influences in scientific inquiry in general ... are those contributing to or determining the meanings attached to attributes, actions, and outcomes ... it is not so much that values predetermine the results of inquiry as that they give form and flesh to the interpretation of those results’.

Unlike with reliability issues, values are often more covert. The traces of values are prevalent in a number of ways. Messick highlights the impact of values on tests through (1) test names, (2) construct labels and (3) ideologies as indications of how values may be infused within a test. The test name in the case of the British citizenship is the ‘Life in the UK’ test which serves to present both a history and presentation of the UK which represents ‘a carefully

constructed confection of discourses in which British identity and British citizenship are being subtly re-imagined (in relation to processes of renewal)' (McGhee 2008: 72). Thus, this way of 'Life in the UK' is only ever a representation and not necessarily the reality shared by all.

Returning to the construct of 'sufficient knowledge' of English, this is not reflected in the test name: Life in the United Kingdom. Messick (1989a: 60) explains the process of selecting construct labels, 'one should strive for consistency between the trait implications and the evaluative implications of the name, attempting to capture as closely as possible the essence of the construct's theoretical import'. The LUK test name reflects the knowledge of life in the UK, yet the knowledge of English remains absent. Considering that English language proficiency is so central to the introduction of British citizenship, it is not conveyed in the test name. The test thus covertly becomes a language test under the veneer of a citizenship test.

The construct label is 'sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom' and 'sufficient knowledge' of English (NIAA 2002). The values are that there is an apparent level at which a migrant's level of English is sufficient. This is highly problematic as there is a discrepancy of what level of language is required for citizenship in a number of European countries (McNamara and Roever 2006). In other words, this is an arbitrary language requirement. As noted earlier in the UK, this level would appear to be B1 (according to the Common European Framework). However, there is also the option of taking ESOL with citizenship classes for those whose level is lower than B1. On the one hand, B1 seems to be the threshold relating to 'sufficient' yet there is an alternative option for those who cannot satisfy the 'sufficient' level of English through the LUK test construct label. This highlights one of the curious aspects of the British language requirements; sufficient in the test is not necessarily the same as sufficient through the ESOL classes. Nevertheless, both routes to citizenship are satisfactory.

Tests do not possess the potential to measure citizenship nor does language proficiency equate to good citizenship (Shohamy 2007). While citizenship may be difficult to quantify or test, citizenship tests nevertheless represent the migrant's amenability to showing they have the prerequisite knowledge and willingness to comply with the wishes of their country of settlement. McNamara (2006: 40) states 'All test constructs can be seen as embodying values'. In some cases, particularly those with a political resonance, the construct may be 'the product of political forces – not academic argument' (McNamara 2006: 37). The case of the language requirement for British citizenship would appear to be one such case. Born from the carnage of the 2001 riots, the LUK test tangibly fulfils the legislative requirements of becoming British (in terms of English language proficiency). At the same time, there is an acknowledgement that the test serves to be a measure of 'preparedness' (McNulty 2005) in becoming British.

In the same way that validity can be ongoing, British political discourse surrounding citizenship and language proficiency would suggest that so too is the construct in a process of reinterpretation and evolution. In 2008, Jacqui Smith (the then Home Secretary) outlined new plans for British citizenship. Smith (Home Office 2008) concluded 'anyone who wants to remain here must speak our language, obey the law and contribute to the community'. English language proficiency becomes conflated with obedience to the law and roles in the community. Three years later following a change in government, the Prime Minister David Cameron (Cameron 2011a) adopted a sterner stance when he declared:

'Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society says to its citizens, as long as you obey the law we will just leave you alone. It stands neutral between different values. But I believe a genuinely liberal country does much

more; it believes in certain values and actively promotes them ... Now, each of us in our own countries, I believe, must be unambiguous and hard-nosed about this defence of our liberty.

There are practical things that we can do as well. That includes making sure that immigrants speak the language of their new home and ensuring that people are educated in the elements of a common culture and curriculum’.

It was no longer simply enough to obey the law as Smith had asserted. Cameron was aligning citizenship with ‘certain values’ which involved active demonstrations of citizenship. The requirement to speak English remained, but it was now enveloped within a different set of values which contradicted those which Smith had propagated. Obeying the law was no longer enough. It must be clarified at this stage that this does not mean that the LUK test construct changed. The construct was the same but its meaning and values do not remain static. With each reinterpretation and rearticulation, the construct exists in different contexts.

Also in 2011, Cameron revisited the content of the test. Cameron (2011b) criticized the content of the test when he said: ‘We’re going to change the citizenship test. There’s a whole chapter in the citizenship handbook on British history but incredibly, there is no question on British history in the actual test’. What this demonstrates is that ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ is different in 2011 to 2005. It was sufficient not to demonstrate knowing about history in 2005, but in 2011 knowledge of history is promoted by the Prime Minister.<sup>4</sup> It would be naïve to ignore the political profit gained by politicians who recirculate such discourses. It must be added that this desire to change the test was in the same speech as references to illegal immigration.

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<sup>4</sup> The 2013 version of the LUK test included history.

As noted earlier, British citizenship does not exist independently of immigration but because of it. David Cameron does not claim to be an expert on either testing or citizenship in academic terms; however, the nature of political discourses surrounding citizenship means that he is able to contribute and shape the test content. Perhaps Cameron's notion of citizenship is more political than academic<sup>5</sup>.

Sociopolitical forces are acknowledged by a UKBA<sup>6</sup> (United Kingdom Border Agency) official (U) who I interviewed for this thesis in the following exchange. The transcription foregrounds the extract with U. The transcription key below is repeated in chapter seven at the beginning of the empirical data chapters.

... - Short silence

, - Brief pause

( ) - Overlap

< > - Action

[ ] – Relevant information

[XXX] – Unclear/Inaudible

{{ }} - Name/details not used for anonymity

In the conversation, I am asking U about the sociopolitical climate between the BNA 1981 language requirements, which were rarely enacted, and the events after 2001 but prior to the introduction of the LUK test in 2005.

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<sup>5</sup> Here I am referring to Cameron's idea of citizenship in contrast to what citizenship may mean in academia. In essence, this a distinction between what citizenship may mean in politics and as an academic concept (for example in Citizenship Studies).

<sup>6</sup> The UKBA deal with issues such as immigration, visas and work permits. In 2013, it was announced after the data collection period that the UKBA would be abolished.

K: What-what do you think changed in the meantime [between 1981 and 2001] for that [the introduction of the LUK test] to happen? What you ... what were the kind of ... how do you think from your side it becomes so formalized in that respect?

U: Why did you say?

K: Yeah ... yeah ... it was always the but

U: It was political (yeah) it was very much sort of you know [XXX] the people at immigration became much tougher ... citizenship had become more tougher ... ensuring people who could come here could speak English

K: Yeah

U: And probably ... the timing it would be what ... 2004, 2005 at that point ... we had seen a big influx of asylum seekers in the late 90s and too many people were going through the system ... it was more and more evident that it had ... people going through the system ... didn't have English as their first language

K: Sure ... sure

U: Because it was ... an increase in immigration makes it more apparent ... I am sure that the Daily Mail<sup>7</sup> had nothing to do with it! <both laugh>

U demonstrates how the climate of increased asylum and intensified media attention may have contribute to the introduction of the test.

Dina Kiwan, an academic in citizenship studies who was involved in the Crick Commission advising on British citizenship after the 2001 riots, viewed the tests as 'more of an

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<sup>7</sup> The Daily Mail is considered a right wing newspaper which often features anti-immigration news stories

“entitlement” than a hurdle, providing new citizens with the opportunity to actively - socially, economically and politically participate within their new society’ (2008: 70). The initial recommendation was to implement the test in conjunction with a welcome pack that would ensure that new arrivals would not become ‘isolated and excluded’. In terms of values in the LUK test, the construct is presented here as something that migrants have a right to: it is an entitlement.

### **Dialogic test constructs**

The test construct then is the subject of dialogue among several parties or stakeholders: politicians, voters and supposedly migrants. The construct and its values mean different things to different people at different times. Furthermore, this section has demonstrated that although the construct has never changed in wording, the values that it embodies have. The construct is malleable to the prevailing political and discursive sentiment and its various reinterpretations.

In acknowledging that the test construct is formed by and appeals to a diversity of voices and audiences, the work of Mikhail Bakhtin would appear highly relevant to continuing the analysis. Bakhtin discusses dialogism (Bakhtin 1981: 279-280):

‘The word is born in a dialogue as a living rejoinder within it; the word is shaped in dialogic interaction with an alien word that is already in the object. A word forms a concept of its own object in a dialogic way ... The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer’s direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same

time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word’.

To assume a construct is monologic is to assume that the test construct is viewed in the way that the tester asserts and expects. Bakhtin explains ‘With a monologic approach (in its extreme or pure form) another person remains wholly and merely an object of consciousness, and not another consciousness’ (Bakhtin 1984: 293). In other words, there may be no future oriented word and no sense of dialogue with others. Thus, the construct which is monologic ‘closes down the represented world and represented person’ (Bakhtin 1984: 293) and test constructs may be accepted and interpreted in the way that they were intended. Given the sociopolitical circumstances which foster such tests, adopting a dialogic orientation recognises that the test construct will mean different things to different parties at different times. This will be further demonstrated in chapter eight.

This thesis investigates the LUK test which is political by nature. However, even a school assessment or test appeals to inspectors, teachers, policy makers and of course students. Medvedev and Bakhtin (1978: 151) explain ‘language is alive only in the dialogical intercourse of those who make use of it. Dialogical intercourse is the genuine sphere of the *life* of language’. Thus, this thesis uses dialogism of the test construct as *the* natural starting. Bakhtin (1984: 293) continues ‘Life by its very nature is dialogic. To live means to participate in dialogue’. To ignore the types of ‘dialogue’ in the formation and reinterpretations of the test construct may inhibit a subsequent analysis of how W dealt with the LUK test.

## **Ideologies**

Turning now to ideologies in relation to validity and testing, Messick (1989a: 62) notes the importance of ideologies in testing as ‘ideologies influence theoretical conceptions and test interpretations in subtle and not so subtle ways, especially for every general and evaluative constructs like intelligence or competence, often in a fashion that goes beyond empirically grounded relationships in the construct theory’. Messick underlines the futility in extricating the technical aspects of a test without considering the underpinning ideologies. That is to say, there was recognition of ideological factors which must be considered to complement the technical components.

A foundational definition of linguistic ideologies can be located in Woolard (1998). According to Woolard (1998: 3), linguistic ideologies ‘envision and enact ties of language to identity, to aesthetics, to morality and epistemology. Through such linkages they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very definition of the person and the social group’. Thus, discourse about languages is often extended to particular groups of speakers so that debates about languages reproduce within them debates about wider social inequalities (Blommaert 1999; Blackledge 2005). Hence, debates about migrant language proficiency are not only about language but also draw upon wider discourses and ideological positions on broader social issues (Blackledge 2005; Blommaert 2005; Cooke and Simpson 2012).

According to Blackledge (2005: 32), language ideologies ‘include the values, practices, beliefs associated with language use by speakers, and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels’. The prevailing beliefs about languages and speakers may be based on a series of misrecognitions (Woolard 1998; Blackledge 2005, Grenfell 2011, Cooke and Simpson 2012). The circulation of such

discourses serves to reproduce and solidify misrecognitions as ‘common sense’ notions (Gal and Woolard 1995). For example, the belief that to maintain national unity migrants must be seen to integrate through language requirements is oft repeated. Likewise, so is the need for a test as a solution for this supposed problem of integration. That such beliefs have been enshrined through language requirements for settlement evidences further the influence of such discourses.

Notions of language ideology are also linked to power. Kroskrity (2000: 28) argues that research about language ideologies can ‘provide some useful conceptual tools for better relating often simultaneous and pervasive processes of linguistic nationalism and the production of social inequality’. Examining language will demonstrate wider ideological processes at work in the context of nationalism and the group membership of citizenship (Blommaert 2005). For those seeking to settle in the UK, citizenship language testing becomes an exclusionary measure as part of wider measures and legislations which seek to restrict legislation.

Language ideologies do not only exist at global and political levels. Language ideologies may pervade daily life. Blommaert (1999) reminds us that ideologies do not simply appear, but are reproduced. Whether debating language proficiency of migrants in Parliament, a radio phone or a chat in the pub, individuals may draw upon powerful discourses which may be regarded as ‘common sense’ notions (Blackledge 2005; Cooke and Simpson 2012). Thus, when a migrant is asked to take test, it is important to understand how language ideologies play out in the realms of their daily lives.

Tests become ‘mechanisms’ (Shohamy 2006) within the machinery of ideologies. Elana Shohamy offers the following overview about the nature of language tests:

‘Language tests refer to a set of mechanisms which are used in subtle ways to manipulate language and create de facto language policies. Language tests are widely used mechanisms that are considered covert since the public is not aware of their effects and impact in creating, affecting and imposing de facto language policies ... language tests are considered a powerful device that is imposed by groups in power to affect language priorities, language practices and criteria of correctness often leading to inclusion and exclusions and to perpetuate ideologies’ (Shohamy 2006: 93).

As an ideological mechanism, the language test enacts certain de facto language policies. That is to say, ‘Governments and other central authorities use tests to impose educational policies knowing that those who are affected by the tests will change their behaviour’ (Shohamy and McNamara 2008: 89). The LUK test can be interpreted as a state endorsed form of English language dominance which seeks to shape the linguistic practices of the migrant population while also promoting values and a way of life which are supposedly unique to the UK.

English language asserts as symbolic of a wider set of ‘traditional’ values which the test represent. Such promotion of tradition, language and stronger immigration legislation through bipartisan politics can often have great political appeal. For example, the LUK handbook promotes a particular version of how to live in the UK with a particular set of values (Blackledge 2009). Whether this is true or not is debatable, but that it can be used for political gain cannot be forgotten.

That only certain members of society, immigrants, are subjected to a test is telling of a group which must demonstrate its willingness to learn English in order to possess the same status as

natives (Etzioni 2007). The only other group in the UK that require citizenship education are school children which Pitcher (2009) argues ‘infantilizes’ the treatment of migrants while similar aged natives are not required to take this form of education nor provide proof of having done so. Furthermore, while migrants may lack English, more universalistic values are often presented as unique to certain countries and as though assumed to be lacking until demonstrated otherwise (Etzioni 2007; Kundnani 2007).

Citizenship tests, which may be invariably conflated with immigration control, become responsible for the ‘maintenance of the boundary between nationals and non-nationals and the safe-guarding of the privileges of the former. Language testing in these circumstances can serve to weed out nondesirable applicants’ (Piller 2001: 268). At the frontline of such policy and mechanisms are the migrants whose voices are often silent (Blackledge 2009). The research question pertaining to the literature reviewed will seek to address this.

**Thesis research question for chapter seven:**

**How are the technical and ideological aspects of the LUK test negotiated?**

## CHAPTER THREE

### Citizenship, Belonging and Ideological Becoming

*‘You can’t really function as a good doctor, a good teacher, a good mechanic, or since we’re in the Institution for Civil Engineering, you can’t be a good engineer, if you can’t talk the language. Just as you can’t talk to your neighbour, read a bus timetable, or enjoy the enormous joy of The Only Way is Essex’.*<sup>8</sup>

Eric Pickles (2013), Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government

#### Citizenship

Citizenship and belonging have been prominently linked in post-war migration (Karatani 2003; Hampshire 2005). Citizenship will be analysed in relation to key texts in the field of Citizenship Studies. Belonging is described in many ways (see Home Office 2002). Given the focus on W’s journey to citizenship for this thesis, the belonging section will be positioned as a psychological human need (Baumeister and Leary 1995).

T.H. Marshall’s *Citizenship and Social Class* represents what Isin and Wood (1999) would describe as a founding text of modern citizenship. Marshall ambitiously sought to confront the inequality of social class through equality under citizenship during post-World War II Britain. According to Marshall, citizenship ‘is a status bestowed on those who are full members of the community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed’ (Marshall and Bottomore 1992: 18). It is notable that citizenship here is viewed as a remedy for the social ill of class inequality. In 2001, citizenship was promoted as an answer to community breakdown and poor integration.

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<sup>8</sup> The Only Way is Essex is a reality television show

Marshall's work was written prior to mass migration to the UK. It was a response to the social challenges of the day. Immigration has now become a prominent social issue. Whereas Marshall advocated citizenship as an inclusive measure, Brubaker's study (1992), which focused on nationhood in France and Germany, centres on the internally inclusive-externally exclusive paradox of citizenship as both an instrument and objective of closure (Brubaker 1992; Joppke 2010). This is because of the 'ideologically charged distinction between citizens and foreigners' (Brubaker 1992: 21). Brubaker continues that citizenship not only creates a 'legal formula' (Brubaker 1992: 23) but represents a social and cultural reality for those who must go through the naturalisation process. By creating a formula for those who are included and belong, there is therefore a distinction from those who do not.

This 'legal formula' can allow for an arbitrary (re)imagination of who is desirable in the national self-image. Citizenship design allows governments to engineer who can enter as 'the nation-state is architect and guarantor of a number of distinctively modern forms of closure' (Brubaker 1992: 23). One of these forms of closure is through naturalisation for those who have not been ascribed with citizenship at birth. As such, the state 'governs access to the status of citizens, is itself closed, restricted to the qualified' (Brubaker 1992: 23). This allows the nation state to be inclusive of those who can be naturalized and exclude those who do not conform to pre-defined ideological markers which demarcate who can belong and who cannot (Balibar 1991). Belonging and inclusion/exclusion merge as key points of analysis. Belonging will be specifically analyzed later, but the dichotomous inclusion/exclusion created by social closure can be further considered.

According to Brubaker, the social closure created by citizenship for immigrants is in relation to the collective will, interests and legitimacy of the nation state. Central to this is how the state perceives itself which becomes explicit because 'every modern state defines its citizens positively, in accordance with explicit, formally articulated criteria, and its noncitizens

residually' (Brubaker 1992: 29). Thus, noncitizens may be identified as unnatural to the positive social fabric of the nation. In order to ensure that these positive elements are not corrupted and the social basis is to reproduce itself, a 'nationalizing' filter (Kostakopoulou 2003, 2006) is imposed in order to naturalize those who have been deemed 'unnatural'.

Like Gellner (1983), Balibar (1991: 48) contends that nation states strive to control the 'very production of the "people" as a political community'. The people to be produced, or in the cases of immigrants – to be naturalized, are defined by a citizenship criteria which projects the ideological image of a nation's desired self. It is a recognition of these people which forges the sense of nation and one of the forms of creating a sense of familiarity and national community is through a shared language as a social base (Gellner 1983; Pujolar and Moyer 2007). Citizenship possesses the capacity to create both classification of who can/cannot belong and as such become 'operations of naturalisation *par excellence* or, more accurately, of projection of historical and social differences into the realm of an imaginary nature' (Balibar 1991: 56). In this case, it is a criterion of citizenship which is based on differences, one of which is language.

Joppke (2007, 2010) seeks to address the 'notoriously polyvalent concept of citizenship' (Joppke 2010: 1) by proposing a (1) status, (2) rights and (3) identity nexus which provides a 'logical complementariness' (Joppke 2010: 152) of citizenship. Status refers to the 'liberalization of access' (Joppke 2007: 38) allowed to immigrants in becoming citizens. Rights refer to minority rights particularly in tackling discrimination. Identity refers to the state's response to diversification which is connected to collective ethnic identities. However, as Joppke (2007) acknowledges this notion of citizenship is highly state-centric and one that pays insufficient attention to individual experience. This is something that this thesis seeks to address through the experiences of W.

Citizenship Studies has undergone much theorisation centering on the various facets of citizenship. However, Hansen (2000, 2010) and Joppke (2010) are reluctant to diverge from the notion of citizenship as state membership. Joppke (2010: 3-4) in particular declares that ‘one must still acknowledge the fact that state citizenship is the only “citizenship” that is not just rhetorical and metaphorical but formal and institutional, a hard fact in terms of the passport and a state’s nationality laws and by implication, immigration laws from which only citizens are exempt’. This is certainly true and for this reason, the journey to acquiring this aspect of citizenship is central to this study. Although citizenship has been re-configured in other ways to incorporate other factors (such as affective elements for example), the central narrative of this thesis runs through the acquisition of legal citizenship.

The disadvantage of drawing on a theoretical framework of citizenship that solely emphasises legal, institutional and political aspects is that this provides a fairly unitary, elite-centric fixed understanding (Miller-Idriss 2006). Hobsbawm (1992) distinguishes between perspectives ‘from above’ (those who possess elite, institutional status) and those ‘from below’ (ordinary people). Hobsbawm (1992) asserts that views ‘from below’ offer an alternative to state-centric accounts of nationalism. Such a view differentiates between national ideologies as well as the thoughts and feelings of the individual. Hobsbawm touches upon a salient distinction between acceptance of official discourse and examination of quotidian realities. Citizenship in the lives of ordinary people may challenge representations posited by elite individuals (Miller-Idriss and Rothenburg 2012). The advantage of non-elite centric scholarship in this area is that it confronts pre-suppositions that ‘society’ or ‘community’ as uniform in their understandings of citizenship (Miller-Idriss 2006). I use W’s experiences as a social mirror to understand how the citizenship processes work.

## **Belonging**

Osler and Starkey (2005) consider ‘citizenship as feeling’ to be part of a triumvirate which forms citizenship. Like Joppke (2010), Osler and Starkey also recognise the status aspect of citizenship as well as ‘citizenship as practice’. Osler and Starkey (2005) note that ‘even when individuals have the status of citizen, they may identify to a lesser or greater extent with a particular state’. Identifying with a country and feeling a sense of belonging may not always co-exist comfortably (Anthias 2013). While status can be clearly defined and categorized, ‘citizenship as feeling’ requires a much more introspective approach to understanding the migrant’s journey. ‘Citizenship as feeling’ centres on belonging which is also possible through the practice of citizenship and acquisition of rights. It is posited that ‘rights provide the possibility to practise citizenship and to feel a sense of belonging’ (Osler and Starkey 2005: 15). On the one hand, participation and rights are supposed to contribute towards a sense of belonging. On the other, belonging is never clearly defined.

Dina Kiwan (2008), who was influential in the architecture of British citizenship post-2001 riots, also connects participation to feelings. Kiwan proposes that a sense of belonging and identity is promoted by participation (again belonging is never clearly defined). The causal link between participation and belonging seems idealistic as it appears to gloss over structural and institutional hostilities that may inhibit a desire and/or capacity to participate (Kostakopoulou 2006). Kiwan’s notion of belonging also makes no connection to those in the process of becoming citizens who are resident and fully participative, yet may lack a sense of belonging. This is a paradox of being in a country and participating but not belonging.

In political discourse, a link has been made between citizenship and belonging. The following is a section from the Government white paper, *Secure Borders, Safe Haven*:

‘The government attaches great importance to helping those who settle here gain a fuller appreciation of the civic and political dimensions of British citizenship, in particular, to understand the rights and responsibilities that come with the acquisition of British citizenship. This will help strengthen active participation in the democratic process and a sense of belonging to a wider community. We believe that one means of promoting this understanding is to place much greater emphasis than we do at present on the value and significance of becoming a British citizen’ (Home Office 2002: 29).

As evidenced above, belonging to a wider community is intrinsically linked to British citizenship. To understand citizenship in the UK is to understand who belongs and who does not. This is because ‘citizenship is wedded into the nation, and cannot function without the thick, thin, or thinner mutual sentiments of commonality and civic national belonging’ (Kostakopoulou 2006: 83). Thus, belonging becomes enmeshed with citizenship.

In *Secure Borders, Safe Haven* (Home Office 2002), which was published as a White Paper prior to the introduction of the LUK test, the word ‘belong’ or ‘belonging’ appears six times. On one occasion the term ‘political belonging’ is used. On another occasion, ‘community belonging’ is employed and on the four other occasions ‘sense of belonging’ is used. Thus, belonging is related to (1) politics, (2) community and (3) emotion.

The political nature of citizenship is often linked to belonging, particularly in the British case. For Croucher (2004: 41) belonging ‘is very real and is also quintessentially political. The politics of belonging refer to the processes of individuals, groups, societies, and polities defining, negotiating, promoting, rejecting, violating, and transcending the boundaries of identities and belonging’. Croucher maintains that belonging has a primordial link to various

levels of government in different contexts. Belonging therefore becomes linked to a process towards collective affiliation and exclusionary closure.

In terms of British politics and citizenship, belonging has been a key area of inclusion and exclusion in relation to immigration. Former Prime Minister, James Callaghan referred to 'citizens who do not belong' (Hampshire 2005: 17) in relation to immigrants. Although citizenship implies equality of status, some belong more than others. Citizenship can be an object and instrument of social closure (Brubaker 1992) and this has been the case in the UK (Karatani 2003) by virtue of its framing within immigration law rather than an independent concept which is maintained regardless of who is entering the country. This promotion of British citizenship has correlated with the narrowing of access and stricter requirements in order to enter the UK (Karatani 2003; Hampshire 2005).

The LUK test may have been the first step of citizenship (Kiwan 2007, 2008), but obtaining citizenship meant ceasing to be a migrant and becoming 'fully integrated into our society, with equal rights' (Home Office 2008: 23). Not only was British citizenship symbolic of a legal status, acquisition of rights and necessity to participate, it has also attained an affective element. The Home Secretary declared that in an 'increasingly diverse world, it is vital that we strengthen our sense of belonging in the community and the civic and political dimension' (Home Office 2002: 11). However, Cook-Martín and Viladrich (original emphasis - 2009: 612) note that 'in order to belong to the community, one also has to *feel oneself to be a member of it*'. One cannot belong alone, but must belong to something.

Given that citizenship is a convergent point between politics and person, belonging becomes a key issue. 'Belonging is where the sociology of emotions interfaces with the sociology of power, where identification and participation collude, or at least to or yearn for' (Yuval-Davis 2004: 216). Much like citizenship, belonging possesses an ideological and exclusionary

dimension. In this thesis belonging is positioned with a more intrinsic tonality. However, this is still difficult in terms of understanding belonging empirically. In order to find a more amenable solution, it is necessary to interrogate how belonging can be identified beyond political discourse in a more personal, affective manner.

### **Belonging at a human level**

The emotional aspects of belonging have been extremely relevant in influential works. Such is the importance of belonging that it is placed within Maslow's third level of human needs behind physiology and self-actualization (Maslow 1999). In the situated learning theory of Wenger (1998), belonging and 'modes of belonging' are seen as central to engaging in social practices that contribute to effective learning and to becoming a member of a 'Community of Practice'. Maslow and Wenger recognise that belonging is a key human condition.

Adopting a psychological perspective, belonging is connected to the degree to which people relate and connect to each other (Cueto et al. 2010). Osterman (2000) views belonging as synonymous with 'membership,' 'sense of community' and 'acceptance'. Osterman (2000) continues that belonging can lead to positive emotions and happiness whereas a lack of belonging can result in feelings such as depression, anxiety and loneliness. Thus, belonging is an innate human need in which we seek inclusion and avoid exclusion (Billig and Tajfel 1973; Watt and Badger 2009; Bernstein et al. 2010). Mason posits that 'if there is a need to belong or feel one belongs, it can surely be met by membership of narrower social groups' (Mason 2000: 53) or other group memberships. However, although people may be a part of those groups, their experiences may not be always positive. Furthermore, their entrance to gaining group membership may not be unproblematic and not without obstacles. In other words, being a part of a group is simply not enough - if it is ever reached.

It would be valuable to analyze one of the most authoritative and exhaustive accounts on belonging from a psychological perspective. Baumeister and Leary (1995) empirically review a comprehensive and impressive body of literature about belonging. They conclude that humans innately desire to create human relationships. Not all relationships are affectively the same. For belonging to exist, two conditions must be met. Firstly, humans require regular contact with others with whom they create social bonds. However, this on its own is not enough. Secondly, the interactions must also be positive and pleasantly affective. Osterman (2000) notes that Baumeister and Leary's work has proved to be validated by other studies (particularly in education). Hence, Baumeister and Leary propose that belonging is a human necessity.

Using such belonging theory as a starting point offers empirical advantages. Firstly, viewing where the majority of pleasant and frequent interactions may occur is observable. Such actions may be forms of belonging practices contributing to affective belonging (Anthias 2013). Beyond this, member checking presents opportunities to confirm or disconfirm the data and to maintain internal validity (see chapter six). Secondly, elements of narrative analysis can be incorporated. Baynham (2011) refers to iterative narratives which capture the repetitive nature of habitual actions. Through participant talk, it becomes possible to view how W may attach to certain iterative narratives in talking about his interactions.

Having highlighted the importance of belonging to citizenship (in a legal sense) and belonging as human need, the question arises: what are migrants belonging to? This may take the form of a national community; however, this denies the nature of everyday life and interactions. Likewise, only focusing on the everyday negates the reality that individuals may identify to or be identified with 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1991). For example, a migrant may identify with a transnational community, a diaspora or a religious community

even if they are not physically there (Castles and Miller 2003). Thus, it is necessary to understand how communities have been conceived in terms of integrationist models at a political level. Then, how immigrants mediate the settlement process of living in new countries through their immediate communities and networks on a more personal level can be investigated.

## **Integration**

Post-war immigration has irrevocably changed the demographic landscape in many countries. In response to this, governments have sought ways to deal with the influx of migrants (Rex 2010). 'Integration' has become a political buzzword in relation to the issue of immigration. How migrants are 'integrated' may vary from country to country.

Immigration presents several challenges for governments. Immigrants may be presented as undermining national myths which are propagated by those who espouse national belonging and unity cultivated around a sense of similarity (Castles and Miller 2009). Because of this, immigrants can represent a lack of social and moral familiarity, which challenge national self-images (Favell 1998, 2002). Furthermore, public sphere institutions, that is to say legal, educational, economic institutions, are challenged in how they will deal with immigrants (Rex 2010).

With such demographic changes, governments must decide upon their 'philosophy of integration' (Favell 1998, 2002; Joppke and Morawska 2003). Such philosophies may vary (Castles and Miller 1993, 2003, 2009). For the purposes of this thesis and due to space restraints, I shall focus on two models of integration which are probably the most relevant to the UK: multiculturalism and assimilation.

Castles and Miller (2009: 45) describe the multicultural model as when ‘the nation is also defined as a political community, based on a constitution, laws and citizenship that can admit newcomers ... they may maintain their distinctive cultures and form ethnic communities, providing they conform to national laws’. There is an emphasis on the maintenance of difference while adapting to the new country and conforming to the laws of the land. Multiculturalism has traditionally been employed in countries such as Canada and Australia (Castles and Miller 1993, 2009; Joppke and Morawska 2003). Both countries have traditionally recognised and celebrated difference in incorporating migrants within the social tapestry of the nation.

Whereas multiculturalism allows for difference to co-exist, assimilation focuses on promoting similarity. Assimilation is defined as ‘a society might be unitary in the public domain and also enforce or at least encourage unity of cultural practice in private or communal matters’ (Rex 2010: 219). An example of an assimilative integration model is France (Rex 2010; Favell 1994, 2002). In this model, France has encouraged immigrants to adapt to a dominant culture at the expense of difference in order to promote a civic culture within the public domain (Triandafyllidou et al. 2006). This has created problems such as the conflicting discourses about the use of religious symbols in public domains (see Favell 1994, 2002). Joppke and Morawska (2003) assert that even within assimilation models, there is a sense of ‘de facto multiculturalism’ in that some differences are recognised by public domains in terms of offering certain provisions for migrants.

### **Integration models in the UK**

For many years, the UK adopted a multiculturalism approach which can be traced back to the 1960s (Favell 2002; Castles and Miller 2009). The junior Home Office minister in 1965, Roy Hattersley, remarked that ‘integration without control is impossible, but control without

integration is indefensible' (Favell 2002: 104). Hence, there was a recognition that measures were to be taken to incorporate immigrants. The response came in two ways. One was through the words of Roy Jenkins, the Home Office minister who stated (Favell 2002: 104):

'Integration is perhaps rather a loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their national characteristics and culture ... I define integration ... not as a flattening process of uniformity but cultural diversity, coupled with equality of opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance'.

Jenkins' words reflect a respect for cultural difference of immigrants in the form of multiculturalism approach.

Another indicator of the response to the settlement of immigrants came through successive Race Relations Acts (Favell 2002; Modood 2008, 2010). The first Race Relations Act was passed in 1965 and made it illegal to racially discriminate in public places. The next Race Relations Act came three years later in 1968. Housing, employment and public services were now available for all free of racial discrimination. This race relations approach was a way of improving relations with and between ethnic groups and the state (Castles and Miller 2009).

The above responses, specifically in the 1960s, echoed the US civil rights movement at the time (Favell 1998, 2002). These progressive approaches were not without criticism. The Race Relations Act 1968 sparked the infamous speech often referred to as the 'Rivers of Blood' speech from Enoch Powell (the MP for West Bromwich). The speech continues to be lauded by far-right political parties like the British National Party (BNP 2011). In this speech, Powell envisioned not only the continued dangers of immigration but also of permanent settlement. Powell viewed this as an inevitable catastrophe. Powell's (The

Telegraph 2007) discourse on integration is interesting in highlighting immigrants as unwilling to 'integrate':

'Hitherto it has been force of circumstance and of background which has rendered the very idea of integration inaccessible to the greater part of the immigrant population - that they never conceived or intended such a thing, and that their numbers and physical concentration meant the pressures towards integration which normally bear upon any small minority did not operate'.

I highlight this as by the beginning of the 21st century; the notion of integration or the unwillingness to integration would assume greater prevalence in political discourse in many countries. This speech resulted in Powell stepping down from his position in the Conservative party.

As with the 1960s, the 1970s continued more restrictive immigration policies yet more progressive race relations legislation (Favell 1998, 2002). The Race Relations Act 1976 was extended to outlaw racial discrimination to include education as well as the provision of goods and services. Furthermore, the CRE (Commission for Racial Equality) was formed in order to combat anti-discrimination cases (Modood 2010). The 1980s followed a similar vein. In both the 1970s and 1980s legislation was put into place which dealt with (a) entrance to the UK and (b) and managing settlement (Joppke 1999).

Social order was also key in relation to integration during this period. Several events occurred which threatened to present the settlement of migrant communities as problematic. Race riots involving members of the Afro-Caribbean community took place most notably in Toxteth, Liverpool in 1981 and Handsworth, Birmingham in 1985. In the late 1980s, Islam came to the fore as a symbolic Other within migrant communities as the Salman Rushdie

affair inflamed tensions.<sup>9</sup> The affair also served to move the sources of social tensions from not only race and ethnicity but also religion (Said 1997).

In the 1990s, the issue of asylum seekers brought immigration back to the public eye as a political issue. Immigration had been relatively dormant as a political issue for almost two decades (Hansen and King 2000). In 1978, Margaret Thatcher had spoken about Britain 'being swamped' by immigrants, but thereafter immigration did not emerge as a hot political topic during her premiership (Hansen 2000, Hansen and King 2000). However, in the 1990s asylum seekers were conflated with immigration and thus while essentially two distinct categories of settlement, they were often presented as indistinguishable from each other.

For most of the 1980s, asylum applications had tended to be quite low in the UK (Hansen and King 2000). Nevertheless, as asylum applications increased so too did political hostility. Hansen and King (2000) note three characteristics about the asylum regimes which had made them particularly susceptible to demonization: (1) their third world origins, (2) the lack of cultural similarity between Europeans and asylum seekers and (3) the association with false documentation. In all, five new laws were passed aimed at restricting asylum entry and settlement between 1993-2006 (Castles and Miller 2009). This frequency of legislation places into context just how much asylum had become a prevalent political issue.

Tony Blair's New Labour came to power in 1997 ending over twenty years of Conservative party rule. In terms of multiculturalism and race relations, Modood (2008: 84) describes the late 1990s and early 2000s as a time when there was 'a certain kind of modest, communitarian, ethno-religious multiculturalism, self-consciously incorporating and building on ideas of institutional racism and anti-discrimination'. For example, Modood points to the Macpherson Report published in 1999, which criticised 'institutionalised racism' of the police

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<sup>9</sup> Rushdie's controversial book 'The Satanic Verses' caused outrage among Muslim communities in its depiction of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him).

following the flawed murder inquiry of the black youth Stephen Lawrence and The Race Relations Amendment Act 2000 which committed employers to ensuring Equal Opportunities.

Also of relevance to Modood was the CMEB's (Commission on Multi-Ethnic Britain) report 'The Future of Multi-Ethnic Britain' which is also known as The Parekh Report. This will be analysed in the following section. At the time of a new political era, this can be viewed as a vision of how models of pluralism were considered. This would later change but the following section is an insight into the changes in integration discourse and the evolution of 'community' politics.

### **From 2001 onwards - communities and language**

The CMEB included within it some of the most eminent scholars on British race relations such as Muhammad Anwar, Sally Tomlinson and Stuart Hall. The CMEB's remit was 'to analyse the current state of multi-ethnic Britain and to propose ways of countering racial discrimination and disadvantage and making Britain a confident and multicultural society at ease with its rich diversity' (Parekh 2000: iix). The report recognised Britain as a 'community of citizens' (Parekh 2000: xiii).

In acknowledging Britain's diversity, Parekh (2000) suggested that Britain could develop as a 'community of communities'. As the title suggests, Parekh proposed a model of multiculturalism in which 'Post-migration communities are distinct cultural formations ... their sense of communities owe as much to how they are treated as to where they came from' (Parekh 2000: 27). Here the emphasis is not only on the migrant communities but also how they are treated and a sensitivity is demonstrated in acknowledging the role of the host community rather than demanding that migrants 'assimilate' to their host community. Parekh

(2000: 31) notes the ‘substantial language skills in English’ of older Asian immigrants. However, beyond this there was little mention of language in the report.

2001 proved to be a watershed year in citizenship and race relations. This was the year of the disturbances in the north of England among British-Asian born youths. Migrant communities were under further scrutiny due to the 9/11 bombings (Robinson 2009). As noted in chapter two, three reports referred to the lack of English language skills of Asian migrant communities. Here, language proficiency or lack of it was deemed to be a divisive element. Thus, there was a changing tone towards community, language and integration.

Citizenship has a particular function in defining the national community. Favell (2002: 24) refers to this as ‘*reconceptualising community*’ (original emphasis) in which citizenship may ‘encompass a recognition of the artificial, constructed order of society and political institutions in the modern age, with a mythical affirmation of the nationally particular origins of cultural unification and the nation state’. By imposing a late and newly devised sense of citizenship as is the case with the UK (Joppke 2010), the notion of the national community is redefined. By incorporating language proficiency within this redefinition in 2002, not only was there a distinction between belongers and non-belongers, but also there was an inherent portrayal of *who* is potentially divisive and *who* can maintain the stability of this community.

The notion of community cohesion emanated from the 2001 period. McGhee (2008) notes that the notion of community cohesion rarely figured in policy discourse until after 2001. Community cohesion becomes ‘a mechanism by which strategies of control can be inserted into problematized social contexts, while only apparently facilitating an “organic” process of communal association’ (Pitcher 2009: 89). This sense of association was based on language. Discourses of integration had previously presented race as a ‘natural’ association (for example, Enoch Powell’s speech mentioned earlier). In the late 1970s and early 1980s, ‘New

Racism' sought to create associations based on culture and a 'way of life' which was disrupted by immigration (Barker 1982). More recently, community cohesion has presented communities as central to 'natural' affiliation in which language is portrayed as a binding feature on a national and local level.

The position of community cohesion as a fixture within political discourse has been further solidified by the creation of a cabinet position named The Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government.<sup>10</sup> This position was created in 2005, the same year as the introduction of the LUK test. In chapter four, we will see that Communities Minister has been given the remit to advise and take charge of ESOL funding for migrant English classes. That this is seen in terms of 'communities' rather than education is telling of a discourse which conflates the successful functioning of a community on its ability and means to speak and learn English.

During the first decade of the twenty-first century, community cohesion became frequently used in political discourse (McGhee 2008). Not only had the riots of 2001 been examples of young, violent British born Asians destroying their country of birth, but the 7/7 bombings in 2005 also impacted on how multiculturalism was viewed as an integration model. That many of the bombers were born in Britain only reconfirmed the failure of multiculturalism. Fortier (2007) notes how these bombers were referred to in some newspapers as 'sons of multiculturalism'. The fact that British-born Asian young men were involved in both 2001 and 7/7 framed their communities as 'transversal threats' (Bigo 2004) who represented an 'enemy within'. The actions of these destructive second generation migrants came to represent a failure to integrate and a testimony to the failure of multiculturalism.

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<sup>10</sup> Also referred to as the Communities Minister.

From the mid-2000s onwards there appeared near-universal acceptance that multiculturalism was a failure. There was a resonance with Enoch Powell's speech in 1968, which had predicted that some immigrants were incapable of integrating. In 2004, Trevor Philips, the head of the Commission for Racial Equality, controversially stated that multiculturalism had led the country to 'sleepwalk to segregation' (The Guardian 2004). Also in 2004, Duncan Goodhart (2004) the former editor and founder of the progressive magazine, *Prospect*, wrote a controversial article in which multiculturalism had caused 'too much diversity' and as such 'stranger citizens' lived among the national community.

At a political level in the UK, there was also an explicit acceptance that multiculturalism had not only failed but had been damaging to the country. In 2011, Prime Minister David Cameron (2011a) stated that 'We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values'. Once again the idea of fragmented communities is presented as detrimental to a harmonious society. One solution for this is through language. Cameron (2011a) remarked 'There are practical things that we can do as well. That includes making sure that immigrants speak the language of their new home'.

Not only had multiculturalism supposedly failed in the UK, but such discourse was circulating in other countries. German Chancellor Merkel (BBC 2010) affirmed that multiculturalism had 'utterly failed'. The blame was placed squarely on the shoulders of migrants who had not done enough to integrate. Part of this failed integration was due to a failure to learn German. In 2006, Australian treasurer Peter Costello (2006) referred to 'mushy multiculturalism' which was 'misguided.' This rejection of multiculturalism came from a country widely regarded by migration experts as an exemplar of this form of integration (Castles and Miller 1993, 2009; Joppke and Morawska 2003).

These discourses not only reject multiculturalism but also adopt an assimilative tone. To reiterate, ‘the assimilationist takes the nation state as his ideal and believes that no polity can be stable and cohesive unless its members share a common national culture including common values, ideals of excellence, moral beliefs and social practices’ (Parekh 2006: 196-197). By viewing multiculturalism as a threat to the cohesion of the nation, the political discourse around a set of common values and principles centred on citizenship exhibits an assimilative overtone.

It must also be underlined that ‘integration’ and ‘assimilation’ interchange to share the same meaning (van Avermaet 2009). Integration has replaced the word assimilation and consequently, ‘whoever uses the word “integration” wishes to say what is allegedly not meant by it, “assimilation”’ (Joppke and Morawska 2003: 4). Thus, integration raises the question: what are migrants integrating to and how far do they need to go? Thus, integration can also refer to the extent to which migrants are similar to native residents; in other words, how they have assimilated to be like others. One such way that this thesis has previously demonstrated has been through language.

In summary, the politics of community and language has shifted significantly in the twenty-first century. In Parekh’s conceptualisation, Britain was a ‘community of communities’ in which Asian migrant communities knew enough English to contribute economically (Parekh 2000). The reports around the 2001 riots highlighted the lack of English and a breakdown of communities as a cause for social unrest. More recently, Prime Minister Cameron (2011a) suggested ‘segregated communities’ were symbolic of a weak and passive model of integration which could be remedied with more stringent intervention. In the above cases of community fragmentation, language was seen as vital to fusing together disparate groups.

The notion of communities presented by politicians can be viewed as social and ideological constructs (Alexander et al. 2007; Heller 2007; Anthias 2013), as this does not mean in reality we live our day to day lives in such human collectivities. W's experiences of belonging through his interactions and attachments to communities will be investigated as a counter point to the politically laden notion of communities outlined in this chapter. While this chapter has examined concepts of 'belonging' (in the legal and personal sense) as well as 'communities,' the following section examines how one can become to belong to such communities. Given the nature of this thesis in studying ways of becoming, the following section makes reference to the legal and ideological sense of becoming.

### **Ideological becoming**

The guide to naturalisation as a British citizen produced by the Home Office UKBA (UKBA 2012a: 2) views naturalisation as a 'significant life event', and signals the legal dimensions and the demands of citizenship. This 'life event' is the culmination of a naturalisation process which is in itself a 'politics of becoming' (Kostakopoulou 2003: 89). The introductory statement to the guide implies that citizenship is a process of 'becoming'.

Becoming a British citizen is a significant life event. Apart from allowing you to apply for a British citizen passport, British citizenship gives you the opportunity to participate more fully in the life of your local community (UKBA 2012a: 2).

However, it should not be uncritically assumed that the legal aspect of becoming British is accompanied by a more intrinsic sense of belonging and becoming. In order to interrogate this tension between the legal and personal dimensions of citizenship we turn to the work of Bakhtin, and his thinking about 'ideological becoming'.

In Bakhtin's work, 'ideological creation and its comprehension only take place in the process of social intercourse. Each individual act in the creation of ideology is an inseparable part of social intercourse, one of its dependent components, and therefore cannot be studied apart from the whole social process that gives it meaning' (Medvedev and Bakhtin 1978: 7). Everyone has ideologies in this sense and everyone, therefore can be an 'ideologue' (Freedman and Ball 2004).

The social processes of the ideologue offer rich perspective for ideology at work. Far from viewing ideology as an internal thought, 'ideology is part of a social process, and can only be understood by analyzing its social and interactive essence' (Freedman and Ball 2004: 29). I differentiate here between two types of ideology: (Large I) Ideology in the sense of a prevailing sense of circulated ideas (Blommaert 1999, 2005; Tollefson 2011) and (small i) ideology in the Bakhtin sense focusing on the individual in social processes (Bakhtin 1981; Freedman and Ball 2004). Bakhtin's ideology is based on the individual and their sense of 'social intercourse' with social process. Thus, rather than using common widely circulated beliefs and ideas as a point of departure, Bakhtinian ideology starts with the individual.

Ideological becoming permits itself to analyze social development which is evident in actions and processes as well as narratives and talk. Not only can ideological becoming manifest itself in actions, but also through how these actions are articulated. For Bakhtin the process of 'ideological becoming' is predicated on the tension built between 'authoritative discourse' and 'internally persuasive discourse'. These discourse types appear to be diametrically opposed, possessing polarized characteristics and I will define each separately.

Bakhtin (1981: 342) defines ‘authoritative discourse’ as follows:

‘The authoritative word demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own; it binds us, quite independent of any power it might have to persuade us internally; we encounter it with its authority already fused to it. The authoritative word is located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher. It is, so to speak, the word of the fathers. Its authority was already *acknowledged* in the past. It is a *prior* discourse’.

For Bakhtin authoritative discourse is characterized as static and either accepted or rejected (Cooper and Selfe 1990). Hence, ‘it is indissolubly fused with its authority - with political power, an institution, a person - and it stands and falls together with that authority’ (Bakhtin 1981: 343). It is ‘given in lofty spheres’ rather than those of familiar contact, ‘it can be profaned. It is akin to taboo, i.e. a name that must not be taken in vain’ (1981: 342). Authoritative discourse permits no play with its framing context, or with its borders. It is not negotiable, and may not be argued with: ‘it demands unconditional allegiance’ (1981: 343). Examples of an authoritative discourse could take the form of sacred religious texts or important academic or political work which provides the basis of other important works. Morson (2004: 319) argues that however much it may protect itself from dialogue, authoritative discourse is almost always in contact with social intercourse: ‘Every authoritative word is spoken or heard in a milieu of difference. It may try to insulate itself from dialogue with reverential tones, a special script, and all the other signs of the authority fused to it, but at the margins dialogue waits with a challenge’.

Yurchak (2006) refers to ‘authoritative discourse’ in analyzing how Soviet state rituals were ‘performed’ in the former USSR. The notion of ‘authoritative discourse’ not only recognises the authority of a discourse, but recognises that this authority carries over in competing with

other discourses. Yurchak (2006: 25) notes that ‘it became increasingly more important to participate in the reproduction of the form of ritualized acts [which reproduce Soviet ideology] of authoritative discourse than to engage with their constative meanings’. Yurchak argues that although authoritative discourses may be performed and reproduced, they may not be assimilated in the way they were intended. That is to say, how the authoritative discourse is reproduced may not indicate shared meanings for all performers and observers. For this reason, internally persuasive discourse becomes relevant.

An internally persuasive discourse is:

‘In the everyday rounds of our consciousness, the internally persuasive word is half-ours and half-someone else’s. Its creativity and productiveness consist precisely in the fact that such a word awakens new and independent words, that it organizes masses of our words from within, and does not remain in an isolated and static condition’ (Bakhtin (1981: 345).

Whereas authoritative discourse remains at a distance from dialogue, internally persuasive discourses permits, attracts and encourages dialogue (Wertsch 1998). There is a sense that internally persuasive allow the individual to make a discourse their own. They can do so in a creative and personal manner which befits their own beliefs and ideologies. Thus, this discourse may possess features emanating from others, but ultimately assume the flavour of the individual.

Bakhtin considered that ‘the ideological becoming of a human being ... is the process of selectively assimilating the words of others’ (1981: 341). It is ‘how we develop our way of viewing the world, our system of ideas’ (Freedman and Ball, 2004: 5). Bakhtin (1981: 342) characterised ‘ideological becoming’ as follows:

‘The tendency to assimilate others’ discourse takes on an even deeper and more basic significance in an individual’s ideological becoming, in the most fundamental sense. Another’s discourse performs here no longer as information, directions, rules, models and so forth - but strives rather to determine the very bases of our ideological interrelations with the world; the very basis of our behaviour; it performs here as *authoritative discourse*, and *internally persuasive discourse*. Thus *authoritative discourse* may be at the same time *internally persuasive*’.

Bakhtin’s notion of ‘ideological becoming’ informs Freedman and Ball’s (2004) study of teacher education. In their study teachers negotiate conflicting discourses within the classroom. Freedman and Ball conclude that ideological becoming is a useful point of reference in empirical research, as ‘Ideological becoming refers to how we develop our ways of viewing the world, our system of ideas, what Bakhtin calls an ideological self’ (Freedman and Ball 2004: 5). It is this interaction between authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse, which Bakhtin argues is a condition for ideological becoming. This offers a lens through which to view the journey to citizenship in relation to the discourses promoted at a political level through to the personal level.

Different voices, words and discourses are assimilated and brought into contact and as they do so, it broadens the sense of self-development in grappling the claim for authority of one’s own voice (Dentith 1995; Tappan 2005). More succinctly, through ideological becoming ‘one’s own discourse and one’s own voice, although born of another, will sooner or later begin to liberate from the authority of the other’s discourse’ (Bakhtin 1981: 348). This means that the independence of one’s own voice is a source of empowerment that permits the speaker to reduce the command of the other’s discourse through the autonomy granted by one’s own voice.

I will view the LUK test as a form of ideological becoming. However, this is a starting point. The LUK test has been positioned as a way of entering the national community and of maintaining community cohesion at a local level. I will then trace how his interactions in daily life reflect the test preparation. This will lead to a discussion of W's experiences of community and belonging.

Overall, this chapter has examined aspects of legal citizenship and belonging. This chapter has also acknowledged the more affective notions of belonging. Having recognised belonging in the citizenship process, the question remains: to what do immigrants belong? For this I have considered the historical development of integration models which has resulted in the prevalent discourse on communities. However, this political version of 'communities' must be contrasted with more personal aspects of communities.

**Thesis research question for chapter eight:**

**How do the linguistic practices of a community contribute to ideological becoming and notions of belonging?**

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ESOL and Identity

*‘But the reality is that you need English to succeed’.*

Eric Pickles (2013), Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government

#### **ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) - A background**

As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, W perceived education as a key part of making a life in the UK. It was in the ESOL classes that we first met. W worked in a factory during the day, but two evenings a week he would attend ESOL classes. His dream was to go to university which was an opportunity that he had missed in Yemen. Hence, ESOL becomes a key part of this thesis.

This thesis has taken post-war migration as a historical starting point. However, even before, the UK had never been a homogeneous country. Prime Minister Tony Blair (2000) recognised in a speech that ‘Blood alone does not define our national identity. How can we separate out the Celtic, the Roman, the Saxon, the Norman, the Huguenot, the Jewish, the Asian and the Caribbean and all the other nations that have come and settled here?’ Blair was highlighting a history of arrivals ranging from invaders to immigrants. Each group inevitably brought with them their languages of communication.

This rich history of diversity of Britain is captured by Rosenberg (2007). In her study, Rosenberg chronicles an extensive history of migrants settling in the UK and their language needs and provision dating back to 1870. Migrant groups ranging from Jewish migrants in the East End of London during the nineteenth century to members of the Allied Forces after World War II all required assistance in terms of English language provision. It is not for this

thesis to offer a comprehensive historical account, but suffice to say that as long as there has been long term settlement of migrant populations, there have been accompanying English language needs.

Given the need for English language provision, it is important to highlight the role of ESOL education. ESOL is differentiated from EFL (English as a Foreign Language) in that ESOL is aimed at those making a life in the UK whereas EFL is for international students or short-term residents. Thus, ESOL is linked to migration. Given that immigration has been and continues to be a political issue, ESOL possesses a political dimension which can never be fully extricated (Cooke 2006; Cooke and Simpson 2008; 2012).

For many years ESOL was characterized as community based and fragmented (Rosenberg 2007). However, the seeds for change were sown in 1992 through the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 (Ward 2007). A need for national adult ESOL provision was highlighted. This was a key moment as there was recognition of the unique needs of ESOL learners.

In 2000, SfL (Skills for Life) was introduced following the *Breaking the Language Barriers* report published by DfE (Department for Education). This was part of a wider response to address adult literacy needs. However, ESOL needs are different from literacy needs in that many learners are in fact literate but in another language or script (Rosenberg 2007). Nevertheless, this report has been widely regarded as a watershed moment for ESOL as provision had transformed from a fragmented to centralized provision (Rosenberg 2007; Ward 2007; Cooke and Simpson 2008). It was the first time that there was coherent, unified national strategy for ESOL provision. ESOL would be subsumed under SfL and in line within the NQF (National Qualification Framework). SfL offered ESOL learners a progression route to nationally recognised certification.

SfL was generally well received. Rosenberg (2007: 224) described it as ‘commendably successful in safeguarding interests of ESOL learners’. There were several benefits derived from this new strategy. Firstly, SfL ensured secure, committed funding. This brings into focus an important dimension which impacts on ESOL (Ward 2007). Funding is a key theme that will be re-examined later. Secondly, within the national strategy there was now a core assessment. This meant that teacher training and curricula could be established and coordinated (Rosenberg 2007; Ward 2007). Thirdly, the recognition of ESOL qualifications in relation to NQF created pathways to other qualifications such as GCSEs and A-levels.

While there were clearly benefits to SfL, there were also drawbacks. One of the main concerns has been surrounding the rigidity of the ESOL qualification frameworks. The levels of the ESOL frameworks include (in ascending order from lowest to highest proficiency): Entry Level 1, Entry Level 2, Entry Level 3, Level 1 and Level 2. To complete each level, ESOL learners are required to complete three areas of assessment: Reading, Writing, Speaking and Listening. It is estimated that each level of progression requires around 700-800 hours of teaching and study (Rosenberg 2007). ESOL learners come from diverse backgrounds and have an array of motivations for studying ESOL (Cooke 2006; Cooke and Simpson 2008). The complication then is that it can be difficult to make rapid progress in line with their aspirations. A learner would need to complete all the exams for a level completion before progressing. This may be further exacerbated if, as in the case of W, they work too. Part-time exam sittings may be even less frequent.

Level completions contribute to generating funding and exam success is linked to national targets (Ward 2007; Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson 2011). This means that test performance, both collectively and individually, has a bearing on subsequent funding. The impact of this ‘testing culture’ cannot be ignored in ESOL settings and it manifests itself in a

number of ways. Firstly, ESOL providers live through funding streams. That is to say, their existence is reliant on funding which is contingent on learner test success. I will return to this later in this section. Secondly, the type of teaching that takes place is geared towards tests (Simpson 2006). This is also noted by Warriner (2007) in ESOL classes in the US. Warriner (2007) notes the limited sense of learning opportunity due to the pressure and constraints of test preparation. Thirdly, the timetable for targets is in accordance with government targets. This places the trajectory of the ESOL learners in a secondary position as their progress in terms of exams and qualifications may be hindered by restrictive exam timetables (Rosenberg 2007).

The way ESOL learners self-identify often emerges through talk which is permeated by testing and qualification frameworks. Baynham and Simpson (2010) note how student talk is rich with references to moving up and down the ESOL levels. In doing so, learners position their progress according to frameworks. There is a deeper resonance to this. Warriner (2007) finds such constraints of affording identity positions as highly problematic as it stunts the development of identity opportunities beyond test taking. Sidelined as test-takers, the iterative reminder of limited identity growth means ‘adult immigrants and refugees with lofty educational, vocational, and social goals quickly come to understand through first-hand experience - that their “place” in the host nation will remain marginal, uncertain and precarious’ (Warriner 2007: 323). While this is not necessarily always the case for all learners, there remains a sense that aspiration may be suffocated by wider policy and the pressures of such emphasis on test success.

Simpson (2011) notes how ESOL learners are caught within a limited set of identity options. Perhaps of greatest importance to the focus of this thesis is the ‘learner as test-taker’. Baynham and Simpson (2010: 422-423) state:

‘Because the further education sector, where most ESOL provision is situated, operates with a funding regime which requires that most provision leads to qualifications, funding drives practice, as institutions are under huge pressure to ensure students - including ESOL students at all levels - both take and pass exams, preparation for which has come to dominate practice. Thus identity imposed upon students by policy and institutionally - if not by their teachers - is that of student as test taker, whose test results contribute towards the achievement of governments target’.

In this overview of ESOL funding tensions, Baynham and Simpson capture the way funding shapes ESOL provision. The shadow of funding looms large at both a policy and institutional level. This compromises the very real personal needs of students who must buy into this system in order to gain qualifications but do so with a tacit acceptance that their learning may come second to the obligation for ESOL providers to meet objectives imposed on them (Cooke 2006). The focus on exam performance and success rather than learning always means that learners may be positioned first and foremost in terms of contributors to the micro economy rather than as ESOL learners with diverse needs.

One of the complexities of ESOL provision is that it is not only learners and teachers who are involved. Cooke (2006) notes the number of stakeholders with a vested interest in ESOL. For instance, there is the diversity of students (in terms of ethnicity, aspiration, personal histories and ‘spiky profiles’<sup>11</sup>) to be taken into account. There are also potential employers who may work closely with ESOL providers. Government departments and funding bodies also impact on policy and funding for ESOL providers. Given that ESOL is never ‘apolitical’

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<sup>11</sup> ‘Spiky profiles’ refers to how proficiency in language may differ greatly. For example, some learners may be exceptional speakers and have low levels of writing and vice versa.

(Cooke and Simpson 2008) and with the increasing emphasis on migrants to speak English, ESOL is also inflected with the political discourse of the day.

English language proficiency has been conflated within a range of sociopolitical issues (Cooke and Simpson 2008, 2012). In 2012, Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, Eric Pickles (2012), who is also in the governmental department relating to ESOL, stated ‘It’s right to ask new migrants to demonstrate a grasp of the English language and an understanding of British traditions. It would be plain unkind as to encourage people to come here without the basic skills and understanding that are vital to getting on in a job, in education and the local community’. It must be mentioned that there is no empirical evidence that migrants do not want to learn English (Cooke 2006). Furthermore, Rosenberg (2007) notes how historically no migrants have ever had as much pressure as migrants in the 21st century to learn English and demonstrate proficiency. Rosenberg continues that without such pressure migrant groups such as Yiddish speaking Jews and Polish migrants have contributed to British society.

While notions of unwillingness to learn English have been propagated at political level, the everyday level would appear different. It has been widely noted that there is insufficient provision for over-subscribed ESOL classes (Rosenberg 2007; Cooke and Simpson 2008). This is one of the paradoxes around ESOL. There is a demand for migrants to learn English and a willingness to do so, but the means to do so are insufficient while political discourse criticizes those who may lack these means. It must also be noted that this may include one of the most excluded social strata in society (Phillimore 2007). This would be exacerbated further during data collection by the threat of adult education austerity measures.

The link between funding regimes and ESOL was particularly strained during the data collection period of this thesis. In 2010 the BIS (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills) announced:

‘English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provision is important to help those who do not speak English to gain employment and to contribute to society. However, we believe that those who come from other countries to work in England, or their employers, should meet the cost of their English language courses. Therefore we will not fund ESOL training in the workplace. This will enable us to focus publicly-funded provision on people whose lack of English is preventing them from finding work. Full funding will only be available for those actively seeking work on Jobseekers Allowance and Employment Support Allowance (work related activity group) benefits. For others ESOL will be co-funded’ (BIS 2010: 32).

This meant that only those on Job Seekers Allowance or Employment Support Allowance could have the level of access to ESOL classes that current ESOL students had. Otherwise, the classes would have to be co-funded with the student. Thus, those who may need English to get better jobs are the same learners who may too have to be co-funded. Given that ESOL students are part of some of the most disadvantaged members of society (Phillimore 2007), many students would not return. The pressure of the threats posed by ESOL cuts was being felt by the college selected for this study. Below is evidence of the impact that these cuts would have on the college. AP is the Assistant Principal.

K: OK, so I was just going to ask you actually about ESOL in the college ... in terms of almost that role in the pivot between the policy and the practice. What are the challenges that you face?

AP: The biggest challenge is actually the challenge for next year ... which is the government decision that they will only provide free ESOL classes for people on job seekers allowance or support allowance ... because we've done an analysis of our students that we've got and we reckon it could be around 15% of students are claimants for job seekers allowance.

To put this into context, in a hypothetical class of 30 learners, only around 4-5 would be returning the following year. While the college was under pressure on one hand, W's aspiration to go to university would be threatened. He had long expressed a desire to go to university. Having outlined the historical aspects of ESOL and funding strains for providers and in terms of identity options, the following section will more specifically be focused on identity within literature on language learning in migrant contexts.

### **Identity background**

Since Firth and Wagner's (1997) seminal article calling for a more socioculturally orientated approach to SLA (Second Language Acquisition), identity work in this area has emerged as a burgeoning area of scholarship (Block 2003, 2007; Norton and Toohey 2011). Within this 'social turn' (Block 2003) of SLA, the work of Bonny Norton (Peirce-Norton 1995; Norton 2000) has offered fruitful perspectives in moving this field of study towards conceptualising notions of identity in language learning.

Norton's 2000 book, *Language Learning and Identity: Gender, Ethnicity and Educational Change*, focused on five migrant females in Canada. As Block (2007) notes, the migrant experience of learning a language brings with it unique challenges during an immense life challenge. This is captured in Norton's work and offers parallels in how migrants cope with learning the language of their new home. Norton's identity work has been used in other migrant learning literature. McKay and Wong (1996), Cooke (2006), Warriner (2007) and

Menard-Warwick (2005, 2009) have all based their work on migrant language learning settings and been informed by Norton. Of particular relevance has been her notion of investment, which is explored elsewhere in this chapter.

Norton sought to address the need for more coherent and comprehensive theories around identity (Norton 2000). Norton's work is heavily influenced by the post-structuralist feminist, Chris Weedon (1997). Norton and McKinney (2011) note how, influenced by Weedon's work on subjectivity, identity is always in a sense relational. That is to say, 'an individual is subject *of* relationships (i.e. in a position of power) or subject *to* a set of relationships (i.e. in a position of reduced power)' (Norton and McKinney 2011: 79). Thus elements of power are manifested in relation to the individual.

By drawing on Weedon's work, Norton positions identity as (1) a site of struggle, (2) multiple and fluid and (3) can change over time, Norton offers a point of reference to studies in this area of SLA. Firstly, identity is not unproblematic. The individual is in the confluence of both internal and external forces. The individual and identity may be influenced by their feelings and emotions as well as external circumstances. Secondly, identity is neither static nor singular. There is an inevitable fixed nature to writing about identity (which is addressed later). However, it must be acknowledged that this is one frame of broader multiplicities and fluidity of identity/identities. Thirdly, Norton states identity is 'to reference how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands their possibilities for the future' (Norton 2000: 5). Thus, identity may be connected to time and how the individual views their world in relation to the past and the present and oriented towards the future.

In the case of this research it became evident that there was a tension between identity positions that could be offered by the college by the ESOL that they provide and how W was

able to create identity positions through his own linguistic resources. Thus, there requires a sense of recognising the imposed aspects of identity work (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) while leaving open the possibility of generating identity from unique linguistic resources and potential and availability and access to desired linguistic resources (Blommaert 2005). One of the key maxims often stated about ESOL is how learners 'bring the outside in' (Roberts 2006). The linguistic resources of W were his metaphoric outside. His usage of Arabic in relation to his goals added an extra dimension to the promised identities of ESOL and how other identity options can be generated through W's fuller linguistic remit.

As noted in the in the ESOL section to this chapter, those who reside in the UK and require ESOL education have reduced access to classes and limited status options. In this way, some identity status and positions can leave little room for ESOL learners to negotiate. Heller (2011: 38) argues 'since language plays such an important role in boundary making and boundary maintenance, it becomes an important resource'. Thus, English and ESOL becomes a higher valued commodity due to not only its scarcity within educational settings but its potential to allow access to qualifications and educational and professional aspirations. More than that, the access to classes, qualifications and status resources for options for a wider range of identity constructions becomes greatly reduced.

By linking learning to the threat of access to resources, not only are identity options narrowed but the potential to resist and negotiate these positions is diminished. Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) put forth three types of identities within multilingual contexts. Firstly, imposed identities which are non-negotiable at a certain time and place; secondly, assumed identities which are accepted but not negotiated. Thirdly, negotiable identities are contestable. These identities are not highlighted to provide definitive identity positions, but in

connecting positions and the availability of linguistic resources to the power or lack of power that the learner has to assume and/or negotiate with the circumstances confronted.

Linking Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) to processes of identification in the following section, focusing not only on the imposed/assumed/negotiable identity categories offered but also how these categories and labels are assigned and negotiated can extend the analysis. The extent to which this is relational between the individual with categories and collectivities means that ‘in order for identities to be established, it has to be recognised by others. That means that a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself’ (Blommaert 2005: 205). As much as W may see himself as a potential university student, the qualification framework and surrounding pressures could not primarily view him as so.

The term identity can also be problematic. If on the one hand, identity is fluid (Norton 2000), then there is an inevitable difficulty in trying to describe it in that a fixed description may neglect the process of identity. This can never be fully eradicated, but it can at least be accounted for. Thus, the following section aims to incorporate aspects of identification to better capture the processes of identity work. This serves as a complementary orientation to identity in the following section.

## **Identification**

The term identification rather than identity may be more apt in that this study focuses on the processual nature of becoming. Ivanič (1998) uses the term identification as a way of circumventing ‘the fixed condition’ which the term ‘identity’ provides. Similarly, Wortham (2003, 2008) argues that words such as identity offer a description of more stable identity classifications and points of references but do not adequately convey identity beyond this; that is to say, the active formation of identity. Thus, the term identification is used in this

thesis as the process of alignment with a particular collective or category (Ivanič 1998; Wortham 2003, 2006, 2008). In using the term identification, events at a personal, micro level can be connected to wider, macro level events and social change (Ivanič 1998; Wortham 2006). This is particularly important given how ESOL classes are located within wider socio-political discourses (Cooke and Simpson 2008).

Wortham (2006) conceives of two parts of social identification. Firstly, identification of the individual with categories which become resources for social identification. These sociohistorical categories offer particular forms of identities through institutional processes. Thus, an institution may offer particular identities through their more localized practices. In the case of ESOL it has been noted how the sociopolitical circumstances impose forms of identification which constrain learners (Cooke 2006; Simpson and Cooke 2009; Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson 2011). Secondly, processes of social identification occur over a range of simultaneous timescales. Individuals may develop particular forms of social identification within a certain timescale which overlap at times with institutional timescales. In the case of ESOL, the funding regimes condense timescales in as much as providers may not be able to project a future beyond the next funding period. At the same time, a learner has a life and trajectory beyond this period.

It must be noted that the identification process and social identity categories that Wortham (2006) uses are specific to education. This is not to say that his work may be of relevance beyond the field of education, but what Wortham puts forth is a particular context in which certain categories and processes circulate. In the case of ESOL, learners have specific circumstances in relation to settlement in a new country and the adjustment required in addition to negotiating the challenge of learning a language and educational progression routes (Block 2007).

## **Trajectories**

A theme developing through this thesis is one of trajectories. There is a central trajectory towards citizenship. ESOL education offers a trajectory through a particular qualification framework which may lead to other routes to progression (Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson and Cooke 2009). Language learning can be viewed as a trajectory during which linguistic practices develop over time (Shecter and Bayley 2002). This trajectory may move towards certain goals, for example towards self-fulfilment, educational goals and access to certain resources (Kramsch 2009).

Menard Warwick (2005) and Wenger (1998) provide definitions of trajectories. Menard-Warwick (2005: 169) contends that trajectories emphasize ‘both change and continuity over time’. For Menard-Warwick (2005: 169) trajectory ‘describes a path of development, often through a variety of social contexts, in which each step (or learning event) builds on the previous one, though sometimes in unpredictable ways’. Wenger (1998: 154) views a trajectory as ‘not a path that can be foreseen or charted but a continuous motion - one that has a momentum of its own in addition to a field of influence. It has coherence through time that connects past, present and future’. Three things can be gleaned from these definitions. Firstly, trajectories are metaphorical by nature and offer certain orientations to how one views development through metaphors of motion (Lakoff and Johnson 1983). Secondly, there is a sense of movement which is propelled by personal actions and influenced by external circumstances. While smooth progress seems to be implied by ideas of trajectories, both Menard-Warwick (2005, 2009) and Wenger (1998) seek to underline how unpredictable and problematic trajectories can be. Finally there are inherent temporal dimensions which reside within trajectories. Trajectories connect the past, the present and the future. The future may be based on reality or imagined futures premised on dreams, aspirations and reality.

Trajectories are a central aspect of migrant language learning experiences (Menard-Warwick 2005, 2009; Simpson and Cooke 2009; Baynham and Simpson 2010). According to Menard-Warwick (2009: 180), 'A trajectory perspective emphasizes the resources adult learners bring to educational endeavours, including the discourses they use to make sense of new experiences'. Such trajectories are particularly marked in adult migrant contexts as adults may arrive with complex personal histories and particular linguistic repertoires. It is notable that Menard-Warwick mentions 'perspective' in outlining the broader life changes and context that migrants endure.

The idea of 'perspective' views events within the lens of wider events and timescales. This sense of perspective requires a form of thinking that understands actions more as moving frames rather than singular snapshots (Pierson 2004). This means understanding the past, present and futures (which may be imagined) of those involved. W was very clear that his exams and aspirations were rooted in his desire to go to university.

Upon arrival, migrants must negotiate new experiences in which the histories they possess and the skills they may have attained may be of less value in their country of settlement (Block 2007). Adult migrants must quite often take alternative routes to attainment and progression compared to natives. Furthermore, unlike in many other subject areas, many teachers of ESOL and adult migrants have never endured the same paths as their students. Understanding this gap can aid in adding a clearer sense of context around learning (Menard-Warwick 2009) and a better understanding of how migrant language learning is experienced.

Not all trajectories may be successful. The failures as much as the successes contribute to language trajectories. Learning a language can allow the individual to transcend present circumstances (Kramsch 2009). Kinginger (2004) would be an apt example in which an

American female learns French with the hope of overcoming social class boundaries. This process is not without its complexities and contradictions. French is perceived as a language of finesse which promises a sense of social mobility and improved social standing. The reality that this is not the case deflates the informant, Alice. This space between the ‘promise’ of language learning and the learner’s aspiration is a key area.

Trajectories are also a key tenet of Wortham’s theoretical outlook on identity and identification (Wortham 2003, 2006, 2008). Wortham (2004) suggests that although much is known about traditional trajectories in classrooms, less is known about those who deviate from the norm. ESOL is located as a peripheral curriculum in which many ESOL students must access ESOL courses and negotiate ESOL exams and qualifications in order to be able to study in more mainstream courses such as GCSEs and A-levels<sup>12</sup>. Simpson and Cooke (2009) note the paradox of moving ‘up’ through an educational trajectory towards tertiary education yet also the feeling of moving ‘down’ in terms of personal experience. Thus, there is an unfulfilled promise between the discourses that purport a seemingly illusionary idea that university is within reach yet real life experiences which would suggest otherwise. Language is positioned as an enabler to widening participation which opens up access routes yet is experienced as an encumbrance as, Tobi (the focal participant of Simpson and Cooke (2009)) encounters several obstacles which are presented as due to lack of language proficiency. Although a supposed language of opportunity, English language proficiency has the capacity to also become an obstacle with the capacity to narrow and impede educational progress. Thus, traditional problems associated with access to higher education for non-traditional students<sup>13</sup> on the lines of social class and ethnicity are further compounded by issues around language proficiency.

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<sup>12</sup> GCSEs are taken at school in England at the age of 16. A-levels may be taken after GCSEs and can be used for university entrance.

<sup>13</sup> See Bowl (2004) for a fuller account.

## Investment

How individuals gain access to communities and make their way along their trajectories requires understanding. Perhaps Bonny Norton's most enduring contribution has been the concept of investment. The relationship between the learner and the language is socially and historically constructed (Norton 2000, 2010). According to Norton (2000: 10):

'If learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital. Learners expect or hope to have a good return on that investment - a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources'.

Norton is influenced by Bourdieu (1977, 1991), who referred to various forms of capital which may translate to other resources. Investment also lends itself to the material return on investing in a language as opposed to solely focusing on affective experiences. The investment return may assume the form of better educational or professional prospects, certification and self-fulfilment.

There is also a sense of trajectory within the notion of investment. Not only are learners investing with the goal of gaining cultural capital and other resources, but they also invest in their identities. Learners who invest are 'constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the world' (Norton 2000: 11). Thus, there is a self-evaluation of one's progress or 'return' in relation to their investment.

It could be argued that learners invest in various communities. The communities and identities which learners aspire to may also be 'imagined' (Kanno and Norton 2003; Pavlenko

and Norton 2007; Norton 2010). Accompanying imagined communities are imagined identities as learners may position themselves and invest in how they imagine themselves to be (Norton and McKinney 2011). Norton extends this sense of ‘imagined communities’ in language learning as they are ‘no less real than those where learners have daily engagement and might even have a stronger effort on their current actions and investments’ (Norton 2010: 3). In a sense, this imagined community may reflect the aspirations of the learner.

In the case of W, much of his aspiration was linked to education. After having gained citizenship, I asked W what he would do next and his answer was ‘to complete my education’. By this he meant going to university. His investment was to be aimed at a higher education community and this was the arrival point of his aspirational journey. However, in order to do so he would have to negotiate the ESOL framework which was under heavy economic pressure.

Overall this section has focused on bringing together strands of literature within ESOL and migrant language learning identity. I have presented a brief history and a snapshot of the threat to adult ESOL provision and how this permeated institutional survival. At the same time, W’s journey is the focus of this thesis. Within this maelstrom of economic and political circumstances, he is following his aspirations through learning English. This is reflected in the theoretical background to this section and W’s trajectory through an ESOL policy under pressure.

#### **Thesis research question for chapter nine:**

**How is ESOL policy identification experienced?**

## CHAPTER FIVE

### The Citizenship Ceremony

*‘Citizenship should be a big deal for them and for us. I’ve been to the citizenship ceremonies. They are moving. They do work’.*

David Cameron (2011b), UK Prime Minister

As an extension of the ‘citizenship revolution’ (Kelly and Byrne 2008), Britain followed the lead of countries such as Canada, Australia and the United States of America by introducing citizenship ceremonies (Sales 2010). The idea was to imbue the acquisition of British citizenship with greater significance and to ‘end the “mail-order” approach to the acquisition of British nationality’ (Kostakopoulou 2010a: 833). Home Secretary David Blunkett wrote:

‘When people become British citizens I want it to be something to celebrate, not just a piece of paper arriving in a brown envelope alongside the gas bill ... I want a formal ceremony to celebrate, just like when we are baptised, get married or graduate from university ... at the heart will be a modern 21<sup>st</sup> Century Oath of Allegiance. We already have an Oath which people must swear’ (Blunkett 2002b).

It is noteworthy that Blunkett compared becoming British to becoming a Christian, a spouse or a graduate. Kostakopoulou (2003: 88) argues that the citizenship ceremony constitutes ‘the process whereby a person is transformed from an alien guest to a citizen invested with the rights and privileges pertaining to indigenous subject’. Not only had the British government introduced a citizenship ceremony, but it also insisted that attendance was compulsory. Following successful application for citizenship (including fulfilment of the language requirement), the Home Office United Kingdom Border Agency (UKBA) guide for

naturalisation states: ‘We expect you to arrange to attend a ceremony within 3 months of receiving your invitation otherwise it will expire and you will have to reapply for naturalisation and pay a further processing fee’ (UKBA 2012a: 20).

### **Citizenship Ceremonies**

British citizenship ceremonies are carried out in many cities in the UK. The ceremonies involve the new citizens taking the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance, and the Pledge of Loyalty, and the national anthem is played to signal the end of the ceremony. Citizens also collect a certificate. Each locality will often present new citizens with a gift which is linked to the local area or industry.

The difference between the Oath and the Affirmation is that the Affirmation does not refer to God, although both require a statement of allegiance to the reigning monarch:

#### **Oath of Allegiance**

I (name) swear by Almighty God that on becoming a British citizen, I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, her Heirs and Successors, according to law.

#### **Affirmation of Allegiance**

I (name) do solemnly, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that on becoming a British citizen, I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second, her Heirs and Successors, according to law.

The citizens must choose between taking either the Oath or the Affirmation. The Oath or Affirmation is spoken publicly, but not individually. All of the candidates recite the Oath or Affirmation. They are also required to recite the Pledge of Loyalty:

### **Pledge of Loyalty**

I will give my loyalty to the United Kingdom and respect its rights and freedoms. I will uphold its democratic values. I will observe its laws faithfully and fulfil my duties and obligations as a British citizen.

The new citizens are normally separated from their guests for the duration of the ceremony. Each local authority has sufficient freedom to enrich the ceremony with a particular regional flavour. Some local authorities in England require that the Oath/Affirmation is taken individually, and the Pledge as a group, although this is not a legal requirement. Local dignitaries (such as the Lord Mayor/Lady Mayoress or local politicians) usually participate in the ceremony and each new citizen receives a welcome pack and a certificate of British citizenship.

Chapter six of the UKBA caseworking instructions for staff conducting citizenship ceremonies makes the following statement about attendance at the ceremonies for new citizens:

‘Attendance is consistent with the Government’s aim that ceremonies should encourage cohesion and facilitate integration into the local community. Applicants whose ability in English is poor should be encouraged to practice repeating the words of the citizenship Oath (or affirmation) and pledge prior to the ceremony’ (UKBA 2012b).

Here attendance at the citizenship ceremony is officially associated with ‘cohesion’ and ‘integration’. This conflation of becoming a citizen with political discourse associated with the management of migration demonstrates the position of the ceremony within a broader sociopolitical context as noted in earlier chapters. Thus, the ceremony plays a role in fostering a sense of national community.

It is also notable that official discourse accepts that applicants whose ‘ability in English is poor’ will be among the new citizens attending the ceremony. There is no clear indication of how candidates’ proficiency will be determined at this point. However, even having fulfilled citizenship language requirements, there is still an assessment of language, whether ultimately decisive or not. That is to say, even though migrants have fulfilled almost all of the requirements to become citizens, including the demonstration of English language proficiency, their level of English is still being evaluated until the very end.

Hagelund and Reegård (2010) conducted research on Norwegian citizenship ceremonies. They ask whether citizenship ceremonies represent ‘inclusion or new assimilation’ (Hagelund and Reegård 2010: 736). They found that ‘the meanings and effects of the ceremonies may be different for the participants themselves than were the policy-makers and ceremony organisers’ intentions’ (Hagelund and Reegård 2010: 737-738). Examining the inner workings of the ceremony and what it means to those involved allows us to view everyday realities both in correlation with, and in contrast to, the ideological and political reasons that prompted their inception.

Not only do Hagelund and Reegård (2010) focus on symbolic aspects of the citizenship ceremony, but they also focus on physical aspects. They note that the separation of guests from new citizens is symbolic of a classic rite of passage. That is to say, ceremonies, like many rites of passage, organize people in particular ways to elicit specific performances.

Rappaport (1999: 143) explains ‘Whereas a performative utterance achieves a purely conventional informative procedure, posture and movement, adding a physical dimension to the procedure may seem to add physical dimension to the effect as well’. Thus, the performance aspect of the ceremony adds to the sense of ritual in accordance with the symbolic features. The Oath or Affirmation, and the Pledge in the British case, therefore have both a performative and ritualistic quality.

Like Hagelund and Reegård (2010), Verkaaik also investigates the physical aspects of the ceremony. At times the ceremony is compared to a wedding and also a graduation, as the new citizens collect their certificates. Whereas Hagelund and Reegård (2010) focused on the participants involved in citizenship ceremonies, Verkaaik (2010) examines the role of local bureaucrats, who are expected to prepare and perform the ceremony. Verkaaik goes as far as saying ‘it [the citizenship ceremony] does have a significant effect, but not on the new citizens or on the general public. The new ritual primarily has a profound impact on the local civil servants who organize and perform it’ (Verkaaik 2010: 70). The study highlights the intersection of the real lives of those wishing to become citizens and the ideological and political policies which are expected to be implemented.

Although both participants and officials are involved in the ceremony, this does not guarantee that they are all in sympathy with its intentions. Verkaaik explains that ‘people perform state rituals not because they agree with their ideological meaning but because the rituals create possibilities: to belong to a group, to do a job, and so on’ (Verkaaik 2010: 77). This is further highlighted when an organizer admits ‘most of them [the immigrants] don’t mind the ceremony. They simply want their passport’ (Verkaaik 2010: 79). This denotes one of the ‘hard facts’ (Joppke 2010) of citizenship in that it pertains to the very real and practical purposes of gaining and rights which is symbolized through the practical and symbolic uses of

the passport. Such comments from the frontline of citizenship would question whether this ritual does indeed enhance its significance. Furthermore, it evidences the local negotiations of such a symbolic arena of nationalism.

Returning to the British case, the introduction of British citizenship ceremonies, and the inclusion of rituals of the Oath/Affirmation and Pledge, are intended to demonstrate that 'Becoming a British citizen is a significant event and should be celebrated in a meaningful way' (UKBA 2012b). Ritual 'is concerned with the process of either binding people's feelings into the existing organization of society, or with aiding them to become critical and independent of it' (Bocock 1974: 10). Hence, the requirement of the Oath, together with a pre-defined ceremonial arrangement, ensures that the citizen is organized and pre-disposed to provide a particular performance, both orally and physically.

## **Discipline**

As noted in the caseworking instructions, citizens are encouraged to practice the Oath should they be experiencing any difficulties. The instructions state 'Applicants whose ability in English is poor should be encouraged to practice repeating the words of the citizenship Oath (or affirmation) and pledge prior to the ceremony' (UKBA 2011). There is notification that performance and possible preparation is required at the ceremony. Within a ceremony of celebration there are elements of an examination.

The purpose of a citizenship ceremony is to 'celebrate the creation and incorporation of new citizens-subjects' (Coutin 2003: 509). Citizenship ceremonies mark the legal end point in the process of creating new citizens. Foucault (1977: 170) argued 'Discipline makes individuals'. The requirements of the citizenship ceremony – since they are requirements – constitute a kind of discipline, as citizenship ceremonies become production lines to produce citizens. The

individual 'is no doubt the fictitious atom of an ideological representation of society; but he is also a reality fabricated by this specific technology of power [discipline]' (Foucault 1977: 194). The citizenship process may be viewed as a disciplinary process in which the citizenship ceremony at the end produces new citizens through a final examination.

Foucault's notion of discipline is predicated on the diffuse ways that power enters the lives of individuals. Discipline 'circulates through the capillaries of collective life' (Collier 2009: 81); it is 'the specific technique of power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of exercise' (Foucault 1977: 170). Thus, individuals are complicit in how power operates - even upon themselves. Discipline pervades everyday life (Deacon 2002), and provides a natural point of departure in making visible the production of new citizens. The corollary of discipline is an asymmetric power relation which, as Foucault suggests, lacks reciprocity.

For Foucault (1977: 170) 'the success of disciplinary power derives no doubt from the use of simple instruments; hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination'. Hierarchal observation, normalizing judgment and the examination create knowledge (Deacon 2002), which will or will not permit the subject to become British. In hierarchal observation, the subject is visible to the disciplinary power. The pinnacle of disciplinary apparatus is 'for a single gaze to see everything constantly' (Foucault 1977: 173). Foucault contends 'In discipline, it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of power that is exercised over them. It is the fact of being constantly seen, of being able always to be seen, that maintains the disciplined individual in his subjection' (Foucault 1977: 187). Surveillance was proliferated through rituals such as examinations in which subjects would be visible (Rouse 1994).

Normalization ‘imposes homogeneity; but it also individualizes by making it possible to measure gaps, to fix specialities, to determine levels and to render differences useful by fitting them one to another (Foucault 1977: 184). It is this capacity to both classify and judge according to a perceived norm which allows the disciplinary power to exercise its power. Foucault affirms ‘the perpetual penalty that traverses all points and supervises every instant in the disciplinary institutions compares, differentiates, hierarchizes, homogenizes, excludes. In short, it normalizes’ (Foucault 1977: 184).

In many respects, the citizenship process can be viewed as a form of discipline. That is to say, through the process migrants may be ‘seen’ through the process of submitting the appropriate papers and judgments which are subsequently made. However, this chapter focuses on the end point of this process. In terms of the citizenship ceremony, discipline enters the performance both physically and symbolically through the examination.

Both hierarchal observation and normalization are enacted through the examination which is a ‘normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to qualify, to classify and to punish’ (Foucault 1977: 184). An examination presents the physical arrangement and symbolic space for hierarchal observation and normalization to take place. All examinations are arranged in such a manner that the examinees can be seen. The symbolic aspect represents the ritualistic and symbolic dimension.

In the context of the citizenship ceremony, hierarchal observation is possible through the arrangement of the citizens in delivering the Oath. All individuals are separated from the rest of the audience and must perform their Oath in full view of the ceremony officials. Normalization requires a passing of judgment on the performance of the individuals. They

can either pass and get through or fail and be pulled out of the ceremony. From here, they may still be able to pass, but they do so having had their performance re-evaluated.

In the context of the British citizenship ceremony there is a curious mix of ceremonial celebration and the threat of judgment through examination. For Foucault, the examination is a ‘ceremony of power’ which ‘holds them [the subjects] in a mechanism of objectification ... the examination, is the ceremony of this objectification’ (Foucault 1977: 187). It is this complexity which requires greater interrogation. For this reason, the following section will use Derrida’s notion of shibboleth in order to focus on the conflicting and ambiguous attributes of the ceremony.

### **The ceremony as shibboleth**

*Gilead then cut Ephraim off from the fords of the Jordan, and whenever Ephraimite fugitives said, 'Let me cross,' the men of Gilead would ask, 'Are you an Ephraimite?' If he said, 'No,' they then said, 'Very well, say "Shibboleth" (שבבלת)'. If anyone said, "Sibboleth" (סבלת), because he could not pronounce it, then they would seize him and kill him by the fords of the Jordan. Forty-two thousand Ephraimites fell on this occasion.*

The above passage comes from the Old Testament (Judges 12 5-6). The shibboleth has been seen as expressing an important potential function of modern language testing (Shohamy 2001; Spolsky 2005; McNamara and Roever 2006; McNamara 2005, 2012). In the biblical passage, the word ‘shibboleth’ becomes a signifier of group identity and the basis for inclusion/exclusion and identification; in this case, with fatal consequences (McNamara 2005).

Stripped of the ‘scientific’ vestiges of modern language testing, language tests can be viewed as evolutions and mutations of the shibboleth (Shohamy 2001; McNamara and Roever 2006;

McNamara 2012). McNamara (2012) argues that the shibboleth in modern day language testing is signified through test scores and the social implications of such tests. Having already positioned the citizenship ceremony as a form of examination, this section adopts the stance that the Oath in the British citizenship ceremony also possesses characteristics of the shibboleth.

At a ceremony, the Oath/Affirmation is pledged to the Queen or God. There is a symbolic and linguistic performance required on a specific occasion to gain inclusion to a national community. There are no validity checks nor empirical measures to check whether the Oath is assimilated and used in daily life. Whereas the consequences for ‘failure’ are not fatal as the biblical example above, the uttering of the Oath enables the migrant to cross the point of belonging to becoming British. For this reason the shibboleth is relevant. The shibboleth has also been the subject of discussion, with a different emphasis, in poststructuralist thought, particularly in the work of Derrida.

### **Derrida - a brief background**

There is a post-structural overlap between the work of Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida (McNamara 2012). Whereas the theoretical framework of Foucault in this chapter provides an understanding of (and is not confined to) the citizenship ceremony as an examination in particular in relation to aspects of power, Derrida’s work complements this with the complexities and ambiguities of belonging and non-belonging in the context of the shibboleth. This blending of perspectives between Foucault and Derrida is acknowledged when Derrida states that the shibboleth is ‘the grillwork of policing of normalization, and of methodological subjugation’ (Derrida 2005: 30) (see also McNamara 2012). The term normalization has been used earlier in this chapter in relation to discipline.

The invocation of religion, Oath and citizenship offers deeper perspectives of symbolic utterances and ceremonies. Kostakopolou (2006) compares the naturalisation process to a religious rite of passage. Her most direct comparison is to religious affiliation in stating ‘Admission to communities of faith is reserved for the initiated and the converted, that is, for those who have familiarized themselves with the holy books and the sacred traditions, and have trained their spirit. Ceremonies and rituals symbolically confirm a neophyte’s inclusion’ (Kostakopolou 2006: 88). Here the initiated may represent natives and the converted are the migrants. For migrants, having learnt about ‘Life in the United Kingdom’ and satisfied the requirements to become citizens, they can now be symbolically and legally confirmed as citizens through the ceremony as members of this community.

Religious examples provide fruitful insights into the performance of Oath. Etymologically, an Oath is derived from old English as a ‘solemn declaration’ (Chantrell 2002). The root of solemnity is related to ‘religious rites’. Thus, imbued within every Oath is a ritualistic declaration, promise and intention. There is also a religious-like conviction that this Oath is respected. For example, when an individual takes to giving an Oath in giving evidence in court, they do so under the watchful eye of God and any falsehood thereafter will be in discord with the judicial process and the judgment of God.

Derrida’s work must be understood within the context of his own life. Derrida often makes specific links to his own feelings and experiences as a Jew (Caputo 1997; Derrida 2005). During Derrida’s formative years as a Jewish child growing up in Algeria, he had enjoyed the benefits of French citizenship. However, with the rise of anti-Semitism and the advent of the Vichy regime, Derrida was stripped of his French citizenship in 1940. Derrida had felt the forces and ‘violent trauma of exclusion and non-belonging’ (Dooley and Kavanagh 2007: 1).

This had exposed Derrida to a sense of isolation from his home country and conflicting feelings to the Jewish community.

Having been educated in French and exposed to French culture, Derrida was also excluded due the removal of his citizenship rights as a French citizen. Derrida had experienced at first hand the complexities of belonging. This ‘double edge of a sharp sword’ (Derrida 1998: 2) of belonging, which is a prevalent theme in the shibboleth and indeed Derrida’s attitude towards language, manifests itself through Derrida’s writing (Dooley and Kavanagh 2007). In *Monolingualism of the Other*, Derrida outlines the trauma of experience around the possession and eventual loss of citizenship. He states ‘such exclusions come to leave their mark upon this belonging or non-belonging of language, this affiliation to language, this assignation to what is peacefully called a language’ (Derrida 1998: 26-27). Here, Derrida explicates not only the pain of exclusion but also the highly problematic idea of an individual’s relation to a language, a theme he would often revisit, of potential vulnerability that language can place on the individual; represented for him by the shibboleth.

Derrida’s experiences shaped his feelings towards citizenship. Derrida (1998: 16) explains ‘a citizenship does not sprout up just like that. It is not natural’. Thus, there is no organic link between individuals in nation states until it is imposed as so through citizenship. This is not only a political concept but also a socioiocultural practice in demarcating belonging. For those who are not born to such group membership through citizenship, naturalization is necessary to become a citizen. Rather than the individual, it is in fact the underlying concept of citizenship and accompanying sociocultural practices of inclusivity/exclusivity which is unnatural. Nevertheless, naturalisation policies propagate the idea that fellow human beings require naturalizing through the man-made concept of citizenship and barriers of belonging are erected which include and exclude.

In Derrida's work, the outsider, the migrant, the exiled are represented by the figure of the Jew. The Jew is 'both the substance and the figure of the outsider' (Caputo 1997: 230). Thus, when Derrida talks of the Jew as the outsider, he also does so in the name of those who are 'exiled and do not belong' (Dooley and Kavanagh 2007: 13). In relation to this study, the Jew becomes a metaphor for the migrant. The following section will focus on the shibboleth using the figure of the Jew gaining entrance and belonging into his/her faith community as a representation of the migrant seeking inclusion to the national community.

### **Shibboleth**

The shibboleth possesses two principal functions. Firstly, the shibboleth is 'a password, not a word in passing, but a silent word transmitted like a *symbolon* or handclasp, a rallying cipher, a sign of membership and a political watchword' (Derrida 2005: 23). Secondly, the shibboleth also 'secures the passage from one to the other' (Derrida 2005: 31). In these two examples, the shibboleth is both a code to be shared among a collective and a transition (Ofrat 2001). In many respects, this is faithful to the biblical story in that the shibboleth is not only a word but also a crossing. In this thesis, the shibboleth is also symbolic of the citizenship ceremony where there is the uttering of an Oath and the final phase of the transition from migrant to citizen.

The performative aspect of the shibboleth rather than the meaning of the word is the key. Derrida (2005: 22) notes that 'the meaning of the word was less important than the way it was pronounced'. The difference between how shibboleth may be pronounced represents the 'invisible border' (Derrida 2005) which separates one from the other. It is not that the Ephraimites did not know the word, but it was that their language ability to correctly pronounce shibboleth left them vulnerable to death (Zolkos 2009). Borders may be erected,

even where not visible, which can create division and at once leave an individual exposed to exclusion. Returning to the citizenship ceremony, it is less the meaning and content of the Oath which is of significance but instead its performance.

The complex link outlined between language and the individual is outlined below (McNamara 2012: 4):

‘The fact that the means through which individual experience is articulated pre-exists the speaker, is shared, is public, cannot be owned, and is not in the control of the speaker means that the individual faces the task of making unique experiences intelligible in the words of others; the hearer similarly wrestles with the impersonal, shared medium to develop an interpretation of what has been so encoded’.

This is starkly demonstrated in the arena of a citizenship ceremony. The encoding of a specific discourse is not possessed by the speaker or those uttering the Oath. They make their Oath in ‘the words of others’ (Derrida 1988) which is designed to resonate with the other through a code which represents not only the words but also the interpretation of a willingness to belong in the ‘ear of the other’ (Derrida 1988). However, if a migrant cannot make the Oath, they remain open to the threat of exclusion. Herein lies what Derrida refers to as the ‘terror’ of languages (Derrida 1998) which represents the devastating pain that even when mastering language, whether a foreign language or mother tongue, an individual can be vulnerable to a language they may feel can never be theirs.

The shibboleth always retains the capacity to ‘turn against oneself’ (Derrida 2005: 63). It denotes inclusion and, in the same breath, exclusion. To paraphrase Caputo (1997), to live by the sword of the shibboleth can also mean to die by it. Thus, the shibboleth includes the

included and excludes the excluded (Caputo 1997). Here is an overlap with citizenship and immigration. Brubaker's work (1992) has been lauded as a key work in citizenship (Joppke 2007, 2010). Brubaker refers to the paradox of citizenship and immigration which means that citizenship is internally inclusive and externally exclusive. Citizenship insulates those within the group with a sense of inclusion, but sharply delineates the boundary of exclusion. Thus, the citizenship ceremony is a point of convergence for the inherent double edged nature of the shibboleth and citizenship.

In Derrida's work, the shibboleth is likened to circumcision. Derrida remarks 'there must be circumcision ... and it must take place once' (Derrida 2005: 63). Much like the shibboleth and the citizenship ceremony, it takes place as a 'single trial' (Derrida 2005: 30). The circumcision 'seems to inaugurate the legitimate belonging of the Jew to his community' (Derrida 2005: 53) and marks a symbolic point of entry into yet a marker of difference from others (Caputo 1997; Derrida 2005).

Derrida signifies three aspects of the circumcision. Firstly, Derrida refers to the cut. The cut then is not only a physical signifier of Jewish identity (McNamara 2012) but it 'opens the word or the heart or the ear to the other' (Caputo 1997: 250). Consequently, in so doing this opening then represents a cut from the origin and an opening to both inclusion and exclusion (Dooley and Kavanagh 2007). In line with much of Derrida's work this opening causes vulnerability to discrimination yet the solace of protection within the safety of the group.

Secondly, Derrida (2005: 55) explains:

'A name given to the moment of covenant or alliance and of legitimate entry into the community: a shibboleth that cuts and partitions, then distinguishes, for example by virtue of the language and the name given to each of them, one

circumcision from another, the Jewish operation from the Egyptian from which it is said to derive, or, indeed, the Muslim operation that resembles it, or many others’.

This represents the transitional nature of the circumcision. It is the moment of arrival and alliance. Within it are other forms of allegiance and belonging through language. Such sociocultural and discursive factors, which permeate the event, shape the nature of entry to the community through the ambiguity of what language may mean to the individual; a shared medium but also a site of power (McNamara 2012). In making reference to both Jewish and Islamic circumcisions, Derrida notes how not all circumcisions are the same, even if they may share similarities. Both faiths may share Abrahamic roots and similar customs but in the end they possess with their own forms of belonging. Likewise, shibboleths and citizenship Oaths may contain similarities through the promise of inclusion and through performance, but they are all inevitably specific to the communities to which the individual is seeking ‘legitimate entry’.

Thirdly, Derrida refers to ‘the experience of blessing and of purification’ (Derrida 2005: 55). This ensures acceptance to enter the community. If the Jews are both the circumcised and the circumciser, the individual has now had been blessed as part of the entry. This confers the sense of shared identity. Purification represents the new state following the ritual and the ‘condition of being circumcised’ (Derrida 2005: 58). The inauguration of belonging has occurred and the complexities of inclusion and exclusion must be negotiated.

Derrida was not only speaking of the physical aspects of circumcision as a mark of belonging. More specific to this thesis is the circumcision of the word or utterance. This form of circumcision takes place in two ways. There is the physical aspect of not being able to pronounce shibboleth. As with the citizenship, the barrier placed through this language

requirement means that the individual is ‘limited by a barrier neither organic nor natural’ (Derrida 2005: 59). Language, like citizenship, becomes a symbolic barrier at the moment of naturalisation. If language and citizenship are not natural but are presented to society as part of a naturalizing process, an architecture of belonging is created with the potential to exclude and include. This is the ‘terrifying ambiguity of the shibboleth, sign of belonging, and threat of discrimination’ (Derrida 2005: 27).

Shibboleth contains within it an ambiguous power. Derrida (2005: 63) states ‘at once readable and secret, mark of belonging and of exclusion, the wound of partaking, the circumcised word reminds us also of the double edge of a shibboleth’. It is not only that the shibboleth possesses the power to function as a code, but much can depend on how the double edge of the sword is wielded. Derrida continues that much is contingent on how ‘one may see it turned against oneself’ (Derrida 2005: 63). In the hands of governments, who view citizenship and language as part of a naturalizing practice, migrants are exposed to the shibboleth. The migrant may be encouraged to learn a language to belong, yet does so knowing that this same medium may be used against him/her to exclude.

The thesis views the British citizenship ceremony through two complementary post-structural theoretical frameworks. In using them in conjunction they offer synergistic analytic qualities. The ceremony is a form of examination in the Foucauldian sense. Migrants are required to be ‘seen’ to be making the Oath and are judged on doing so. However, the set of conditions to do this are similar to that of an examination both in a physical organization and observation as well as symbolic performance. However, focusing solely on the ceremony as an examination would neglect the complexities of the Oath itself and what it represents. Derrida’s shibboleth provides a perspective that focuses on a sense of inherent inclusion/exclusion within the ceremonial utterance of the Oath. Using only Derrida’s shibboleth would neglect the more

extraneous factors that facilitate the performance of an Oath in a moment of examination and celebration.

There is also another fundamental aspect that cannot be ignored. The citizenship ceremony was conceived as a celebration of becoming British (Blunkett 2002b; Cameron 2011b) yet a form of examination is injected into the proceedings. As I have highlighted, with every time a language test occurs, there are issues of access to resources and who is allowed to belong. This is apparent both in the citizenship process as well as the ceremony.

**Thesis research question for chapter ten:**

**How is the British citizenship ceremony performed and negotiated?**

## CHAPTER SIX

### Methodology and Analysis

#### Research design

A thesis can often be a problem that needs to be solved or an interest presented as a problem or question. What governs how the problem is solved resides under the guise of RD (research design). It is through an analysis of RDs and appropriate selection that the research can move forward smoothly from mere interest or idea to operationalized research. It must be stated at the outset that the following section does not examine methods. Methods depend on the selection of RD.

RD is reflected in an array of metaphors in research literature: the navigation of a ship to its destination (Maxwell 1996), architectural plans (Hakim 2000), choreography (Janesick 2000), a construction plan (De Vaus 2001) and journey planning (LeCompte and Schensul 2010). Despite such metaphoric diversity, the commonality shared by the above examples is located in how they move from research question to research conducted through a particular form of planning and orientation from idea to argument (Cresswell 2009; Hancké 2009).

RD can not only ensure that a research question/problem is appropriately answered, but also *how* it is researched. Cresswell (2009) views RD as a point of convergence between philosophy, strategies and specific methods. The nature of a research problem and question demands a research design that is ‘governed by the notion of “fitness for purpose”’ (Cohen et al 2007: 75). RD connects the nature of the research question to the manner of research undertaken and data collected (De Vaus 2001). In order for this thesis to proceed smoothly, an analysis and justification of a robust RD was necessary.

The literature review of this thesis has already highlighted that work on how citizenship is experienced represents an opportunity to advance the field of both citizenship studies and applied linguistics. According to Joppke (2007: 44), ‘what ordinary people associate with citizenship is one of the biggest lacunae in the literature’. Similarly, Blackledge (2005) calls for research into the journey to citizenship which places the citizen at the centre of the study. An RD that facilitates the possibilities to investigate the quotidian challenges and realities of how citizenship is acquired was necessary.

The RD selected is an ethnographically-informed case study. Although an ethnography and case study may appear interchangeable, not all case studies are ethnographic. The aim of this thesis was not to gain insider status within a community as with some ethnographies; however, the principles of ‘being there’ and investment of time in an area are adhered to (Erickson 1990). The ‘unit of analysis’ is W’s journey. It must be stated that the subject of this thesis is not W, nor is it a biographical account. It is instead an account of his journey including details of everyday life on the road to becoming a member of British society in the context of the legal requirements for acquiring citizenship.

## **Ethnography**

The central element which binds the thesis together is the process of becoming a British citizen. This involves the legal aspects of applying for citizenship as well as more quotidian and affective features of this *process* of becoming British. Heller argues that (2008: 252) ‘ethnography is about processes ... not objects’ and ‘occurs in natural settings ... undertaken to record processes of change’. Ethnography becomes a logical choice in tracking the process to becoming British.

The value of ethnography is in uncovering areas that we do not know enough about (Hymes 1996). This is especially the case in better understanding the role of languages. Some of the

most pertinent questions in relation to this study regard how language is used in becoming a citizen. Heller (2008: 250) explains:

‘Ethnographies allow us to get at things we would otherwise never be able to discover. They allow us to see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people’s lives, to discover how and why language matters to people in their own terms, and to watch processes unfold over time. They allow us to see complexity and connections, to understand the history and geography of language. They allow us to tell a story; not someone else’s story exactly but our own story of some slice of experience, a story which illuminates social processes and generates explanations for why people do and think the things they do’.

There are three notable points that Heller (2008) highlights. Firstly, an ethnographic approach can act as a searchlight within the darker recesses of the unknown. Initially, the overarching research question was to examine the process (or journey) of citizenship as well as investigating the linguistic practices involved. This represents a ‘what is happening here?’ question (Erickson 1990: 83).

This thesis deliberately struck a balance between broad research questions which allow for an emergent and flexible RD to investigate the unknown yet offer sufficient direction and guidance. The RD required ‘a constant interplay between the topical and the generic, or the substantive and the formal’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 25) in which the research questions were chiselled and refined as they calibrated with the direction and sharpness of focus involved in the evolution of this study (Blommaert and Jie 2010). To portray this thesis as being centered on clearly defined research questions at the outset would betray the requisite process of development. I will revisit this later in the section on the research question evolution section.

Secondly, the unknown for the ethnographer is the reality for those researched. Hymes (1996: 13) states that ethnography is ‘continuous with real life. Much of what we seek to find out in ethnography is knowledge that others already have’. Ethnography deliberately seeks real life, naturalistic settings which are placed to the luminescence of analytic rigour (Richards 2003; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This permits the researched to be placed at the centre of the research but far from marginalizing the researcher to the role of front stage presenter, it entrusts the researcher to explain *why* and *how* processes may occur. The quality of analysis here is what separates an ethnography which is sharp in analysis and thorough in rigour from story-telling (Aunger 1995). By recognising the need for evidential standards and analytic rigour from the outset (Erickson 1990), this thesis orients towards a research that contains explicit understandings of processes and patterns of how citizenship is experienced.

The final point emphasizes the role of the researcher. Luttrell (2010) and Erickson (Moss et al. 2009) mention ‘imagination’ as being imperative to good research(ers). Similarly, Willis (2000) refers to an ‘ethnographic imagination’. The above sources can be traced back to Mills’ *The Sociological Imagination* in which ‘imagination is the capacity to shift from one perspective to another’ (Mills 1959: 7). Mills extols the virtues of possessing a ‘quality of mind’ that can ‘grasp the interplay of man and society, of biography and history, of self and world’ (Mills 1959: 4). Outlining the factors and experiences that influence my sense of ‘imagination’ can direct this study. Furthermore, ‘imagination’ within research becomes important in selecting a RD in which there is an emphasis on the researcher to move with intellectual dexterity between the research and its wider context. Incorporating imagination within the methodological architecture must be expressed to inform RD choices.

As part of my imagination, my personal history as a second generation male Muslim migrant living in Sparkbrook allowed me access to certain discourses in this thesis. I recognize too

that there are other factors, but those mentioned allowed me to go to Jummah and the khat sessions with W. Such interpersonal factors were acknowledged by a teacher in the research below. T2 is a teacher at the college where data was collected. It must be mentioned that the teacher is white.

... you see people in Sparkbrook you see you know, white middle-class people walking through Sparkbrook and nine times out of ten with one of these things round their neck with their badge on of some sort you know a visitors pass and I laugh because I look at them I tick them off on the checklist. I go and I see them and it's like they have come to the area to do some research or look at people as if they are some sort of ... sort of experiment.

While T2's comments may indicate a sense of being insider, I was well aware that the heightened tension in the area may create an air of suspicion about myself.<sup>14</sup> This is evidenced in the extract below when W refers to the possibility that I may be a 'spy' or from the Government. I had even predicted it in an earlier set of fieldnotes three months earlier. It is quite simple why I envisaged this: because I would think the same of someone meeting someone like me in the same neighbourhood. I knew this was likely and at the end of the research, this was recognised by W:

K: ... How about you? Your experience of being somebody who ... I am a researcher, I come to your class, I come to the khat sessions, I come to the mosque. How has the experience been for you? I mean ... as the person receiving the researcher.

W: Let me tell you something ... you know, you will not find the proper people who will deal with your research ... in a good way. Some people ... they don't want ... they are basic.

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<sup>14</sup> The Sparkbrook area has seen several arrests of young, male Muslims on terrorism charges.

K: Yeah

W: They don't want to meet the people who are ... high level than them

K: Yeah

W: Researchers coming to me, I am Entry 1 how I can be with you. Let me [XXX] because I'm not from this (yeah). Some people they say OK I am not sure of him ... they may spy ... spy

K: Yeah, yeah, yeah

W: Who want some information they ask about the community and-

K: Why does he want to know?

W: Finally [XXX] especially the government security people (yeah) they want document about them

Outside of khat sessions and supermarket storerooms, I needed to be able to converse with policy makers and to present my work in a manner that befits a PhD thesis. This sense of imagination involving the shifts in perspectives between everyday life in an economically deprived neighbourhood and conversations with policy makers and academics was never far from my mind (Mills 1959). I believe it is not only the perspective which is of significance, but the sense of imagination in accessing what others cannot and presenting it to others in the field and beyond.

## **Case study**

A case study is ‘an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system’ (Merriam 2009: 40). Yin (2009: 18) states that through a case study it is possible ‘to understand a real-life phenomenon in depth’. The focus of a case study is the particular or a set of units (Richards 2003). Hakim (2000) posits that the individual is the simplest form of unit choice. In this research, it was the journey to citizenship of an individual. This results in a clearly defined bounded project.

The individual in this research is W. W came to the UK from Yemen in 2006. He is a male in his mid-twenties and his spouse is British. He works in a factory during the day and attends ESOL classes in the evenings. He has aspirations to attend a British university. W had not been able to go to university in Yemen for financial reasons and this is something that he has tried to address in the UK. I met W through the ESOL classes where data collection started. Both W and I have similarities which enriched our relationship and we are both males, Muslim and live in the same neighbourhood. The importance of shared religion was crucial to developing the informant/researcher relationship. These shared characteristics allowed me to gain a thorough insight into how W experienced the process of applying for and gaining citizenship.

Case study offers ‘detailed insights into mechanisms, motives of actors, and constraints they face at particular moments’ (Hancké 2009: 62). It is particularistic in examining a case in detail, descriptive in providing ‘thick description’ and heuristic in illuminating an under-known phenomena (Merriam 2009). Given that the thesis seeks to investigate the process of becoming a citizen, the case study would facilitate a detailed account of this.

Gary Thomas (2011b) offers a nuanced overview of case study design types. I will now outline the specific nature of the case study in this RD. The subject is a ‘local knowledge

case' (Thomas 2011b: 93) in which my local knowledge of the local community and area aids the research. The purpose of this case study is explanatory in that it seeks to explain how the process of citizenship is experienced. The approach is interpretative and 'assumes an in-depth understanding and deep immersion in the environment of the subject' (Thomas 2011b: 124). This is where the overlap between ethnography and case study occurs. For this reason, both ethnography and case study have an important role to play in the development of this study.

A case study RD is extremely useful in presenting a holistic account of researching the ESOL classroom and beyond. For the purposes of this study, 'the proximity of reality to which the case study entails and the learning process that it generates for the researcher will often constitute a prerequisite for advanced understanding' (Flyvbjerg 2006: 235). The bounded nature of case studies neatly offers the context of a journey to citizenship that can be followed to the end of the citizenship process: the naturalisation ceremony. Despite my family's migrant background, this was a learning experience as this was something my family had never experienced.

In conclusion, the metaphors used to describe the role of RD delineate the orienting qualities that can guide the research and how it is conducted. The significance of a robust and relevant RD is essential to ensuring a smooth and successful data collection period. Moreover, the right RD selection can maintain congruence between the research interest, research question(s) and data collection.

Ethnography provides a RD that enters the world of the participant(s) and allows the researcher the advantage of 'being there'. It takes into consideration the natural setting of the participant(s) and provides an insight into how they make sense of their world by placing them at the centre of the research. Case study offers a rich insight of a unit of analysis as well

as convenient, bounded research which offer an in-depth study. In addition, both designs are ideal for examining a process of becoming.

### **Evolution of research questions**

As this study progressed, the lines of enquiry adjusted to the emergent nature of ethnographically-informed research (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Blommaert and Jie 2010). The first decision to be made was in the baseline for this study. The original title of this thesis, which was devised by my supervisors, was, '*Investigating the pathways to citizenship in ESOL classes in UK and Australia*'. This was part of a collaboration between the University of Birmingham and University of Melbourne in Australia.

The collaboration presented a number of logistical challenges. It must also be remembered that this was the first jointly-supervised PhD of its kind between the two universities. The data collection period in the UK was scheduled to be six months but was eleven months in reality. This was due to difficulties in administrative arrangements which reached Vice Chancellor level. As I was waiting during this delay, I was accumulating large volumes of data. It was decided, in agreement with my supervisors, that I had more than enough data collected in the UK. Thus, the Australian element of the original title was now redundant as I was no longer collecting data in Australia.

I used my time in Australia at the University of Melbourne to learn about language testing at the LTRC (Language Testing Research Centre) and use their expertise for my analysis. Given that the main research strength of the research centre in Birmingham was multilingualism, my research interests were very much oriented by both institutions. Becher (1989) notes the impact of institutional environments on the development of academic endeavour and for me this was no different. I used the time in both places to apply new ways

of thinking to my data. Returning to Francis Bacon, these periods of conference with different people at different stages of my research aided me in my development and reinvigorated my interest in this subject matter.

Originally, I had intended to follow a class in an approved ESOL with citizenship class. The initial interest was to observe the class. However, having met W, I was convinced that understanding his life outside of the class would add extra texture to the study. The focus was no longer solely on the classes, but a wider context of W's life. In this respect, W led some of the research and this appeared a much richer line of enquiry. The study was now no longer centred on the classroom but the citizenship journey. I had a back-up plan as an insurance policy as I realized the risks of relying only on W. I was also a special needs assistant in another ESOL class at the college. The college used my experience to assist a teacher and I was able to spend more time at the college. The teacher of that class stated 'Well, because I am obviously very busy and I don't want to look a gift horse in the mouth ... you were just someone who was a classroom assistant'.

This section has shown how this study began with the title *'Investigating pathways to citizenship in ESOL classes in UK and Australia'* and ended with *'Becoming British: a migrant's journey'*. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) describe this process of cumulative focus as a 'funnel structure' which moves from a general interest to a specific interest which must be 'transformed and its scope must be clarified and delimited, and its internal structure explored' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007: 160). It may be usual for a study to gain in focus as the clarity of aims emerges (Seliger and Shohamy 1989), this is especially the case with ethnographic studies (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Blommaert and Jie 2010).

In the case of this study, W and I met in an ESOL class and began meeting outside of the college. I was impressed by his willingness and enthusiasm to show me his community. We

initially met when I was helping W with his English. One day we met on a Saturday night and W chose where to meet and where we would go. This was not a problem for me as we always remained in the neighbourhood we both live in. That night, W took me to chew khat and I met a number of Yemeni men. Even though I was familiar with the neighbourhood, I was seeing things I had never seen and, more importantly, they were useful for this research. I realized at this point that W would be better guiding the research. It is *his* journey which provides the basis for this study. His guidance required me to make decisions on which avenues to pursue for my work.

I would like to make a distinction between ‘giving the participant a voice’ and ‘collaborative critical analysis’ (Murchison 2010). I feel giving ‘the participant a voice’ pre-imposes certain frames of power in which the researcher is positioned at a higher level by virtue of being able to tell others about these settings. I feel this is flawed in this research as it assumes that my research is as important to W as it is to me. In reality, I felt that whether I wrote this study or did not, W knew he would still face socioeconomic obstacles. Furthermore, had W left the study it would have been me who would have been powerless. Instead, I prefer to describe the nature of this study as a ‘collaborative critical analysis’ (Murchison 2010) in which the collaboration was guided by W, and I made decisions on the direction of the study. For example, at one point W suggested where to meet and what to see. On another occasion, I had considered asking W to do a literacy diary showing what languages he used during a day. W felt this was not useful and instead he told me the same information. In this way, W was able to guide me in establishing what method to use.

### **The choice of one**

The choice to focus solely on W requires justification. Whereas the evolution of the research deals with more practical elements guiding my choices, the following section premises the

‘choice of one’ around other studies and a particular orientation in handling the multidimensionality of single units of analysis (Yin 2009).

In Kinginger’s study (Kinger 2004), Alice was the sole subject of a four year study. Kinginger charted Alice, an American student of French, throughout her time before, during and after her time as a study abroad student in France. Much like English in this thesis for W, acquiring French for W was tied to aspiration, social mobility and professional development. This difference between what was promised and what occurred in reality resulted in a sense of disappointment for Alice. Furthermore, Kinginger notes how learning French related to access to social networks as well as constructing and negotiating a sense of identity. These themes also emerged in W’s journey of learning English in relation to identity.

Teutsch-Dwyer (2001) also follows a language learner in new settings. Karol, a Polish migrant, is the subject of Teutsch-Dwyer’s study in San Francisco. With a particular emphasis on masculinity and identity in relation to language learning, Teutsch-Dwyer tracked Karol’s experience of learning English over a period of fourteen months. Teutsch-Dwyer concludes that much of Karol’s sense of social acceptance is rooted in being accepted by being accepted in female social circles.

Despite basing their on one participant, Kinginger and Teutsch-Dwyer were able to focus on a number of factors using a single participant as an object of enquiry. Kinginger was able to draw upon wider sociopolitical ideologies around a central narrative, told by Kinginger, which involves a personal journey involving a particular history, experience and a sense of imagination and desire about the future. As Kinginger suggests there is an emphasis on an experience which is at once ‘dramatic and mundane’ (Kinger 2004: 219). Thus, what may appear banal in one context, may be of great interest beyond. Likewise, Teutsch-Dwyer follows a representation of Karol’s trajectory (both real and imagined). There is a distinct

emphasis on very real relationships but also language practices which may have wider resonance to others interested in language identity.

Both studies demonstrate a commitment to a personal trajectory within its wider context. Through the details of personal journeys and trajectories, a wider context can be understood. Furthermore, there is a sense of ‘transferability’ (Tracy 2010) in applying the points of interest from these studies to other studies and situations. Tracy (2010: 845) refers to transferability which ‘is achieved when readers feel as though the story of the research overlaps with their own situation and they intuitively transfer the research to their own action’. What both Kinginger and Deutsch-Dwyer highlight is a way of refracting a multitude of issues through one person, or unit of analysis. A risk remains in relying on a single participant, but I felt it was a risk worth taking as I became acquainted with W and in conference with my supervisors.

I have drawn on the above studies in (re)presenting W’s journey to citizenship. While W’s journey is the unit of analysis, there is a sense of ‘multivocality’ which ‘includes multiple and varied voices’ (Tracy 2010: 844). Others beyond W contribute accounts which aided an understanding of the journey. Some of those interviewed did not know W, but they were able to contribute to the thesis through specific knowledge or/and professional expertise and experience.

I deliberately interviewed people at different levels of status from the policy level down to the personal. I interviewed (1) a UKBA (United Kingdom Border Agency) policy maker who gave insight into the wider context around W’s linguistic practices, (2) AP, the assistant principal at W’s college who could comment on his journey as an ESOL student and the pressures that the institution was under, (3) T who was W’s ESOL teacher who was able to talk more specifically about classroom practices, (4) TUK, an ESOL teacher who taught the

LUK test and validated the type of preparatory skills involved for the test and (5) T2, who could comment on my own position as a special educational needs assistant in the college. Each person brought an extra layer of insight and contributed towards a multi-dimensional understanding of W's journey. For example, in one case, TUK makes parallels with W's LUK test preparation methods:

TUK: It's a little bit harder. Basically, like what you mentioned about the Arabic speaker ... right translate everything ... I actually have it in here. I basically did English, Chinese ... there's two parts. There's English on this side and the Chinese on this side and then found the key words. Firstly, for these people they haven't been to .... university or whatever

Having recycled the analysis through TUK from data collected in relation to W, I was able to feed this through at a policy level. Below are two examples of my interview with a representative from the UKBA:

K: Yeah, that would be really useful actually ... I'll tell you what I came across. Before I start, I mean. From the preparations that you've seen and what you've heard, have they tended to do it in English only, or bilingually or ...?

U: I am not sure to be honest. I presume within communities people are doing a lot of the knowledge acquired in their own languages

Here I was able to establish where the preparation methods stood in relation to the knowledge of such techniques at a policy level. Having elucidated more specifically how W prepares, there is a response below:

U: I think that is how I imagined it ... I guess it depends on the learner (sure) you've got lots of people doing the test such as US citizens, Australians, New Zealanders who are just reading off doing it in their own language. The people who have English as a second

language I would imagine that is what they would do ... I have always said if I was made redundant here ... I think there is money in doing more creative things with it ... videos and things for people to simulate the information ... because as you say it is a big book and a lot of information to take in

K: Yes

U: I am sure there is money to be made from being more creative <both laugh>

There is the recognition of a number of factors. First of all, there is the acknowledgement that test-takers will adjust according to their linguistic background rather than in deference to the language of the test. Secondly, U is aware that at times there requires a level of creativity in order to make the test material more meaningful and amenable to learning. Thirdly, having recognised these things there appears to be a dimension between more ideologically-driven political discourse and the policy. Recognising the nature of such contours permits a greater sense of multi-dimensionality and safeguards against potentially believing that policy and politics may be one and the same.

There is a pre-supposition in this thesis that the participants are better placed and better informed to guide the study. From my position, I was directing the study in relation to the guidance I was receiving. As I have stated elsewhere, there is an interplay between collaboration and guidance and as a researcher. I recognise that I know very little. I do not 'live it' as the participants do. However, I was able to adjust to the guidance and relate it to the dimensions of this study.

In terms of such multi-dimensionality within case studies, I refer to Foucault's term 'the polyhedron of intelligibility' (Foucault 1991: 77). This term is used by Thomas (2011b) in describing the necessity for examining the subject of enquiry in a multi-directional manner

rather than solely from ‘one direction’. It must also be added that although I have mentioned five people above, there are two others. There is W as the main participant. I also become a part of this in (re)presenting the study through this thesis. While Thomas makes reference to ‘the polyhedron of intelligibility’, I would like to engage with Foucault’s idea in greater detail and its implications for this study.

The ‘polyhedron of intelligibility’ emerges from Foucault’s idea of ‘eventalization’ (Foucault 1991). Eventalization means ‘rediscovering the connections, encounters, supports, blockages, plays of forces, strategies and so on which at a given moment establish what subsequently counts as being self-evident, universal and necessary’ (Foucault 1991: 76). This means understanding and taking into account the wider influences which contribute to what may appear at first glance to be ‘normal’.

Eventalization is useful as it constructs an analysis around a single event (Foucault 1991) yet seeks a multi-faceted analysis and engagement. Foucault (1991: 77) specifically describes the ‘polyhedron of intelligibility’ when stating it is ‘the number of whose faces is not given in advance and can never properly be taken as finite’. Thus, there is an emergent nature to adopting such an orientation of analysis. The direction of the data collection was not pre-meditated, but a response to everyday aspects which emerged through time in the field and subsequently guided by W. Foucault (1991) refers to a sense of ‘polymorphism’ as analysis develops. For Foucault, the deeper one engages with the processes of analysis, ‘the more one is enabled and indeed obliged to construct their external relations of intelligibility’ (Foucault 1991: 77). Thus, there is a co-dependence between drilling down through to the details of analysis yet also cultivating the level of applicability to other studies. It is notable that ‘*Discipline and Punish*’ was based on examples of torture and prison routine yet this text has been applied to other fields, for example in this thesis.

There are two paradoxes which Foucault captures through the ‘polyhedron of intelligibility’. The first is that although there is a single event, or unit of analysis, there is a multiplicity of processes. These processes may be political, linguistic and socio-historic within a single journey to citizenship. The second paradox is between the details of the internal aspects of the study in evidencing the everyday aspects on the one hand, and understanding and relating this to external relations on the other. Foucault suggests that the internal details do not come at the expense of relating them to wider contexts; instead, a deeper analysis of the internal must preclude an exhaustive analysis of the external. I feel that I will have failed in my endeavour if I cannot apply W’s experience to a broader context.

This study matches elements of ethnography, case-study and the ‘polyhedron of intelligibility’. Ethnography permits an examination of processes and everyday practices (Heller 2008; Blommaert and Jie 2010) with a focused emphasis on capturing the continuity of everyday life (Hymes 1996). The case study element allows a finite and manageable object of enquiry (Thomas 2009). In this study, this is through a journey to citizenship that ends at the citizenship ceremony. The ‘polyhedron of intelligibility’ implies a form of analysis through a ‘polymorphic’ orientation which demands multi-dimensionality and a level of reflexivity from the researcher in adjusting to the emergent nature of data collection. Furthermore, using Foucault’s approach there is an interplay between the details of everyday life and wider contexts beyond the immediacy of quotidian practices towards issues such as immigration legislation and ESOL education policy. This ensures a sense of ‘transferability’ (Tracy 2010) which can be applied to other studies.

I have tried to offer a transparent analysis of how the research title and interests evolved. As succinct as the title now appears, it was the product of many evaluations, decisions and

adjustments all of which were rooted in an initial RD which permitted the latitude to adapt to the evolution of the study, researcher imagination and a research context.

1. How are the technical and ideological aspects of the LUK test negotiated?
2. How do the linguistic practices of a community contribute to ideological becoming and notions of belonging?
3. How is ESOL policy identification experienced?
4. How is the British citizenship ceremony performed?

### **Site selection**

The site selection was quite straightforward for this study. Hakim (2000: 149) cautions that ‘cost, time and feasibility’ are ‘overriding factors’ and these must be taken into account. Site selection was an essential factor since case study is a ‘construction itself’ which is a ‘product of interaction between respondent, site and researcher’. (Lincoln and Guba 2002: 207). My criterion was to look for an area in Birmingham which was a hub for migrant life and activity and in which there was a college. I soon found the area which I wanted to use. I did not need to look far as it was the area in which I have grown up: Sparkbrook.

My grandparents and parents emigrated from Pakistan. My dad came to the UK with my grandfather in 1963. They have always lived in the same neighbourhood. I too have lived the majority of my life in this area. Growing up this contributed towards a ‘primary socialization’ in which a long lasting and formative socialization takes place (Berger and Luckmann 1966).

In the same area during the first few years of my family’s arrival a study was taking place which is the basis for one of the seminal texts on ethnic relations in sociology. This book is ‘*Race, Community and Conflict*’ by John Rex and Robert Moore (Rex and Moore 1967). Rex has been influential in the development of ethnic relation studies (Jenkins 2005; Tomlinson

2012). Published in 1967, the study examined how the neighbourhood had changed due to post-war immigration. Prohibitive housing policy had clustered new migrant communities such as those from the Caribbean, Pakistan and India. Traditionally, the Irish community had been considered the migrant community. This study also investigated issues of racism and race relations and to this day remains a mainstay on many A-Level and undergraduate sociology courses. In addition to a personal history in this area, a prominent book on the neighbourhood offered me a convenient location for my study. This time however, this research would be conducted by someone from the area and a son of a migrant family who called this place home.

I knew from personal experience that the area had been changing over time due to the influx of new migrant communities from places such as Afghanistan, Somalia and Iran. Census data would suggest that in the early 1960s around 8% of the population in this area was what we could consider black or ethnic minority while the local Irish community was around 16 % (Rex and Moore 1967). By 2011 (ONS Census 2011), 70% of the area was Muslim, 57% of the ward was born in the UK (one of the lowest figures in the city) and 36% of the area have no qualifications (one of the highest figures in the UK).

I also selected a college for this study located in the same area. The college has played a role in both adult education and 16-19 education over a number of years. Furthermore, it has done much over the years to support migrant women in learning English. The college was awarded an outstanding grade from the regulatory educational board, Ofsted. It was commended specifically for its work in ESOL and citizenship. Given its location, the history, the role in the community and its focus on ESOL, this seemed the best college to choose.

The site must be appropriate and suitable rather than solely convenient (Walford 2009). The issue of rigour is highlighted even at the stage of site selection and prior to fieldwork

(Hammersley and Atkinson 1995; Blommaert and Jie 2010). It requires the ethnographer to 'case the joint' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 38) through 'preparation and documentation' in order to 'sharpen the gaze' of what is researchable and not researchable (Blommaert and Jie 2010: 16-17) as well as interviewing those who may be able to provide useful insights (Hammersley 1995).

In preparation for entering the field, which in this case is the neighbourhood when and where I would have interactions with W and the college, I used certain methods beyond my personal knowledge and history. Firstly, I began studying socioeconomic statistics in terms of identifying characteristics about the area. I was interested in aspects such as educational attainment, employment and ethnicity as noted earlier. Although I did not use these statistics as conclusive evidence, they helped in adding another layer of understanding of the area. Secondly, I used photographs to gain a feel for the context of the study. I will return to this later in the chapter.

## **Methods**

Fieldwork in this thesis took eleven months. Around half of the data was in the college and the other half was outside of the college. In the college, I observed an evening ESOL class. As my role grew in the college, I also became involved in working as special needs assistant in another ESOL class. As my relationship evolved with W, we began to meet outside of the college and continued until the end of the citizenship process.

Overall, I collected 47 sets of fieldnotes over eleven months. I interviewed W seven times over eleven months. The interviews varied in length from around one hour to over two hours. In addition, I conducted two very short five minute interviews prior to and after the citizenship ceremony. I also interviewed two teachers at the college as well as the assistant

principal. Towards the end of the study, I also interviewed a member of the UKBA involved in citizenship policy. Interview data came to around 17 hours.

## **Fieldnotes**

Fieldnotes have long formed a part of data collection in the ethnographic tradition (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007; Blommaert and Jie 2010). Clifford (1990: 52) describes fieldnotes as ‘a discrete textual corpus in some way produced by fieldwork and constituting a raw, or partly cooked, descriptive database for later generalization, synthesis, and theoretical elaboration’. Clifford notes that fieldnotes may assume a processual characteristic in growing from raw text to the basis for theoretical development in published works. It is this process in which fieldnotes begin as ‘the primordial textualization that creates the world on the page’ to a polished, final text (Emerson et al. 1995: 16).

I will discuss the merits and the attributes which contribute to the quality of fieldnotes before conveying how fieldnotes in this thesis have taken shape from initial jottings to refined notes. Finally, I will discuss the different types of fieldnotes that were used in this study. However, I will begin with the following quotation from Primo Levi describing the act of writing (Levi 2000: 195):

‘This cell belongs to a brain, and it is my brain, the brain of me who is writing; and the cell in question, and within it the atom in question, is in charge of my writing, in a gigantic minuscule game which nobody has yet described. It is that which at this instant, issuing out of a labyrinthine tangle of yeses and nos, makes my hand run along a certain path on the paper, mark it with these volutes that are signs: a double snap, up and down, between two levels of energy, guides this hand of mine to impress on the paper this dot, here, this one.’

Levi eloquently describes the process in writing a full stop. Levi highlights the role of the brain, images in the mind, and an evaluative process which precedes a physical action pressing pen to paper to create a dot. We simply cannot convey everything, so decisions, which may take milliseconds, are made according to what we are looking for, whom and where we are. This initial textualization (Emerson et al. 1995, 2011) is an initial act of analysis in itself.

Fieldnotes capture, through words, the chaos of the field (Blommaert and Jie 2010) and the ‘invisibility of everyday life’ (Erickson 1990). Instant decisions are taken at times with no pause in selecting what is included in fieldnotes and of course, what is not. Constant evaluations are made in capturing some things and not capturing, or choosing not to capture others. What this also shows is that fieldnotes are *representations* of real events (Heller 2008; Madden 2010). The question here then is to how these representations can aid this study.

Fieldnotes are only ever textual representations (Blommaert and Jie 2010) of real life events. Madden (2010) likens using to presenting evidence of factual events in court room settings. Thus, much in the same way that witness testimonies must stand up to close cross-examination, so too must ethnographic fieldnotes as in both cases, subjective representations offer accounts of real life. Thus, the analysis and evidentiary standards are crucial (Erickson 1990), however so is the quality of data generated. A kind of ‘disciplined subjectivity’ (Erickson 1984) from the researcher is essential in accepting the subjective nature of textualizing fieldnotes but also to the point to which such data stands up to analytic rigour. Fieldnotes then play an important role in merging the lines between events and textual representation, subjectivity and rigour (Jackson 1990; Blommaert and Jie 2010).

What I have outlined is a series of liminalities. Jackson (1990: 37) explains ‘liminality necessarily occurs when we impose classification systems upon the natural world’. In fieldnotes, we inevitably classify people, events and description through the textualization of the natural world. Not only are fieldnotes a liminal point between experience and representation (as mentioned above), but also between self and fieldnotes (Jackson 1990). This is an inevitable aspect of fieldnotes as they examine not only the real life events, but also include and reflect the self as researcher (Jackson 1990; Blommaert and Jie 2010).

Fieldnotes are also a liminal point between raw notes and published document (Jackson 1990). This is reflected in the way that observations which are caught in a few words become published works. The researcher here moves on a pivot between academic discourse, real life settings in the field and back to academic discourse (Lederman 1990). Much of the reason for this is that the researcher may be involved in academia and must enter the field. The findings must be then prepared for stakeholders and possibly academia. A consequence of this is that initially fieldnotes are only for the researcher, but they must eventually be presentable for an audience (Jackson 1990; Lederman 1990).

The development of fieldnotes from the initial split-second decision to focus on some aspects and discard others as the pen touches the paper to published fieldnotes is an ‘epistemic process’ in which we make sense of observations through interpretations, conceptual frames and seeking connections (Blommaert and Jie 2010). Fieldnotes grow from a few embryonic words and become polished, academic words through a period of maturation or distillation (Emerson et al. 1995; Fetterman 2010; Madden 2010). This was the case in my work.

I often jotted a few words within my notebook by pen. There was a balance to be struck between speed of capturing the moment and sufficient level of detail. As soon as possible

after leaving the field, I would add more details within my notebook. The field is sometimes unclear to me as it is where I live. The field tended to be the points where I was with W or at the college. I would use 'headnotes' (Emerson et al. 1995; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) to fill in areas between my brief jottings to add more details. I would often use the margins of my notebook for this. In other words, I was expecting that my initial fieldnotes would require expansion (Madden 2010). When I was satisfied that my handwritten notes contained sufficient details, I would begin typing my notes. This usually occurred the following day. I would add some more handwritten notes as I was moving from handwritten to typed notes. I would take as long as necessary at this stage in particular. Writing fieldnotes is a painstaking and time-consuming process (Blommaert and Jie 2010), but I took frequent breaks where necessary in order to remain steadfast and patient in this process. Despite the threat of tedium, I felt it was essential not to rush this phase. Once typed, I would add more details and now conscious of how my fieldnotes could appear for another audience, I would refine my language accordingly. I would refine these fieldnotes until I felt that the more formal register would be palatable to my supervisors and wider academic circles. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 145) refer to this process as the changing character of fieldnotes in which the 'preservation of concreteness' is important while also allowing for the evolution of the fieldnotes.

Another aspect in the character of fieldnotes was the focus of the content. As this study progressed, so did the level of focus within the emergent aspects of data collection. In other words, as the research interests became clearer, the fieldnotes became more focused. Once W was selected as an informant and I had decided to shift the emphasis of the study on life outside of the class rather than inside, my fieldnotes became focused. Furthermore, what was once strange became familiar and so certain aspects or descriptions had already been captured cumulatively through the larger corpus of fieldnotes.

I must stress that I believe writing fieldnotes is a skill (Madden 2010; Fetterman 2010). I would like to emphasize that I practiced taking fieldnotes prior to beginning my data collection. I would enter large lecture theatres in which English for Academic Purposes classes would be taught and practice ‘textualizing’ (Emerson et al. 1995, 2011) details of the class from describing the physical aspects of the class to taking in details about the class and the students. My aim was to be familiar with as many variables as possible before entering a new field in order to be able to process as much new information as possible.

Different types of fieldnotes were required for different types of fieldwork (Madden 2010; Emerson et al. 1995). For all classroom data, I took participatory notes (Madden 2010; Emerson et al. 1995). This means that I was taking notes as events were unfolding. This was due to my initial interest in following classroom practices. It also allowed me to establish my position as a researcher for both students and college staff alike. This was not always possible, particularly in more sociable settings like the khat sessions and meeting in the park. In these cases, experiential fieldnotes were necessary. This means that I had to wait for an appropriate time after leaving the field to retrospectively write my notes. For me it was more important to develop my relationship with W and to grasp a sense of the naturally occurring events as they unfolded. Visibly taking notes in such situations would have been lacking in sensitivity and would have been to the detriment of the longer term aspects of this study (Emerson et al. 1995). For examples of the fieldnotes taken, please see appendix 3.

Overall, I have highlighted the function of fieldnotes and their role. I have explained how analysis begins prior to writing fieldnotes. Much as the borders between reading, methodology and analysis are often blurred in this thesis, here fieldnotes as a method and analysis merge together and one cannot be done without the other. Fieldnotes are not only a state, but also processes in which they grow in order to not only conform to academic

conventions but as the unit of analysis becomes more focused. In the end, fieldnotes present ‘the fundamental intangibility and infinite complexity of social experience reduced to a “thing” which, even when very bulky, has finite dimensions’ (Lederman 1990: 89). Although fieldnotes may appear clean and refined, they represent the product of a longer process which has reduced the chaos of everyday life to a series of considered, crafted and articulate sentences.

## **Interviews**

During the data collection, the interviewee and setting varied immensely from sitting in the back of a supermarket storeroom with W to interviewing UKBA officials via Skype. Different people offered different insights and my relationship with the interviewees and the context of the interviews varied. Not all the people were the same, nor were the interview settings. I would like to convey the nature of the interviews within this study. Given that W is the centre of the study, it would be logical to start with him. Before doing so, I will clarify the term ‘interview’.

At this point it would be more apt to delineate what is meant by an ‘ethnographic interview’ especially given the research design employed. Roberts (2006) posits three tenets of ethnographic interviewing. Firstly, there is an incorporation of reflexivity as the interviewer and interviewee co-construct meaning in a version of the truth rather than the truth. Secondly, the interviews are guided by the informant rather than the interviewer. Although the interviewer may have themes to cover, the interviewee is encouraged to lead. Finally, there is a discursive element to not only what the informant says but also how with particular emphasis on how language is used.

In some respects, ethnographic interviews are ‘*ordered* conversations’ (Blommaert and Jie 2010). On the one hand, interviews follow the norms of conversations between two people. However, on the other there are particular areas and goals to be accomplished in the interests of the research undertaken. What both Blommaert and Jie (2010) and Roberts (2006) allude to is the informal nature of ethnographic interviewing in which there is a ‘specific but general research agenda’ (Fetterman 2010: 41). Such levels of informality are based on the relations built between researcher and informant.

I had known W for around four months before I ‘interviewed’ him. We saw each other a few times in the college. Outside of the class, we had met in a local leisure centre where I was going to help W with his written English. I asked for W’s permission to record the session and I was simply trying to get W accustomed to speaking in the presence of a recorder. It was here that W began talking about this preparation for the Life in the UK test. It became clear that by allowing W to guide the flow of this ‘ordered conversation’ (Blommaert and Jie 2010), I was more likely to encounter new things which I had not considered. All interviews were in English which W was happy to do. More often than not, I would have no set agenda and in this sense I was reacting to the natural settings and the momentum of our developing relationship. Much of how our interviews were conducted was dependent on placing trust in W to guide me. He was aware of the aims of the research, but he felt confident enough to guide me. I too felt sufficiently confident in W to allow him to guide while also finding areas which I wanted to examine further. W was a collaborator to some extent in making decisions on how this research unfolded. Only on one occasion did I come to an interview with specific questions which were based on W’s life in Yemen. Although Fetterman (2010) underlines the problems of retrospective interviewing in accurately recalling events, I felt it important to understand W’s sense of personal history and offer greater context to the present.

Not only was my relationship with W important, but so too was our shared setting. This space in some ways was the third participant in my one-to-one interviews with W. It was always present in all our interactions (other than the citizenship ceremony). W chose where to meet and where to be interviewed. Mann (2011) refers to this as a ‘research context’ which relates to the physical and temporal settings of interviews. The research contexts included a local leisure centre, the back of a supermarket where khat was stored and a local park; the common denominator through all of these locations was that all remained in the neighbourhood that both of us called home. These interview locations are in addition to other places where we would meet such as the houses of W’s friends to chew khat, the mosque and the college. It is not only the setting which is notable but also what was happening as interviews would often be interjected with the appearance of friends, changes in the weather and prayer times. I state these things as the setting was home for both of us. Being from the same area, I was able to feel at ease with these things and continue as normal. The interview settings became resources rather than problems enabling a sense of familiarity of ordinary life (for both of us) and perhaps *our* most natural settings (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

Recently in the field of applied linguistics, there has been discussion on furthering the conceptualization of interviews (Talmy 2010, 2011; Mann 2011; Talmy and Richards 2011). Talmy (2010, 2011) has argued that the field needs to extend its understanding of interviews beyond the interview as a research instrument to also think about the research interview as social practice. This requires a more socially-constructed view of interviews that incorporates a ‘reflexive recognition that data are collaboratively produced’ (Talmy 2011: 27). This in contrast to more positivistic approaches to interviews as research instruments (Roulston 2010) which are more structured and treat the interview as a ‘resource for extracting data held within an univocal respondent’ (Talmy 2010: 139) and purport to eliminate contaminants of data (Talmy 2010, 2011).

Talmy's assertions provide much to ponder. However, I have a few caveats. Firstly, not all interviews can be conducted in the same way. For example, a more orthodox, 'research instrument' approach would not be befitting of the relationship with W. Likewise, a more ethnographic interviewing approach may have been inappropriate with certain members of the ESOL colleges; this despite building a rapport and spending time as both researcher and special needs assistant in the college. In other words, the types of relations with certain people orient the nature of the interview. Even within the interview, the fluidity and complexity of ordinary life means that interviews may assume varying characteristics at different times. I would thus extend Mann's (2011) description of: (1) research context which includes aspects of physical and temporal location and (2) interactional contexts which involves talk from the interview to include (3) situational contexts. I define the situational context as the moment to moment shifts which may be dependent on the tone of the conversation, the emotions and the nature of the rapport between researcher and interviewee.

The issue of power is also worth visiting. Briggs (1986) argues that in order to break out of traditional power relations, which places the interviewee at the behest of the interviewer due to the research as a research instrument in a structured format (Talmy 2010, 2011), it is necessary to reframe and contort the frames of the interview. In many respects, this was addressed by me as the researcher depending on and entrusting W to guide the study. Through the interviews, I also depended on W to orient the interviews. I arrived with no fixed questions, no structure and relied on our relationship and the nature of our interactions to generate data. Furthermore, I do not want to over-state the importance of this study to W. For W, whether I do this study or not, the socioeconomic factors and opportunities for social mobility will still exist.

Overall, I would describe the interviews with W as informal and co-constructed. They were situational in that certain moments required an incision in order to guide the ‘ordered conversation’ (Blommaert and Jie 2010) towards the research aims which were in part guided by W. It must be stated that while it was important to build good relations, it was also necessary to maintain the aims of the research, something both W and I were aware of from the beginning. Given that we had seven interviews, many lasting more than an hour and some more than two, it would be wrong to characterize the interviews as not being situational. There are moments when the interactions possessed characteristics oscillating between interview as research instrument and social practice.

Also interviewed were two ESOL teachers at the college and the Assistant Principal at the college in order to understand the ‘invisibility of everyday life’ (Erickson 1990) within the college as well as the policy pressures. Furthermore, I interviewed one other teacher at the college who prepared test-takers of the LUK test. Towards the end of the data collection I was able to interview a policy maker at the UKBA involved in the implementation of citizenship strategy. These interviews were more akin to orthodox interviews as research instruments. These interviews were quite structured in that I had specific aims and questions which were to be answered.

## **Photographs**

Photographs were used in two ways in this study. Firstly, I used photographs as a way of describing the area where the research took place and the ensuing changes which took place to the neighbourhood during the study. Secondly, W was given a camera to describe his life and these photographs became the focus for interviews. I will analyze my use of photographs and its impact on my positionality. Then, I will examine W’s use of photographs.

The use of photographs was not pre-determined. Instead, it was a methodological solution for a practical problem. Having selected the neighbourhood for this study, I began ‘casing the joint’ (Blommaert and Jie 2010) for an ESOL college. Two things emerged. Firstly, there was a high concentration of ESOL-accredited colleges and places to prepare for the LUK test. Secondly, I realized that census statistics did not match with reality.<sup>15</sup> I know from personal experience that there has been large influx of migrants over the last ten years or so from places such as Iran, Somalia and Afghanistan.

I decided to take pictures of migrant spaces to reflect the changing demography of the area. Migrants often seek a sense of recreating ‘home’ in their new neighbourhood (Castles and Miller 1993; Blommaert et al. 2005; Jaworski and Thurlow 2011). Jaworski and Thurlow (2011: 8) describe this process of making a new space, a new place:

‘In their daily acts of identity, immigrant communities not only transpose images of ‘home’ into the mediated and mediatized spaces in which they live their diasporic subjectivities. They transform the typically urban areas of their concentration by (re) semioticizing these spaces, creating orders of indexicality which positions them in complex ways’.

I eschewed linguistic landscapes in favour of ‘semiotic landscapes’ which are defined as ‘any (public) space with visible inscription made through deliberate human intervention and meaning making’ (Jaworski and Thurlow 2011: 2). I felt that linguistic landscape would be too restrictive by focusing solely on language rather than very real movements and changes which may not have otherwise been captured through linguistic landscapes. Furthermore, I

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<sup>15</sup> The problem I faced was that the last census statistics dated back to 2001. My preparatory work for the thesis took place prior to the publication of the 2011 census statistics. In between these dates, I was aware of the changes but lacked the statistics as proof.

come from a community that speaks Mirpuri, a rural Pakistani dialect, for which there is no written form and an emphasis on written forms of language may have been limited.

This usage of photographs is not necessarily new. In its purest form it is 'photo documentation' which Rose (2012) explains means taking photographs as accurate representations of reality. The risk here is that photo documentation can become a descriptive and illustrative tool. For this reason, there needs to be a reason and direction using photo documentation. In the case of this thesis, photo documentation became a way of addressing the personality of the area which was not reflected in census data.

Two things emerged from taking these photographs. Firstly, I was beginning to notice how previous generations of migrant communities were moving from the area. For example, Irish pubs were beginning to disappear as Irish communities were moving away and Muslim communities were arriving and growing. Recognising this, I took pictures a year later and in one year alone the social space had adjusted to the new demography (see appendix 4 for examples).

The use of space and semiotics has been used in ethnographic studies in sociolinguistics (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2006). Murchison (2010: 128) refers to ethnographic maps which are 'a representation of how individuals conceptualise space'. In capturing the semiotic changes inhabited by a heavily-migrant population, I refer to this as 'ethnographic landscaping'. On the one hand, I seek to capture a particular landscape which is adjusted for the changing demography and its sense of place. On the other, I am in the field throughout an ethnography. Ethnographic landscaping captures certain semiotic aspects and changes of an ethnographic study. Of course, as with fieldnotes, these photographs are a representation of a landscape and require an initial analysis in capturing some things and not others (Kress 2010).

Secondly, I realized a difference in relationship with the area. What was once familiar was appearing strange. In every photograph, some information is included and some excluded. Through this form of analysis and evaluation, I was beginning to access a level of consciousness about my surroundings which I had previously taken for granted. This breaking with familiarity can be more accurately viewed through Brecht's *verfremdungseffekt*.

*Verfremdungseffekt* (also known as alienation or distancing effect) emanates from Brecht's analysis of theatre and refers to the effect of alienation. Brecht was a playwright and had noted differences between European theatre which possessed a dimension of social realism in contrast to the dramatic, lavish Chinese theatre. This vibrant Chinese style had the effect of distancing the audience from ever believing that it was involved in the play. According to Brecht (1964: 192) 'A representation that alienates is one which allows us to recognise its subject, but at the same time makes it seem unfamiliar'. The unfamiliarity of the familiar is of relevance as my history in the neighbourhood threatened to make me immune to the nuances and normality which may be valuable to the study and in portraying it to others in our academic field. Using the alienation effect as a preparatory tool is to 'give up assuming that the object in question needs no explanation' (Brecht 1964: 144).

I could no longer be a passive spectator in my neighbourhood; instead I was partaking in an activity which was jolting me from the familiar. This allowed me to begin my fieldwork with a heightened sensitivity towards environmental factors. In many respects, this study is a discovery of learning (Blommaert and Jie 2010) and although I would not need to go to faraway places to collect data, I did need to see things in a new way in order to relay to the reader the context of this study. This discovery of learning required the reflexivity to use practical means of breaking out of familiarity in order to enrich this study.

A second use of photographs was in handing W a camera and asking him to take pictures of his life. This is also known as photo elicitation (Rose 2012) in which participant photographs are used as the basis for interviews. Rose (2012) notes the advantages of using photo elicitation. Firstly, it can offer insights beyond standard fieldwork. Secondly, seemingly ordinary everyday assumptions can be analyzed. Thirdly, it can change the dynamic between researcher and participant by ensuring that the participant leads the data collection.

I gave W the title 'Life in the UK' and gave him a disposable camera. W came back with what he described as 'the mood of my life.' The title, Life in the UK, is the same title as the preparatory book for the LUK test. There were several reasons for asking W to take photographs. Firstly, it is relatively cheap for me and not too time consuming for W. Secondly, this allowed access to areas of W's life which had not previously been available to viewing. For example, I was able to see W's work conditions and his relations with his work colleagues. This allowed for a fuller context for the study. Thirdly, what W did not include was as important as what he did. This implicitly and tactfully established certain ethical boundaries and allowed me to know what areas to avoid.

Once W had returned the camera and the photographs had been developed, the photographs became a stimulus for interviews. This once again allowed W to guide the interview and I was able to probe in certain areas of interest. The other result of this method was that it changed the dynamic and nature of our interview. Given that we were together for a period of eleven months such shifts in activity and interactions allowed for the relationship and manner of data collection to avoid monotony.

Although photographs were important to my research, they did not play a central role in the same way as fieldnotes and interviews. For this research, photographs were one modality

used in different ways to offer more varied dimensions to this study. They offered insights not readily available otherwise. Overall, they placed a role in supporting the other forms of data collection.

## **Analysis**

It is important to stress that analysis did not begin following data collection but instead began whilst in the field. I differentiate here between in-fieldwork analysis and post-fieldwork analysis. In traditional approaches to ethnography, an archive of information is collected and treated as a full entity by teasing out when the corpus of fieldnotes has been collected (Erickson 1990; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). This would be post-fieldwork analysis whereby a formal analysis phase begins on completion of the fieldwork stage. Analyzing data and generating thematic stages commences following multiple readings of the data corpus. The strength of this lies in being able to analyze the data against the totality of the corpus. However, I feel this is somewhat flawed. Ezzy (2002) argues that such phasing of analysis post-fieldwork may cause the researcher to miss opportunities whilst in the fieldwork and may inhibit the decision making to adjust to the shape of the research.

### **In-fieldwork analysis**

I now detail my in-fieldwork analysis. I define this as the mapping of key themes and leads whilst maintaining a presence in the field. I began drawing out main themes from fieldnotes and reflections on meetings and interviews. There were three reasons why I felt that in-fieldwork analysis would be useful. Firstly, the temporal proximity to data collection allowed me to focus on things while they were fresh in my mind. A criticism could be levelled that this occurs too early and is pre-emptive; thus it may impose certain conclusions at an early stage. Erickson (1990: 148) refers to this as 'the problem of premature typification'.

However, I would counter this by stating that the post-fieldwork analysis would confirm or disconfirm these findings. Recurring patterns and triangulation would be ways of redressing an overemphasis on in-field analysis. A thought out analysis plan can account for this and no single cycle of analysis ought to be overly conclusive.

Secondly, the early preliminary analysis allowed me to confer with others while still in the field. I used a quotation from Francis Bacon earlier in this thesis which was ‘Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man; and writing an exact man’ (Bacon 1985: 209). In synthesizing some of the fieldnotes, I was able to present them to my supervisors and use their expertise to confer with them. In some cases, I was linking some of the summaries to literature. Here the holism between reading literature, conference with others and writing summaries forced me to constantly assess the data. I was seeking to ‘converse’ with theory, fieldwork and the expertise of those around me (Adler and van Doren 1972; Bacon 1985) to shape not only my analysis within the summaries, but also upon returning to the field (for examples see appendix 5). These ‘debriefing’ sessions allowed me to use features of team projects by being able to collaborate and gain fresh perspectives from others with a vested interest in this thesis (Ezzy 2002).

The in-fieldwork analysis allowed me to act upon ‘cues’ during the data collection. For example, LUK test preparation became an important issue. In discussing this with my supervisors, I was able to sketch some ideas about what this meant. This later informed an interview with an ESOL teacher (TUK) who was preparing people in her community for the LUK test. I had no time to prepare for this interview as I was passing through the college and had an unexpected thirty minute opportunity to do an interview. The questions I was able to ask and the data elicited was dependent on being ‘ready’ and as Bacon had mentioned earlier,

conferring had made me ready. Conferring with my supervisors was due to those initial summaries (for example, appendix 5). This informed my decision making within the field.

In the presentation of this thesis, I have tended to privilege the presentation of interview data. Where possible, I have preferred for W to narrate his experience. This is more important given that his journey is the focus of the study. Fieldnotes were essential while I was building a rapport with W. They were also the basis and knowledge for me to take decisions in the field and ask questions of W. It must be remembered that the interviews were unstructured, so knowing the nature of the field was important. Fieldnotes allowed me to be better prepared.

I not only conferred with my supervisors, but also with informants. This meant ‘participant validation’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) with W in particular. I was able to check whether some of the thoughts and rationales I had drawn from the data were correct. I also conferred with other informants such as teachers whom I had interviewed. The other corollary of this approach is that I incorporated the guidance of my informants not only in shaping data collection, but also analysis. Ezzy (2002: 64) explains that the voice of the participants is heard best when ‘participants not only provide the data to be analysed, but when they also contribute to the questions that frame the research and contribute to the way that data are analysed’. In using this approach, I create an informal team of research collaborators who possess the specific contextual knowledge of this case study (the participants) and theoretical expertise (my supervisors) to provide feedback and direction to my study.

Thirdly, I was able to adjust how I was employing methods (Fetterman 2010). By this I mean, in accordance with what was happening in the field, I could decide what method to use and when. For example, I was able to adjust the frequency of interviewing W with the type of

data already collected and reflect on the type of data elicited which could inform subsequent sessions together. This opened more space for ‘respondent validation’ (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) or ‘member checking’ (Fetterman 2010; Madden 2010) in order to check that certain conclusions I was drawing were indeed correct. Below is a shortened example of one such case:

K: One thing that I thought just this 12 months ... in the last year ... I might-I might have mentioned this to you before ... it felt during the year ... when-when the ESOL exam ... and you know it failed-you failed that exam it felt like you changed your attitude towards English and ... it felt like you were invested more in science and maths after that exam ... it felt like it was more important at that point

W: Yeah what and how we learn English ... we will not get any good things ... good qualification ... if you have A-level in English ... you will not get good job because the basic people in the UK

Finally, finding themes in-field allowed for earlier and more frequent cycles of reflection between analysis phases. On a practical level, given that the analysis begins in-fieldwork, it means that there is more time to think and reflect on the fieldwork in a disciplined, focused manner. I feel the thinking time is under-estimated. It is during these moments of reflection that decisions can be evaluated and directions adjusted. Thus, ‘ideas, new theory, new interpretations, are not discovered solely through the following of correct method ... ideas must be nurtured and developed throughout the research process ... Time allows ideas to be explored, to be combined, pulled apart and recombined in thought’ (Ezzy 2002: 140-141). The creation and development of ideas requires time and by introducing an analytic element of data collected as quickly as possible, more time remains thereafter for refining theories and ideas.

## Post-fieldwork analysis

Following the end of data collection, a large corpus of information had been generated. The task then was to find a way of making sense of this information and using it in relation to the interests of the research. Erickson (1990: 161) asserts 'Fieldnotes, videotapes, and site documents are not data. Even interview transcripts are not data. All these are documentary materials through which data must be constructed through some formal means of analysis'. Hence, despite generating such documentary materials, a process was required to construct data.

Confronted by this volume of information, the first task was to read the corpus in its totality. This was the contrast to the in-fieldwork analysis. Multiple readings were necessary (Erickson 1990). As with the reading methodology prior to the literature review, not all readings could be conducted in the same way. I was guided in this reading phase again by Adler and van Doren (1972) who wrote *How to Read a Book*. First, there was an inspectional reading which involved building an overview of the material in its totality. This was necessary a few times. The next stage was through analytical reading<sup>16</sup> in which I began to make annotations with my own thoughts and began making notes. Annotations permitted me to link particular thoughts and ideas to specific parts of the text (Richards 2009). Having conducted multiple readings in chronological order, I began reading the corpus employing the same reading strategies in reverse chronological order. This simply offered a different angle on reading and served to disconfirm and confirm certain ideas.

The depth and number of annotations cumulatively increased with multiple readings. The next stage was to begin coding the data. Coding of ethnographic fieldnotes is defined as 'the

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<sup>16</sup> This term was used on page 10 of this thesis.

manner in which we index and identify themes in our notes which are of relevance to the questions we wish to ask' (Madden 2010: 139). Initially, descriptive coding was necessary in forming an overall picture of understanding key topics. This was a way of laying the foundations for further forms of coding (Saldaña 2009).

Identifying patterns was a key to constructing data (Erickson 1990). Patterns may appear through analyzing occurrences in terms of (1) similarity, (2) difference, (3) frequency, (4) in correspondence with other events and (5) causality (Saldaña 2009: 6). Patterns offer a sense of 'ethnographic reliability' (Fetterman 2010: 97) as they verify and corroborate with how events unfolded. These patterns should also be viewed in relation to key events (Fetterman 2010). Some of the key events that emerged from the data were passing the LUK test and preparing others, failing the ESOL exam and applying for citizenship. It is around these events which this thesis is shaped. I must stress that these are key events in relation to the research orientation, rather than key life events.

Then I used analytic coding which involved asking questions and reflecting on aspects of the data (Richards 2009). In more practical terms, this is an 'analytic reading' (Adler and van Doren 1972) of the data which is involved in coding. I was now familiar with the corpus of data but the volume was still quite considerable. With this in mind, I employed a holistic code. That is to say, 'a single code to each large unit of data in the corpus to capture a sense of the overall contents and the possible categories that may develop' (Saldaña 2009: 118). The exercise of attaching single codes to larger sections of data was useful in reducing the volume of data for more specific forms of coding (Saldaña 2009). For examples, codes included: test, day to day life, education, aspiration and citizenship process.

The volume of data was still large and chiselling this down to a manageable amount remained an arduous task. I was now ready to begin theming the data as this phase of coding drew to a

close. A theme is 'a phrase or sentence that identifies what a unit of data is about and/or what it means' (Saldaña 2009: 139). Saldaña (2009) explains that themes are an outcome of coding. Having undertaken preliminary coding phases, I began collating the coded data into themes which had emerged from the corpus. Under these themes, I was listing examples of coded data. Themes included: tests preparation, community interactions, bilingualism, ESOL and citizenship bureaucracy.

Now the data was taking shape, I began creating more specific codes. The purpose of this phase was to reorganize the data, which was once a mass of information, into smaller, particularized sections (Saldaña 2009). At this point, more focused codes as sub-codes to some of the themes were generated. For example, within education there were sub-codes such as progression routes and ESOL education. Some codes could have been placed under more than one theme and in some cases were. By now, I had fairly discrete areas and I wanted to refine the themes further into manageable sections for my thesis. For example, Education was a main theme. For instance, sub-themes included: ESOL, Science, Mathematics. Within ESOL for instance, there was exams, homework, class, and translation skills.

I was entering a transitional phase in between coding and writing. Returning to Bacon's quotation, 'Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man; and writing an exact man' (Bacon 1985: 209), I had read through the corpus on numerous occasions and was hoping to begin writing. However, I lacked the 'conference' aspect in being 'ready'. I wished to refine my analysis to the extent that I had provisional chapter plans. I had decided at this stage, based on the coding, that there could be four chapters of empirical analysis. Hence, I made a conscious decision to present the content at conferences prior to writing. This would provide me with the opportunity to 'test' my ideas which could then be refined as chapter outlines.

All the research questions have been presented prior to writing, many of them more than once. A conference setting usually offers just twenty minutes for a paper. I realized that this was restricting the extent to which I was able to share my ideas. I was fortunate enough to present at seminar lengths of around forty five minutes. I also sought specialist settings for my seminars. For example, the University of Melbourne and Lancaster University are well-known for their expertise in language testing. As someone new to testing, I presented in both places at seminar length seeking to assimilate the nuanced and specialist discourse and voices of others into my own work (Bakhtin 1981). Overall, by the end of this thesis I had presented sixteen times in seven countries. On some occasions, I tried new nuanced approaches or different conceptual outlooks and linking certain ideas with specific theories as a precursor to ensure that I was ‘ready’ to write (Bacon 1985; Wolcott 2009).

What became clear, particularly in the interviews with W, was that there was a strong sense of biography to his journey to citizenship. This is logical given that I am recounting *his* journey. I realized from reading the transcripts that fragments of biographical information were scattered through interviews taken over a period of eight months of the eleven month data collection period. I began piecing together these biographical fragments and created a reconstituted biography, entirely written using W’s own words. This allowed me to try to place the journey to citizenship within the context of W’s life in his own words. This had a number of consequences. Firstly, it became a heuristic device in forcing me to think about aspects of his life which I may not ordinarily have considered. It helped me consider some things and provided alternative or convergent perspectives on others (Erickson 1990). Secondly, a kind of coding phase took place. The sense of biography required narrative and chronological coding (Saldaña 2009; Miles and Huberman 1994). Finally, it permitted some freedom in ‘codeweaving’ (Saldaña 2009). That is to say, ‘the actual integration of key code

words and phrases into narrative form to see how the puzzle pieces fit together (Saldaña 2009: 189). This fresh look simply added a new level of rigour and corroboration with other data.

The analysis chapter until here has precluded the writing phase. Writing is also a form of analysis. The benefits of writing early have been espoused as a way of starting a new phase of analytic refinement (Wolcott 2009; Murchison 2010). Dunleavy's guide to writing a PhD (Dunleavy 2003: 135) underlines the importance of the writing process in stating 'it is as much about how you reflect on what you have done, try out the arguments on other people, replan your text in the light of comments, and implement revisions'. Dunleavy continues by viewing the writing process as a chance to try new ideas. I tried working with different literature in line with my treatment of data. Some of these attempts worked and they have remained in this thesis. However, some attempts were unsuccessful. Positioning the writing process as an interpretive process which is rigorous, analytic and creative can contribute to the construction of a coherent text (Wolcott 2009; Madden 2010).

## **Validity**

The issue of validity must be addressed in relation to analysis. First, external validity will be examined and then internal validity. External validity refers to how generalizable the results may be beyond the studies. External validity has been defined as 'the degree to which results have relevance beyond the study itself' (Angrosino 2007: 60). It can be argued that 'even the most exact replication of research methods may fail to produce identical results' (LeCompte and Goetz 1982: 35). The strength of ethnography is not in generalizability, but 'upon the depth of understanding and insight' (Pole and Morrison 2000: 111) and in unravelling 'different layers of universality and particularity' (Erickson 1990: 108). This impacts on external validity by moving from erroneous aspirations to generalizability towards more apt terms for the research world such as 'transferability'.

Transferability refers to ‘when readers feel as though the story of the research overlaps with their own situation and they intuitively transfer the research to their own research’ (Tracy 2010: 845). It is not possible to generalize from one case study directly, as a case is a case (De Vaus 2001) due to its ‘critical uniqueness’ (Stake 1995). This uniqueness is lent to ‘transferability’ by ‘thick description’ (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2006) and ‘focuses on explicating the unique, idiosyncratic meanings and perspectives constructed by individuals, groups or both who live/act in a particular context’ (Cho and Trent 2006: 328). It is not the goal of a case study to aim for generalizability. Therefore, it would be unfair to judge a case study on a standard to which it does not aspire (Yin 2009; Thomas 2009, 2011a, 2011b). Instead case studies offer theoretical or analytic statements rather than statistical generalizations (Flick 2009; Yin 2009). This would relate to Thomas’ (2011a) hermeneutically-inspired ‘exemplary knowledge’ which ensures that ‘case study offers understanding presented from another’s “horizon of meaning”, but understood from one’s own’ (Thomas 2011a: 32).

Internal validity involves making sure that the claims of the study relate to the data that were collected. Internal validity refers to ‘the degree to which the conclusions of a study make sense’ (Angrosino 2007: 60). Freeman et al. (2007) simply pose the question of why should the reader believe what they read about the research? Consequently, internal validity and the claims of the research are predicated on its rigour. Merriam (2009: 217) explains that triangulation of multiple data sources means ‘comparing and cross-checking data collected’. Member checking or respondent validation (Merriam 2009) is another way of ensuring internal validity (Freeman et al. 2007; Thomas 2009). It involves checking findings and assumptions and re-testing them with the research participants themselves (Freeman et al. 2007) as well as multivocality through confirmation from multiple voices. There also needs

to be sufficient data collected (Erickson 1990; Freeman et al. 2007; Thomas 2009; Tracy 2010) which is connected to time collecting data (Merriam 2009) to make evidentiary claims. These aspects of research are closely linked to the rigour.

LeCompte and Preissle (1993) suggest that ethnography holds high internal validity. This notion is predicated on a number of factors. Firstly, prolonged time in the field ensures that it is possible to recycle analysis through rigorous member checking. I have stated in the in-field analysis section that this was an important factor. Furthermore, in some cases analysis was recycled through others who were better positioned to analyse the data. For example, I have never been a migrant taking the LUK test, but in chapter seven, I use my analysis from W with TUK, a Chinese-born ESOL tutor. Both W and TUK were skilled in preparing others for the LUK test and they were able to verify the methods of test preparation that they were using.

There are multiple methods of collecting data. Triangulation, which is the practice of cross-referencing claims or conclusions from multiple sources, was used to provide strength in evidentiary claims (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). It also safeguards against potential researcher biases which may emerge from observational data (Angrosino 2007). For this reason, fieldnotes and interviews in particular have been used in conjunction. Due to space constraints and the richness of data, I have tended to favour the presentation of interview data.

Sampling is the next requisite to be addressed. Or not to be addressed according to Thomas (2009: 62) who states that, as with this study, there is no expectation of representing a wider population; instead the focus of the study will represent ‘a choice, a selection’. As the study progressed and the dimensions of the research took shape, it became clear that W’s journey was quite holistic and by adding more beyond his case may be detrimental to the level of detail I could provide.

## **Ethics**

The final part of this chapter is ethics. Merriam (2009: 235) concludes that ‘the best a researcher can do is to be conscious of the ethical issues that pervade the research process and to examine his or her own philosophical orientation vis-a-vis these issues’. The following section will examine ethics in terms of informed consent, the possibility to opt out and pseudonyms in representation, working collaboratively with participants, specific ethical clarifications in this thesis and exiting ethics.

Informed consent is essential as an ethical consideration. Due to the likelihood of spending a prolonged period of in-depth investigation with the participants, we spent more time together (De Vaus 2001). Participants were made aware of the aims and details of the research to be undertaken. All those interviewed signed a consent form prior to the interview with options to opt out afterwards. In one case, (a member of the UK Border Agency) verbal consent was given having read the information sheet. This is documented at the beginning of the interview.

Thomas (2009) outlines the importance of not only making the participant aware of the benefits, possible harm, confidentiality and ethics procedures, but also of the possibility to opt out. Informed consent did not cease after an initial explanation, but was an ongoing commitment to the research participant. Also, all names were pseudonyms. I used initials rather than names in some cases. I used W, who is the main subject of this thesis. For professional staff, I used initials relating to their profession such as T for teacher or TUK for teacher of the UK test.

Merriam (2009) underlines the unknown in ethical dilemmas during the data collection. For example, the participants may become so comfortable and used to being with a researcher that

perhaps there may be ethical ambiguity. This thesis adopts the stance that research is a collaborative endeavour with the participant (Erickson 1990) or as noted earlier a ‘critical collaborative analysis’ (Murchison 2010); therefore, the importance of an open and transparent discussion of any ethical difficulties was key to ethical considerations. Such member checking added aid in both rigour and ethics. Audit trailing such efforts will offer a level of transparency about the ethical nature of the research (Tracy 2010).

I would like to pre-empt one ethical concern. Much of the data were collected outside of the ESOL classroom. An important site of data collection was the regular khat chewing sessions. Khat is a leaf with an amphetamine-like effect when chewed as a reaction to saliva. Khat was banned in 2013 but was legal and available during the data collection period. I am aware that this may be considered somewhat ethically questionable. I respond to this by stating (1) khat was legal, (2) I was always safe among Muslim ‘brothers’ (as they referred to me) and (3) I was always close to home and very comfortable with my setting. Khat played an important social function for this Yemeni community and by allowing me to chew khat; it was a sign of hospitality. For many, drinking alcohol is equally important. For me as a Muslim, it would have been a great deal more ethically concerning to be in such an environment with alcohol, yet this would be considered a normal social function for some.

Ethics also endures following the data collection. Tracy (2010) refers to this as ‘exiting ethics’. It relates to how the results are shown and also circulated. This is important as it can reflect how the participant and community is represented. I consulted with W on the direction of this study, the main analytical points of the thesis and how I intended to use the information.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Negotiating the LUK Test

**Research Question One: How are the technical and ideological aspects of the LUK test negotiated?**

*‘I find easy Life in the UK. I have Arabic now’. – W*

#### Negotiating the LUK Test

As part of the relationship with W during this study, I would often help with his English. This was especially the case earlier in the data collection. While discussing W's approach to learning English, W revealed how he had passed the LUK (Life in the UK) test. A fieldnote extract is below:

We spend around 30 minutes talking about his language learning strategies. It proves to be both unexpected and fascinating. He tells me about his language books or diaries as he calls them ... W shows me pages of his ‘diaries’ that demonstrate this bilingual technique. Clearly he favours this over immersion or monolingual English learning. This is demonstrated by how he passed the ‘Life in the UK’ test. He read through the test, translated it into Arabic and then went back to the English questions and consulted his Arabic translation. He shows immense pride in passing all of the test without dropping a single question.

*(Fieldnotes)*

The context of this conversation must be made clear. As with many of our interactions, W and I chose a convenient location to meet. Given that the college was closed, we decided to meet at a local leisure centre. There are several moments in which the recording is not clear due to background noise such as music and people passing by. This is a reflection of our

conversation in that everyday community life continued around us as we spoke. The meeting doubled up as an English lesson during which I helped W with his written English. Nevertheless despite these limitations, the transcription has attempted to stay as faithful as possible to the recording. The transcription key is below and the transcribed recording follows. K is the researcher and W is the informant.

### **Transcription key**

... - Short silence

, - Brief pause

( ) - Overlap

< > - Action

[ ] – Relevant information

[XXX] – Unclear/Inaudible

{{ }} - Name/details not used for anonymity

W: You know ... any ... first of all, how I learn language from when I began 'til now (yep) First, I, I start memorize word in English (yeah) any new, any new, I need, I need, I need to discover new word (yep) maybe I walk in the street and I saw, I saw, I saw a word on the board, on the advertisements, I'm curious to know what's this (what does it mean?) yeah, I want to read everything in my life, I want to know. What does it mean? I start learn words (yep) I ... had a lot of word gather [XXX] then I, I started reading grammar books, sentence ... this is grammar book in Arabic. This one is

[At this point W passes K an Arabic-English book which explains English grammar in Arabic]

K: Did you buy this in

W: Yemen,

K: Yemen, did you have this before?

W: Yes, I have three more. This tell you the grammar in basic (yeah) how ... to make sentence ... I ... it's ... it's special question ... like ... I read one subject ... small subject.

K: Like your own small lesson

W: Small ... small lesson for myself. [XXX] because you know ... I'm not ... forced (you're free) by a guy or the college ... you have to pass, you have to ... I start know English [XXX] I keep going (yep) reading English, English, English ... then I find books, stories. I start reading, I find some words I know ... what I can't read

K: Keep trying, keep going

W: I find out, I get [XXX] with my word, you know then I find a letter in a book. I said ...

Here W was explaining his way of learning English. A few things become clear. Firstly, he does a great deal of independent work. He is also aware of his own needs and how to address them by not being 'forced' to learn certain things. The role of reading is clearly important. W makes no reference to learning spoken English.

K: Do you have other books like this one?

W: Yes, (like, um ...) yes ... not the same (yeah, but different) order (but like a different level) yeah ... different [XXX] ... I came to this country and I'm looking to study [XXX] but I find not enough for me (yeah) two hour and that lesson give you some word and ... (it's too easy for you, right?) too easy for me ... said, I should don't go to the college, the college ok, the situation ... subtract the time ... you don't do the whole term ... I found ... I was about to ... to get the [XXX] I had to do the Life in the UK test ... [XXX] I got the reading

The thread of the conversation was not guided towards the LUK test. I was aware that W had passed the test but he voluntarily described his methods. The ‘reading’ above and the ‘blue book’ below refer to the LUK preparation book.

K: The blue one?

W: The blue one (yeah) and I have anxious ... I am nervous to do this (yep) very aware to do this. I got it and I found it

K: It’s ok?

W: It’s ok for me ... many words I didn’t know (yeah, yeah)

K: You passed the test, right?

W: Yes, I passed the test three years ago

K: It was quite easy, right?

W: Yeah, I tell you how I start ... I sit at home and I read the book from the beginning, from the [XXX]

K: What like a story?

W: Yeah, I don’t know about around 90% of the word I don’t know

K: Oh, really?

W clearly defines a problem in negotiating the test. He does not know ‘90% of the word’. Thus, he has a problem. He has a high-stakes test in which he could not understand much of the preparation material. Below is his solution:

W: Yeah, I start from the beginning, not from the last one of this topic from the resource provided ... any new word [XXX]

[W shows K an exercise book full of new words which he has learnt in English and written the meaning in Arabic]

K: Is this the same book?

W: No. (Oh, ok <K laughs> it's number three! It's number three!)

K: ... So this is the Life in the UK part 3?

W: Life in the UK ... now I can bring it to you

K: [K is Reading a grammar book] {{name of W}} Arabic-English version 3

W: I left and I finished the book ... everything I write ... any new word ... even two ... I don't know maybe I need [XXX]

At this stage, W is demonstrating his Arabic-English notebooks. However, in order to expand his vocabulary, he needed a dictionary

K: You never know

W: I don't know, I don't get ... I never ... I had an Arabic dictionary and I started ... I start in my language. (yeah) yeah

K: Do you, do you find it easy to remember the words?

W: Yeah. Of course (ok) when I start ... memorizing ... [XXX] and I think have a good memory to memorize things

K: Yeah, I think so as well

W: Yeah, and straightaway each word I know then I go back to the Life in the UK and back in Arabic and I have a background about the grammar (yeah) and how the time (the rules) the rules ... the time ... the past, the future and the present. Then I read it as Arabic. And in Arabic, I don't care about it, when I go home ... guess any question

The solution for this problem was to translate the test materials into Arabic. W then used his proficiency in Arabic to improve his English language test preparation. By doing this, W reduces the cognitive load to aid comprehension of the test materials (Kern 1994; Erler and Finkbeiner 2007). Such was W's confidence in this method of test preparation that he states: 'I read it as Arabic. And in Arabic, I don't care about it, when I go home ... guess any question'. His use of Arabic appears to embolden him to 'guess any question'.

K: Oh really. Too easy?

W: Yes. Like Arabic ... any question, I don't care. Then I pass. I have books

K: Did you think, did you think the test was easy?

W: For me? (yes) yes. Yeah, if I don't get 24 out of 24

K: What did you get 24?

W: Ah, at the top. Even the theory test, I'm [XXX] to do the same. I don't want, I don't want even to lose one question

K: Oh right

W: I don't, I don't want to lose one question. In the theory book, 100 questions. I memorize it all of them. With the same rule ... when I finish, I want to [XXX] I find easy Life in the UK. I have Arabic now [XXX]

K: Is that the theory test or Life in the UK?

W: For driving

K: For driving, right! Did you do the same thing, the same strategy?

W: The same strategy. I went ... I find the word from the Life in the UK test, I find it already, you know ... I find it easy, more easy

K: Oh alright, I see yeah ... yeah, that seems a good idea

W: I find, I read it and find what word to bring and take it back (yeah, yeah) ... take it back ... take it back ... and I know my strength

K: And you passed your driving theory?

W: I passed (indeed) ... Any question ... open the book, any question. I did that. [XXX] Books, I read or I get knowledge from keeping the words like this ... any word, I find in there ... (ok) [XXX] I know this one, I know this one (yeah, yeah)

K: And then you find the connection?

W: More easier (yeah, yeah) and I keep in this ... any new word [XXX] any new word, I put it in the diary ... it's my diary. The last my diary

W draws parallels between the LUK test and the driving test. That he immediately finds similarities may not be surprising. The TSO (The Stationery Office) prepare test material for both the LUK test and driving theory test. Furthermore, the test format is similar in that both are multiple choice. W's comparison may also indicate an instrumental approach to both tests. Despite the ideological basis of the LUK test, W treats both tests in a similar (almost identical) manner. The fact that he frames them together highlights perhaps the instrumental dimension of taking the test. For all that the test was to add importance to gaining citizenship;

it is positioned here in a similar way to acquiring a driver's license. This also highlights a difference between how politicians and test-takers may perceive the test.

The bilingual approach, which draws heavily on W's Arabic, would appear to be at odds with the test preparation that is promoted in the official test materials. There is a distinct orientation towards how one should prepare for the LUK test. In the official study guide, the following is an extract from a section which imparts 'Advice for Readers'. The format is a question/problem-answer/solution:

'I have taken the test twice but failed both times. It would be helpful if they had a translation of the test and the book in my language

The test serves two purposes: It tests your understanding of the study materials and it tests that you can read and understand English. If you cannot read English well then you are unlikely to pass the test. If you find that your command of English is not good enough to pass the test you have two options. You can either improve your English through study and practice or you can take a special citizenship-based ESOL course' (Dillon and Sanderson 2012: 19).

Although the extract does not explicitly state that English must be used to prepare for the test, it is implied that requiring multilingual resources may be a sign that the English language proficiency of the test-taker is insufficient for dealing with the test successfully.

The multilingual approach should not be a surprise. In the early stages of the LUK test's formation, an advisory group guiding the Government headed by Bernard Crick, a renowned professor of citizenship, recommended that 'a "Living in the United Kingdom" handbook, both in English and in bilingual versions, *should be given free* to all those United Kingdom residents applying for naturalisation or those who apply at posts abroad for work permits or

entry clearance' (original emphasis - Crick Commission 2003: 17). The result was a monolingual English preparatory book which costs £9.99.<sup>17</sup> It is not clear why this explicit recommendation was not used. However, that it was ignored is perhaps indicative of the values of the test (Messick 1989a; McNamara and Roever 2006). Shohamy (2006: 103) notes 'Tests are capable of dictating what will be studied, learned and taught ... test-takers comply with demands of the tests and change their behaviour accordingly'. In this case, the monolingual orientation of the test and preparation materials is perhaps symbolic of a linguistic compliance required on the part of the test-taker (Shohamy 2006). It is also worth noting that the publishers of the LUK handbook are TSO who also offer the theory driving test in over 20 languages, some of which lack a written form. Despite being well placed to provide the multilingual assistance that the original recommendations propose, there appears to be a monolingual insistence involved in the production of test materials. The reasons for not taking heed of the recommendations are not clear, but that they were not used is telling.

The following section will examine in greater depth the strategies that W employed in his negotiation of the LUK test.

### **Test strategies**

The following section is broadly sub-divided into two sections. The first section draws heavily on the work of Andrew Cohen who has been prominent in the development of work within test strategies. The second section places greater emphasis on the metacognitive and cognitive strategies involved in test-taking. This section is informed by Purpura (1999) and Phakiti (2003).

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<sup>17</sup> £9.99 was the price of the second edition of the book upon which this data was based. The updated 2013 version costs £12.99. No bilingual versions are available for either book.

It is first necessary to define what is meant by a test-taking strategy. Cohen and Upton (2007: 211) explain that test-taking strategies are 'test-taking processes which the respondents have selected and which they are conscious of, at least to some degree'. The data relating to W is clearly about test preparation which has a direct impact on test performance. W was conscious of his usage of Arabic. In realizing the problem of not knowing '90% of the word' in the LUK book, W states 'I never ... I had an Arabic dictionary and I started ... I start in my language'. There is a clear decision to begin exploiting his Arabic resources which allowed W to 'read it as Arabic'.

There are three strands of test-taking strategies which are of relevance to this analysis (Cohen 2006). The strategies include: (1) language learner strategies, (2) test management skills and (3) testwiseness. There is a distinction to be drawn between language acquisition strategies (as is the case with strategy number one) and test-taking strategies (strategies two and three). The first strategy refers to an overall path to learning another language. Strategies two and three refer more specifically to ways of negotiating assessment procedures.

Language learner strategies refer to the operationalization of skills which include translation, reading, writing, grammar and vocabulary. W translates the test materials as part of his test preparation when he explains 'straightaway each word I know then I go back to the Life in the UK and back in Arabic and I have a background about the grammar (yeah) and how the time (the rules) the rules ... the time ... the past, the future and the present'. W's usage of the dictionary (as stated in the preceding paragraph) would demonstrate his vocabulary building. It must be remembered that W employed these strategies as he prepared alone for the LUK test. W stated during the research that he was the first person in his community to pass the LUK test. This is reflected in the fact that no mention is made of any help that W received during his test preparation. He can be described as a 'self-regulated learner' (Kitsantas 2002).

This means that he is able to find and choose the appropriate strategies to make the test easier for him.

Test management skills refer to meaningful responses to test items. That is to say, do the answers given correlate to the demands of the questions. In understanding the multiple choice format of the test, it would appear that W did all that was possible to respond successfully to the test items. W passed the test. This is demonstrated in the following exchange:

K: Did you think, did you think the test was easy?

W: For me? (yes) yes. Yeah, if I don't get 24 out of 24

Millman et al. (1965: 707) defines testwiseness as 'a subject's capacity to utilize the characteristics and formats of the test and/or the test taking situation to receive a high score'. It must be noted that unlike many members of W's immediate community, W had passed many tests to be in a position to go to university in Yemen. In this case, W's applies the knowledge of passing the LUK test to the driving theory test based on the similarity of both his approach and the test format. This places into context W's testwiseness in framing the two tests together in transferring an approach that was successful in one test to another based on the same test format. This becomes relevant later in this chapter when it will be demonstrated how W and TUK (a teacher within the Chinese communities) assisted others in passing the test.

A cognitive strategy is described as relating to 'specific actions or behaviours that students invoke during learning, use or testing' (Purpura 1999: 6). This is used by Phakiti (2003) who referred specifically to translation and references to previous knowledge. W translated from English to Arabic to negotiate the test. From here, W was able to construct meaning from the LUK handbook which may have otherwise been inaccessible without such strategies. This

type of strategy is 'directly related to the target language and world knowledge of the learners' (Phakiti 2003: 651).

While the above analysis has been sufficient to explain what W said he was doing in terms of test taking, it is now necessary to view this in the light of broader issues within testing. Cohen (2006: 325) suggests 'research on test-taking strategies can serve as a valuable tool for validating and refining notions about the test taking process'. Interpreting the test construct and test preparation are significant in understanding test taking in this study.

### **Dialogic test constructs**

W's actions in his test preparation may appear at first glance to be subversive of the ideological and technical values of the LUK test. This is a monolingual test which was successfully negotiated using a great deal of Arabic. In fact, it appears that it was this capacity to draw upon Arabic which allowed W to overcome the initial difficulty of reading the LUK book.

Technically, a question is raised of whether the extraneous factor of an alternative language contributes to construct-irrelevant variance. That is to say, the preparation materials seem to ignore usage of a language besides English to prepare for the test. This may mean that the score may have been distorted somewhat as W veered from the assumed test preparation route. In so doing, W may have been able to negate the B1 level of the LUK test. Despite this, what W did by translating the test material to Arabic was also very plausible in relation to his interpretation of the test construct. To understand this better, it is necessary to return to the original test construct.

The construct for the LUK test is defined in measuring and satisfying the legal requirements of the NIAA (Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act) 2002. The legislation stipulated that

migrants were required to demonstrate a ‘sufficient knowledge’ of English (construct 1) and a ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the UK’ (construct 2). W recognises this in the following interview extract. The ‘books’ that W is referring to are the LUK book.

W: Yeah because ... most of the ... you know the aim of the books to understand life in the UK

K: Yeah

W: The UK traditional, the official, the UK department

K: Yeah

W: How, where to do ... what shall do in the standard society ... how can we make the people who don’t speak English understand?

K: Yeah

W: What does mean life in the UK? That mean if you know the life in the UK, that mean you know many thing about UK

K: Yeah

W: And easy to know where to go

K: Yeah

W: How to communicate, how to travel

K: Yeah

W recognises that the LUK book serves to inform the test-takers of ‘life in the UK’. W demonstrates this by listing traditions and access to official departments as well ‘what shall

we do in the standard society'. W even asks rhetorically at one point 'what does mean life in the UK?' W also captures 'sufficient knowledge' of English in stating 'how can we make the people who don't speak English understand'. In fact, it could be argued that W has a highly refined knowledge of the test construct which became distorted as the conversation unfolded. This next extract is the continuation of the previous exchange.

W: We have to translate in the mother language (yeah) and then understand everything in Arabic

K: The subject not the

W: Yeah the main word ... what does mean the core ... of this book?

K: Yeah

W: And the language

K: Yeah

W: If anyone want to learn ... should go to the classes

The original test construct makes no reference to the 'mother language' which in this case is Arabic. In order to understand the 'core ... of this book' it is necessary to use Arabic. It must be recognised that W did not discard the original test construct to use Arabic. Instead, W retained the original test construct but what it means has changed to incorporate 'mother language' usage. To better understand this, it is necessary to revisit the work of Bakhtin.

The following is salient to understanding the formation of this construct. Bakhtin (1981: 282) states:

‘In the actual life of speech, every concrete understanding is active: it assimilates the word to be understood into its own conceptual system filled with specific objects and emotional expressions ... to some extent primacy belongs to the response, as the activating principle: it creates the ground for understanding, it prepares the ground for an active and engaged understanding ... Thus an active understanding, one that assimilates the word under consideration into a new conceptual system, that of the one striving to understand, establishes a series of complex interrelationships, consonances and dissonances with the word and enriches it with new elements’.

The ‘life of the speech’ reminds us, as Bakhtin suggests, that the word is ‘born’ in dialogue and ‘lives on the boundary between its own context and another, alien context’ (Bakhtin 1981: 284). The construct was born through immigration/citizenship legislation which was the result of over fifty years of successive legislations. The construct has continued through the LUK test and has passed through W. The ‘primacy of the response’ has allowed W to understand the test construct and therefore the test materials in a personalised way which involves a reliance on Arabic. This has permitted ‘an active and engaged understanding’. W has been able to use the test construct in the way that he sees fit according to his situation resulting in ‘a series of complex interrelationships, consonances and dissonances with the word and enriches it with new elements’. While the life of the test construct has lived in such a way that it can be traced back to immigration laws and enacted in the test (and its preparatory materials), the test construct(s) continues to live in a way that allows for a more thorough understanding of the LUK test on W’s terms. W has stayed true to the original test construct yet also, paradoxically, remained faithful to his own definition of the test construct. The life of the test construct ensures that despite the complexities, it is, to paraphrase the last line of the Bakhtin quotation, enriched by new elements.

This case has demonstrated how a dialogic test construct better explains the relationship between the tester, the test construct and the test-taker in the case of W. What has emerged is that ‘the dialogue’ is clearly elucidated and explicitly recognised in analyzing the test construct and W. This influences how the test was negotiated.

A level of reflexivity is required in adopting a monologic/dialogic approach to understanding a test construct. Establishing comparability from a tester’s perspective becomes problematic as the test construct may be defined in such diverse ways. The effect of this is that test grades may have divergent meanings which diminishes the capacity to compare. In which case, it must be remembered that a monologic approach ‘does not recognize someone else’s thought, someone else’s idea, as an object of representation’ (Bakhtin 1984: 80). On the one hand, there is a point of convergence to ensure comparability. On the other, this may neglect ‘someone else’s idea’. Understanding the limitations of both approaches is required.

In cases such as W, a dialogic construct is perhaps a clearer description of how the construct has undergone reinterpretations. Hence, there can be uses for interpreting test preparation and performance from the perspective of W. A dialogic approach better portrays the range of voices and reinterpretations within this analysis of the LUK test. The advantage of this approach is that it does not shut out the new interpretations and voices following the creation of the test by testers.

### **Teaching to the LUK test**

While the previous section described W's experience of taking the test, he also became a prominent member of his community in teaching the test. The following section will analyze W's role as a teacher and its implications. Below is an extract from an interview with W in which he describes how he taught others to pass the LUK test.

K: Do you ever help other ... other people ... with the test?

W: With the test? Yes, yes ... let me tell you how I help ... I passed the first time I take it ... the first man in the Yemeni community to pass was me ... was me ... (oh really?) yeah, because everybody was worried ... [XXX] and the most of them they made their extension visa. (Ok, right). Because they been here long ... and they need to get the certificate to get their indefinite leave ... I have a friend ... you would say ... he lived in my country, we came together we need ... and he need it ... how do I do that? I gathered them ... in the weekend at their place an afternoon in my home, my friends' home and we chew khat as you know and we gather them and they have ... the nervous, they have ... they want to do the exam still, they never had ... I gather them ... I start first reading in Arabic ...

It is here that the khat sessions become relevant. They are not only a site of friendship and belonging but also become language planning and centres of test preparation. It must be noted that Sparkbrook has a number of officially accredited LUK test preparation centres. This became evident in the preparatory phase prior to entering the site. The khat sessions sometimes serve as informal hubs of advice and informal test preparation centres. It must be remembered that many members of W's community work in manual jobs and often long hours. They may be further inhibited by their levels English, first language literacy and their need to access trusted and personalized forms of preparation and learning.

K: How? Like, you had the book and you started teaching

W: No, I know and I read the book, I know because I read it and I saw each word in English and I read the book as Arabic

K: Oh, alright. So you told them the book in Arabic and

W: I told them in Arabic, Life in the UK

K: Did you tell them ... did you tell them the book in Arabic?

W: In Arabic! Same. And then they buy them

K: Yeah, yeah

W: Because they know the Halloween day, Saint David's [XXX]

W: They are ready now ...

K: Very good idea!

W: They understand ... what's the problem? Find it. The problem, the language. We have we got the book. Let's memorize that, let's memorize that ... and I say to them, translate the book and do some question more. Each one of them has the book ... and translate each ... question

W highlights a test taking strategy through the memorisation sections of the text. This was based on his own test taking experience. This use of his experiences for teaching to the test is another strategy and it is this expertise that W can impart in guiding others. Below, the preparation continues through memorisation and then copying the words down. The test-takers would do this by hand in their own notebooks.

K: Did you do that together?

W: Yes, first in English and then in Arabic. Then they memorize it and they copy, they copy the word.

<K laughs>

K: Good idea!

W: And they copy the word, each word they copy. Yeah, and everybody know when the Second World War, how it end, the Second World War ... the First World War ... you know the parties for English people, the Government and the Parliament ... they know in Arabic.

K: Well, they know in Arabic and English, right?

W: Yeah

K: Because you told them Arabic first (yes) and then in English. Ah, ok?

W: Yes. Like err, Second World War, you know who are the people who came to this country first. [XXX] They came from Pakistan and India to rebuild.

K: After the War

W: UK after the War. They have a [XXX] They have like India, Pakistan and Jamaica and [XXX] ... they find very few questions to know the world

K: Right

W is well aware of the content of the test and what the test construct demands. Having addressed this, he will now address the language proficiency aspect.

W: I help them ... I took them to there. I help five people

K: How many of them passed?

W: All of them passed

K: Oh, right, right. You should make a business

W: No ... (only joking) Yeah, yeah I know

W: That was impossible for them to pass

K: Really?

W: Very hard

K: What were they afraid of?

W: They afraid ... they don't know English. How ...

K: Because of the language ... nothing else?

W: Yeah, they don't know the word. What does it mean? How can they go to the computer and answer the question? What does it mean? I make it easier for them in Arabic. And I help ... That help them to pass and help them to go to Entry Level 3<sup>18</sup> ... and help them to go to college. They look into Entry Level to be very hard.

W shows his capacity to understand what the test requires and his 'students'' needs. He also demonstrates his ability to understand ESOL level placings as a frame of reference.

K: Oh right

W: They find easier and more helpful

K: So, it's almost like the test made them less afraid

W: Yes

K: And then they wanted to learn more

W: Yeah, when they know about English and stuff

K: Why didn't they go to lesson or college before? Were they just afraid?

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<sup>18</sup> Entry Level 3 is the lowest level of the ESOL framework.

W: They not afraid of anything. They said ... they don't know ... some people they don't know even the fruit and the vegetable (yeah, yeah) in English

K: Sure ... yeah, yeah

W: All of them learn English still (oh good) some of them are Entry Three now. Yeah ...

K: Wow

W: Yeah, (wow) and the book has been translated into Arabic and they spread it to the other people

K: Oh right, so they spread it?

W: Spread it in Arabic

K: So now for example, so now ... first there was you and you did 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 (yeah) [motion with my fingers how many people]

W: Then I find some people from my community telling me they want a hand

K: So there was like 1, 2, 3 ... 1, 2, 3 (yes) ... like a family

W: Yes

K: So they all come back to you

W: My translation in Arabic book, helped them ... each one for you, each one for you ... each one

W's position as 'the first man in the Yemeni community to pass' means that other members of W's community valued his knowledge as a source of information. As W mentions, this occurs at the khat sessions. The stakes for the test rise further as W discloses that 'because everybody was worried ... [XXX] and the most of them they made their extension visa. (Ok,

right). Because they been here long ... and they need to get the certificate to get their indefinite leave'. This is an important point which highlights the unique set of challenges for migrants taking this test. Unlike many assessments, there is no school or college to attend for the test. As noted earlier, the officially accredited test preparation centres may not be an option. Thus, the test-takers may be highly dependent on the LUK book. In lieu of a formal educational instructor and environment, the test-takers require an alternative route to preparing for the test. It is this gap that W fills through his test-preparation teaching.

Once again W outlines the construct on two levels. On the first level, W 'sufficient knowledge about life in the UK' when he mentions 'Because they know the Halloween day, Saint David's'. The second part of the construct is what W diagnoses as the problem. W states 'The problem, the language'. W describes towards the end of the extract how 'some people they don't know even the fruit and the vegetable'. The solution then is for W to return to the test construct. This is best summarized in W's paradoxical description of the test preparation when he explains 'I told them in Arabic, Life in the UK'. W brings the idea of translating the LUK book into Arabic into his teaching for the test. W mentions 'I gathered them, ... in the weekend at their place an afternoon in my home, my friends' home and we chew khat as you know and we gather them and they have ... the nervous, they have ... they want to do the exam still, they never had ... I gather them ... I start first reading in Arabic'.

In this research, W was both taker and teacher of the LUK test. In both roles, W's actions were faithful to his interpretation of the test construct, that is to say, to translate the sufficient knowledge about life in the UK and language into Arabic. W explains 'We have err, we got the book. Let's memorize that, let's memorize that ... and I say to them, translate the book and do some question more. Each one of them has the book ... and translate each ... question'. Prior to the test, 'That was impossible for them to pass'. The consequences of

passing the test can be deemed to be positive. After the test, ‘That help them to pass and help them to go to Entry Level 3<sup>19</sup> ... and help them to go to college’. Having outlined what were successful practices in ensuring that W’s ‘students’ passed, it is important to relate this to language testing in order to understand their wider implications. The concept of washback is apt for a deeper analysis.

Washback is of importance to understanding the learning and teaching that underpins tests. Washback is defined as ‘the influence of language testing on teaching and learning’ (Alderson 2004: xiii). Washback ‘refers to the extent to which the introduction and the use of a test influences language teachers and learners to do things they would not otherwise do that promote or inhibit language learning’ (Messick 1996: 241). In relation to the LUK test, learning and teaching sits outside of traditional educational settings. The LUK test is a one off test requiring specific preparation. All learning is directed towards the test unless the taker wishes to learn extra information.

Washback can be positive or negative. Negative washback may result in teaching to the test and ignoring aspects of education which may contribute to learning beyond the narrow focus of the test. Positive washback may involve teaching, learning and test taking working in conjunction for beneficial change (Cheng and Curtis 2004). In the case of this thesis, whether the washback was negative is not clear cut. This is indicative of the complexity that W’s teaching of the test presents. It is negative in that the construct is widened to include the ‘mother language’ which negates the English language dimension of test preparation. That is to say, a British citizenship test for which the official materials and tests content is in English was not necessarily designed in order to be changed into Arabic. However, equally W’s test preparation can also be deemed to be positive. W is teaching in a way that makes the test

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<sup>19</sup> Entry Level 3 is the lowest level of the ESOL qualification framework. It would equate to A1 on the Common European Framework of Reference.

content accessible to those whose level of English falls below the intended level. That five people who W taught passed is a testimony to W's successful teaching and test preparation. W's practices are replicated by successful test-takers. The preparation techniques are disseminated as W explains:

W: Yeah, (wow) and the book has been translated into Arabic and they spread it to the other people

K: Oh right, so they spread it?

W: Spread it in Arabic

This evidence is supported by another case which occurred during the data collection period.

K: Yeah ... The man that we saw, just earlier on ... I remember that he was thinking about taking his Life in the UK test

W: Yeah

K: Remember? We went to chew khat one time and he was talking and you were teaching, you showed him the book, do you remember?

W: Yeah

K: That's him, right? Is that the man that we just saw? The one who came here?

W: Yeah

K: He was doing it ... has he taken the test now?

W: Errr, I don't know

K: Oh, right, ok ... I remember last time, it was ... remember?

W: Yes, I gave him the book (you were teaching) and I told him, if you need any help, I will help you ... I don't think, if he went to ... to do the exam ... he has finished the book or not

W is describing the Arabic, handwritten version of the LUK book. In this case, 'the book' is being passed around the community. W is not teaching the LUK test as such but 'the book' mirrors the official LUK book which is the source of LUK preparation. This practice was similar to another approach from a Chinese ESOL tutor from the college that W attended.

Like W, TUK (a pseudonym of the Chinese ESOL tutor) was approached by members of the community (in this case the local Chinese community) for help in passing the LUK test. I interviewed TUK about her techniques which appeared to have parallels with W. This point was put to TUK; particularly in relation to test-takers with lower levels of literacy.

TUK: It's a little bit harder. Basically, like what you mentioned about the Arabic speaker ... right translate everything ... I actually have it in here. I basically did English, Chinese ... there's two parts. There's English on this side and the Chinese on this side and then found the key words. Firstly, for these people they haven't been to ... university or whatever

K: Even in China?

TUK: Even in China, yeah. For these people, they are not really familiar with the ... the phrases even in Chinese, so what I did ... I tell them a story like a story ... facts ... make them like a story. For example, immigrations. Right ... there are a few times then I have a little table for them. Time, reason and the people from the country they have come from ... what they did in England or ... or in this country, or

K: In Chinese?

TUK: In Chinese first. Tell them

K: In Mandarin, yeah?

TUK: In Mandarin, yes ... and then we remember a letter that has five times big immigrations from 18<sup>th</sup> century or whatever, ok. Then they know it in Chinese ... after that have a little list with key words ... immigration means this. Ok, immigration and then for example, vote. Ok, vote means what in Chinese? Vote- don-da-da. There's a ... within one topic put them in same category and then you remember the key words ... they may not understand sentence structure but they know when all the words ... women, vote, right to gather means when and they know this which one

K: Ok, yeah

TUK: Which to choose, right. Just learn key words

K: OK, right

TUK: No grammar. Nothing at all. In order to remember all these phrases, learn by heart. What I did with them, I got this

K: An audio recorder

TUK: Immigration ... yiming in Chinese ... policy? ... junsur whatever and this in their phone and when they drive

<Both laugh>

TUK: they listen to it

K: OK

TUK: In the exam actually, you can listen

K: Right

TUK: Yes, you listen to the audio bits and ‘oh yes, this two words normally go together’ and for language learners actually, if you look at our way of learning song, you don’t have sit down and learn a new song, do you? You listen to it and you familiar with this and you can sing. That’s a way of doing that.

Like W, TUK uses cognitive strategies to translate the LUK test and makes it accessible to the learners. TUK also reduces the cognitive load by narrowing the curriculum to ‘the key words’. Given that this is a high-stakes test, the narrowing of the curriculum is understandable in order to focus on the test (Firestone et al. 2002; Berliner 2011). TUK knows that ‘they may not understand sentence structure but they know when all the words ... women, vote, right to gather means when and they know this which one ... which one to choose’. This undermines the B1 level that the LUK test should be aimed at. Furthermore, the modality of test preparation is also oriented to the aural form of the test. TUK explains ‘if you look at our way of learning song, you don’t have sit down and learn a new song, do you? You listen to it and you familiar with this and you can sing’. The LUK test which may be viewed as highly ideological and exclusionary is reduced to learning a song in which the minimal number of words is required.

The following exchange offers a more nuanced insight into TUK’s teaching. Given TUK’s background as a teacher, her techniques to pass LUK demonstrate a greater sense of testwiseness. TUK is able to draw upon her teaching expertise and her experience of working with a local test administrator to identify the more onerous aspects of the test such as distracters and reducing the chances of arriving at an incorrect answer through a process of elimination. Such emphasis on the multiple-choice format drilling can distort scores which are not necessarily a true representation of understanding (Noble and Smith 1994).

TUK: For ... when people get used to all this type of materials, still come back to the questions

K: Yeah

TUK: Then get rid of and then for exam skills it is very important I think as well ... for-for I do assessment myself and I work for {{name of test administrator}} setting up papers ... from that point of view, we look at the assessment, you look at the questions and there are some distracters ... so you can easily get rid of that ... so ... basically the question types are true or false, multiple choice, yes?

K: Yes

TUK: Multiple choice you may have one answer or two answers ... so what you do if you have one other ... the real distracter, only one I had a good look so another two irrelevant at all ... they can get rid of this and ... get rid of this, so ... the percentage for getting correct, so if you look at this. If there are three answers, you get rid of one so you have 50% to get right ... so you have to think and then guess. Delete the incorrect answers and leave all the very confusing answers together

W and TUK have demonstrated various ways of teaching to the LUK test using the ‘mother language’ as a medium of instruction. Each teacher has a different approach. W teaches test preparation and has produced ‘the book’ which is passed around his community. TUK narrows the curriculum (the LUK book) to just a few key words as well as a ‘song’. Furthermore, she provides a highly-articulated form of test preparation by reducing the probability of arriving at a wrong answer. What the approaches share in common is that English is the secondary language of instruction. The implications for test validity will be discussed later. For now, it is necessary to return to the concept of washback.

As noted earlier, whether the approaches of W and TUK are positive or negative is not clear. Cheng and Curtis (2004: 11) note this complexity by suggesting ‘Whether the washback effect is positive or negative will largely depend on where and how it exists and manifests itself within a particular educational context’. Hence, the context of these cases needs to be examined in greater detail. W explained why members of his community resort to needing his support to overcome the test:

W: The people want to learn and they don’t have the ability. Some people they have the ability but their situation doesn’t allow them (allow them) they should work because they have family. They can-They can’t ... learn English because they don’t have time (yeah) because most of them, they spend 12 hour in work (yeah) and the rest for food and sleeping because they want to learn but their situation doesn’t allow them

K: And what types of jobs do they have where they are working 12 hours?

W: They full time you know because they are not ... have good English ... You know the basic factories accept them

K: Yeah

W: And they treat them the least of

K: Really?

W: Right. They work 16 hour

K: 16?

W: Yeah, 16 hour ... and they don’t give you, you know ... overtime

Here the socioeconomic realities have serious consequences for those involved in test-taking. W highlights the marginalized nature of the test-takers as when he describes ‘they treat them the least of’. Similarly, TUK highlights the same problem:

TUK: And then let’s face it, for people who are struggling with these tests, they have to work

K: They have to go back to the restaurant or whatever it is

TUK: Yes, it’s hard ...I have come across one ... which is very special that man. He’s very busy. He works in the restaurant and he didn’t have any time really. He works seven days a week

While ESOL classes with citizenship offer an alternative route to satisfying the English requirements for naturalisation, the circumstances simply do not allow for the time and potential loss of income involved. The same applies to officially accredited test centres for preparation. These test-takers require the most expedient method to pass the LUK test as ‘the objective underlying many test preparation practices is to exploit the format and content of a test to improve test scores quickly and efficiently’ (Green 2007: 7).

## **Regulation**

As noted earlier, the LUK ‘curriculum’ is the LUK book itself. All questions are based on the content of the LUK book. The examples of W and TUK demonstrate that this does not mean that teachers are not required. Their respective teaching curricula offer an alternative and trusted path to success in the LUK test. These curricula exist beyond any forms of regulation in the form of inspectors, educational assessors or formalized institutions. For example, in the first extract used in this chapter W’s translation strategy came out of his desire to learn English away from the classroom. W earlier in this chapter<sup>20</sup> stated ‘Small ... small lesson

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<sup>20</sup> See page 152.

for myself [XXX] because you know ... I'm not ... forced (you're free) by a guy or the college ... you have to pass, you have to ... I start know English [XXX] I keep going (yep) reading English, English, English'.

In order to continue the analysis, I will draw on Mark Sebba's work (Sebba 2007) in relation to the regulation of orthography. Sebba argues that orthography can exist on a continuum of highly-regulated levels (such as academic journal articles) and least regulated levels (such as street graffiti). Highly regulated areas are oriented to standardized forms of writing while the least regulated types are the antithesis of the standard form. These 'orthographic regimes' are used to regulate certain ways of writing. The idea of regulation and regimes is salient to this study.

There are 'preparatory regimes' which govern how language is to be used for the LUK test. There are three forms of official test preparation endorsement. This has great authority as 'language as a requirement for citizenship often has the power of the law and it is therefore considered a very strong device for affecting language practices' (Shohamy 2006: 66). The power of official endorsement is embodied in the official preparatory materials. There is (1) the LUK book, (2) an official preparation video on YouTube and (3) the official study guides for the LUK test. All of these preparatory methods are in British languages of which English is by far the most widely used. The LUK test is also in English. The use of English through official channels provides a way of ensuring that English is learnt and assessed in a particular way as 'tests are a type of measurement designed to elicit a specific sample of behaviour' (Bachman 1990: 49). The routes to this behaviour are directed by monolingually oriented preparation materials.

The perceived official 'positive' washback in the case of the LUK test involves the LUK book with the official preparation video and/or official study guides as supplementary support.

Bachman (2005: 5) asserts that a test may be a ‘way to engineer “positive” washback’. Each one of these preparatory methods is highly regulated in that they are officially endorsed and in theory induce a particular way of preparing through the language used in producing the materials. By virtue of these methods being monolingual there is also a sense of coercion in inducing a particular usage of English (Shohamy 2001, 2006). This is achieved in how English is regulated through the preparation which is available and officially endorsed.

The test itself is regulated in that when the monolingual English test is administered, it regulates the presentation of test items and responses. The test-taker has no choice but to engage with the test in the language that it is written in. Thus, every time the test is administered, it is demanding a particular interaction involving the dominant language (Shohamy 2006). This becomes an inherent quality within the test and serves to reproduce the demand for engagement with the dominant language.

However, these forms of regulation can only ever go so far. This is echoed by Messick (1996: 242) who states, ‘a test might influence *what* is taught but not *how* it is taught’. This is because ‘teachers are the final arbiters of policy implementation’ (Menken 2008: 401). This is evidenced by what emerges from this data when the test-takers/teachers, who possess the capacity to determine the shape test preparation within their unregulated spaces. They are free to decide *how* to use the preparatory test materials and the language of instruction that is required. It is within these ‘strategic learning contexts’ where the test preparation for the LUK test takes place and where test-takers are able to ‘make maximum use of affective, cognitive, metacognitive, and social learner strategies to influence effective learning communities’ (Takeuchi et al. 2007: 91).

The unregulated areas offer spaces where test-takers are able to freely use the linguistic resources they have available. Shohamy (2006: 167) details the relationship of power and

language, ‘controlling language is a way of controlling us ... the power of language is also the power to reshape, to protest, to denounce oppression and resist its domination’. Thus, while ‘preparatory regimes’ may orient certain behaviours, they are unable to completely assert their control over the dispositions of the test-taker. In this research, this is partly born out of the prevalent socioeconomic circumstances, the nature of a high-stakes multiple choice test format and multilingual resources which have initially attracted test-takers in these cases to unregulated preparatory spaces. This has implications for the validity of the test scores which are yielded.

### **Validity**

Returning to the question of validity, the impact of inferences made on the basis of the LUK test can be examined further. Validity is ‘the meaningfulness or trustworthy interpretability of the test scores’ (Messick 1989b: 8). This research has shown that through a dialogic construct and unregulated preparatory spaces, questions are posed. This is summed up by Messick (1996: 246) in that ‘a validated proficiency test can be subverted by test preparation practices or coaching emphasizing testwiseness strategies that might increase test scores without correspondingly improving the skills measured by the test’. Consequently, test scores do not necessarily reflect the proficiency of the test-taker and the subsequent inferences which are made and may be predicated on a distorted measurement score. This appears to be the case in this research in which unforeseen factors such as translation of test material as well as test preparation techniques invalidate score inferences.

Construct-irrelevant variance and construct under-representation are sources of invalidation. To reiterate, construct-irrelevant variance means ‘the test contains excess reliable variance that is irrelevant to the interpreted construct’ (Messick 1989a: 34). The data has shown construct-irrelevant variance in that one extraneous factor has been the ‘mother language’.

This dependency on another language (and not English) as part of broader test preparation strategies has ensured that the ‘sufficient knowledge’ of English construct is distorted. Instead, this surplus factor of multilingualism has rendered a score which is not necessarily representative of B1 (ESOL Entry Level 3) level English. The multilingual approach circumvents the monolingual demands of the test. This is compounded by testwiseness in which W uses his knowledge of passing two tests with very similar formats to teach others to not only pass the test, but also to teach others to do the same. Likewise, TUK is adept at understanding the multiple choice format and maximizes the test-takers chances of answering correctly. It must be remembered that testwiseness is a form of construct-irrelevant easiness.

This leads us to construct under-representation. Construct under-representation signifies that ‘the test is too narrow and fails to include important dimensions of facets of the construct’ (Messick 1989a: 34) which is demonstrated by the fact that while the test score is valid in terms of ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’, the test demands less than the ‘sufficient knowledge’ of English. The data demonstrates that it is possible to pass the test with so little information (for example the Chinese test-takers who pass by knowing a few key words) which means that the test demands may be narrower than envisaged.

The implications of these sources of invalidation are more complex still. The test-takers in this data need to make the ‘sufficient knowledge’ of English construct invalid in order to demonstrate their ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the UK’. That is to say, the linguistic demand is invalidated through multilingual practices in order to demonstrate the knowledge of the civic requirement. Nevertheless, this appears sufficient to gain 18/24 to pass the test. This single score is a shorthand reference of possessing ‘sufficient’ knowledge of English and life about the UK. The score also possesses a symbolic dimension in providing evidence of W’s willingness and ‘preparedness’ to become British.

Test-taker roles may be dictated by the context in which they are placed (Huhta et al. 2006). Knowing the realities that the test-takers face, the test must be negotiated on terms which are more favourable than those proposed by the regulated preparatory sources. Lacking the circumstances to be able to dedicate themselves to studying English, more creative ways of passing the test are required. What this means leads us to an analysis of the social consequences of such test preparation methods.

The justice element in language testing becomes relevant here. Justice ‘questions the use of the test in the first place, not only in terms of its effects and consequences but in terms of the social values it embodies’ (McNamara and Ryan 2011: 165). That only migrants are required to take a test that promotes group membership and equality places the migrant at a starting position of inequality (Etzioni 2007; Kostakopoulou 2010b, 2010c). This is done so on the premise of language proficiency (Blackledge 2005, 2009) which places the migrant in the unjust situation of needing to prove their willingness to learn English to be an ‘equal’. The use of English as the officially endorsed language of the test and prior preparation is indicative of its authority over other languages and their speakers (Shohamy 2006).

The data in this chapter demonstrates that W and other migrants are not necessarily passive vessels who allow themselves to be subjected to unjust practices. W was well aware that subjecting himself to the test on regulated terrains would have resulted in a more onerous task and quite possibly failure. However, W made the test as just as he could through his dialogue with the construct. By ensuring that the construct half-belonged to him in his ‘mother language’, he was able to ensure a just outcome on his own terms which more adequately reflected his work and commitment in passing the LUK test. W, like TUK, was able to create new terms for the test-takers by employing specific test preparation methods.

Well aware of the limitations of the test-takers and the nature of the test itself, test-takers in the data are able to engage with the symbolic aspects of subjecting themselves to this process as ‘once a test is constructed, users interact with it straightforwardly to achieve specific purposes’ (Madaus and Horn 2000: 48). However, they also know that they do so on terms that on the one hand satisfy the requirements of the test but are also made more just to them by being able use their full linguistic resources and undermining the ideological basis of the test. While this may not completely address the wider ideological issues which provide a basis for the test, the sense of making the test more just on their own terms makes it more manageable for people like W.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Becoming and Belonging to a Community

**Research Question Two: How do the linguistic practices of a community contribute to ideological becoming and notions of belonging?**

*‘We always support the people who don’t speak English’. – W*

#### **Ideological becoming**

This section, which will analyse W in terms of ideological becoming, must be foregrounded with a sense of his development. This means taking into account becoming through the LUK test which is a nodal point between chapters seven and eight. At times this chapter draws on the same data from the previous chapter.

It has been noted earlier in this study how the test was a response to community breakdown. Thus, the test now functions as a way of ensuring that communities speak the same language and maintain ‘community cohesion’ (Blackledge 2005, 2009). It also serves as an entry point for a later discussion of community and belonging.

To reiterate, ideological becoming ‘is the process of selectively assimilating the words of others’ (Bakhtin 1981: 341). The words of others may be present in other discourses. There are authoritative discourses which are ‘located in a distanced zone, organically connected with a past that is felt to be hierarchically higher’ (Bakhtin 1981: 342). In contrast there is internally persuasive discourse which is ‘half-ours and half-someone else’s’ (Bakhtin 1981: 345).

This section will now analyse authoritative discourses with regards to the LUK test. Before doing so, there is a need for analytic clarification. Rampton (2006) uses ideological becoming in his research on Modern Language students at a secondary school. In one of the classes, the students are learning German from the teacher and this becomes the ‘authoritative discourse’. As Rampton acknowledges, if a student produces a German phrase it may well have also have been learnt outside of the class. This means it may not be in the authoritative discourse that it appears.

The case of authoritative discourse raises an important question: what may or may not count as an authoritative discourse? I follow a very simple criterion for this section. The authoritative discourse will be any official discourse which is promoted as a way of preparing for the test. Central to this is the LUK book. A policymaker from the UKBA interviewed for this study stated ‘we are keen to stress that people should be using the handbook’. The LUK handbook establishes its authority and position as discourse which is ‘hierarchically higher’ (Bakhtin 1981: 341) stating in its preface ‘We would also advise you to think carefully before purchasing any of the “study guides” to the Life in the UK which can be sometimes found in bookshops or on the internet. None of these is officially approved, even though some suggest they are, and may not be of much help to you’ (TSO 2007: 4). The official endorsement ensures an elevation of status of the LUK handbook.

It must be clarified at this point that the LUK handbook is not the only authoritative discourse with regards to test preparation. Official study guides and the official YouTube video may also count. While they are authoritative discourses according to the criteria, they do not emerge from the data collection as being present discourses within W’s test preparation; however, the LUK handbook does.

There are important points that can be drawn from the LUK handbook, the study guides and the YouTube video. Firstly, they are only available in English. As noted in chapter seven, although multilingual handbooks were recommended by the Crick Commission, only monolingual resources are available. This is symbolic because authoritative discourse assumes greater power as it ‘demands that we acknowledge it, that we make it our own’ (Bakhtin 1981: 342). Authoritative discourses also ‘embody various contents: authority as such, or the authoritativeness of tradition, of generally acknowledged truths, of the official line and other similar authorities’ (Bakhtin 1981: 344). Migrants are to acknowledge and make their own a monolingual discourse which has greater privilege than other discourses both in terms of content and language used.

The second key feature about the preparatory authoritative discourses is that they all position the LUK handbook as central to test preparation. Below is a transcription from the official YouTube video:

N- Narrator

C- A teacher

T- Thea

N: The test can be challenging and Salem is studying in the best possible way with the official Home Office guide and study aids. Life in the United Kingdom: A Journey to Citizenship is the official handbook and has everything she’ll need

C: In my opinion, to use anything but the official guide just doesn’t make sense. To me it’d be like getting into a car and being taught by someone who wasn’t qualified or going to see a professional individual, a professor, a lawyer who wasn’t qualified. It’d be really ridiculous

Later

N: Thea has just passed her test

T: It's very hard being a foreigner and this is written in English. You have to read more and do the practical. The more you practice, that's fine. It's fresh in your head. Go and sit the test

The narrator espouses the values of 'the best possible way' of preparing for the test which involves official test materials. The teacher compares the LUK handbook as a preparatory material to assistance from a qualified professional. The test-taker, Thea demonstrates her success in the test due to her reliance and engagement with the LUK handbook.

W prepares for the LUK test by using the LUK handbook as the YouTube video suggests he should. This would indicate that he is aware that the LUK handbook has higher status for test preparation than other discourse. A problem occurs as W is well aware that he does not know '90% of the word'. This represents a 'zone of contact' which is where 'a struggle against various kinds and degrees of authority' (Bakhtin 1981: 345) takes place. Faced with the struggle of dealing with the authoritative discourse in English, that is to say in the way the ideology of the test presumes and the difficulty of the test, W favours needs a solution. In such struggles 'we develop our own ideologies' (Freedman and Ball 2004: 7).

This requires a distinction in traditional thinking towards ideology. I differentiate between more traditional notions of Ideology (capital I) and the Bakhtinian ideology (small i). Ideology is 'a specific set of ideas that individuals and groups advocate' which can also inhabit a more cultural orientation towards sociopolitical systems which 'penetrates all aspects of societies and leads to hidden systems of thought, assumptions, beliefs, and behaviours that come to be seen as natural, normal and inevitable' (Tollefson 2011: 801). In contrast, in ideology 'each individual act' in the creation of ideology 'is an inseparable part of

the social intercourse, one of its dependent components, and therefore cannot be studied apart from the whole social process that gives it meaning' (Medvedev and Bakhtin 1978: 7). Whereas Ideology focuses on larger scales and widely circulating beliefs, ideology is more concerned with the struggles of the individuals. The individual act in this social process is W dealing with this test. In W's ideology, the LUK handbook becomes Arabic.

Whereas the authoritative discourse was monolingual and resistant to modification, the internally persuasive is 'affirmed through assimilation, tightly interwoven with "one's own words"' (Bakhtin 1981: 344). This would seem paradoxical due to the symbolic, monolingual nature of not only *the* book (the LUK book) but what it comes to represent as the definitive text for British citizenship. It is only through making the LUK handbook bilingual that W can assimilate the words of the authoritative discourse. The result of doing so is delineated by W when he states 'Then I read it as Arabic. And in Arabic, I don't care about it, when I go home ... guess any question ...' W is effective in adapting the LUK handbook which would seem characteristic of an internally persuasive discourse which 'may be supple and dynamic to such an extent that this discourse may literally be omnipresent in the context, imparting to everything its own specific tones' which results in a 'free stylistic variation on another's discourse' (Bakhtin 1981: 347). This 'free stylization' occurs due to W relying heavily on his Arabic linguistic resources. W found a way to work between his English and Arabic linguistic resources to respond to the challenges of negotiating a monolingual test.

W's ideological becoming is rooted in how he uses his multilingual resources to pass the test. This requires an analytic clarification which draws on a sense of bilingualism as

'only one perspective on a more complex set of practices which draw on linguistic resources which have been conventionally thought of as belonging to separate

linguistic systems, because of our own dominant ideologies of language, but which may more fruitfully be understood as sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones' (Heller 2007: 15).

W's negotiation of the LUK test simultaneously and paradoxically anchors him to a monolingual assessment yet liberates him to work creatively within his linguistic resources. This idea delinks itself from traditional notions of languages as hermetically sealed containers which serve a political function in creating a 'legitimate language' (Bourdieu 1991) as a social glue which unifies the nation. Languages have traditionally been linked to nation building (Hobsbawm 1992).

Multilinguals have at their disposal linguistic resources which can be drawn upon. This would correlate with current scholarship on multilingualism in 'migrants are the new social actors challenging the hegemonic linguistic construction of the nation-state from below in different ways' (Moyer and Martin Rojo 2007: 139-140). The challenges that multilingualism pose means that conceptions of linguistic practices. García states:

'Bilingual practices frequently but not always, differ from the language use of two separate monolinguals. These practices are in no way deficient, they simply reflect greater choices, a wider range of expression than each monolingual separately can call upon, and convey not only linguistic knowledge, but also combined cultural knowledge that comes to bear upon language use' (García 2009: 47).

Through W's ideological becoming, he would on occasion call upon knowledge from the LUK test. Below is an example.

W: A background. Everyday ... I learn many things new about life in the UK and as well, when I learn-when I learn, when I did the ... Life in the UK exam, the book guide me to many things like where to go

K: Yeah, yeah

W: The role of the UK, the traditional, their habit

K: Was that many things you didn't know before?

W: Yes ... many things I didn't know, but now if you ask me about UK ... I can guide you to their ... traditional, their life, their festival (sure) their ... many things, I know ... their source of benefit.

In another case, W explains his experiences of knowledge gained from the test.

K: Did you find the test useful?

W: Yes, for me it was very useful because I gathered lot of word ... vocabulary and ... know about the life aspect in the UK (yeah) I know the traditional ... I know the other part of the United Kingdom (sure) like Ireland, Scotland, England, their traditional, their food, their language, their ... the Government, the position, the opposition, (yeah) the name of parliament.

From the above two extracts, W appears to have learnt a great deal about 'life in the UK' whether in the form of language, culture or political participation. Thus, there is evidence that he has been internally persuaded by the authoritative discourse. The following extract demonstrates how W calls upon information he learned from the test. The context is that W is

trying to evaluate how many hours he can work and gain some form of benefits should he choose to pursue his studies.

W: But ... they give to them only 16 hour ... maximum

K: Could be ... I think so

W: It should be more than 16 hour ... they will not allow ... help you for funding

K: If you do more than 16?

W: Yeah

K: I think that's right yeah

W: But as I know from the Life in the UK test ... you know there is for education

K Yeah ... it's important

W: Education organization ... help them ... the people who learn English 18 hour

Years after taking the test, W is reliant on the information that he learned from the discourses that he has assimilated. W is not only complicit in his own ideological becoming, but also the ideological becoming of members of his own community.

K: Do you ever help other ... other people ... with the test?

W: With the test? Yes, yes ... let me tell you how I help ... I passed the first time I take it ... the first man in the Yemeni community to pass was me ... was me ... (oh really?) yeah, because everybody was worried ... [XXX] and the most of them they made their extension visa. (Ok, right). Because they been here long ... and they need to get the certificate to get their indefinite leave ... I have a friend ... you would say ... he lived in my country, we came

together we need ... and he need it ... how do I do that? I gathered them, err ... in the weekend at their place an afternoon in my home, my friends' home and we chew khat as you know and we gather them and they have ... the nervous, they have ... they want to do the exam still, they never had ... I gather them ... I start first reading in Arabic

W's role on teaching is crucial here. W is not only a teacher of the test, but he also assumes a much profounder role. Given that there is a book rather than a curriculum to follow as preparation for the test, W is in a position to plan how others learn. He is also in a position to implement a way of learning language. W's role here is as a de facto language policy maker. This is because 'While LP [Language Policy] is often perceived on a national political level, it is not always the case, as LP can exist at levels of decision making about languages and with regard to a variety of entities, as small as individuals and families making decisions about the languages to be used by individuals, at home, in public places' (Shohamy 2006: 48). In W's case, he understands what linguistic resources are available and how best to use them in order to deal with the specific task of passing the test.

As a de facto language policy maker, W is able to influence how others around him are able to learn. Not only are his 'students' learning English, but by drawing so heavily on Arabic too, they are becoming skilled bilinguals adept at using their repertoire of linguistic resources to negotiate the exigencies of the LUK test. The result of W's language policy making is evident in the following interview extract which also appeared in the last chapter

W: I help them ... I took them to there. I help five people

K: How many of them passed?

W: All of them passed

Later

W: That was impossible for them to pass

K: Really?

M: Very hard

K: What were they afraid of?

M: They afraid ... they don't know English. How ...

K: Because of the language ... nothing else?

W: Yeah, they don't know the word. What does it mean? How can they go to the computer and answer the question? What does it mean? I make it easier for them in Arabic. And I help ... That help them to pass and help them to go to Entry Level 3 ... and help them to go to college. They look into Entry Level to be very hard

Following the test, W's 'students' were emboldened to attend college. Previously, the fear of their language proficiency had inhibited them from attending even the lowest level of classes. Now they had arrived at Entry Level 3. This could be regarded as a success in many respects. Multilingualism here is a way of aiding would-be citizens in being able to empower themselves through education and contribute more to wider society. Rather than a coercive English only approach, W is well aware that a multilingual approach is more likely to provide greater benefits for those who he is helping. This is demonstrated below.

W: If you translate in your language, even in your slang language, normal language give him different angle ... understand the meaning and he will realize and understand and he start get ambitious it will encourage him some people they look to English ... it's very hard and they don't want ... to learn because no use, but when you give him the basic, some word he feel now it's ok to complete

Through W's language planning, he incorporates linguistic resources which aid in the ideological becoming of other members of his community. By adding W's voice with the authoritative discourse, there is a direct contribution to ideological becoming because:

‘when someone else’s ideological discourse is internally persuasive for us and acknowledged by us, entirely different possibilities open up. Such discourse is of decisive significance in the evolution of an individual consciousness: consciousness awakens to independent ideological life precisely in a world of alien discourses surrounding it’ (Bakhtin 1981: 345).

Part of W's friends' ideological becoming meant that they were empowered to go to college. The ‘different possibilities’ that open up are not only linked to linguistic resources but other forms of symbolic resources which can be accessed, for example education. Thanks to W's language planning and pedagogic role in using the shared linguistic resources in order to negotiate the authoritative discourse of the LUK handbook, W's friends are able to attend college which may lead to further opportunities and greater aspirations. Thus, the multilingual spaces that W creates are essential for the becoming of bilinguals. W is adept at overseeing the developmental skills of other bilinguals. He states:

W: ... Until they can manage yeah, to know, to know their all first of all, they still ... learn basic thing but they need translation until they improve they will ... continue their education like with their self the fir-the first thing you should know, is give them foundation and let them ... each one on himself to finish his education

A multilingual rather than monolingual approach offers a ‘foundation’ for bilinguals. Such an approach provides a bottom up form of acquisition language planning. Acquisition planning refers to ‘developing new users of the language’ (García 2009: 85). In this case, W is responsible for aiding these ‘new users’.

Through the LUK test, W is enabling others to become British and also to become bilinguals. Such a notion may be subversive at an Ideological level but entirely appropriate at an ideological level. W creates a multilingual space in which he is W functioning as language planner. This space becomes what Medvedev and Bakhtin (1978) would refer to as an 'ideological environment' in which contact with competing discourses can facilitate new possibilities for development. Such places are settings which enable and mediate ideological becoming (Freedman and Ball 2004).

While this section has examined the LUK test and has been related to a management of bilingual resources and bottom-up language planning, the following section will highlight how belonging and notions of communities are linked to multilingualism.

### **Belonging and interactions**

This section begins by using the belongingness hypothesis as a starting point. Drawing from Social Psychology, this thesis uses Baumeister and Leary's (1995) theory. In this theory, belonging is premised on two conditions. The first is that frequent interactions are required to build relationships. The second is that these interactions must be positively affective. It is said that these conditions are predicated on the notion that humans require a minimal set of interpersonal relations to meet their emotional needs.

It became clear that much of W's interactions took place within the neighbourhood. There seemed a contrast from interactions with white, native British people and the local migrant community. The following extract demonstrates this:

W: Yeah, I live in two society in this UK

K: Is it two or do you think it's two societies or one mixed one where you ... look for different situations

W: It's mainly ... it depend on my normal life

K: Because I have the same thing you see

W: Yeah, I work in a factory that Yemeni people work in next to me

K: Yep

W: And most of the staff and administration are foreign. They-they ... there is no English people

K: Yeah

W: Yeah, I live ... I go to the shop, I can go to the Yemeni shop ... or Pakistani shop

K: Yeah

W: And ... the different in the UK, I live like I am in Yemen ... especially, I speak in Arabic ... I speak in Arabic in home, I speak Arabic in shop ... I speak Arabic at work ... and I feel like I am in Yemen, especially ... some food from Yemen come to this country.

The 'two society in the UK' appears to possess similarities to the 'parallel lives' (Cantle 2002) in which British-Asian communities and white British communities lived separately in racially and linguistically segregated communities. In the above interview extract, the two societies depend on what W is doing. He uses 'iterative narratives' (Baynham 2011) to describe the habitual interactions and practices of his life. In one society, W lives 'like I am in Yemen' this is mainly because of the amount of Arabic that he speaks particularly at home, the shops and at work. Even W's food habits are as though he was in Yemen. Perhaps denoting the predominantly Muslim area in which W lives, he references Pakistani and Yemeni shops. Clustering them together in one of his worlds would suggest that W is drawing lines based on religious, national and cultural sensibilities.

An analytic point is required here about the notion of communities. This notion should not be approached unreflexively. It became apparent from the data that traditional ideas of communities were insufficient in describing W's interactions. If on the one hand, belonging is about interpersonal interactions, the idea of bounded communities would be problematic as this would seem to propose ideas of homogeneity leading to normative assessments for situations that require more nuanced understandings. Alexander et al. (2007: 788) posit the idea of 'personal communities' which refer to 'local, heterogeneous and contingent networks of family, friends and neighbours linked and performed through ties of emotion, trust and security'. Thus, networks are a part of personal communities.

The benefit of such an approach is that is based on W's real life interactions (Klavnova 2009). Such an analytic lens also ensures congruence with the idea of disinvented languages and 'everyday' ethnographic, bottom up approaches, by focusing on interactions and personal networks which mediate the lives of migrants as opposed to larger 'imagined' communities, named languages and top-down approaches (Heller 2007; Makoni and Pennycook 2007; Blommaert and Rampton 2011).

There is a distinction between 'personal communities' and more abstract concepts of communities. More stable notions of communities may 'serve to reinforce historically and theoretically untenable notions of immutable difference between things unreflexively and ahistorically imagined as "cultures", "communities", "ethnic groups" and "races" (Alleyne 2002: 609). This can be problematic at times as it 'implies internal homogeneity and clearly recognised and demarcated (territorial and cultural) boundaries' (Alexander et al. 2007: 792). Furthermore, it may also overlook the sometimes temporal and situational nature of personal networks (Alexander et al. 2007). This is not to say that people may not refer to communities when they make reference to larger human collectivities but this must be differentiated from more personalised notions of communities. In this section of the thesis, I will draw

distinctions where necessary. In doing so, there will be a sense of clarity between day-to-day interactions and affiliations with larger groups. The second society that W mentions is made clear below:

W: The main we live it, like in Yemen ... and mix <hand gesture of rubbing his hands like he is mixing them together> I go to college and I live like it's UK and I go to the ... any UK department [XXX] and I live like I live in the UK ... and ... if I went to bank ... any other ... government system, if I go to town ... I feel like I am in UK

K: Yeah

W: That's why ... I-I-I live more close to our [XXX] If I move to another area, this area, I may leave and then English society, then I will discover ... their traditional their ... dealing with other people, the worried ... because I don't know English people, many Yemeni people, they say if you move to white area ... you are native English

K: Yeah

W: They ... they may look to you in mock ... you are a foreign

K: Yeah

W: But I have never heard that one happen to me and err ... I don't know, if they live ... that area, I can-I can say

K: Yeah

W: This is good. All is good ... I find many English people ... most of them very kind ... and respect ... and they treat you in a good way ... and other people, they don't look to you and ... they don't hurt you. There is the next one, he has all his life

W's 'UK life' emerges through ESOL classes, dealing with administration and British institutions as well as when W leaves his neighbourhood to go to the city centre. In terms of interacting with British people, there is a 'fear of the unknown' as W is unsure of whether he will be accepted or not. There is the fear of being mocked. W's world appears to be racialized as W talks about 'white areas'. W also acknowledges that these concerns may not be instantiated as there has been no negativity in his personal experience. Whereas one of W's worlds is rooted in routines and familiarity, W's second world is marked by sporadic interactions and the unknown. Professor Ted Cantle, who was influential into the 2001 post-riot reports and at the forefront of the community cohesion agenda, referred to the 'fear of difference' as an obstacle to community cohesion (Cantle 2005). W speaks English and has contributed to helping others learn English in his immediate networks. However, the 'fear of difference' remains.

Having outlined the notions of W's 'two societies', the workplace and khat sessions take place in W's 'Yemeni/Muslim world' and the ESOL classroom takes place in W's UK world. The following section will analyse these parts of W's life. W works in a factory during the days. The factory is an Islamic charity where W's job is to sort clothes along a conveyer belt. All the employees are Muslim and there are many Yemeni people who work there. Beyond this, it emerges that the factory has a deeper role for W. Below I am talking to W about photographs that he had taken in his workplace. The numbers are references to photographs.

K: Ok, that's 5A. So this ... is this in the same place? Because I can see the, this is 6A

W: Yes, this is the same place. It's part, this is other part a big canteen.

K: Yeah

W: Quite big, yeah. This is, this is ... my partner at work.

K: Yeah, like your group?

W: Yeah, all of them my friend. We know each other ... probably ... and errr ... we share our normal life, you know? Like this man here, he was in the channel news about having the Arab

W denotes a sense of belonging in referring to the men as his friends and talking about how they 'share our normal life'. The following extract would support this:

W: All of us, you know, work as a brother ... Yemeni and Eritrean and Pakistani. We don't have any different separate

Here W refers to not only friends, but 'brother'. This can safely be assumed to be other Muslims. It is interesting to note here that W does embrace diversity in that he points to Yemenis, Eritrean and Pakistani. W shows his comfort with other Muslims in the following below. He mentions the unknown of a community that he has little interaction with in reference to non-Muslim communities.

W: You know, the Muslim community ... you can feel safe but if you go to a different community, if you want to have photo with them, you don't know (what they think) what he's going to accept or refuse or. Yeah?

K: So you felt comfortable with them

W: You feel comfortable with them

K: They, they'll be ok

W: Your own community. You know their traditional more. You know their habit, you know their customs, but maybe the other community they have good customs but I don't know

K: Yep, yep

W: They be more than us, more cooperative, more motivated, more helpful ... but we ... you know, stereotype.

K: Yeah, so if you don't know someone

W: If you don't know someone, maybe he's good (you use stereotype), maybe he's good than us ... but we don't know his reaction to us. That's why we keep away

K: Yeah, yeah.

W: But, err, sometime I find good friend

K: Yeah, you just never know.

W: From other religion (you just never know) from another culture. They are so good

K: Yeah, unless you have the opportunity. You don't, you were, you just don't know, do you?

W: Yes, you know (it's always, it's always, yeah) the places to make friend from other culture are work or school

K: Yeah.

W: This is good places to make friend from other ... community that's why we make friend from this ... places. Another way than this is hard to [XXX]

W distinguishes between people 'from other religion' and 'from another culture'. This is a sense of othering and knowing where he stands in relation to this sense of distancing. W

shows a reluctance to meet people from other religions and cultures when he states ‘maybe he’s good than us ... but we don’t know his reaction to us. That’s why we keep away’. In this thesis, the Assistant Principal (AP) at W’s college was interviewed and also expressed reservations about migrants moving out of their personalised communities. It must be noted that AP is white and has lived in Birmingham for many years. Below are her thoughts about migrants moving to other areas:

AP: ... and quite often they would find unpleasant things put through the door (no doubt) and things like that they wouldn’t stay for long and now things are changing there (yeah) as things will and there is a gradual movement taking place and it’s becoming more integrated ... but people ... I would have said to ... if a student had said to me oh mom and dad have been offered a house in {{name of area}} I would have said ... don’t touch it (yep) with a barge pole because you’re not going to have a pleasant life there (yeah) because it’s difficult isn’t it? Because I’m not saying that’s a white area don’t go there ... you know but I am giving ... I’m trying to give supportive advice (yeah) which is I really wouldn’t go there if I were you.

While political discourse may urge migrants to make more effort to ‘integrate’, their reasons for staying would seem logical. In the current areas, the migrants may be assured of some sense of belonging. This may not be the case should they move to other areas. Both AP and W are aware that moving would perhaps compromise the security that they currently have living where they do. This is a gamble which may not pay off given what W already has. While this study does not seek to make generalizations about areas where migrants may want to move, the reality is that even if W wishes to ‘integrate’ into other communities, he/she may not necessarily be welcomed in the way that political discourses would suggest. This would compromise the sense of belonging that W already has.

Prime Minister Cameron (2011b) talked in an immigration speech about ‘shared rituals’ such as going to drink together or collecting children from school. However, this makes the assumption that even if W did share those rituals, he would be welcomed. Central to W’s more pleasurable activities is the act of praying, chewing khat and eating as practices of belonging (Anthias 2013).

K: And you said, erm, the three important things were ... what was it? Praying, khat and food. Yeah? Those were the sort of things. This is kind of similar because this time it is prayer, work ... so it’s always the same things that are important, I thin.

W: Yeah.

K: Yeah.

W: Yeah, you know. We have ... most of our community we have the same road. When we finish, we do the same. (yeah) My friend, other friend same like. For example, we come back when the weekend came. Come we prepare ourselves is a good food, especially Friday and Saturday

In contrast, the collective activities of praying, khat and food bring together a number of social threads. Praying allows Muslims, regardless of nationality to pray together in unison. The two notions of communities, bounded and personalised, may overlap here as praying may refer to the ummah<sup>21</sup> (Modood 2010) and the people with whom W may directly and indirectly interact. Khat involves a weekly routine and sociocultural practice of bringing W and his Yemeni friends together. It becomes an orienting feature that anchors social interaction in a new and foreign environment. Of course, eating together also has a ritualistic quality in that families and friends may eat together. In some way, the three activities that W mentions encourage a sense of belonging in that they can be frequent and pleasant for W

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<sup>21</sup> Ummah refers to world Islamic community

(Baumeister and Leary 1995) while also bringing people together in a physical and symbolic sense. The real life experiences of W would appear a far cry from Cameron's (2011b) idealized notion of 'shared rituals'.

This section so far has sought to establish a sense of W's belonging and personal communities. This foregrounds the following section which now looks at the evolution of W's linguistic development and what it means in the context of W's personal communities.

### **The culture of bilingualism**

In the following section, we are looking at W's photographs. W refers to his supervisor who I remember was also his referee on his citizenship application form. W explains his wider role below:

K: Oh, the supervisors, right? Ok ... and one of these, do you remember we did the British application form for citizenship? And you wrote down one of the referees

W: The general manager

K: Oh, is that him?

W: This one him. He the one who refereed for me

K: So, he's a good guy who got you the job. Alright

W: He's a helpful man

K: So, he must do that quite often then. If there's many people from Yemen, he must help in the same citizenship process

W: Yes, he help us everything. Some people who don't speak English, who didn't speak well English, the process, housing, he call for them

K: The process?

W: He organize, he know anything, helping like council tax. Any issue ... some people take the [XXX] to him and he do that for him, he solves the problem

K: He speaks then, Arabic and English?

W: Yes, he speak Arabic

What becomes clear here is that W's supervisor not only aids with work, but also uses his linguistic resources in both Arabic and English to help others with day to day problems such as paying council tax. This appears to be what W begins doing as his English resources have expanded.

K: So it seems to me that one of the things that whenever we go together is that sometimes ... there are some people in your community, where you go, in the khat session ... sometimes it is you ... a person who does the, who helps the people who don't speak English (yeah) and then they act as a way, a bridge, we say

W: Yes

K: He is one, you're also one

W: Yes, yes. You know, when I came to this country, I don't, I wasn't speak English very well. I didn't speak good English. If I have ... any problem with the council tax, credit, working credit or any normal process

K: Everyday problems?

W: Come to him and he sorts everything out for me, for free

K: And you also do the same thing for other people, don't you?

W: And me as well. Now I do

K: You're the one, you're the one who has grown

W: Yes, now I developed my language and I help, I help my friend (yeah) sometimes I move with him bank, some time I translate, some time I took him to the solicitor, some time ... depend the issue, if they have a letter I translate them

In many respects, W's role becomes similar to that of his supervisor. As W's English has developed he has assumed the role of problem solver for those who lack English. W translates and mediates through his linguistic resources to help others as he once also needed support. The bilingual support role also extends to the classroom. The following is based on observations that I had made in which W's influence in the ESOL classroom comes to the fore.

K: I know, I know. This is your own work. In the classroom then also, your role in the class because I see you helping a lot, the Yemeni, other Yemeni, Arabic speakers (yes) because you have also this bilingual position.

W: Yes, they don't need, they don't need

K: They don't ask the teacher, they ask you sometimes

W: They don't need a dictionary at the class

K: Because they come to you

W: They come to me and tell me what does mean this word tell me how is the rule, how is the grammar (yeah) and I tell them in Arabic (in Arabic)

K: Yes, it's that translating, interpreting role that you do in the test, you do in the classroom don't you?

W: Yes, I do. Most of the (as far as I can see) most of the student, they ask me.

K: I've noticed, yeah, yeah. Is it {{name of student}}, is he one student? Anyway, on Wednesday for example, he ... he wanted to ask something in the class and I think the other students were talking and you just explained to him in Arabic and I have seen you do that many times where you just, you just explain the concept

W: And he told me, I don't understand what does this mean (and then you explained in Arabic) and I tell this means like this in Arabic and he understand and he starts (using it) in the presentation about it.

K: So once again, I notice there was this bilingual (it's hard, it's hard at the) you have a bilingual position in the class as well.

W: Yes [decisively]

W became a micro language policy maker in the classroom. Although the class already had an ESOL teacher, W was mediating and almost acting as a teacher assistant in student learning. This was due to the fact that he was a strong member of the class and that he spoke Arabic, as did many members of the class. W was able to once again help others who required English language support. Hence, W possessed a set of linguistic resources shared by others which the teacher did not. Beyond the classroom, W was also teaching the lowest level learners. This is evidenced below:

K: Don't you? For example, the teacher ... I mean she doesn't speak any Arabic (yeah) so she (it's hard, sometimes hard) so she only goes with the one language: English. You're the one person who speaks both languages really well. High level, like you said. And then some of the rest, I don't really know their lives like I know yours, theirs is a lower level of English

maybe of Arabic, I don't know. You also have the position there as well of making the bridge.

W: Of course. You know, I've got my relative as well who don't speak English properly. They came to my house and chew khat. They say they have my cousin ... I told him: come to my house, I will give you the basic ... the main ... the core of English

K: So the basic level?

W: Yeah ... first of all understand this, then the rest is easy to do sometime the teacher give him one direction and he missed one hundred direction. He want to build (the foundation) the base ... yeah? And then he started. I give him yesterday lessons ... and he said now I realize

K: What you need to do?

W: Yeah. I told him I keep give you the main point ... and the rest you should track your life

Lacking formal educational settings and multilingual support, W provides a convenient space for learning and a collective site of belonging. W's role, as it was with the LUK test, is one in which he empowers lower level learners. He is aware of the flaws of monolingual teaching and strives to teach the 'the main ... the core of English' which means a basic level of English. W adjusts the linguistic resources required for the 'emergent bilingual' (García 2009) who is expanding his/her sense of bilingualism. W does this to provide a starting point for the same learners from there, they are free to 'track your life' by which W means that they should progress independently. This is consolidated by what W says below:

W: Yes, yes. Some guys they don't have the English language and want form ... or any letter translation, they need call

K: You do that, yeah?

W: It will take them longer if they go to the ... (yeah) ... neighbourhood office and have a translator. We are here, we call for them, if they

K: The same thing, right? And it helps, I notice, that they speak Arabic and English, Arabic and English, Arabic and English

W: Yes.

K: So, it's a bilingual (yes), multilingual (yes) support?

W: Yes. We always support the people who don't speak English

K: Different languages, yeah? That's what I found intere-

W: For free for anything

K: Exactly. It's ... it's like

W: It is now in our culture, you should have (that's right) a good community

W is aware of the multilingual support that others need. He is also conscious of the cost implications which reflect the community values that he upholds. Instead of costing the government time and money, W is able to provide the multilingual support. That such support is required is acknowledged by W who, unlike those who may criticise such provisions, has experienced what it is like to be a migrant who wants to become a participative citizen.

W becomes a convergent point at the intersection of social networks. Social networks are essential as migrants quite often leave one set of networks in one place and must create new networks in another (Eve 2010). W's personal communities reflect his migration network which is defined by a 'composite of interpersonal relations in which migrants interact with their family or friends' (Haug 2008: 588). The social networks or personal communities

‘provide a foundation for the dissemination of information as well as for patronage or assistance’ (Haug 2008: 588). The expansion of such migration networks over time creates a ‘culture of migration’ (Heering et al. 2004) in which certain characteristics are set. This may mean at ‘community level, migration becomes deeply embedded in the repertoire of people’s behaviour, and the values associated with migration become part of the community’s values’ (Heering et al. 2004: 325).

In the context of this study, W was exposed to a culture of support when his linguistic resources in English were insufficient to deal with the everyday demands of life in the UK. As such figures like W are local actors of multilingualism based on their own needs and experiences (Busch 2009). As his resources have grown, he has been in a position to aid others with their English whether it is in preparation for the LUK test, basic English or making a phone call on behalf of someone else. The engineering of citizenship tests and communities are based on monolingual norms which do not reflect the multilingual resources and realities of migrants. This leads the analysis to the nature of the personal communities that have been built up and what they mean. Such personal communities or networks are often developed in relation to the practical and affective needs of the individual (Hamer 2008; Klavnova 2009).

W’s personal communities and his role in the networks of others developed in relation to multilingual needs. This recognition has implications for the notion of bounded, monolingual communities and ‘integration’. Instead of cohesion being upset by multilingualism, the linguistic resources were managed in helping others in wider personalised communities and cultures of assistance. This solidifies the participative aspects of citizenship, yet does so at the expense of ideological monolingual aspirations. Such approaches better capture the ‘societal multilingualism’ in the face of ideological myth making in relation to the construction of citizenship, the nation and communities (Hogan-Brun et al. 2009).

Eric Pickles (2012), the Communities Minister, proposed the following advice in relation to translating local authorities and interpreting services:

‘Such translation services have an unintentional, adverse impact on integration by reducing the incentive for some migrant communities to learn English and are wasteful where many members of these communities already speak or understand English’.

Although translation services may cost money, translating or offering multilingual support does not necessarily diminish the desire to learn English. It has been demonstrated in this chapter that those who are becoming multilinguals in the UK require help in developing. W has gained from multilingual practices and he helps others do the same. It could be argued that such multilingual practices aid the development of networks and a sense of community and are essential for its growth.

It is also unrealistic for migrants like W to be in contact with English speakers. This chapter has demonstrated that he simply does not have much contact with native, English speakers. His sense of belonging is aligned with his immediate networks. The reasons why migrants such as W may cluster together may be beyond this thesis. However, newly settled migrants always have and probably always will search for anchors which allow them the time, space and support to be able to orient themselves in their new country (Rex and Moore 1967; Castles and Miller 2009).

In this section, I have tried to question two concepts which are often used but require questioning at a theoretical and empirical level: ideology and community. Stable categories in relation to migration have been questioned in recent years (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Using notions of ideology and ideological becoming uses the individual in relation to social

processes as the starting point. This can challenge more widely circulated ideas which gloss over the nuances of the individual.

An emphasis on the development of personal communities through networks acts as a counter point to integration as a form of insertion into a host society. Such emphasis may also provide an alternative discourse to the integration/community agenda in which migrants are often positioned as problematic. By focusing on the development of networks within personal communities, there is a focus on what migrants really do rather than what politicians and media perceive that migrants *should* do.

The answers may lie in socioeconomic mobility and reality rather than language. That is to say, even having learnt English, pre-existing socioeconomic structural obstacles may not be overcome by migrants (van Avermaet 2009). Professor Cantle (2005: 174) noted that ‘Parallel lives will be hard to break down and it will take some time for communities to establish positive relationships where there has been no contact with each other at a meaningful level’. The experiences of W would demonstrate that he is probably in more contact with a diversity of people than many natives. The question then is how far are his networks allowed to develop? Far from English sustaining a community, it is multilingualism which more accurately conveys how networks develop.

The ideological foundations of British citizenship and its surrounding discourse would suggest the assimilative properties of a dominant language and community development are one and the same. Such notions of imagined integration are premised on flawed and highly idealised understandings of communities and languages which are simply not those experienced by those who are required to ‘integrate’. One of the key personal communities of W mentioned in this chapter is the ESOL classroom. The following section examines W’s experiences of ESOL.

## CHAPTER NINE

### ESOL and Policy Identification

#### Research Question Three: How is the ESOL policy identification experienced?

*'In English as you write ... one letter ... will get you no mark ...  
that's why I am going for ... science'. - W*

#### Situating ESOL education for W

It is necessary to outline what ESOL meant to W as a point of departure for this chapter. Baynham and Simpson (2010) refer to the ESOL classroom as a 'space of becoming'. W too viewed ESOL in similar terms. I asked W at the end of the academic year what role he felt ESOL played in his life:

K: One question I had about the ESOL class ... what role-sorry-what role does the ESOL class have in your life? If I said to you, you know ... what does it do for you and your life? You know, is it a place for you to learn? Is it a place for you to meet people? Is it a place for you to move to the next level in your career?

W: For me ... it's a place to learn and to move to ... next class to get the next certificate ... and graduate goes up until you ... reach to ... the proper certificate that enable you to go to university

K: Like a step?

W: Like a step by step by step until you ... speak well. And if you speak well, you can manage your life. You can speak with your own, you can read your letter, you can do your own matter without any help.

For W, the certificate is evidence of success. W states ‘it’s a place to learn and to move to ... next class to get the next certificate ... and graduate goes up until you ... reach to ... the proper certificate that enable you to go to university’. It is tangible evidence of his success and represents a path to university. During the data collection, W did not speak of the financial benefits of language learning but tended to be drawn to aspirations such as going to university and more practical issues such as independence and the capacity to ‘manage your life’.

The metaphor of moving up is not without significance. It is a metaphor that W would often revisit as will be demonstrated in the following extracts. Metaphors are often articulations of a ‘person’s conceptual system’ (Lakoff and Johnson 1983: 6). Metaphors can demonstrate how a person perceives him/herself in relation to the world around them and influence perceptions and meaning given to the world around (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). W’s progression is linked to vertical progression up the ESOL framework (Simpson and Cooke 2009; Baynham and Simpson 2010).

In the following exchange, one of my assessments of W was that the ESOL class was too easy. I put this to W and below is his response:

K: When she tells you the grammar, I think you already know

W: Yeah, the grammar ... the vocabulary ... maybe 1%, 1% (you may learn) vocabulary that she gave (and you get it) and I find almost all of them

K: I-I I thought the class is too easy for you. That’s what I thought

W: You know the ...

K: You have to go right?

W: I need to go up ... like the level up ... if you go up ... you have this ... you have this mentality that you should pass ... you should advance, you should do more work until you find it easy ... it's ok, you know

K: Relax a little

W: Yeah ... you want some things, it make me work hard ... even I have ... if I don't have, I fail

K: Yes

W: And I don't want to fail at all because I've never failed in my life

K: Yeah, yeah sure

W: My interest class from until now I never fail an exam ... and this is my point. I never want to ... any ... I want to do it

K: Sure, sure

W: That's why I want to move up ... straightaway ... to move up ... you have something to do ... you take care, you will be aware of it ... work but if you find something that you do.

Three important analytic factors emerge. Firstly, W attributes his success in the class to his own hard work. W was a voracious reader of grammar books and would spend a great deal of time working on non-class related English activities. Secondly, W states 'And I don't want to fail at all because I've never failed in my life'. It is important to note here that W makes it clear that he has never failed an exam. W would later fail an ESOL test and this was a pivotal moment in the year. This will be analyzed in greater detail later. Thirdly, W maps out an educational trajectory. W states 'I need to go up ... like the level up ... if you go up ... you have this ... you have this mentality that you should pass ... you should advance, you should

do more work until you find it easy'. Later W explains 'That's why I want to move up ... straightaway ... to move up ... you have something to do ... you take care, you will be aware of it ... work but if you find something that you do'. Projection is mapped out in a trajectory in which progression is accompanied by an investment on the part of W. Again, W draws on the vertical movement metaphor. This metaphor operates as an 'orientational metaphor' which reflects spatial orientation (Lakoff and Johnson 1983). The space that is being oriented lies on the topography of ESOL qualifications. Blommaert (2005) notes that people always speak from a place. Thus, the spatial orientation represents the speaker's positionality in relation to where they are and not only where they wish to go, but also where they are allowed to go.

As an ESOL student, W is mapping his progress along a trajectory. Baynham and Simpson (2010) use the same up/down metaphors in relation to ESOL as learners move vertically through the liminal spaces of ESOL qualifications. Baynham and Simpson (2010) link such 'spatial talk' to Bernstein's (1999) notion of vertical discourses. A 'vertical discourse takes the form of a coherent, explicit, systematically principled structured, hierarchically organized, or it takes the form of specialized languages with specialized modes of interrogation and specialized criteria for the production of texts' (Bernstein 1999: 171). It is a mastery of specific elements which satisfy the requirements to allow a learner to progress.

During the academic year, W's investment in opportunity and progression up the vertical space was left unfulfilled. W spoke at the beginning of the chapter of how one of the goals of ESOL is to gain certificates. W was unable to do the exams which he felt was commensurate with his ability. The reasons for this level placing will be made clear in the following section.

## Exam failure

Chapter four of this study outlined the importance of ESOL exams to colleges in generating funding. This chapter has demonstrated the role of W's sense of trajectory in moving closer to his goals. During the data collection, W had been doing a great deal of additional work in order to improve his English. Since W's first days in England, he had been keen to improve his English. W wanted to move along his trajectory towards an Access<sup>22</sup> course, GCSEs and/or A-levels which would allow him to go to university. What became clear was that W wanted to move vertically out of ESOL onto the mainstream qualifications ladder (Baynham and Simpson 2010). However, during the year W failed the speaking and listening ESOL Level 1 class<sup>23</sup>. Below he explains what happened.

W: If I tell you one thing happened at ... {{name of college}}

K: I haven't been to {{name of college}} ... I haven't been to {{teacher's name}} class

W: You know, the examiner who came to our class ... came to examine us ... failed everyone, the whole class

W was upset. His anger at this was mainly reserved for the college. W felt that he had been placed at the wrong level. W's additional work had counted for little as the college was constrained by funding issues to change his level even if he may have been exceeding his level placing. Because of this, the college lacked the flexibility to change W's placing. The reasons for this will be examined shortly. W's ire and hostility towards the college is conveyed here:

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<sup>22</sup> An Access course allows entry to university through non-traditional routes

<sup>23</sup> ESOL Level 1 is the equivalent of B2 on the Common European Framework of Reference.

W: You know, we need a good management ... because they don't ... prejudice prejudice people ... or brave like ... ok if someone able to do an exam, delay him we need to exploit him for money ... we gain a lot of money from and the Government. If you're able, they should encourage you to examine to go straight up.

In this extract, several tensions are revealed. Firstly, there is tension between the timescape (Lemke 2000) of the college and W. For the college, the exam does not necessarily represent a delay. They believe they are delivering the exam placing which is congruent with their own survival. The delay is perceived more acutely for W who has an 'imagined trajectory' in which his progress must match with his aspirations which he has projected into the future. The level placing and subsequent failure means that W's aspirations have been delayed. Secondly, W draws on 'vertical discourses' to mark out educational progress. There are two axes at work between the (1) imagined trajectory across time and the (2) vertical discourses which refer to the metaphoric spaces on the qualifications framework. The trajectory of the college and the axes of W were at odds. Thirdly, W's aspirations are threatened by the imposition of an identity as a financial asset due to funding regimes. W shows that he is cognisant of his role in generating funding for the college. He attributes the level placing as a way for the college to ensure that they generate funding. This is further complicated by the previous funding regime in which funding is also based on the number of test-takers and level completions. AP was the Assistant Principal of the college who explains below:

AP: ... changes that the Labour government made ... two years ago ... they made it ... they made it extremely difficult for us to transfer students from one qualification or part of a qualification to a full qualification ... what they did was they said if you change an ESOL student ... from say a part qualification because they are on part-time hours in March and put them onto a full time qualification you will only get paid from March to July.

W was a part-time student who wanted to do an exam at Level 2<sup>24</sup> to match his work and progress in English. Changing his status from Level 1 would have funding implications for the following year:

AP: ... at this point in the year which is May the student comes to me and some of them do and say actually I want to take the full qualification ... I have to say I have a problem here because if I transfer you I lose all that funding ... that means that next year the Skills Funding Agency will give me even less because I haven't been able to fulfil my contract ... I will have less funding so therefore I will have to cut classes and this will go on year in year.

Not only was the college ESOL department under threat, but if students were not completing their qualifications as they were progressing to other levels, the college would lose even more funding for the following year. In other words, the college would be penalized for incomplete qualifications and if W was to move from Level 1 to Level 2 without completing the level, this would result in an incompleteness. For W, this was of little consolation. This is an exchange before the exam was taken. I am helping W with some work when he describes the ESOL funding stream

K: Even in the first one from October you wrote to now, there's a big improvement

W: Yes

K: The style is much better

W: You know, still I sent back I will go to {{name of college 2}} and tell them I want give me ... diagnostic test or AS GCSE. I don't want to do plus one year ... they exploit us ... they don't if they see you ... [XXX] because ... they gain money from you. They claim the

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<sup>24</sup> ESOL Level 2 is the equivalent of C1 on the Common European Framework of Reference.

money ... they claim for three year ... if you go to this and that one there, they lose money.

Teacher told us that in the beginning of the year

Shortly after W states:

W: I was waiting ... I say give me the exam

K: Let me try

W: Level 2 ... If I fail, stop

K: Try, right?

W: Didn't give me that

While W is a student, he perceives himself also as a financial commodity upon whom funding may depend. How W is experiencing language learning is mixed with his positioning here as a three year financial investment. Due to this, W's options are restricted. His sense of investment (Norton 2000) follows his aspirations and some of the very reasons for learning English but this does not sit comfortably with the college's own economic realities. There is a tension between personal aspiration and policy and between the desired identity of the learner and the identification imposed through the college (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson 2011).

W is bounded within a collective of ESOL students who are there to learn, but are also aware of their financial value. This 'student as test-taker' (Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson 2011) is an 'imposed identity' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) based on the economic realities within which ESOL education finds itself. Not only this, but W views himself as 'exploited'. In this case, the conformity means that W becomes a Level 1 rather than level 2 test-taker to which he identifies. At the same time he says 'I say give me the exam'. As it

stands, W believed he was a level 2 student, but becomes a failed Level 1 student. What W can be is limited by the exam level placement and his position in terms of economic contribution to funding.

### **The exam and the examiner**

As mentioned, W failed the exam with the rest of his class. The administration of the exam raised many concerns for the college. This is reflected in the interview with AP.

AP: ... We do have some questions about what happened ... those results were very different from every other session done by {{name of examining board}} in those speaking and listening exams ... now that ... to fail everyone seems very odd to me and that examiner only did that one session ... because the session wasn't recorded ... the only evidence we have is what the teacher who was the interlocutor said and then we get a response from the exam board that says that everything was absolutely fine but all they are basing that on are the notes that were taken ... during the session and I think that does raise an issue about ... ESOL exams (yeah) and the problems with the speaking and listening exam because there is no document ... there is no ... there is only subjective documentation (yeah) it's not like a written examination when we can all go back and we can have a look at what was written ... clearly there were three errors there and clearly there were no errors was there

K: And just to clarify there was no second marker either?

AP: There was no second examiner (a second examiner) no no ... there was one person in there who was the interlocutor class teacher ... now that's obviously a bit of a problem as well because it could well be that we should have had someone else in there and you would have a different impression ... but speaking and listening tests are subjective (yeah) and all of

those students will re-sit ... but they were obviously extremely disappointed ... the teacher was very very disappointed (yeah) didn't take it lightly at all ... she was very distressed by it

Eventually, the college complained to the examination board. This was scant consolation for W.

K: Can you retake it?

W: They gave me a letter they send to {{exam board}} a complaint ... because they said the student able to pass and they were in the ... in the same level and they passed ... and don't know why

K: The examiner passed them and not you

W: We don't know the response of {{name of examining body}} ... that's serious. Many people told me ... they ... they done it deliberately because they want students to get support from the Government ... that's why they did it to us.

There are issues that W's failure raises. Firstly, there are questions about the fairness of the exam (McNamara and Ryan 2011). That is to say, are the examination conditions and administration fair for all? It is still difficult to know exactly because as AP mentioned in the interview, there is no recording of the exam and no second marker. The interlocutor for W was his teacher who was confident of success. The risk of such subjective interpretations and a lack of recourse for ESOL colleges and learner is that the manner in which the exam is administered and assessed leaves itself open to criticism for being an unfair test. Secondly, the examiner on the day has tremendous power. It is interesting to note that so much responsibility is placed on the sole examiner. This was felt by the college as AP explains:

AP: And in fact what is interesting is when we have speaking and listening exams you know ... the culture of the place is whatever you do don't upset the examiner

K: Yeah

AP: Can we buy some nice biscuits in to give the examiner (yeah) well

K: Well that's what I remember it was not unusual is it?

AP: No I think that it's very common ... and ok they are guests in our institution but we always treat them with respect and courtesy but me as an outsider as someone who comes with a background in A-level exams where you write them and they go off ... the idea that you'd want to be ... this is an alien idea to me that you'd want to be nice to the ... particularly ... anything different from the normal polite examiner (yes) I am not saying you'd be rude to the examiner that would be stupid but (yes) this idea that you'd treat them with kid gloves

K: Reverential ... it's almost quite reverential

AP: Yeah ... and in terms of that gate keeper aspect of it ... I mean it's quite clear and staff conversations will be you don't want to upset them they might fail the students

K: Yeah

AP: You want them to be in a good mood when they are just sitting there which just shows how subjective it is

The exam solidifies power relations in which ESOL colleges and learners are subordinated by the ESOL examiner on the day. AP contrasts the treatment of ESOL examiners to more mainstream forms of education and questions the objective veneer of testing. Shohamy (2001: 16) describes this 'Tests ... can open or close doors, provide or take away opportunities ... tests are administered by organizations, teachers, principals and testing agencies, which are much more powerful than the individual test takers'. Thirdly, due to the

fact that ESOL is not an apolitical subject area (Cooke and Simpson 2008, 2012), W interprets the unfairness of the exam as a political rather than educational issue. W states 'they done it deliberately because they want students to get support from the Government'. This demonstrates the convergence of various discourses from politics, education and economics which all position ESOL learners in certain ways (Cooke and Simpson 2008). For W, the complaint letter meant very little and as a consequence this had an impact on W's investment in English.

W had invested heavily in English. Tests have an important role in investment as they can represent a point at which investments can convert into symbolic resources (Norton 2000). These results from tests can govern the value of investment in relation to accessing symbolic and material resources. Not only had W been placed at an exam which he perceived as below what his actual level was, but he had also now failed the exam. Moreover, this was the first time that W had failed in an exam. Quite simply, W had not reaped the profits of his investment.

### **Re-emergence through science and mathematics**

As mentioned earlier, the failure in the exam was a turning point in the year. W no longer possessed the same feelings towards English as he did earlier in the year. He became more interested in mathematics and science as a way of fulfilling his aspirations. He would need these subjects in order to take GCSEs or A-levels. Before the exam W stated:

W: I know present tense, I know how to make-how to make (yeah) but I am too keen have to get a word

K: Sure

W: If I want to learn the rule

K: What's easier for you speaking or writing?

W: Speaking ... I have ... I found difficult ... because it's not easy to gather the words. You told me ... see the word ... how and how different, yeah? And if you tell me, speak now and use this (you can't) I can't

After the exam and at the end of the data collection, I asked W about the his change in attitude towards English.

K: One thing that I thought just this 12 months ... in the last year ... I might-I might have mentioned this to you before ... it felt during the year ... when-when the ESOL exam ... and you know it failed-you failed that exam it felt like you changed your attitude towards English and ... it felt like you were invested more in science and maths after that exam ... it felt like it was more important at that point

W: Yeah what and how we learn English ... we will not get any good things ... good qualification ... if you have A-level in English ... you will not get good job because the basic people in the UK ... they speak in English (yeah) more than A-level ... but if you have a qualification of science

K: Yeah

W: You might get you might-might accept you might get accepted ... by the university ... but in English anyone speak in English

Clearly there has been a significant shift in W's feelings towards English. W generates a language learner identity through a new discourse community which is brought together by science. This is due to what Pennycook (2007) and Yul-Park (2011) refer to as the 'promise of English'. There are many positive things which are promised by learning English such as enhanced prospects and vertical progression up the qualifications ladder. However, learning

English can also constrain aspirations. Pennycook (2007: 103) remarks ‘While English opens doors, it is simultaneously a barrier to learning, development and employment for others and thus keeps out more than it lets in. The myths that surround English as a language of opportunity, advancement and equality are beliefs that have profound (mis)education for many around the world’. Now science and mathematics would surpass English as ‘languages of opportunity’.

Investment in the language of science and mathematics provides W with greater leniency of assessment which English does not. The thematic content and shared discourses of science and mathematics is associated with fairness for W. English becomes the instrument for progression and the weapon for punishment.

W: If you get three A grade English (yeah) ... chemistry biology and mathematics ... you can go to medication school straightaway ... they don’t asking for English (yep) ... but I am worried if I go to there ... I get-I don’t have a problem with grade in maths because ... the maths topics I can understand I can understand and ... I can solve the equation myself ... not like in English if you have one dot and one word wrong (yeah) maybe they give you false (yeah) in maths if you make wrong ... then it’s ok ... if you write-if you write spelling mistake in some word they don’t like at it (yeah) science for the spelling medical people can understand it (yeah yeah) but in a language it is different

K: Do-do you feel that ... the science and maths is more just more fair? For you?

W: For me yeah ... yeah if you told me go to A-level English

K: It’s hard

W: How I can do it?

K: Yes because it's hard

W: But ... in-in English ... in science the concept is the same

K: Yes

W: And you will memorize ... each concept and you don't have any matter ... it comes from this comes from here and this comes from here ... this rise this falls (yeah) fill the gap and explain (yep yep) you will understand

K: So ... for example the equation you can show how you arrived ... (oh yes) at the answer

W: Yes ... equation ... I can solve the equation ... only letters (yeah) you know the letter ... and I solve the equation only ... this is number 4 this is 3 minus 2 minus 3 (yeah) you know I mean when the examiner ... he will not control

K: Yeah exactly yeah

W: He looking for the final answer (yeah) but in English as you write ... one letter ... will get you no mark ... that's why I am going for ... science

This reaffirms the fallacies within the 'promise of English'. W here feels that English and English assessments are overly punitive. When W states 'He looking for the final answer (yeah) but in English as you write ... one letter ... will get you no mark ... that's why I am going for ... science'. It is clear that science (and mathematics) have overtaken English. The irony here is that English is a global language which is supposed to open doors and creates opportunities. Here it is English which is constraining the identities that W can access and the groups he can enter. However, W has new status resources available and his use of Arabic which have surpassed English in creating the status of an aspirant student (Blommaert 2005).

W's resources are available in the language of science and mathematics and allow him to generate new identity positions independent of any imposition of ESOL levels identification.

It must be noted that W is still willing to learn English. His investment in ESOL English was ultimately disappointing. Extending Norton's (2000) metaphor of investment, W has become involved in 'investment management'. In economics, 'investment management' refers to 'the process of managing investment funds to achieve specific objectives' (Lofthouse 2001: 4 ). By focusing on the process of *managing* investment rather than simply investing as he had done previously, W activates sufficient semiotic resources through Arabic to be successful in science and mathematics (Blommaert 2005). An investment in English now becomes quite different and is managed with new variables that contribute to science and mathematics but not ESOL. By investing in science and mathematics, W can draw upon Arabic and no longer has to narrow his repertoire for ESOL assessment.

W: You know I told you I don't have any matter about the research ... if I don't understand English I will go into Arabic

K: Yeah exactly

W: Arabic resource

K: Yeah yeah exactly

W: And they can gain all the information then

K: Your same strategy that you have done before

W: Yeah

K: And do it again ... so

W: Any obstacle or any ... big ... obstacle I have to go back to my language

K: Exactly ... you had an education before

W: Yeah I had an education and all science is the same all over the world

K: Yeah

W: That one in Arabic and that one in English ... I go to Arabic and I will understand probably (yeah) and I will go back to English

K: I am sure ... I am sure ... that if you work hard the results will happen

W: I-I-I told you that I don't have any matter about ... science ... the-the big ... the enormous obstacle English

While English is an 'enormous obstacle', Arabic ensures that it is not insurmountable. Previously, W's Arabic resources are squeezed out to focus narrowly on ESOL language proficiency. Questionable examination administration and what W perceives as an overly punitive approach towards inaccuracies in English, means that W can now negotiate mathematics and science in very different ways. This is evidenced below:

W: Exam for ESOL ... just only they give you this is true or false ... temperature ... choose the correct answer ... and why this come from? You already have the answer from the book ... you copy ... or you copy the answer from the book it's English

Later

W: Any words I don't know ... I take it out ... I translate it ... I memorize it and I come back like Arabic ... then like for example like ... that's the word of cell membrane yes (yeah) the

cell will contain strength for the cell (yeah) this is-this is the answer (yeah) of course you will know the answer and write next to it ... all the equations ... any topic in the book (yeah) and you will memorize it of course ... memorize all of the book ... He will give me the answer I will give him the answer from the book ... I know it's from outside ... this is no matter for me ... the subject

W has followed a trajectory to an imagined identity and community (Norton 2000; Norton and Toohey 2011). W can call upon resources ranging from his knowledge of science and mathematics as well as English and Arabic. This is in contrast to ESOL education in which the resources that W can call upon are limited and so are identities which can be formed from these resources and positions offered (Blommaert 2005; Simpson 2011). W can have greater flexibility and greater influence in negotiating identities (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004) and communities that he can align himself to.

The tension that existed during the academic year for W lay between imposed identification of being a test-taker (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004; Simpson 2011) and his aspiration and investment as a learner. This tension was further exacerbated by the ESOL exam and placed into sharper focus W's diffidence in English. W is divided by his need to learn English in order to move up the qualifications framework and the sense of futility in knowing that little can be achieved by relying on this alone. It is this sense of divided allegiances between the need to engage with a language, which must be negotiated for aspirational reasons, and an awareness that English also possesses the power to punish inaccuracies and close doors which is at the centre of W's disappointment.

It is safe to assume that many GCSE courses may lead to A-levels, vocational courses or jobs and many A-levels may lead to university – not all but many. In ESOL, the diversity of learners and needs means that there are a number of ongoing trajectories which may be very

different. ESOL cannot cater for all of these and is constrained by what it can offer in terms of services and therefore access to valued linguistic resources (Blommaert 2005; Heller 2011). ESOL's close links to funding regimes means that the identity positions that can be offered are narrow. For a person such as W with a willingness to invest in how to obtain these resources, the process of ascending through the qualifications framework can be fraught and damaging. At the same time, colleges are under enormous pressure for their own survival.

Overall, W has followed the trajectory that has been mapped out via the ESOL qualification framework. Due to the funding constraints, or the possibility of funding cuts, W's aspirations out-strip the ESOL framework. The level placing of W and the speed at which he can progress inhibits W's progress. This is further exacerbated by the exam failure. The manner of the exam administration and the culpability of the college in W's eyes for not allowing him to take a higher level exam only serves to increase W's sense of injustice. W later re-emerges from this nadir with new ways of investing.

W's failure means that he revises his investment. With every investment, something is foregone in the short-term with the hope of providing benefits (Bodie et al. 2008). Investing time and energy in English does not bring the return that W believes his efforts merit. Science and mathematics now become far more valuable in enabling W to achieve his aspirations. Through 'investment management' W can rededicate his efforts more wisely. The 'promise of English' simply does not deliver the opportunities that W has invested in. Instead, English becomes a knife-edge between punishment and success.

Due to funding pressure and the rigidity of the ESOL qualification framework, the college is severely restricted in the types of identification which it can offer. The college cannot adjust to cases such as W in which a learner may not be taking exams at the appropriate level

because of the necessity to treat learners as forms of generating money in order to ensure survival for the next year.

The case of W demonstrates a clash between the imposed identification placed through the college by funding pressures which is at odds with W's trajectory and aspirational identity. When it is clear that the options W follows may be detrimental to his aspirations, W is in crisis about his progress. W re-emerges with a sharpened vision using science and mathematics. While science and mathematics may more likely reward aspirations, for W English retains the capacity to threaten such lofty thinking.

## CHAPTER TEN

### The Citizenship Ceremony

#### Research Question Four: How is the British citizenship ceremony performed?

*‘I have friends and they don’t speak English at all, yeah?*

*But you have to move your lips’. - W*

The British citizenship ceremony marks the legal end-point in the journey to citizenship. This chapter locates itself firstly following W’s submission of the documentation required in applying for citizenship status. Then, once the documents are submitted, waiting times vary in relation to receipt of the Home Office decision. Successful application then leads to an invitation to a citizenship ceremony which must be attended within 90 days of receipt of the invitation.

#### The network of writing

W could legally apply for British citizenship after five years of residence in the UK. In anticipation of this date, W had begun completing the citizenship application form. By the time the date arrived, W was ready and sent the forms as early as possible. Following the submission of documentation, W endured a waiting period for which there was no clearly-defined timescale. Initially, W had appeared quite patient, as evidenced in the following interview segment:

K: So yeah ... so, yeah, so, have you heard anything back now from your citizenship or anything? You’re still waiting now?

W: I’m still waiting.

K: Yeah, so inshallah<sup>25</sup> we will wait and see what happens, so

W: Yes, I hope to get it soon

K: It should be soon, yeah, it should be soon ... so I think you sent in two months, one month ago? In April?

W: One month and a half

K: Yeah ... so there's not ... hopefully there won't be a delay, it will be ok. Inshallah, it will all ... resolve soon and you'll get through and it's ok, yeah

W: Inshallah. I've done everything (that they asked for)

K: (They asked) and you sent all the documents so

W: I sent all of them ... all the document they need and I am waiting for their (decision)

W had to wait more than three additional months before the Home Office responded with a decision. Overall, the time between the submission of documents and the Home Office decision was nearly five months. With a new sense of security upon receiving a final decision, W was more candid about his feelings during the waiting period:

K: It's strange isn't it ... after you try for so long ... the British citizenship ... you know when you do the British citizenship process? All the forms, all the waiting ... five years and then you've got the ceremony

W: I was thinking why are they delaying us ... you know it took me around four months ... you know how some people it took him?

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<sup>25</sup> Inshallah means God willing in Arabic.

K: Weeks

W: Three weeks

K: Yeah

W: More two months ... and I ask myself why? Everything they need documents, supporting documents. Yeah?

K: Yeah

W: Did I make any faults in my application I did myself? Did I do nothing

K: Like make a mistake

W: Shall I contact them? No ... I said no no I wait some time ... finally I receive a letter

K: How did you feel when you received the letter?

W: I feel ... they don't tell me I am British ... (they told me you might)

K: You've got to go to the ceremony?

W: Like they say please note that you should ... your application form be successful, yeah?

What emerges is a sense of anxiety about the waiting time for a decision. However, rather than imagining that the time taken may be due to the speed of processing documents, W immediately assumes that any fault may be of his own doing. Even after receiving the letter of invitation, his sense of anxiety has not dissipated, as W states that 'they don't tell I am British'. There is the insinuation that he still has not done enough and that another trial remains.

W had left Yemen, where he was a Yemeni citizen and possessed full rights, for the UK where he was still not a full, legal citizen. W was acutely aware of this change in status. This was evident in the following exchange:

K: So, one of the things that the government wants to do with the British citizenship, they - they want people to feel British. Do you think, the citizenship, generally, do you feel like this is your, you belong here, you're British now

W: Yes, maybe ninety-five per cent I will feel I'm British, because if you went to the government department, you will be treated as a native

K: Yep

W: And there is no ... discrimination

K: Yeah

W: Maybe you will find different, few people

K: Yeah

W: That don't like foreign people, but the law

K: Protects you

W: Yeah, protects you and force the other people to ... follow the law

K: At the moment now because you're still waiting, aren't you? How about now, do you feel British? Do you think you'll need the citizenship to feel more British?

W: Yes. I need the citizenship to feel more British

K: How - how do you feel now, before?

W: I feel I am not fully, fully British I feel I still have Yemeni passport ... and many things, if you fill a form for many department, they ask you, what is your nationality

K: Yeah, so you fill the boxes, don't you ... yeah? They put the boxes and you have to tick the right

W: Yeah. If you are British something, somewhere ... some many things, if you're British, you don't need ... any, referee or any ...

K: Like sponsor

W: Sponsor, yeah ... like ... if you apply for driving license. If you are British, you can get a form from the post office

K: Yeah

W: Without coming from the side of you

K: The same form as everybody else

W: Yes, the same form as everybody else ... send your passport ... they make sure ... permanent leave in the UK. If you tell them you're British, they don't ask you straightaway. You get the facility

W acknowledges that as a legal resident in the UK with Indefinite Leave to Remain he is 'ninety-five per cent British' and not 'fully, fully British'. However, the deficit of five per cent has clear, practical ramifications on both a level which identifies his status of citizenship and also on a quotidian level, living day to day. W cannot state on application forms that he

is British. Thus, these application forms reproduce the lack of British citizenship which is played out in W's everyday life. On the one hand, there is a vulnerability in this period before becoming a citizen and requiring protection. On the other, there is the promise of acceptance, belonging and legal protection. There is also the realisation that becoming British not only addresses this deficit, but also affords W a sense of protection and security which he currently lacks.

W's sense of insecurity is also symptomatic of an asymmetry of power (Foucault 1977) in which W lives in a state of anxiety until he receives a decision on his status. This is magnified through what Foucault (1977) terms 'the power of writing'. Foucault (1977: 184) states:

'The examination that places individuals in a field of surveillance also situates them in a network of writing; it engages them in a whole mass of documents that capture and fix them. The procedures of examination were accompanied at the same time by a system of intense registration and of documentary accumulation. A "power of writing" was constituted as an essential part in the mechanisms of discipline. On many points, it was modelled on the traditional methods of administrative documentation, though with particular techniques and important innovations. Some concerned methods of identification, signalling or description.'

In order to become citizens, all applicants must pass through the application process in which the State judges their fulfilment of the pre-defined requirements. In relation to this study, a system of surveillance occurs through both the documentation which is submitted to the Home Office and through the ceremony as a form of examination. When applicants become administratively visible to the Home Office they do so through the requirement to provide the

appropriate documentation. Thus, the State's hierarchal observation views and screens all applicants. The applicants become immersed in 'a network of writing' which also permits the 'invisible' power of the Home Office to classify them and to pass judgement on whether they can progress to the next stage of becoming British citizens. Following this administrative phase, the migrants become physically visible during the ceremony.

W eventually received a letter inviting him to the British citizenship ceremony. His letter, the standard one for the region, stated:

'It is a legal requirement that all adults receiving British citizenship must be seen to say the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance in English. Take time to read these and decide which you prefer so that you can tell the registrar on arrival'.

Prior to the citizenship ceremony, applicants are made aware that they must not only say the British Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance, but also *seen* to be doing so. There is an indication that a final performance is required prior to becoming British. Only once this had been satisfied could W be British. Having now created a set of disciplinary conditions, the shibboleth (and visibility of its performance) are still to be negotiated. At this point of visibility in the ceremony, the performance in uttering the Oath/Affirmation and allegiance is made clear. Defects in this performance may have far reaching consequences. To reiterate, Derrida uses the biblical passage relating to the shibboleth. The word 'shibboleth' represents both a code and transition (Derrida 2005). Similarly, the Oath/Affirmation possesses similar qualities.

### **'You have to move your lips'**

The following example outlines how W reacted to receiving the letter of invitation:

K: So what did it say then the new letter?

W: They tell you the detail ... your application has been approved please contact the ... your local authority

K: Yeah

W: About ceremony for Oath ... doing Oath ... and this is detail and now automatically ... they send a letter, they send the certificate to the ... local authority ... and the local authority straight away send you ... appointment for ceremony

K: Yep ... that's {{date}}, yeah?

W: Yes ... it's register office ... and please make sure you bring the passport

K: Details

W: Detail ... No ... I mean to make sure ... correspondence

K: Yeah ... yeah ... of course this is normal so

W: And if you don't do the Oath you will not be a British <wry laugh>

The legal requirement of stating the Oath/Affirmation was clear to W. He recognises the Oath as the 'passage from one to the other' (Derrida 2005: 31). He was also well aware of the potential consequence of not becoming British should he not make the Oath/Affirmation. W had access to friends within the Yemeni community who had already been through the citizenship process. This reliance on 'hot knowledge' from friends not only prepared W, but also provides an insight into how the citizenship ceremony is approached. The shibboleth has the ambiguity of ensuring passage to inclusion but in so doing, maintaining exclusion from

others. The ceremony represents the symbolic moment of the transition between moving between inclusion and exclusion. This occurs not only through the citizenship process itself, but also through the citizenship ceremony. Citizenship erects borders between insiders and outsiders for there cannot be one without the other. It is this ambiguity which lies at the heart to understanding the role of the shibboleth.

If the ceremony can be considered an ‘examination’ in the Foucauldian sense, then the following suggests how those with little understanding or knowledge of English are able to circumvent the demands of the test:

W: No of course ... I have friends and they don’t speak English at all, yeah? But you have to move your lips

K: Yeah

W: To show them you are doing the Oath

K: So your friends who did ... who don’t speak much English, did they know what they were saying?

W: No of course

K: They were just mimicking

W: (They were different) ... they - they don’t what does mean English

Here there are a number of complexities centred on the performance of the Oath. W’s friends perform the Oath, but not in the ‘heart’s mouth’ (Derrida 2005: 30). That is to say, the performance does not occur with the intention that the shibboleth demands. W’s friends may not be declaring their loyalty to the country because they do not know what they are saying.

However, they are still able to pass the shibboleth by moving their lips. Thus, they are being *seen* to be making the Oath rather than making the Oath.

The combination of the shibboleth and examination procedure is potent within the setting of the ceremony. There is an overlap between Rappaport's work on ritual and religion (Rappaport 1999) and Austin's seminal *'How to do things with words'* (Austin 1962). Rappaport (1999: 151) states 'it is virtually definitive of ritual speech that it is stereotyped and stylized, composed of specified sequences of words that are often archaic, is repeated under particular, usually well established circumstances, and great stress is often laid upon its precise enunciation'. Austin (1962) highlights how in some cases it is not only the circumstances under which words may be uttered but '*other* actions' (original emphasis - Austin 1962: 8) which contribute to the performance of the act. For example, Austin references the naming of a ship and marriage for Christians as well as the necessary conditions for the performance of the words uttered to be meaningful. In both Rappaport (1990) and Austin (1962), there are three forces involved. There are (1) the words, (2) the circumstances and (3) the performance. This leads us to the shibboleth of the Oath/Affirmation and performance which both takes place in the examination of the ceremony. The Oath must not only be performed correctly, but in a specific environment of judgment and celebration.

Despite the authority of the shibboleth and examination, there is still space for both to be circumvented. Kramsch's work on imposture (Kramsch 2012) refers to 'passing' (Piller 2002). Passing is a 'temporary performance' (Piller 2002: 200) to be sustained for the duration of a particular encounter (for example first or service encounters). Piller's work focused on high level L2 users. However, W's friends, who are much lower level speakers of English, employ a similar form of performance.

Kramersch's (2012) concept of imposture addresses what may be a necessary strategy for multilingual subjects. More specifically for the analysis of the citizenship ceremony, I will focus on the inability rather than refusal to adopt pre-established positions. Imposture is predicated on what is deemed to be legitimate. Kramersch (2012: 487) explains: 'a legitimate speaker is assumed to be an authentic member of a group' and to gain legitimacy 'requires the sanction of an institution'. The performance of the Oath as a shibboleth during the ceremony establishes the legitimacy of the individual in becoming a citizen. Kramersch (2012: 487-488) continues 'the term imposture presupposes a fixed norm of legitimacy against which individuals measure themselves or are measured by others-the sanction of the public or an internalized idealized norm repeatedly imposed'. This creates a space between the 'idealized self' and 'the self'. The idealized self should be able to say the Oath and bear allegiance to their country. However, through imposture, W's friends ensure that they do enough to be considered legitimate citizens but within the limitations of what they are able to do.

Derrida's answer to what can be done in the face of the shibboleth was 'nothing' (Derrida 2005: 63). The individuals cannot avoid having to make the Oath as it is something required of all. Nevertheless, through temporary performances such as passing and strategies of imposture, the shibboleth and examination can simultaneously be satisfied yet undermined. Passing and imposture become necessary to survive the trial of the Oath and citizenship ceremony. As a result, there are questions about what such Oaths and ceremonies really mean beyond their symbolism.

The following is an extract from discussion with W immediately prior to the citizenship ceremony. The citizens are given a card on which are written the words of the Oath or Affirmation of Allegiance, depending on which they have chosen. The cards are blue and red respectively, to distinguish the Oath from the Affirmation.

K: Alright ... so then you had a choice between the Oath or the Affirmation

W: Yes

K: So you've chosen the Affirmation

W: Yeah

K: Is that what you had to read?

W: Yes

K: So 'I' your name

W: I [W says his name] do solemnly swear, sincerely and truly declare and affirm that on becoming a British citizen

K: Yeah ... ok ... so probably within the next two hours, you're going to be British, the journey to citizenship finishes. How you feeling now? Normal day or

W: I will become really a part of this society

K: Yeah

W: And I will be more confident, and I will get completely British

K: Yeah ... yeah

W: And I will not worry about anything that happened for me from this society

K: View it being equal like everyone else now?

W: Yes, now I feel I got all my rights

Having outlined the difficulties of the Oath prior to the extract, W notes the potential for belonging in stating that he ‘will be more confident’ and ‘completely British’. Furthermore, this leads to a feeling of equality through rights accrued through citizenship.

W had chosen to make the Affirmation as part of the legal requirement to become British. By stating the legally required sentences within the Affirmation, W would go from ‘ninety-five per cent British’ to ‘completely British’. W repeats words such as ‘really a part’ ‘more confident’ and ‘completely British’ which reflect the transitional nature of making the Affirmation. This demonstrates the shibboleth as both password and transition. For W, this would mean the acquisition of the rights accrued in being British, and the protection that it offers.

### **The ceremony**

Before the ceremony each of the citizenship candidates was asked to go to the front of the room to have their documentation checked, and to recite the first line of the Oath/Affirmation, to ensure that they would be able to recite it formally during the ceremony. W described this part of the process as follows:

K: So what did they ask you?

W: She asked me to ... read the first line of the Affirmation

K: Alright

W: Of allegiance

K: Was that to check your English? To make sure

W: Yes, to check my English ... I can read complete sentences

K: Oh, all right ... so you just read it?

W: Yes [inaudible due to background music]

K: Alright ... so then you had a choice between the Oath or the Affirmation

W: Yes

K: So you've chosen the Affirmation

W: Yeah

K: So why did you choose this one and not the other?

W: [W looks unsure]

K: It's ok ... so the red one is the Affirmation, the blue one is the Oath, yeah?

W: Yes

K: Is that what you had to read?

W: Yes

Despite the fact that he has already fulfilled the English language requirements for citizenship candidates, W was very much aware that this part of the process was designed to check his English proficiency. This process of checking appears to have focused on W's ability to read a few words of English, rather than to check his comprehension or spoken English proficiency. Following this process, the officials gave the group the opportunity to

collectively practise their recitation of the Oath/Affirmation and Pledge. The fieldnotes below record this part of the process. B is part of a three person team conducting the ceremony:

B opens the ceremony on behalf of the Lord Mayor and as representative of City and Queen. All citizens stand up. B goes through the Affirmations/Oaths phrase by phrase. I look behind B and there is a table of what appear to be certificates. B encourages the citizens to speak loudly by telling them not to be afraid. He goes through the blue group first and then the red. They do a practice run. I notice as they do that the room is quiet but for the citizens – there are no children. All the citizens are standing together; they then make the pledge. As they go through the pledge, some are proud and speak clearly and loudly. Some people are a little more reserved and some look plain shy and embarrassed. B makes a joke that: ‘we can’t speak your language, so we need you to say it in English. Even if understanding English is difficult – do your best’. He then makes the citizens aware that another hurdle remains. He even says: ‘I know you have jumped through a lot of hoops, but there is still a hurdle to go’. He then says: ‘we’ll be watching. Do your best. Try and do your best’. B is quite welcoming here but it sounds quite ominous. Hence, B asks them to do their best. I sense a desire on his part for the citizens to do their best. He then explains that the citizens will receive a certificate in front of ‘your lovely queen. Our lovely queen’. He self-repairs when he says this. They then receive their certificate and welcome pack. Inside the welcome pack is a small medallion as gift which was minted in the city. B says that everyone gets one – even the children.

*(Fieldnotes)*

In the phrase ‘we’ll be watching’ there is explicit reference to the citizenship ceremony as examination. The citizenship candidates will be subject to the ‘gaze’ and scrutiny of the officials, who will check that they are reciting the Oath/Affirmation of allegiance and the Pledge of loyalty. B makes a joke about not knowing how to say the Oath in their language and so they must do it in English. There is also a recognition that the ceremony functions as an examination when it is referred to as a ‘hurdle’. The ‘hurdle’ is the shibboleth of the Oath. That is not to say that the officials want any failures. B appears to be sympathetic. On the face of the ceremony, there is a very human interaction but there is also the business of a final examination.

Finally the ceremony commences. The fieldnotes below describe how events unfolded.

B stands behind a table in a very formal manner. The table is flanked by two officials who are both women. Everyone looks serious. B then begins a speech about becoming a British citizen and states: ‘this is the final step in the process’. At the end of a short speech, B says ‘normally you are welcomed by a dignitary. In essence, well done’. He then recognises that ‘you have jumped through hoops and deserve to be British’. He says that they don’t give it to just anyone. He later says ‘with this privilege comes responsibility, and obligation to be a good citizen’. He then says that they will be able to vote, which is also a big responsibility. He makes a joke about the police (he too was a policeman once). He then says ‘never forget your background’. He tells the citizens never to be ashamed or to forget their background. B: ‘you are safe here. Never ever forget your roots’. He then signals the end of this part of the ceremony by saying: ‘Good luck. Show tolerance and respect to each other’. He has read his speech from paper and then asks the citizens to stand up. B leads the Affirmation/Oath and goes through it line by line. It takes

just a few minutes. They have difficulties with the word ‘allegiance’. B says: ‘it isn’t easy’ in relation to their mispronunciation. As the citizens are saying their allegiance the two women who are officials are positioned in order to watch all the citizens perform the Oaths. They move, watching the mouths of the citizens as they do this. One official is positioned right in front of the citizens and the other is to their left. They move across and up down in sight of the citizens giving their Oaths. When this is over, the reds make their Affirmations. This time both officials work at the sides. This way they see two rows of people at the same time. This time they call attention to each other and someone is perhaps not saying the words. I later find out that the ‘citizen’ was taken outside. I presume that he will have delivered the Oath one to one. The Affirmation quickly finishes. The officials move into position. B is now back behind the table. There is a final pledge that is said by all. B explains the next steps.

*(Fieldnotes)*

There is recognition here that the ceremony is a final hurdle. Until this moment, the would-be citizens cannot define themselves as British citizens. It is the final step. In this sense it is the liminal point between becoming and being. It is notable that the organizer states ‘never forget your background’. Similarly, in Verkaaik’s study (2010: 76) a Dutch mayor leading a ceremony says ‘Do not forget where you come from and be proud of who you are’. The officials who implement policy and represent the government interface with the citizens appear to show an awareness and sensitivity in valuing the immigrant journey and heritage as a source of pride. This is more akin to a multicultural discourse.

The people present must stand and perform correctly the shibboleth of the Oath/Affirmation. The combination of physical conduct (standing) and the Oath itself demonstrates that ‘the

relationship between the physical and the spoken in ritual is complementary, each class claiming virtues the other lacks' (Rappaport 1999: 152). Furthermore, being seen to be saying the Oath requires a physical arrangement that allows the citizenship ceremony officials to see every person. Foucault (1977: 173) states:

'The disciplinary institutions secreted a machinery of control that functioned like a microscope of conduct; the fine, analytical divisions that they created formed around men an apparatus of observation, recording and training ... The perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible for a single gaze to see everything constantly'.

As the citizens make their Oath, they are under a 'perfect disciplinary apparatus'. The citizens are all made visible to two (three including the person conducting the ceremony) gazes which represent the disciplinary institution. These gazes have the capacity to judge and in so doing, both include and exclude. All citizens must be seen to be making the shibboleth of the Oath. W was well aware of the ceremony as an 'examination':

K: You did that and ... I don't know if you noticed, there was the two women watching

W: Yeah, yeah they were watching us ... if we pronouncing the words

K: Yeah, that's right, yeah

W: Lips to make sure

K: Your lips are moving as well

W: Yes <W nods and smiles>. They look into our lips

Having been ‘seen’ and ‘judged’, W had become British. W had been successful in passing through the ‘circumcised word’ which ‘grants access to the community or alliance, to the partaking of a language, in a language’ (Derrida 2005: 62). W had now become British and the access granted had now opened up a new community and with its promised sense of belonging. This is symbolised below by the emblem of the passport. Immediately after the ceremony, W described the experience:

K: Alright ... so, so that’s the end of your citizenship journey ... there’s no more -no more journey to citizenship, no more

W: It’s a journey of life to the passport

Thus, we return to the beginning of the thesis with the final line from W. The passport is the symbol of citizenship for W *par excellence*. W had navigated the disciplinary procedures and yet had done so in a way that had satisfied the requirements. For all that political discourse promotes a sense of citizenship and the intrinsic features that it promises; W’s first thought following the ceremony was for the passport. There are parallels here with B in that B spoke of British citizenship offering rights and protection. Both W and B denote the symbolic and practical aspects gaining a passport.

The submission of application forms for naturalisation requires the immigrant to become complicit in a form of discipline which is enforced through the ‘power of writing’ (Foucault 1977). The ensuing time until the decision is made is an anxious and difficult period for the applicant. Upon receiving the Home Office’s decision, there still remains a ‘final hurdle’ of the citizenship ceremony, in which all candidates must be visible to the officials in stating the Oath/Affirmation and Pledge of Allegiance. This is the symbolic moment of the shibboleth. On the one hand the citizenship ceremony is a consecration of belonging, and on the other

hand it is a disciplinary process. It is an examination and yet it is also a celebration. There is inclusion and there has to be exclusion.

W was well aware of the ceremony as an examination, as were his friends. W's friends did not know what they were saying, yet had done enough to be 'seen' to meet the requirements. Under the surface of a celebratory ceremony is perhaps the oldest and most primitive form of language testing through the shibboleth which takes place in an arena of nationalism and modern day disciplinary examination. W passed the 'examination' and yet his first thought following his moment of becoming British was of the practical benefits of holding a British passport. Whether the ceremony had created a greater sense of belonging and made becoming British more meaningful is debatable. However, he had satisfied all the requirements and could now live life as a British citizen.

The rituals and discourse surrounding the ceremonial aspects of citizenship represent a microcosm of belonging and power. Not only are immigrants at the frontline of such power relationships, but so are the officials involved. All of those involved became complicit within this choreography of inclusion. How they negotiated this varied.

The citizenship ceremony marks the endpoint of a legal aspect of citizenship. Beneath the pomp of the ceremony is a final examination. While it may not be as taxing as the LUK test, it remains, emblematically at least, a final hurdle. Even at the moment that immigrants become citizens, disciplinary power must be negotiated through a modern day shibboleth.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

### Conclusion

This thesis has been based on notions of becoming in relation to British citizenship. Becoming has taken many forms: (1) becoming a citizen, through testing, (2) ideological becoming, (3) through ESOL education and (4) the citizenship ceremony. These forms of becoming have been reflected through the research questions for this thesis which were as follows:

1. How are the technical and ideological aspects of the LUK test negotiated?
2. How do the linguistic practices of a community contribute to ideological becoming and notions of belonging?
3. How is ESOL policy identification experienced?
4. How is the British citizenship ceremony performed?

Although not pre-planned, each form of becoming has included a test. Question one dealt with the LUK test. Question two not only investigated the LUK test through ideological becoming but also examined the everyday aspects of community life and notions of belonging. Question three included ESOL examinations as well as the wider aspects of ESOL policy and its qualification routes. Question four viewed the ceremony as an examination.

To extend the analysis of these types of becoming, we turn to Bakhtin (1981) in relation to his analysis of the influences of novelistic plots. The nature of the plot within the novel is a way of organizing ‘the exposure of social languages and ideologies, the exhibiting and experiencing of such languages: the experience of a discourse, a world view and an ideologically based act’ (Bakhtin 1981: 365). Of particular interest to this section are (1) the *Prüfungsroman* and (2) the *Bildungsroman* and the *Entwicklungsroman*. These two types of

novel types can be distinguished apart. The *Prüfungsroman* is a ‘novel of tests and trials’ (Schmitt 1992: 146) as opposed to the *Bildungsroman* and *Entwicklungsroman* which focuses on the ‘developmental’ aspects of becoming (Schmitt 1992: 146). It is this difference between (1) test/trial and (2) development in relation to the individual which relates to the research questions.

For Bakhtin, the *Prüfungsroman* (also referred to as the Baroque novel) contained within it the idea of trials as a way of testing the hero. Bakhtin (1981: 388) states ‘The idea of trial permits a complex organization of diverse novelistic material around the hero. But the very content of the idea of trial may change fundamentally in different eras and among different social groups.’ Bakhtin continues with an eloquent description of various forms of trials through different types of novels. It is also clear that test/trials may vary in accordance to the epoch and ‘social groups.’

Bakhtin noted the shortcoming of becoming in novels viewed primarily through testing/trials. Bakhtin (1981: 392) explains in the following passage:

‘The idea of testing within itself the necessary means to deal with a man’s “becoming”; in several of its forms it knows crisis and rebirth, but it does not know development, becoming, a man’s *gradual* formation. Testing begins with an already formed person and subjects him to a trial in the light of an ideal also already formed’.

While testing/trials captures of sense of trial through ‘crisis and rebirth,’ it neglects the ‘*gradual* formation’ of an individual. Hence, the *Bildungsroman* and the *Entwicklungsroman* aptly convey the ‘development’ of an individual. This offers ‘a new way’ (Bakhtin 1981: 393) to understand the hero in the novel. Bakhtin (1981) notes that both forms of becoming

are not mutually exclusive and in combination can provide fruitful perspectives in understanding the individual.

The four research questions and data correlate to these forms of becoming. The LUK test and the citizenship ceremony are forms of trials or testing in research questions one and four. There are more ‘*gradual* formation’ forms of becoming through everyday life and education as in research questions two and three. I use these points from Bakhtin as starting points to better articulating the key themes from the data and analysis as well as concluding thoughts of this thesis. I recognize how the two forms of becoming may differ. However far from dichotomizing becoming, the testing/trial and developmental aspects can merge and better describe events from this thesis.

### **Trials of the ideal**

One way of discussing the forms of becoming through the LUK test is in terms of recognising what the test represents in terms of the ‘trial’ and through the ‘ideal’ that it substantiates. Löwenheim and Gazit (2009: 148) refer to citizenship tests as ‘the open window into the “mind” of the state’. Shohamy (2006) suggests that such tests work as mechanisms of ideology. In short, through understanding the heart of the test, we can analyze both the sense of trial (through undertaking a test) and the ideal that it promotes through ideology.

While the above paragraph is concerned with a formal, standardized test, the following paragraph focuses on another ‘test’. The citizenship ceremony would appear at *prime facie* to be a celebration. However, it is also a final trial. At the end of a long journey, physically, metaphorically and bureaucratically, the end point in the process arrived in the ceremony for citizenship. The citizenship application requires fulfilling the requirement of language, length

of residency and good behaviour. The citizenship ceremony presents a trial and celebration in the same breath.

In many respects the citizenship ceremony is quite straightforward. Citizens arrive. They register and their documents and identity are checked. They sit through the ceremony, make the pledge and allegiance/Oath. They shake hands with dignitaries and receive their certificates while having their pictures taken. At the end of the ceremony, they stand until the end of the national anthem and are then free to leave. Then, they can apply for a British passport. However, it is not as simple as it may appear.

Having outlined both the LUK test and ceremony as types of testing/trials with an immediate status bestowed upon the individual, the following section will examine how the trials and ideals are played out. W represents the ‘already formed individual’. This study demonstrates the forces involved in creating an ideal and the complexity of impressing this over individuals who may paradoxically satisfy and undermine the trial at the same time.

### **The Ideal**

The creation of the LUK test constructs are a result of immigration legislation and are linked to sociopolitical forces rather than educational goals (McNamara and Roever 2006). Successive legislations between 1948 until 1981 transformed the UK from a country which encouraged Commonwealth citizenship (Hansen 2000) to a country of national citizenship in 1981. Twenty one years later, language proficiency and civic knowledge became requirements for 21st century British citizenship. In relation to immigration legislation, these requirements became the test constructs for the LUK test.

Once the test construct becomes the basis for the test, it undergoes reinterpretations from tester to test-taker and possibly beyond. W and TUK correctly identified the constructs while

also adding the extraneous factor of multilingual test preparation. Furthermore, both W and TUK also taught others how to pass the test. This was another phase in the life of the test construct. W explained that the people who he prepared for the test also began preparing others. This would be another phase in the life of the construct through another reinterpretation.

This thesis has taken the stance that a dialogic approach more accurately recognises the forces which guide the formation and reinterpretations of the test construct. This is an inherent acknowledgment of the temporal qualities of the test construct which means that it never exists quarantined in one context (Vice 1997). Bakhtin (1984: 202) conveys this dynamic, temporal quality when stating that ‘The life of the word is contained in its transfer from one mouth to another, from one context to another, from one social collective to another, from one generation to another’. In the case of the LUK test, the construct has passed from immigration legislation to educational assessment, politician to tester, from tester to test-taker and from test-taker to other test-takers. By this time, the test construct has been ‘permeated with the interpretation of others’ (Bakhtin 1984: 202), which in this case would be W and TUK, it retains the flavour of the original text constructs but also acquires new facets through new interpretations which can paradoxically serve to satisfy yet undermine the test.

The LUK test has been updated during the writing of this thesis in 2013. History was not a part of the ‘sufficient knowledge about life in the United Kingdom’ construct in 2007. However, history is a part of the test in 2013. At the time of the introduction of the new handbook for the reformed test, Mark Harper (the Minister for Immigration) stated ‘The new book rightly focuses on values and principles at the heart of being British. Instead of telling people how to claim benefits, it encourages participation in British life’ (Home Office 2013). This demonstrates a change in both content of the test and the values which it represents.

Both W and TUK had expressed how the civic aspects of the test had been useful. This is the same area which appears to have been discarded from the test in favour of history and culture.

This thesis has sought to capture a particular epoch during which the LUK test was negotiated. It is limited to a snapshot as the test has changed, and will no doubt change again in the future. By maintaining a dialogic approach, there can be greater congruence with how the test and test constructs relate to one another. It also means that the construct becomes a moving frame rather than a static picture through time (Pierson 2004). This relates to the future orientation of the construct long after this thesis.

At the end point of the citizenship process, the citizenship ceremony contains the elements of an examination (Foucault 1977). Although this does not take place in a traditional educational setting, the citizenship ceremony retains the power to assess, exclude and include. Foucault's work on examinations works on two levels: the physical arrangement and the symbolic meaning in terms of power. The ceremony functions on both of these levels. Within this is a shibboleth which requires utterance by the individual in order to make the transition from inclusion to exclusion.

The citizenship ceremony becomes a de facto examination. Firstly, there is the 'hierarchal surveillance'. The multiple gazes of the organizers and the organization of the citizens in order to be observed collectively and individually means that they are watched during the ceremony. More specifically, their mouths are watched. The organization of the citizens was in rows and 'observed' by at least two organizers. Secondly, there is a 'normalizing judgment' which can compare, contrast as well as include and/or exclude. In this respect, the performative aspect of making the pledge and allegiance/Oath permits the organizers to judge and even 'punish' against the 'power of the norm' (Foucault 1977). There is a perception of

how the shibboleth ought to be performed. The norm in this respect overlaps with Bakhtin's 'ideal' with the imposition of a marker against which the migrant is judged and included or excluded.

### **The ideal and reality**

Returning to Messick (1989a) for a more technical perspective of the LUK test through construct validity, this thesis has demonstrated the complexities of negotiating a citizenship test. At the crux of this negotiation is how W and TUK negate the knowledge of English construct in order to satisfy the knowledge of the UK. One construct (regarding language) is negated in order to be able to fulfil the other (knowledge of life in the UK).

The construct validity in this study is threatened by elements of construct under representation and construct-irrelevant variance. The test score possesses construct under representation as the levels of English do not correlate to the B1 level at which the questions are written (TSO 2007). Testwiseness and a multilingual preparation in English can distort the score. This enskilment in managing linguistic resources in test preparation becomes a construct-irrelevant variance. The test becomes as much a management of linguistic resources as it is a test of English. Taken on these terms, the test becomes manageable for those who may have otherwise struggled.

Understanding test preparation through the lens of regulation offers a clearer understanding of W and TUK's practices (Sebba 2007). Such citizenship tests rely on a very specific display of knowledge which has been described as 'a convenient fiction' (Blackledge 2009). That these discourses are published and tested in the dominant language means that there is a regulation of both content and language towards a particular performance of knowledge state (Shohamy 2006). However, having created a test 'curriculum' through the LUK handbook,

test-takers have the space to do as they wish in an unregulated manner. Furthermore, they are able to assist others in the same way. It is this area of unregulated practices which cannot be dominated. Messick (1998) argues, a test can enforce what is learnt, but not always how. In this thesis, unregulated areas serve to magnify just how far from reality the ideological regulation of linguistic resources can be.

Given Messick's (1989a, 1996) preoccupation with social aspects of testing in validity, the idea of justice becomes pertinent (McNamara and Ryan 2011). There is a question over whether migrants should have to take citizenship tests (Blackledge 2005; Etzioni 2007; Shohamy and McNamara 2008; Kostakopoulou 2011). While this is an important discussion, the data in this thesis is limited to demonstrating that migrants are also capable of making more just, tests which are fundamentally unjust. By preparing in unregulated ways, migrants may have greater liberty (albeit limited within the scope of preparation materials) to prepare on their own terms. To some extent, this ensures that they are able to mediate the test by aligning the test with their linguistic resources rather than the other way around.

That migrants must negate the linguistic demands in order to make the test more meaningful demonstrates its flaws. On a technical level, that a test can possess so much importance yet be undermined by practices from some of the most marginalized members of society shows how susceptible it is to subversion. It also crystallizes the chasm between the political and ideological aspects of a citizenship test and the personal and interactional realities of some test-takers.

Returning to the citizenship ceremony, this thesis has adopted Foucault's idea of discipline and Derrida's shibboleth. The examination, it must be remembered, is part of a wider form of 'discipline'. Discipline represents 'the moment when the reversal of the political axis of individualization ... takes place' (Foucault 1977: 192). It is the role of the ceremony as a

‘specific technology of power’ (Foucault 1977: 193) which holds back from pronouncing the migrant a citizen until the very end of the ceremony. Although the likelihood of citizenship being rescinded at the ceremony is low, the examination involves a performative aspect of the shibboleth that must be satisfied and which represents the implicit threat of being judged and possibly excluded. This exercises a level of power over the citizens even in a moment of celebration.

This section of the discussion has focused on two very specific examples of trials in becoming. The LUK test and the citizenship ceremony are the most symbolic forms of ‘nationalizing practices’ (Kostakopoulou 2010a, 2011). It is notable that these particular forms of becoming trials fulfil language requirements and legal statuses. However, this thesis has demonstrated how the experiences of ordinary individuals such as W can show the complexities of such trials.

Given the discourse relating the LUK test to integration, the test acts as a nexus point connecting chapters seven and eight. Whereas chapter seven viewed the test in more technical terms through test constructs and Messick’s unified concept of validity, chapter eight takes this on further to investigate the assimilation of discourses and its wider implications. Chapter nine scrutinized becoming through ESOL education. Both chapters eight and nine focus on the ‘*gradual* formation’ (Bakhtin 1981: 392) of W.

### **ideological becoming**

Bakhtin’s ideological becoming provides a useful conceptual understanding in addressing how the content and practices of a test are assimilated. A test can be considered a ‘zone of contact’ (Bakhtin 1981) in which the individual may struggle with an authoritative discourse. In every test, there is an authoritative discourse which claims greater power and possesses

greater weight in order for success in a test. In the case of this study, that authoritative discourse is the LUK handbook and it is this discourse which is privileged in the zone of contact. When the individual negotiates the authoritative discourse on his/her own terms and in contrast with more official or powerful discourses creates ideology (small i) (Bakhtin 1981; Freedman and Ball 2004).

Whereas Ideology tends to work as a larger, more collective set of beliefs (Blommaert 1999, 2005; Tollefson 2011), ideology relates to an ‘individual act’ (Medvedev and Bakhtin 1978: 7) within social processes. Being confronted with a citizenship test is one such ‘individual act.’ The struggle with the authoritative discourse had caused W to rely on his Arabic linguistic resources. W’s ideology based on his experiences influenced the de facto language planning for teaching others to prepare for the test (Shohamy 2006). Thus, ideology more aptly captures how W and those whom he taught prepared for the test. The further resonance of an adopting an ideological approach is that it is empirically manageable and focuses on individual actions and practices which is useful for studies such as this. Hence, ideology can be complementary to Ideology and use the surrounding culture and beliefs of the individual as a starting point in understanding how mechanisms such as tests can be observed. This is particularly relevant in finding empirical solutions for analysing how I(i)deologies operate in everyday life

Ideological becoming is premised on the extent to which words are ‘selectively assimilated’. This process occurs through internally persuasive discourse. Whereas authoritative discourse possesses the ‘impermissibility’ to modification (Bakhtin 1981: 344), internally persuasive discourse is creative and flexible. This thesis has shown that the ideological becoming of W and his capacity to internalize and assimilate the test content is reliant on Arabic as well as English. Furthermore, he becomes the language planner for others in providing a bilingual

platform from which others can make the LUK handbook internally persuasive. He does so by deciding how the test will be taught to others.

The notion of psychological belonging (Baumeister and Leary 1995) offers a window into the notion of communities. Belonging here is premised on two conditions. Belonging is created through (1) frequent and (2) affectively pleasant interactions. W made distinctions between his 'two society'. One world is based along frequent interactions with other migrants and other Muslims. The other involves interactions with a less known and more unpredictable 'world' which is inhabited by those who are different in terms of skin colour and faith. This echoes the 'parallel lives' (Cantle 2002) which had been a cause of the 2001 riots which reinvigorated the drive for citizenship. The question then is to what extent are notions of communities and integration relevant.

Traditional notions of communities are limited in describing the nature of W's affiliations and interactions. While W recognised that he lived in 'two society,' his day to day interactions included a set of 'personalized communities'. He lived within a set of networks which acted as personalized communities to which he had frequent interaction and which were pleasantly affective. These personalized communities centered on work, the local Yemeni community and the ESOL classroom. None of these spaces were monolingual English spaces nor predominantly frequented by white, English speaking people or communities.

The factory where W worked was a place where W works side by side with his Islamic 'brothers'. Although the factory was diverse in that Pakistani, Yemeni and Somali migrants worked together, it is a place which in linguistic terms uses very little English. The factory is a centre for Islamic charity where second hand goods are sent to less fortunate places. It is also a place where migrants have an anchoring point of reference which can provide help

through their manager who, beyond his job, also assists in providing multilingual and practical assistance.

The khat sessions, which were legal during data collection, also take an important part in one of W's worlds. The khat sessions bring Yemeni people and their concerns in the area together. In these spaces, those who need help in terms of language have access to others who both speak their language and can offer bilingual support. As with the workplace, there is a culture of helping other migrants. Whereas the workplace brought together Muslims from different places, this is a purely Yemeni space where long settled and newly arrived Yemeni migrants are able to meet.

W's relationship with English is interesting. On the one hand, W teaches basic English to low level Yemeni migrants. On the other, W attends ESOL where he is one of the strongest students. There is W's own journey to learning English and he acts as a *de facto* teaching assistant in buffering between the teacher and the other students. In both cases, W acts as a bilingual link in helping others improve their English. Once again, there is a manifestation of multilingual support for those at varying positions within the migrant journey.

In the examples above, there is evidence, through personal networks, of W's interactions. The loss of a set of networks and the rebuilding of networks is a key aspect of leaving one country for another for many migrants (Eve 2010). W himself received bilingual support within a prevalent assistance culture through personalized communities. This is something that he has been keen to pass on. This does not come at the cost of the community, but in order to support it. Beyond the language support, there are more universalistic principles of support which may be lost if viewing actions through the orientation of English as the sole, dominant language for the community.

The role of adult ESOL education was also significant. This occurs at a number of levels. Firstly, ESOL education was under threat of significant economic cuts which had a direct impact on how institutions could manage their current funding streams and plan for the future. Secondly, the qualification frameworks for ESOL define the journey of those migrants; in this case, by W whose aspirations cannot be contained by ESOL qualifications. For those with higher aspirations, they must negotiate a journey in which success and failure is contingent on exam success or failure. Finally and crucially, there is the ambition of W whose desire to go to university is at odds with how he is identified as a test-taker and source of generating future funding for the college.

This study has shown the implications of how cuts at a policy level can permeate through to everyday lives. The college was affected in that its timescale became extremely condensed. Unsure of whether there would be funding beyond the current academic year, the college had to balance educational progression and learner trajectories with their own self-preservation. This impacted on the targets for funding and an imposed identification of the learners as conducive to generating finances.

The qualification framework of ESOL education follows a very rigid framework (Baynham and Simpson 2010; Simpson 2011). The funding regimes ensure that exams must be taken sequentially which leaves very little room for fast-tracking. Situations like that of W, who progressed quickly due to his own work, do not permit much room to accelerate progress. The rigidity of the ESOL framework means that W had fallen out of sync with his own imagined trajectory. This puts him at odds with the college's enforced sense of short-termism due to its need to survive beyond September. Trajectories play an important role in understanding aspirations. W's imagined trajectory clashed with the demands placed on the college.

W's failure at a level of ESOL caused him to re-assess his investment in regards to learning English. There is a realization that W will be punished for his mistakes yet gain the minimum progression from his successes. W emerges having endured the 'trial' of failure. As a result, W shifts towards more thematic subjects such as science and mathematics. As part of W's 'investment management', he can be better described as a science student learning English rather than an ESOL student learning science even if he remains within the ESOL framework.

Having identified with a particular trajectory, the failure causes W to no longer view learning English through ESOL as fair. Previously W had been investing in learning English, however the crisis he suffered following the exam failure caused a re-evaluation of how this investment was spread. W had previously been committed to learning English in ESOL. A change occurred in that W was now investing in science and mathematics for GCSEs. This was considered to be more likely to provide a return. Hence, W was now managing his investment more prudently in anticipating that the return on ESOL was likely to reap less reward than science and mathematics.

### **The promise of English**

In the above section, learning English comes with certain 'promises' (Pennycook 2007).

Following the political discourse, learning English ensures the harmony of national and local communities (Blackledge 2005). If multilingualism was considered to be a cause of social disturbance and if citizenship creates greater 'social cohesion', learning English possesses a tacit promise of unity and equality. Furthermore, investing in ESOL English qualifications contains a 'promise' through the trajectory towards other qualifications.

While political discourse may propagate notions of English language proficiency for the sustenance of communities, this negates the dynamic link between language and network

building. To assume that English maintains the community is to assume that a) English is needed by all to the same extent and b) multilingualism has no role to play in community development. Whereas traditional notions of communities may be based on a shared language, personalised communities are based on linguistic resources and interaction. As such, as networks develop, so may linguistic resources.

This returns us to the idea of integration. By W's own admission, his daily life simply does not require much English. In his current situation, even with knowledge of English, he can survive day to day life without it. He has demonstrated that he can pass the LUK test. However, he may speak English, but he may have few people to speak English to.

Languages can be viewed as social constructs which can be used by nation states appealing to a particular projection of the national community (Heller 2007). In turn, static and stable notions of community do not necessarily represent quotidian experiences. Furthermore, notions such as integration require contestation. W appears to be a person willing to empower his community and willing to invest in English. However, W does not interact with 'natives' in the way that politicians may value. In some ways, he could be considered a part of the problem rather than the solution by providing multilingual support and translation assistance (Pickles 2012). Such conclusions would gloss over the more universal values that W possesses and the challenges to expand his personalised communities that he may face.

W's need for English is linked to his professional aspirations. ESOL education, like many English courses, has a 'promise of English' (Pennycook 2007). That is to say, an idea, whether real or not, that English can open doors and create possibilities. By the same token, English can also narrow options and provide an illusory hope that retains the capacity to subjugate for inaccuracy. For W, having been disappointed by this promise, he re-emerges emboldened by the power of other international languages: science and mathematics. In this

way, English is still learnt but this is coincidental in the pursuit of a more direct route towards reaching the goal of studying at university. Furthermore, science and mathematics allow for a reliance on prior knowledge and multilingual resources in a way that the ‘promise of English’ cannot permit.

In W’s case, these promises are left unfulfilled despite his compliance. He has learnt English and taught others in his communities and he has both received and given multilingual support. W has invested in learning English but has encountered qualification frameworks which restrict rather than enhance his progress. However, he is left disillusioned about how English qualifications can improve his prospects.

This thesis examines the ideal, but it also considers the sense of promise. If individuals like W fulfil the requirements of the promise but this promise is never realized, we need to examine what the consequences are and why. There is a sense of illusion which promises a certain type of becoming, but does not deliver. The concern would be: if buying into such promises proves to be an illusion and willing migrants such as W are subjected to a trial in which even their best efforts are never enough, then what chance for others?

## **Conclusion**

W’s journey to citizenship has encapsulated a series of tests/trials and development which have contributed to various forms of becoming in relation to life as a British citizen.

Bakhtin’s (1981) notion of becoming in relation to trials and ideals provides a thematic distinction between the different forms of becoming. The LUK test and the ceremony are forms of tests or examinations which require W to demonstrate a certain knowledge state and/or specific performance. This fulfils a linguistic and legal requirement of citizenship and

offers a clear distinction between those who ‘pass’ and those who ‘fail’. They also represent citizenship as a form of status which requires a symbolic and legal function.

In contrast to ‘tests’, this study has also captured forms of development which are linked to participative aspects of citizenship. The sense of development exists in how W makes a place for himself in British citizenship. This study shows the importance of relying on migrant personalized communities for those who must find their way in a new country. While it may be important to learn English, its relevance may be lessened if migrants have no one to speak English to. Given that a migrant with perfect English in W’s position arrives in a similar set of socioeconomic conditions, just what allows them to break out into a set of personalised communities which incorporate interactions with non-migrants? Perhaps the root reasons may not be language (van Avermaet 2009).

The progression through ESOL education is another type of development linked to W’s aspirations. In order for W to succeed in his ambition to go to university, W must overcome several forms of trials linked to education. For instance, he must take exams, seek adequate (according to his trajectory) level placing, find progression routes and of course, study. This trial of educational development is focused on an overall progression or trajectory. Whose trajectory is of importance here? ESOL institutions may be hamstrung by sociopolitical circumstances and may be barely able to provide the minimal trajectories within a rigid qualification framework. Consequently, the individual’s trajectory may be limited by the options available. Even if W follows the projected trajectory through the qualification framework, there is no guarantee at the end of that W’s will reach his goals.

The recommendations from this thesis are predicated on two areas: challenging the ‘ideal’ and contesting the ‘promise of English’ (Pennycook 2007). Tests are premised on creating an ideal and creating a trial of the individual according to this ideal (Bakhtin 1981). How this

ideal is formed is essential to consider. This ideal in the context of citizenship is subject to sociopolitical forces through which high-stakes tests are created (Blackledge 2006; McNamara and Roever 2006). If this ideal is used for political purposes to not only appeal to certain sections of society but to serve as a mechanism of exclusivity (Shohamy 2006; Shohamy and McNamara 2008), this would illuminate the true nature of such ideals and the Ideologies upon which they are founded and question why they are necessary. Migrants have historically been able to settle in new countries successfully without being held to ideals based on language (Rosenberg 2007).

The LUK test was introduced in 2005. It was changed in 2007 and 2013. The first citizenship ceremony took place in 2004. The tests may change and the ideal they represent must be considered. If this ideal uses the English native speaker as an ideal, migrants must become like them through a process of ‘assimilation’ or ‘integration’ (Blackledge 2005; Avermaet 2009; Extra et al. 2009). In so doing, there is the possibility that the migrant may never fully succeed. The legitimization through citizenship laws and tests of assimilative and ideological mechanisms means that such ideals are not only subject to internalization by the migrants but also accepted by wider societies (Shohamy 2006). Examining British immigration history, such measures of restriction have tended to become only tighter over time. For this reason, when Bakhtin (1981: 388) states ‘the very content of the idea of trial may change fundamentally in different eras and among different social groups’, it has an ominous sense foreboding. Thus, the ideal that relates to the trial must be challenged.

While learning English is considered a condition to remain in the UK, questions need to be raised about the ‘promise of English’. A fundamental question remains about how best to provide opportunities for those who wish to invest their energies in a better life through learning English. What we must avoid is a situation in which a set of circumstances serves to

reproduce rather than to address existing inequalities. If individuals such as W are railroaded to less beneficial routes of progression, even with their concerted efforts and tenacity to succeed, there may be even less hope for others. If W does all that is asked in terms of learning English and being a prominent member of his community, what can he gain from the ‘promise?’

How one develops can also be linked to educational achievement. If the routes to progress are prohibitively difficult and the pre-defined trajectories reduce the options to best utilize the aspirations and skills of migrants, migrants such as W may be destined to lower level jobs and positions in society and so too may future generations. While it is common in many societies for migrants to endure struggles to make a new life, it is almost impossible for migrants if citizenship and the system they are in never rewards their positive values (van Avermaet 2009). It has been suggested that migrants and society thrive most when their desire to advance themselves is cultivated and rewarded by opportunities that are available (Kostakopoulou 2010c). If the educational frameworks and opportunities inhibit progress, willing migrants such as W may be pre-destined to struggle.

The journey to citizenship in this thesis has indeed been, in W’s words, ‘a journey of life’. Citizenship is a status but it is also much more in terms of becoming and being British. As such, this study has been about life in the UK, living in the UK and making a life in the UK. When these aspects of an overall journey are considered and the flaws addressed, the promises of both English and British citizenship are more likely to be successful and equitable for societies and migrants such as W.

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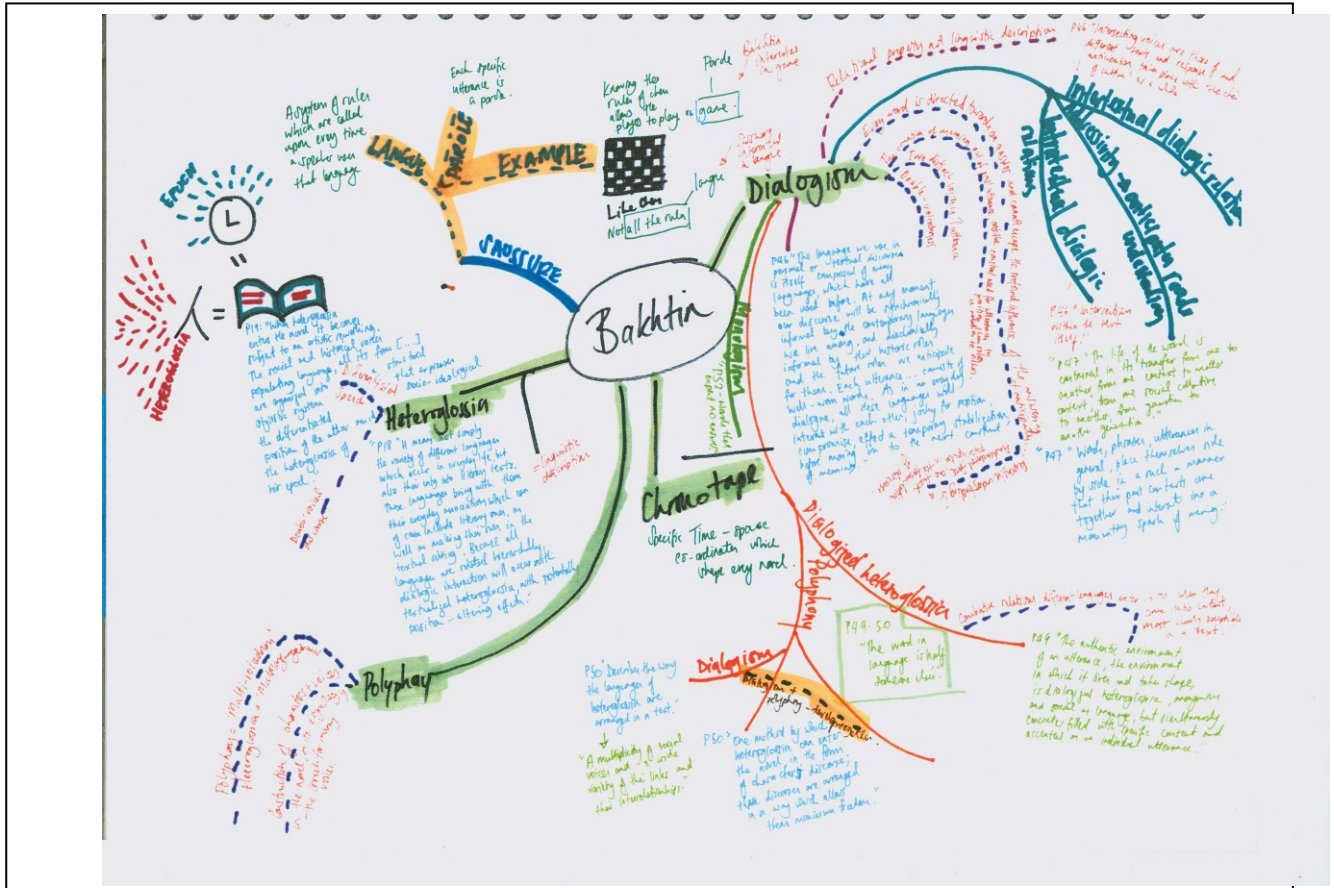
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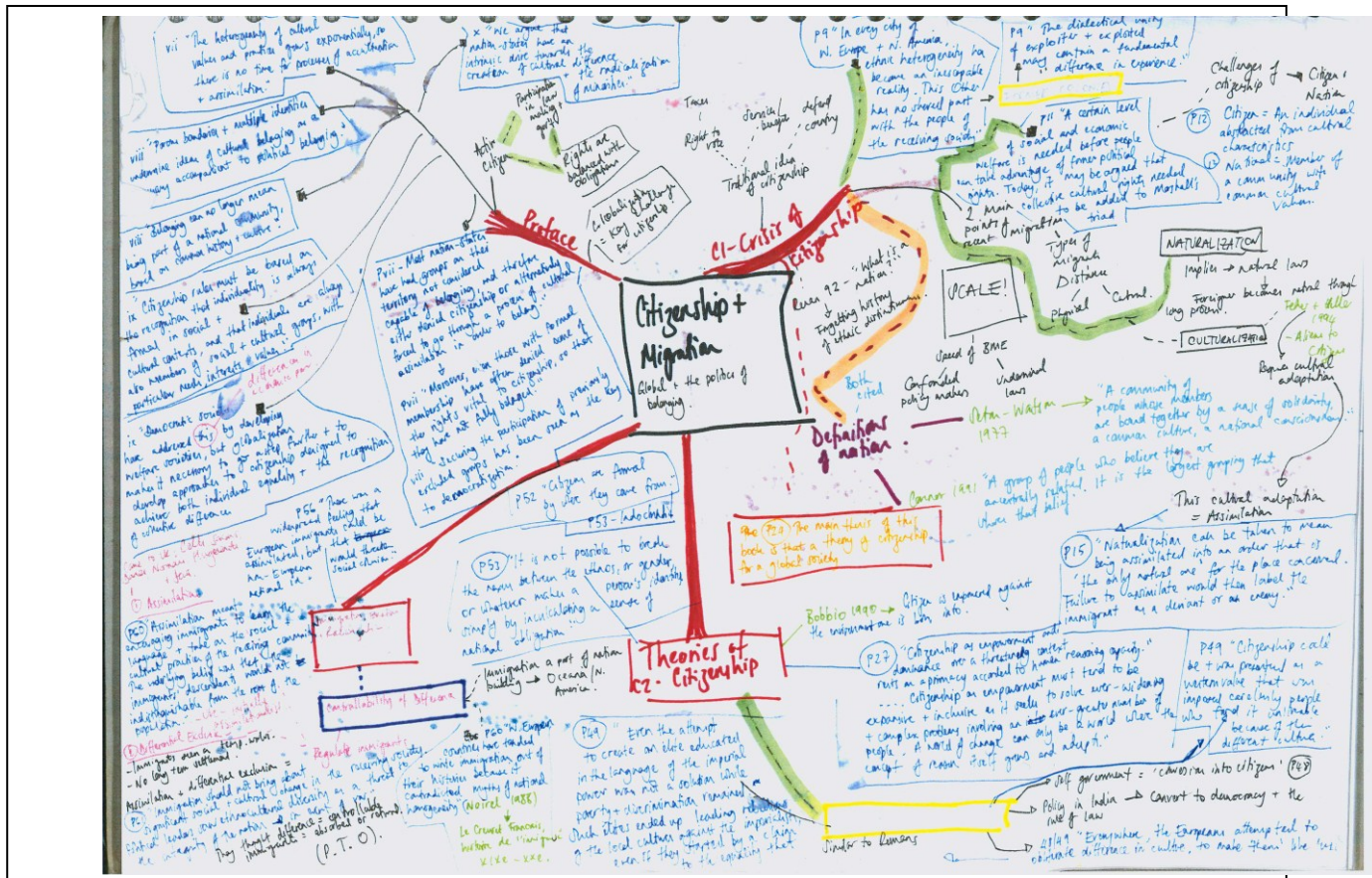
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## **APPENDICES**

## Mind maps of readings



Mind map 1 - Bakhtin reading from an early stage of my PhD. At this point, I was coming to learning key terms.



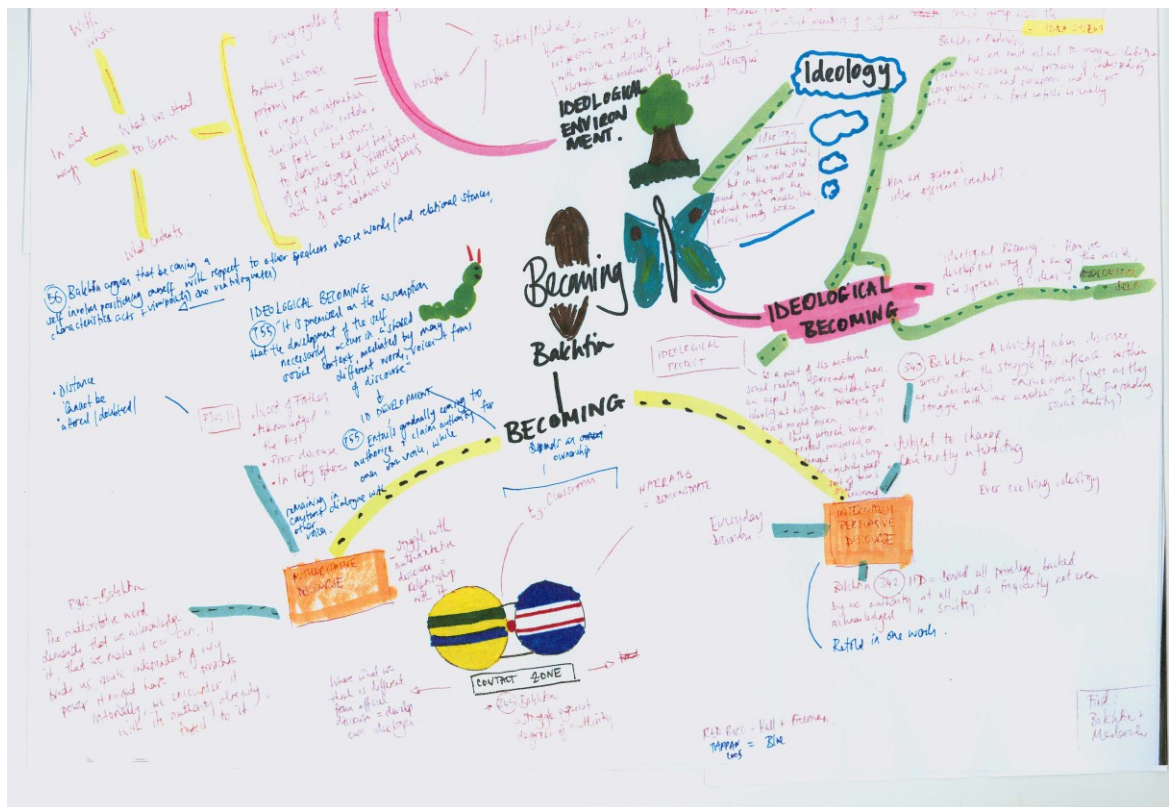
Mind map 2 – An early reading of ‘Citizenship and Migration’ (Castles and Davidson 2000)

## APPENDIX 2

### Mind map of connected texts

In developing the idea of ideological becoming, I was working between four texts. The idea in this mind map was to strip down the concept down to the most concise way possible. I then combined the texts in one page to see how the ideas could merge together.

The texts used are Bakhtin (1981), Medvedev and Bakhtin (1978), Freedman and Ball (2004) and Tappan (2005). I gained clarity from connecting the literature from different sources about a concept (ideological becoming) which I found to be quite demanding at times.



## APPENDIX 3

### Examples of Fieldnotes

Below is an example of participatory notes which were taken during the class. In the left hand margin, I was keeping track of time. With so many interactions going on at the same time, I tried to take notes as efficiently as possible.

① Number 5 - Against culture.  
 ② Try to shift. - For example.  
 ③ Eastender.  
 ④ Against because young people have different.  
 T more 3 to 9 → ⑤ 'Care or brother.'  
 3 more. 'wants a reason' → Arabian Akah.  
 T - Wahalea ..

2025 Sit h/work. To complete doing away.  
 In pairs. Write examples of each sentence.  
 T hands out paper.  
 ① only one with exercise book.

2038  
 5  
 2  
 2  
 One group

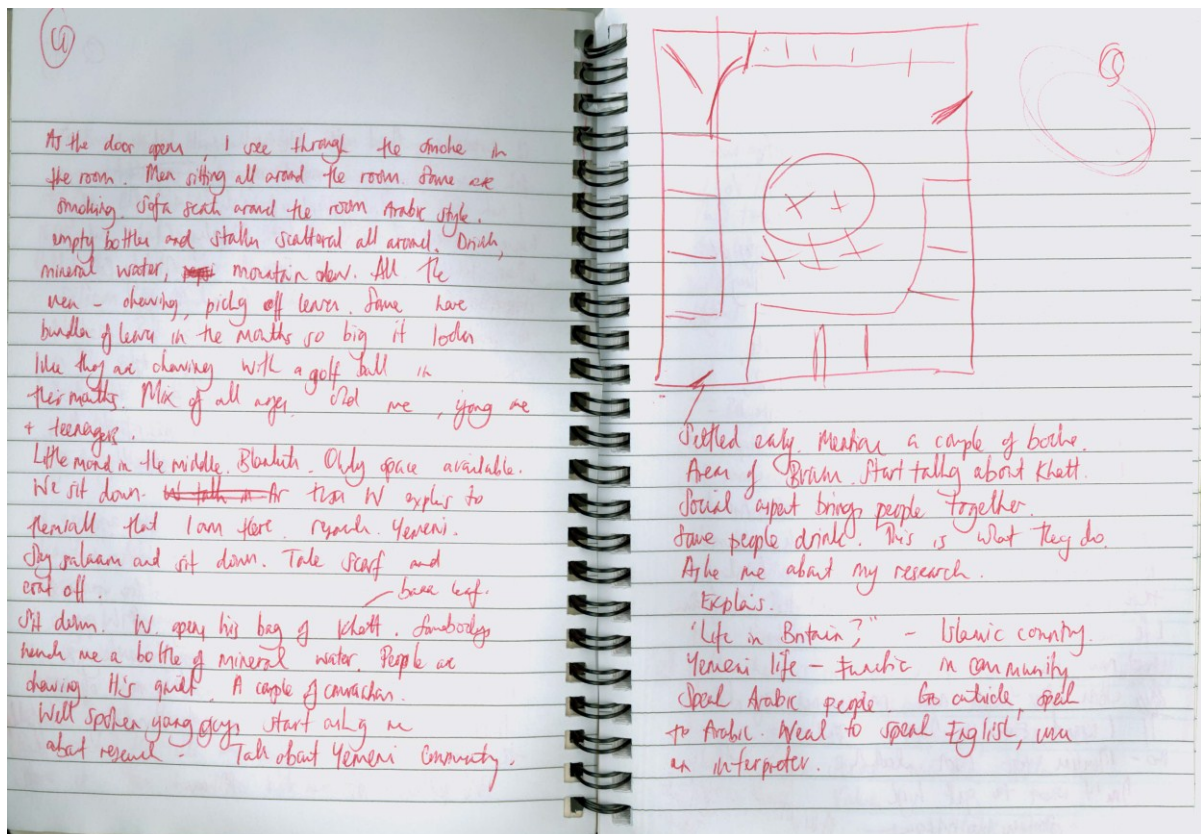
5 P  
 5 P  
 2  
 2 - finish early  
 4  
 7

T talks to me about cognitive + log disjunct  
 2030 Permission to move.  
 S + P → solving phase problem.  
 I walk.  
 T → G.  
 P → asks T to spell 'ponocography'  
 Mathakuludin Popad  
 Cult. Div. Bay

2038 - To 3E  
 ③ Don't be  
 afraid to  
 write

T - ask ③ about.  
 TV. ③ 'Reg M  
 which like terrorism'

Below is an example of experiential notes which were taken once I had left the field. I was relying on memory to recall the evening after a khat session. I have written in the present tense at times so I could visualize the evening in order to stimulate recall.



## APPENDIX 4

### Photo Documentation

Below are two examples of using photo documentation in demonstrating how the neighbourhood was changing.



**Photograph 1**



**Photograph 2**

Photograph 1 was taken prior to data collection. The building had previously been pub serving primarily the traditional community of migrants: the Irish. One year later in photograph 2, it was a halal steakhouse called ‘Yaqubs.’



**Photograph 3**



**Photograph 4**

Similarly, another Irish pub, which was open in photograph 3, closed down a year later. This was a sign of a lack of demand for alcohol in the area.

## APPENDIX 5

### An example of in fieldwork analysis

**This summary is based on my fieldnotes of a class that I attended.**

Main points

Reproduction of inequality

- Evening classes – evening co-ordinator- Following the linguistic landscaping the college is a different place in the evening. It is almost as though there are separate protocols for the evening.
- T gave students folders at the beginning of term.
- T hands out paper to the students at the beginning of an activity.
- Many students do not come with a bag. This may be why many of the students did not have the handout at the beginning of the class.
- A catches two buses to come to college. He wants to work.

1810

We talk and he tells me that he is from Iraq and that on the 6th November he will have been in UK for 4 years. He says that he is trying to get asylum seeker status. He says that he has 3 children, two of whom are under 5 and only really know a life in the UK. He was a civil engineer and seemed quite despondent that his skills are not valued here. He doesn't say much, but he poignantly says 'it's hard for people like us.' He also says that he catches two buses to get to college. T asks him what he does during the day. He seems unwilling to answer and at a loss. He says he spends most of the day on the internet. As T continues talking to him, it emerges that he has been a student at the college for over 3 years. He used to be a daytime student. The way they speak of the daytime student is as if there is a binary crossing from daytime to evening student.

The community serves as a staff room. There are two other people at their desks, but it looks as though they are packing up to go home. I say hello to S. I return to T and she begins to tell me about the class. She points out that they are nearly all Muslim. T tells me that citizenship is about exchanging views and accepting each other's differences. She tells me that they have had a number of debates in the class. She waits for my reaction to gauge whether I agree. I remain non-committal. I nod in acknowledgement.

- This influences the role of the classroom as a site for shared values and being a citizen is as much a cognitive challenge as a linguistic one.

2025

For the first time in the lesson, T comes over to me and talks about teaching. She says that the students are learning language but that they are also learning about listening to others and understanding opposing multiple points of view. In the class, she wants them to see things from other angles as they need to explain why they think something or why an opposing view may exist.

#### Gender

- B (the only female in the class) asked not to work with males. She has no choice.
- B has also asked the teacher if other females can attend the class.
- B and S5 work closely together. They frequently scaffold each other's learning.
- At times, explained things to the others in a succinct manner. The others learn from her.
- 'Bullying'

After the class

The men then tell me about a Yemeni woman who exploits her husband. They say she has her status but he doesn't and that she bullies him. They say that she has money and that he has no job and threatens to kick him out and send him home. S8 tells me there are many others like this. This comes as a surprise to me.

#### Perceived racism/prejudice

- B twice asked me to help her with work. She felt that she had been sidelined because she was not a native.

#### The Break

Initially there is silence as everyone is in their own world. I decide to stand up and walk over to the students on the other side of the room. This seems to be symbolic and I stand by them against the wall. They turn around and immediately start talking to me. I am taken aback at how quickly they open up to me. B begins. She asks me about helping her with her work. She says that she is working as a TA (Teaching Assistant) and is working towards her NVQ2. At this point it is not clear whether she is currently doing some TA work. She tells me about being a dinner lady. She was told there was no TA work- but that a TA job was later given to a native (not clear if she means white) person. She was not told that there were vacancies. She says that this is racism. She talks about the help that she needs finding work.

- S7 talked about racist institutions

S7 asks me how I can help him improve his English. S8 comes over and asks the same. I don't have the opportunity to answer the question as I hear a number of voices at the same time. They tell me it is difficult to meet English people. They seem very charming, warm and friendly. S7 tells me that he thinks that all the institutions are racist- the police, the Home Office and education. He says they are racist and make it difficult for people like him. S8 agrees. They tell me it is hard being Yemeni in this country. I look around and see S5 completely disinterested. I feel like they see me as an outsider and insider at the same time. The outsider who can tell others and the insider that they can confide in. S7 asks me if I too think it is racist and if I have suffered racism at work. The moment he asks me this, I feel this is a key moment for the research. I am slightly conflicted here. I tell them the truth from my experiences. I say sometimes I have and sometimes it has been to my face. I also say that there may have been more when I wasn't around. I say I think it is tougher in this country for us. I am aware of how I have been positioned as British, ethnic and Muslim. I feel like they think that I understand.

#### ‘Islamicness’

- Greetings

2020

T asks what people around the world watch on TV

S9 says that for many years many people didn't know about 'the message of Islam' before TV, now they do- nearly everyone knows about Islam.

T- TV from your country?

S5 – Some TV is against our culture

T elicits an example

S7 Eastenders

B is against this because young people in this have boyfriends and girlfriends

T moves S3 from his group and asks him to sit by S9. He asks why

T- for groupwork

S9- welcomes him over- 'Come on, brother'

S3 asks for a reason.

No reason is given

S9 –Salaam Aalikum

S3 –Aalikum salaam

1850

S8 arrives and S9 soon follows

S8 - Looks Yemeni. Young. We smile

S9- bearded young guy. We nod at each other - Salaam Aalikum- I respond Aalikum Salaam.

- Prejudice

2053

Class leaves

T thanks them and tells them that they worked hard

As S3 is on the way out, he mentions that he has a presentation.

I ask him about the content

He says laptops and PDAs. He says it is his first presentation.

I say good luck and he says inshallah and I say the same

- ‘The system’

1932

S5 worked in archive for 9 months. He laughs about he would go to the toilet and get lost on the way back

S4 seems interested and asks how long they are stored for

S9 talks about Data Protection in court proceedings

S4 – I have never been to court-

S3-Alhumdallah

S9- ‘You can help the system...especially if you are a Muslim’

T- Is it ok to tell lies in court? (If find this a little overly-provocative). Under Oath is it ok to tell lies? She talks about the Oath and the quraan.

S3, 4 and 7 seem horrified and exclaim – NO!

S9 is in agreement

This is another example of analysis of fieldnotes. However, this time I include reading that I was doing which related to themes I felt emerged from the class. It must be noted that few of these themes became research questions. However, this was part of the refinement process.

### **Blue Folders and Space**

#### **Arriving in the class**

**I notice something as I sit down. All the students have blue folders. There is very little in them. There is a hole punch circulating around. The notes are in good condition as they are carefully placed within the blue ring binder folders. I take a quick sideways glance as I sit down. Some students have written their names on their folders. I remember that the last time I was there, the lesson was sometimes held up as students forgot their work. There are just a few papers collated inside the folders, so I know that they haven't had them for long.**

**1858**

**It appears that the subject of compulsory education is being linked to collocations. T says she will set a spelling test. There are no groans or dissent to this.**

**S10 says 'don't worry about test' [He repeats this as though he doesn't want to do it]. He smiles as he says it.**

**Ss are quickly checking the collocations that they learnt and reviewing their folders for information about compulsory education. T has given them a time limit to check their notes. The class is silent as they are deeply engrossed in checking their notes.**

**2050**

**T says that she did the listening exercise to open up a discussion. She says that this was an introduction to a discussion that they will continue during the next class. People are starting to pack away.**

**T hasn't asked them to leave yet.**

**Ss sit back down**

**T 'I gave you all two sheets- collocations and reviews sheet'**

**S8 comes near the front and stops**

**S2 to me: 'Everyone will go home'**

**People are now packing away, punching holes in the papers and placing them into the folders.**

**End of class**

**They all put their folders back in a designated space where they will remain until the next class and begin leaving.**

- It seems that the students take greater care in their work. Their work seems to have a place in the class and seems to 'belong' to their learning and the classroom.
- Where did they get the folders from?
- The students have a space for their own work even though they share the classroom with other classes which take place during the day.

- The ESOL classroom as a possible ‘space of citizenship’ or a place/space within the students’ ‘landscape of citizenship’ (Desforges et al 2005); an intersection of Soja’s idea (in Bullen & Whitehead 2005: 500) of ‘spatiality, temporality and social being;’ ‘belonging is central to understanding the social control of space...belonging is inherently spatial’ (Trudeau 2006:423); ‘central learning space’ (Baynham & Simpson 2010).

### **Global, local and self**

**1913**

**T recommends that they listen to the news.**

**S9 asks for a recommendation**

**S5 suggests Channel 4**

**T- not Al Jazeera. [I think that Al Jazeera also has an English channel with prominent names like David Frost. Is she suggesting Arabic speaking channel or an alternative angles]**

**S3, S4 and S5 are in discussion**

**T recommends BBC radio to S10**

**S5 talks about Panorama and Dispatches**

**T - BBC Radio 4**

**S1 talks about Radio Five Live**

**S8 and S10 agree on Radio 4**

**T ‘who doesn’t listen to the radio?’**

**S2 listens to football, doesn’t have time.**

**S10 ‘but you watch TV’**

**S2 seems annoyed by the news. I cannot tell if it is bravado or if he really means it**

**S2 ‘why listen to the news? It gives you a headache. Killings in Pakistan, Kurdistan, Afghanistan (he says this rhythmically- I wonder if it is from a rap?) terrorist in Sudan (others are slightly laughing, some are annoyed and some are in agreement). They call us terrorists.’**

**S2 and P smile at each other. They seem to acknowledge this.**

**T sets a task. ‘What are the advantages and disadvantages of listening to the news?’**

**T creates pairs and sets the task.**

**1920**

**S1 and S2 are talking**

**S2 says he doesn’t watch the news. ‘It gives you a headache. Some get killed.’**

**S9, S10, S11 all talk across the room in Arabic.**

**S2 ‘I don’t like the news..last time, I tried...T cuts him off and turns and walks away from him with her hand suggesting that he stop**

**T- ‘talk to me about it later.’**

**1924**

**S3 and S4 start talking**

**T brings the task together. S1 nominates S2 and so does S10. It seems they are either being a little mischievous or they recognize that he has something to say. I think it is a little bit of both.**

**S2 ‘It’s a waste of time...it gives you a headache...when you see people dying...it’s sad...’**

S9 jokingly says 'you have 20 seconds left' I get the impression this is like a joke about debating

S10 'Spread the threat' -

T recaps waste of time and depressing

S10 'Incidents they spread the hate'

T corrects him, they incite...

S10 'a specific religion, they say this people is a terrorist, they have a bad tradition, they spread the hate.' I see this as S10 viewing the media as reproducing unease. I wonder why he has a sense of distrust- is it something that he has picked up here, or intensified pre-existing suspicions carried over from Yemen?

The class goes a little quiet. It seems to be reflecting on the intensity of the emotive issues coming to the fore over the last few minutes or so.

....

P begins recounting a story about what she sees on TV.

P- 'It creates hatred because you see innocent people and you can't see why. It makes you hate. Palestinian children, Afghan, Iraq, Somalis dying...'

T 'It makes you feel depressed rather than hate.' I get the impression she is trying to pacify the emotions. She is trying to soften the language.

P takes this in but seems to avoid agreement. I see this as resistance to T's description of her feeling/attempts to pacify. She talks about a mother holding her 18 month child (she doesn't explain this fully but she leaves the impression that this child was killed in a shooting or bombing). 'she can't be a terrorist, she is a child.'

Then P balances this with an opposing view or an advantage. 'It tells you about something...about what's happening...if the school is closed or what's happening in the country.'

- Civic participation and use of resources
- Her views pivot between the global and the local- a sense of how she constructs her world-political/personal.
- The Ss are aware of the 'affective economies' (Ahmed 2004) which accumulate to evoke such strong emotions or lack of emotion.
- Shows tenacity to belong (1) all male class (2) evening class (3) desire to work /works at the moment (4) cultural and structural barriers (as in Ahmed 2008)

...

S8 'You know what's happening in the world'

S5 'Keep you updated'

T asks what is the advantage of knowing what's happening in the world.'

S10 'Improve your knowledge.' (Note: his use of the word knowledge)

T 'You know what to do?'

P says yes

S5 'Information about your family'

S2 '*if they get killed or not*' ( *he laughs*)

S5 'Like Germany' ( it never becomes clear to me why he says this)

P 'In South Africa, Somalis were attacked or killed. You can call them and find out if they are safe' (need to check this story)

S10 'About weather? You can check the weather.'

T 'yes'

**S8 ‘You can see the storm coming’**

**S5 begins talking about Pakistan ‘In Pakistan, it was catastrophic. The news...they were encouraging charity.’**

**S1 ‘yes, fundraising’**

**T writes fundraising on the board and how it is the opposite to the idea of creating hate.**

**S9 starts talking about the business side of things and how it can be used to check the stock market. He tells us about his friend who is involved in business and he watches it all day.**

**S5 tells us about when he drove on the M6 to Willenbury and a junction was closed. (He is alluding to accessing information about making travel plans)**

...

**1940**

**S8 explains that you can watch the morning news and talk about it later.**

**S10 ‘Spread the news’**

**T ‘You can use it in a conversation’**

**S4 ‘First they talk about travel’ ( I think he is referring to the travel part of the news)**

**S11 ‘It’s good to have a conversation’**

**T ‘and to talk with people’**

**S2 ‘Talk about football’**

**T ‘Conversation is the common point...it feels good to interact.’**

**S1 ‘It will be boring’**

**S2 ‘It’s boring if you always talk about the news...you talk to me, I tell you 5 people died or 20 people died in Afghanistan. I don’t want to hear that.’**

**S9 ‘A disadvantage’**

There are a few things that emerge from this:

- The shifts between the global, the local and the self and how fluidly they mix. E.g. A killing takes place, P uses the news to contact other Somalis; an earthquake in Pakistan is linked to charity and fundraising. ‘The global in the local’ (Burns & Roberts 2010).
- Clearly, some of the Muslim students are well aware of the negative coverage of other Muslims. They seem to identify through faith rather than nationality or race. This may be a direct result of the coverage itself. Kundnani (2007:29) states: ‘ to be Muslim in the war on terror is to belong to a group with common origins, a shared culture and a monolithic identity.’ They also feel as though they too are under scrutiny. I think of the discourse as an outsider (Meinhof & Galasinski 2005).
- The role of the teacher – why can’t they watch Al Jazeera? Insistence on British news as a source of information.

## **Time**

**1913**

**T- ‘I told you to watch the news.’**

**I am surprised that P is so vocal. She says that she only has a break at 1520 for 15 minutes. This is just enough time to have tea.**

**T seems exasperated. She says that homework is not optional but compulsory. They are to listen to the news on the day of the class.**

**S2 seems quite obstinate. ‘No...just football.’**

**T- 'You are here to learn English.' I think after that T sees this as a way of connecting with English and perhaps other people. (Belonging?)**

**P mentions that she works**

**T interjects and asks about the morning news.**

**P takes the kids to school**

- A reproduction of time constraints and external pressures (juggling work and family – clearly this is contrary to stereotypes of 'scroungers')

**S1 'It will be boring'**

**S2 'It's boring if you always talk about the news...you talk to me, I tell you 5 people died or 20 people died in Afghanistan. I don't want to hear that.'**

**S9 'A disadvantage'**

**T 'Yes'**

**S5 talks about how news is often repeated**

**P then recommend the programme, Hardtalk. She says it is a really good programme.**

**T asks if anyone has seen Question Time. The response is silence. No Ss have watched it.**

- Hardtalk usually goes out quite late on the BBC News channel (at 0430 or 2330).

## **News**

**Before the class**

**I catch the end of a quick discussion about compulsory education. The same day there are student protests. On the BBC website during the day I followed the protests in London about tuition fees. It seems so strange that ESOL students are within the concentric circles of discussion about education. I think how different they are. I think how similar they are.**

- I think how contemporary the class is
- During this period there are several protests related to education

**1948**

**T 'If you watch the news regularly. What happens? What happens to your opinions?'**

**S8 it starts changing**

**S10 'All news I believe'**

**S5 'Which channel? Sky News is right-wing I think. Channel 4 always has nice programs. Dispatches is fair.'**

**S10 'Independent channels are not biased'**

**S5 'One side shows what they did, another side shows what they did. It is balanced'**

**S9 then talks about an episode of Dispatches. He talks about a police investigation ( he initially uses the term masjid and then repairs it with mosque). 'The scholars give bad opinions. No balance and there were false statements. He mentions that it may have taken place in Birmingham. He says that news stories like this make you against people. He says that you can gain good knowledge. You can't reject it all and can't accept it all. You have to enquire.'**

**T asks if it's good to have more than one channel.**

**S10 'All news is controlled. The news channels are not free.'**

**T 'Aren't they?'**

**S10 'They don't show reality'**

**T suggests that seeing different aspects and more channels can offer an overall image and that it can change opinions.**

- Role reversal here – it appears that the students are more critical and discerning of news sources.
- Use of masjid and adjustment to mosque- acute awareness of the connotations of both words. The fact that he repairs it with mosque is recognition of the fact he is with people who may not be Muslims.
- A concern with local issues and the community
- Understanding of political undertones of media/media representation- this feeds into representations of skewed monolithic collective identities (e.g Said 1978).

**They end moving on to the next question**

**T 'what does it mean- disadvantaged?'**

**S2 seems to still be on the last exercise**

**S2 'Does he mean different?'**

**S5 (also seems to be on last question) ' we are all from different backgrounds'**

**P- 'They are not here'**

**S10 'Problems'**

**T 'They may be on benefits'**

**S2 looks visibly annoyed by this and tries to interject**

**S2 'He shouldn't say that!'**

**T 'He says we should support them'**

**S2 is referring to the website 'can I leave a comment?'**

**T shows him the website**

**S2 vows to leave a message on the site.**

**T – 'what does it mean 'cutting through bureaucracy?'**

**S2 and S8 are still talking to each other about leaving a comment on the Guardian website**

**2050**

**T says that she did the listening exercise to open up a discussion. She says that this is an introduction to a discussion that they will continue. People are starting to pack away.**

**T hasn't asked them to leave yet.**

**Ss sit back down**

**T 'I gave you all two sheets- collocations and reviews sheet'**

**S8 comes near the front and stops**

**S2 to me: 'Everyone will go home'**

**People are now packing away, punching holes in the papers and placing them into the folders.**

**T 'You can go'**

**S2 'We are free'**

**T 'See you next Wednesday'**

**S2 'Next Tuesday' He corrects her mistake.**

**T 'I'm tired'**

**S2 'We are all tired.' It transpires that he has been at college from 09 to 2100 . S8 asks if they will do something together and S2 says that he will be working (studying) until 0200 and needs to get up at 0700.**

## Islamic greetings

On the way, we see a slow moving student. He looks like he is there for the first time as he is taking in the surroundings. I recognize him. He is the Afghan student from last time. It seems as though he is arriving at the same time as last time. I see him and he smiles. We give salaam and shake hands. I ask him how he is and he says alhumdullah, I am good. We walk together and I ask him about Eid. I haven't been to the class for three weeks. This is one more week than anticipated due to Eid. He says he was good. I ask about family and he says 'alhumdullah good.' He asks about me. I say I am well.

We arrive at the door and enter just before 1900. T is wearing jeans. The class looks full and there is only free space at the opposite to where I sat last time. I am closest to the door. I see familiar faces and they seem happy to see me. P smiles and says salaam.

## Religion

2040

S2 is muttering to S3

T 'What do you think of history and foreign languages?'

P 'Religion is compulsory too'

The others are surprised by this as is the teacher

P explains that in her child's school, religious studies is compulsory

Class fragments into various conversations

S10 'I want to learn history, geography...leave religion optional'

S4 'Some need it'

S10 'What do I need to learn about Jews, Hindus..' ( as he says this, he doesn't say it as a criticism of those religions but that he would prefer to learn other things)

S4 tells us that his son is at {{name of school}}. They learn about 3 religions (Judaism, Islam and Christianity) 'They can choose which religion' [His appears to be in favour of this and gives the impression that he sees this as positive]

## After the class

Once T has finished we leave the class and begin going downstairs. T asks me how things are. I say everything is ok. She talks about the interesting discussions from the class. She mentions how religion came up today. I say it is interesting how S4 is quite vocal about not having to do study religion and having an option instead. She says that he is a Muslim from Kosovo and how he is turned off by religion. I say that it reminds me of many Iranian students that I have taught over the years who held a sense of antipathy towards religion.

Unsettled kaleidoscope of affiliations and sentiment towards religion in the class

- Adjustments and alignments in postionality between me and T.

Questions:

What is the role of this classroom? From my personal correspondence with MMJ : (1) Co-constructing language, (2) making relationships and (3) learning.

Is it part of a landscape of belonging? Is the community that they have built a microcosm of community building?

Vivid parts of their lifeworlds being brought into the class- on a variety of levels. The next step is to see how the class enters their lifeworlds.

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