

Volume 1

**Language and teaching in multilingual schools: a
Foucauldian discourse analysis of primary school
teachers' talk about their teaching practice in
multilingual schools**

By

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ABSTRACT

This study explores discourses in teachers' talk about their teaching practice in multilingual schools, with a focus on discourses relating to language. The study adopts a Foucauldian approach to discourse and views social structures and institutions as formed in discourse specific to a social and historical context. Semi-structured interviews were carried out with teachers in schools where a high proportion of pupils spoke a first language other than English. Eight teachers were interviewed, and the data were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis. The findings indicate that in the teachers' talk there are discourses of a monolingual education system where other languages are used to support pupils to transition to using English and for recognising culture in non-curricular activities. The discourse is contradictory, as the structures of teaching are described as suitable for all, yet as inaccessible and disadvantageous to pupils learning EAL. The discourse also excludes a number of alternative discourses including the regular use of first languages during curricular activities. Disciplinary powers are identified in the standard curriculum structures, and they are discussed in relation to how they constrain practice in multilingual schools. Lastly, there is a discussion of implications for educational psychology practice and ideas for future research.

To my parents,
for all you have done

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BICS	Basic Interpersonal Communicative Skills
CALP	Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency
DCSF	Department for Children, Schools and Families
DES	Department of Education and Science
DfE	Department for Education
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EP	Educational Psychologist
FDA	Foucauldian Discourse Analysis
NALDIC	National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum
TEP	Trainee Educational Psychologist

CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

This thesis contributes to the academic and research requirements for the doctoral programme in Applied Educational and Child Psychology at the University of Birmingham. This is the first of two volumes and focuses on exploring discourses in teachers' talk about their teaching practice in multilingual schools, with a focus on discourses relating to language. The research was undertaken in the local authority (LA) where I completed my final two years of training as a Trainee Educational Psychologist (TEP). This chapter briefly introduces the study and provides an overview of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Study remit and rationale

This study arose out of my professional practice as a TEP in multilingual schools. During routine casework activities, I encountered situations where primary school Special Educational Needs Co-ordinators (SENCOs) discussed the number of different first languages in their schools, contemplated whether to seek SEN support for pupils learning EAL, and discussed how long is 'long enough' for pupils to acquire English that EAL can no longer be considered a primary need. Alongside, other LA services that supported schools in matters relating to minority languages were being cut, and increasingly school staff were asking these questions to EPs.

Professional reflection on these issues led to the much wider reflection on language use in schools and how teaching practice is formed in these highly linguistically diverse schools. The focus on teaching was influenced by the researcher's interest in how psychology influences teaching, and the recognition that pedagogy is specific to social, cultural and historical contexts (Alexander, 2000; Bruner, 1996). Together, these interests led to the focus of this study, which is to explore discourses relating to language in teachers' talk about their teaching practice in multilingual primary schools.

1.2 Theoretical orientation and methodology

The study takes a social constructionist perspective and focuses on an exploration of discourse. Within the study, discourse is taken to mean that a topic can have a variety of meanings and that meanings are specific to a social and historical context. The application of discourse draws on the ideas of Foucault (1979; 1981; 2002) and considers discourse to form the social structures, institutions and practices that influence how the world is experienced. Foucault's view of discourse can be explored in any system that has meaning, and in this study discourses are gathered through teachers' talk about their teaching practice. The study utilised a flexible research design, and data were gathered through individual and paired semi-structured interviews with eight teachers. The data were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA).

1.3 Structure of this volume

The volume is comprised of nine chapters. Following this introductory chapter, in Chapter 2 I introduce the national and local context of linguistic diversity in primary schools. In Chapter 3, I discuss discourse and how in particular the research draws on Foucault's (1979; 1981; 2002) views of discourse. There is also discussion of the relevance of exploring discourses in multilingual schools. Chapter 4 encompasses a historical literature review of the dominant discourses relating to language and education from the late-1960s to present day, and identifies the importance of further exploring discourses in local multilingual schools. Chapter 5 presents a discussion of current discourses in the literature that provide an alternative to the dominant discourses. In Chapter 6, I present detail on the methodology, which includes an overview of social constructionism and Foucauldian discourse. This chapter also includes discussion of the relevance of a Foucauldian approach to educational psychology practice, and discussion of the rationale for and challenges of adopting a Foucauldian perspective. Chapter 7 provides details on the method, including the research questions, and discusses choices made in relation to the research design, data collection, sampling, and participants. There is also discussion of, ethical considerations, data analysis, and a reflexive discussion of my role in the research. In Chapter 8, I present and discuss findings in answer to each research question. Lastly, in Chapter 9 I discuss what conclusions can be made from the study and what the implications are for educational psychology practice. This is followed by a discussion of the strengths and limitations of the study, and possibilities for future research.

CHAPTER 2:

THE NATIONAL CONTEXT OF MULTILINGUAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND

2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the national context that has informed this study. There is firstly a focus on the linguistic diversity of England and how this is represented in the pupil population. This is followed by a discussion of the complexity of how language is used and how the simple designation of learning English as an additional language (EAL) does not encompass the heterogeneity of language use present in English schools. Lastly there is discussion of why the topic is of interest to educational psychology practice, with particular observation of the role of Educational Psychologists (EPs) in supporting pupils and teachers in multilingual schools.

2.2 National diversity

Britain is becoming an increasingly linguistically diverse society. Analysis of the 2011 census details that 7.7% of the population in England and Wales reported a language other than English (or English and Welsh in Wales) as their first language (ONS, 2013). Following London, the West Midlands is the second most diverse area of England, with 7.2% of the population speaking a first language other than English (ONS, 2013). The range of languages is also increasing, the most common currently reported being Polish, Panjabi, Urdu,

Gujarati, Arabic, French, Chinese (an aggregate of Chinese languages), Portuguese and Spanish (ONS, 2013).

The variety of languages is even greater in the school pupil population. From 2003 to 2013 the percentage of primary pupils who spoke a first language other than English rose from 10.4% in 2003 to 18.1% in 2013; there was a corresponding increase from 8.8% to 13.6% in secondary schools (NALDIC, 2013; DfE, 2013a). Within the West Midlands the proportion of primary pupils who spoke a first language other than English was 19.9% of primary-aged pupils and 14.9% of secondary-aged pupils (DfE, 2013a). In approximately 9.8% of primary schools at least half of the pupils on roll are understood to have a first language other than English (NALDIC, 2012a). In the local authority of interest this rises to over 14% of schools, with the most linguistically diverse school documenting over 90% of pupils with a first language other than English (NALDIC, 2012a). The number of different languages spoken is also increasing. National school data indicates that there are at least 300 languages spoken by British pupils, and in the most diverse areas of the country, i.e. London and the West Midlands, the number of languages spoken can range between 100 and 300 (CILT, 2005; DfE, 2012). In the focus local authority, over 100 languages were recorded as being spoken by pupils in January 2012, the variety of languages including European (Western and Eastern), African and South Asian.

2.3 The complexity of language use

A variety of terms have been used to describe the first language used by pupils. England is considered to be a monolingual nation as English is the only recognised national language. This is in comparison to other nations where multiple languages hold the official status, for example in Wales where both English and Welsh are national languages, or Canada where English and French hold official status. In light of this, the English language is considered the norm, and the terms used to describe an individual's language are coupled to their linguistic status in relation to English. The term currently used in national statistical data is 'pupils whose first language is known or believed to be other than English', and in the educational literature the recognised term is pupils learning 'English as an Additional Language', shortened to 'EAL'. Previous terminology has included the terms 'English as a Second Language (ESL) learners' and 'English as a 2nd language (E2L) need'. EAL is the term most currently applied across England and is therefore the term adopted in this study.

When considering language use in school, there is more to consider than simply the number of pupils learning EAL. School staff may not always know the languages used by pupils as the designation relies on forms completed by parents (Safford and Drury, 2013). The designation of EAL does not account for individual proficiency or competence in a language, or whether the language is used solely for speaking and listening or also for reading and writing (Baker, 2011). Neither does it account for pupils who may regularly hear, speak, read

or write another language but are not designated as learning English, for example due to learning English simultaneously alongside one or more other languages. There is added complexity in that some pupils may have developed English as an additional language from their early years, while others may begin to learn English during their primary years; if these pupils are in the same classroom, they will demonstrate different levels of competency in English. These complex dimensions result in classrooms where there is a range of linguistic competences and language use, not only in English but also in pupils' first languages (Anderson, 2008). For similar reasons, it would be insufficient to consider all pupils who have access to a second language as bilingual, or more than two languages as multilingual or plurilingual, as there is likely to be an unequal balance in language competence leading to one language being dominant at a certain moment in time (Baker, 2011). Closer consideration of language competence adds yet further complexity, with researchers often drawing a distinction between competence in the linguistic components of a language (e.g. grammar), competence in flexible use of the language to communicate in different contexts, and language for conversational purposes and language for academic use (Baker, 2011). Of particular relevance is the latter distinction as advanced by Cummins in 1979, who proposed a conceptual distinction between developing the ability to converse in a language, termed 'basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS)', and developing an understanding and use of ideas and concepts of relevance to education, termed 'cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP)' (Cummins, 2008). This model has been influential within education, particularly educational psychology practice where the use of curriculum-referenced rather than standardised

assessments is recommended when assessing the educational needs of pupils who are learning EAL (e.g. Cummins, 2008; Cline and Frederickson, 1996).

Whilst the above does not serve as an examination or review of the literature regarding individual language ability and competence, it does serve as a demonstration of the complex characteristics of language use. Combining this complexity with the growing linguistic diversity of the English population leads to the current context where many schools have high proportions of pupils with different levels of competence in a range of languages. These institutional contexts are the focus of this study and are characterised by the use of the term 'multilingual'.

2.4 Educational psychology practice in multilingual schools

The increase in linguistic diversity will have apparent implications for the role of the EP. As the diversity of schools has increased, the diversity of pupils in receipt of educational psychological services will have increased (e.g. Desforges et al., 1995). EPs working in multilingual contexts will be assessing and holding consultations regarding pupils who speak a number of languages and may be learning EAL. Discussions in professional practice literature have centred on the importance of considering skills in other languages, drawing distinction between special educational needs (SEN) and needs due to learning EAL, issues of assessing the educational needs of pupils learning English, and strategies to support curriculum progress for pupils learning English (e.g. Cline

and Frederickson, 1996; Frederickson and Cline, 2002; Jennings and Kerslake, 1994; Desforges et al., 1995).

However, EP practice stretches beyond individual assessment and consultation. EPs consider the learning environment and the teaching context (e.g. Kelly, 2008), support schools at a systemic level, and can be influential in supporting the practice of teachers (Fallon et al., 2010). It is therefore expected that EPs will be working in such a way in linguistically diverse settings, and there are examples in EP literature. For example, Jennings and Kerslake (1994) reported on an EP-led project in a secondary school, where due to a high number of pupils from linguistically diverse refugee backgrounds, school leaders sought to improve how the teachers and the organisational structures in the school supported pupils to build relationships and make educational progress.

There is therefore a history of EPs exploring and supporting matters specific to the linguistically diverse pupil population. This study seeks to further this and contribute a more recent perspective to professional understanding. In particular, it is envisioned that an exploration of discourse will offer EPs a greater level of awareness of matters in multilingual schools, and in turn assist EPs to support pupils and teaching staff in linguistically diverse contexts.

CHAPTER 3:

DISCOURSE AND MULTILINGUAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the researcher's position regarding discourse, including a brief introduction to the Foucauldian approach taken. This is followed by an introduction to the intricacies of discourse in relation to multilingual schools.

3.2 Discourse

This study focuses on discourse within the topic area and takes a relativist and social constructionist approach to the knowledge expressed in the literature review and the empirical study. Whilst the meaning and rationale for adopting these perspectives is discussed in Chapter 6, early discussion will support the reader to gain a coherent understanding of the study.

Discourse is a term with multiple definitions and theoretical applications (Burr, 2003). In the present study, discourse is applied to convey that a topic can have a range of meanings, and that examination of a topic at a particular moment may illustrate a certain meaning, and therefore the discourse employed (Burr, 2003; Mills, 1997). In particular, the present study takes what Burr (2003) calls a macro social constructionist perspective and views discourses as being within a social and historical context, and as forming social structures, practices and institutions that influence how we experience the world. A number of

theoretical perspectives take a macro social constructionist perspective, and it is the perspectives of Foucault that drive the focus of this study.

3.3 Foucauldian discourse

Foucault published and presented an array of ideas over his academic history, and all are common in their pursuit to break down accepted meaning and knowledge, question how it came to exist, how it is sustained and what it accomplishes through its existence. Although a term not introduced by Foucault, his ideas have been termed deconstructionist (Burr, 2003), and his varying and contrasting deconstructionist approaches have led to his ideas being considered as a tool-box from which users can select a tool and decide its purpose (e.g. Foucault, 1994; Kendall and Wickham, 1999).

Foucault described discourse as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault, 2002, p.54). This definition can be further developed to describe discourses as common statements that group and function together to produce and form the social structures and practices that influence our view of the world (Burr, 2003; Foucault, 2002; Mills, 1997; Willig, 2008). In Foucault's view, discourses are not solely situated in spoken language, but in any symbolic system that carries meaning (Foucault, 2002; Burr, 2003; Willig, 2008), as Burr (2003, p.18) writes:

'Our ways of talking about and representing the world through written texts, picture and images all constitute the discourses through which we experience the world'.

The building blocks of Foucauldian discourse are further outlined in Chapter 6, however, of particular relevance here is that social structures and practices are formed in discourse. Therefore, to explore discourse is to deconstruct social structures and practices by 'taking them apart and showing how they work' (Burr, 2003, p.18).

Throughout his works Foucault considered the formation of discourse as particular to periods of time, termed an episteme. Through viewing discourse as particular to a certain period, the importance of the social and historical context is evident. Furthermore, Foucault proposed that epistemes are so present throughout history that it is possible to map changes in discourse (Foucault, 1979; Mills, 1997). Lastly, at any particular time there may be a variety of possible discourses regarding a social structure or practice, and that these discourses may be considerably different from each other (Burr, 2003).

A Foucauldian discourse approach would not be accepted by all researchers in the field of multilingual education, and indeed some researchers deride the idea entirely; for example, Edwards (2010) labels discourse research in the field as incestuous, introverted and impenetrable. However, there exists a multitude of literature presenting and discussing discourse relevant to education in multilingual schools. Moreover, the history of education in English multilingual settings suggests that in recent times, an array of discourses has been present and it would be of interest to consider how they have changed.

3.4 Discourses associated with education in multilingual primary schools

It is difficult to explore linguistic diversity in education without consideration of a range of associated factors. Creese and Martin (2003, p.1) refer to multilingual classrooms as a site of 'complex inter-relationships, interactions and ideologies', and researchers have acknowledged how opinions regarding language, socio-economic disadvantage, political theory, and national funding streams all influence practice in the linguistically diverse classroom (Creese and Leung, 2003; Costley and Leung, 2009; Edwards, 2010; Gearon et al., 2009). This study focuses on discourses regarding language and teaching: however, there is a number of related topics that can be discursively explored. The following section seeks briefly to foreground a selection of these topics, and it will become apparent that it is difficult to mark a line of separation between any two of them.

Ethnicity and culture are important associated topics. It would be amiss to consider ethnicity and culture as homogeneous; however, in relation to languages the factors are closely aligned (Leung et al., 1997). When considered in the context of English society, the concepts intertwine with discussions regarding minority and majority groups. For example there are discourses of marginalisation and racial bias against minority groups, whether grouped by ethnicity, culture and/or language (e.g. Blackledge, 2005; Modood and May, 2001). Educational settings are not immune from these discourses;

indeed Cummins (1997) argues that classrooms are a site where wider societal discourses are reflected and then reinforced or challenged.

Discourse regarding the status of different languages also deserves individual emphasis. The languages of minority groups within English society are often labelled as community or heritage languages, a matter to which Harris et al. (2001) draw attention and characterise as 'parochial restriction'. In contrast, especially in education, western European languages are labelled as modern foreign languages (e.g. as highlighted by Lamb, 2001). As all languages spoken in England are of contemporary and trans-national use (Harris et al., 2001), the disparity between these designations highlights discourses of language hierarchies and inequality (Anderson, 2008).

There are also discussions regarding identity in and of minority groups (e.g. Norton, 1997). In particular, researchers argue that how a pupil identifies his or herself in the interplay between ethnicity, culture and language status, is a key contributor to educational achievement (e.g. Anderson, 2008; Conteh, 2012).

The above serves briefly to highlight the intricacies of discourses in multilingual schools. There is considerable overlap, yet full and detailed consideration of every discourse would be beyond the reach of a single study. Therefore, this study focuses on discourses relating to language in general, rather than focusing on language status, or language and culture for example.

CHAPTER 4:

HISTORICAL LITERATURE REVIEW OF DOMINANT DISCOURSES IN MULTILINGUAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature and explores the dominant discourses relating to language and teaching practice in multilingual schools. The chapter begins with an explanation for the focus on England, followed by discussion as to why the literature is reviewed from a historical perspective. The literature is then presented as a discussion of dominant discourses from the 1960s to present day, followed by a summary of the chapter and how the literature has influenced the focus of the study.

4.2 National focus of the literature

Education in multilingual schools varies around the world. For example, Leung (2001) examined provision in England and Australia and concluded that conceptualisations are context-specific, and particularly related to national policies and perspectives regarding diversity. In a similar discussion, Bourne and Reid (2003) presented a series of edited case studies that portrayed the variation, and discussed how education is embedded in the specific national context, with questions of uniformity and diversity being prominent. Even within the national context of the UK, specific contextual factors remain prominent. Butcher et al. (2007) drew attention to the differing policy contexts in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and argued that there are factors specific to

England that influence teaching in English multilingual schools. It is therefore apparent that it is the immediate national context that has most bearing on education. For this reason, and in line with other researchers, the following review focuses on literature concerning England, and only where deemed relevant is research from other nations considered.

4.3 Relevance of a historical perspective

As documented in Chapter 1, the linguistic population of English schools has grown over the last 60 years. The structures and practices in education have also altered, and the multilingual school has been discussed in different ways. The history of education in multilingual schools has been explored from a range of theoretical perspectives, from Leung (2001) making visible the links between ideology and policy, to Costley (2013) exploring how the social context has influenced provision, to Harris et al. (2001) reviewing how national policy responses relate to the conceptualisation of globalisation. Whilst the varying reviews focus on different aspects and emphasise different drivers, they are coherent in the view that education has depicted the social and cultural context of the time. When considered within a macro social constructionist perspective, the changes in education can be viewed as examples of alternative discourses.

What follows is a review of the literature regarding education from the 1960s to present day, with a focus on dominant discourses relating to language and teaching practice in multilingual schools. The focus of the review reflects the definition of discourse provided in Chapter 3, that social structures and

practices, including how language is viewed and how teachers practice in relation to language, are formed in discourse and that a number of different discourses may be present at a particular moment in time. Therefore, this review focuses on exploring prevalent and therefore dominant examples of discourse.

Using the admittedly arbitrary marker of decades, dominant discourses are discussed in relation to literature published at the time (for example, research reports, government reports and books), alongside later published reviews and discussion papers that have taken an historical or discursive perspective. Discourses can be related to any stage of education; however, as this study focuses on primary schools and there are different practices throughout education, the review focuses on literature pertaining to the primary stage.

4.4 The late-1960s to the mid-1970s

The 1950s and 1960s saw a growth in immigration to the UK from a range of European (e.g. Cyprus and Italy) and Commonwealth nations (e.g. West Indies, India and Pakistan) (DES, 1967; Stoddart and Stoddart, 1968). In urban areas such as London, there were rising proportions of children from immigrant families and in some London boroughs over 50% of pupils were from an immigrant background (DES, 1967). During this time, there was a discourse of minority communities assimilating into society, meaning to be absorbed with a loss of minority features such as language (Berry, 2011). In this discourse, the English language was considered the norm and the existence of other

languages was considered as a problem. The clearest example of this is the government commissioned Plowden report, in which the opening paragraph presents language as 'the worst problem of all' (DES, 1967, p.69). The problem was both one of a lack of English, which was considered to restrict access to education and lead to an insufficient ability to cope in the country, and one of the possession of a language other than English, which was considered a handicap, a barrier, and an interference (DES, 1967; Stoddart and Stoddart, 1968). Indeed, to reduce the interference and handicap of other languages in education, there was seen a need discourage their use, including for translation (Hawkes, 1966; Tomlinson, 1983). The solution within the discourse, was considered to be rapid acquisition of English, as individuals would then be able to meet the accepted norm and assimilate to become functional in society (Costley, 2013; Tomlinson, 1983).

Discourses in education also reflected knowledge regarding language acquisition. Language development, and indeed child development was considered to be through age-related stages (note that Piaget's theories regarding cognitive development were prominent at the time, e.g. as cited in Cox and Coulson, 1979). Children of infant-school age were considered to be at the appropriate stage in their development to acquire the English language through the environment, in a way akin to children learning their first language during the first years of life (Stoddart and Stoddart, 1968; Townsend, 1971). In contrast, children of junior-school age and older were considered to have gone beyond this opportunity and would therefore need specific teaching of English (Hawkes, 1966; Stoddart and Stoddart, 1968). Teaching practice reflected a

discourse of language teaching being a specialism. This is observable in literature concerning teaching practice of the time, for example by Stoddart and Stoddart (1968) who declared that teaching a language required training and experience, and Hawkes (1966) who contended that teaching English as a second language was to be considered a specialist brand of teaching. The Plowden report further exemplified this through the recommendation that pupils should be sent on a part-time basis to learn English at language centres, that new materials and methods for teaching English should be developed, and that teachers should be supported professionally to develop their ability to teach English (DES, 1967).

Costley (2013, p.6) refers to education during the period as 'EAL and withdrawal', as withdrawing pupils from mainstream education to receive specialist teaching was the leading practice. The dominant discourses in education remained the same into the mid 1970s. One salient national development was a call that when pupils were in mainstream lessons, teachers should be aware of linguistic demands (DES, 1975). However, this remained within the discourse of specialism, as teachers were only encouraged to be aware of advanced language needs that were beyond those addressed in language centres, and schools were encouraged to employ specialist advisors (DES, 1975).

4.5 The late-1970s to the early-1980s

In the late 1970s to early 1980s the discourses began to shift. The social context included calls from minority communities that native languages should be retained (Tomlinson, 1983) and a 1977 European directive that member states should teach children of migrants their native language. As outlined by Brook (1980), the government reaction to the directive was one of objection and negativity with ministers voicing that policy had always emphasised 'integration of these children, via English teaching' (Brook, 1980, p.240). A justification was made that the call to teach native languages was to support migrant children if they returned to their native country, but as migrants to England intended to remain there was no need for native languages to be taught (Brook, 1980).

Within this context, the discourse of assimilation altered to one of integration, meaning minority groups were to integrate into the majority society but could maintain minority features (Berry, 2011). There remained a need to acquire English; however, integration challenged the assimilationist discourse that languages other than English were a hindrance and interference. Instead there was a developing discourse of linguistic pluralism, meaning that languages other than English were of value and should be maintained (Baker, 2011).

The discourse of value can be related to changing knowledge concerning language acquisition. Chomsky's theory that all languages share a universal grammar was growing in prominence (Chomsky, as cited in Lyons, 1991). Languages other than English were no longer spoken of as a hindrance, but

rather as a support to the process of acquiring English. This is exemplified in the government-commissioned Bullock report (DES, 1975) focussing on language in education, as the authors made great effort to outline their theoretical understanding of language based on Chomsky's theories. The authors proposed that children should master their first language as mastery relates to how children think, understand, and experience the world, and therefore to how they progress in learning (DES, 1975). This theory of universal language properties stood in opposition to the assimilationist discourse of hindrance and interference and instead presented languages other than English as valuable.

Teaching practices in education reflected these discourses of integration and linguistic pluralism. The Bullock report (DES, 1975) demonstrated the discourse of integration by discussing how bilingualism should be considered an asset in schools, particularly as first language abilities would be able to support abilities in English (DES, 1975), and advocating that pupils should not be expected to 'cast off the language and culture of the home as he crosses the school threshold' (DES, 1975, p.543). Whilst withdrawal to language centres remained prominent, there were institutions that were beginning to use first languages as a route of educational instruction whilst a pupil was acquiring English, termed transitional use (Brook, 1980). In 1982 there was a call from the National Union of Teachers for first languages to be used as a medium of instruction in the primary school curriculum, and throughout the early 1980s national conferences were held on the topic; national organisations set up committees exploring and advocating teaching in and the teaching of minority

languages; and there were a number of local education authority projects that implemented the teaching in and of minority languages (Bourne, 1989; Edwards, 1983; Martin-Jones, 1984; Tomlinson, 1983). A move from monolingual to bilingual education was emerging, however, as recognised by commentators at the time, absent from this was any claim that languages other than English could be of value to monolingual English-speaking pupils (Linguistic Minorities Project, 1983).

4.6 The mid-1980s to the early-1990s

The mid-1980s saw a further change in discourses in education. The social context of this period was markedly different from that of others, with the 1980s being an era of racial tensions throughout the UK. Minority group communities were vocalising concerns regarding poor academic achievement and there were growing tensions between local communities and formal institutions, culminating in riots in inner-city areas such as London and Birmingham (e.g. DES, 1981; UK Parliament, 1982; Tomlinson, 1983). The discourses of integration altered to one of multiculturalism, where all features of all community groups were viewed as part of society (Berry, 2011). There remained discourses of pluralism; however, the need to acquire the English language was strengthened to English being considered a sign of membership into British society. A clear example of this is in the Swann Report (DES, 1985), which was commissioned by the government in response to the social context and focused entirely on the education of children from minority groups (DES, 1985). The authors discussed the multicultural and ethnically diverse nature of England and proclaimed a

vision for a culturally pluralist society; however, the English language was considered to be:

‘a central unifying factor in ‘being British’, and is the key to participation on equal terms as a full member of this society’. (DES, 1985, p.385)

Teaching practice also reflected a different discourse. The language centres that up until this point had formed guideline practice were considered a form of segregation and a compartmentalisation of educational need (DES, 1985; Harris, 2001). Indeed the authors of the Swann report considered the practice ‘an example of institutional racism’ (DES, 1985, p.389). Therefore, instead of acquiring language through withdrawal teaching, the mainstream classroom was considered to be the most equitable place and language teaching was to be the domain of all teachers (Bourne, 1989; 1990). By the late 1980s and into the early 1990s, schools were moving towards a reduction in the use of withdrawal practice (Bourne, 1990).

This move was also contingent on changed knowledge regarding language acquisition. Whereas up until this period knowledge regarding language acquisition reflected a discourse of specialist language teaching, there was an emerging knowledge of language acquisition through the environment regardless of age (Krashen, 1980). Krashen (1980) had drawn a distinction between developing an additional language through acquisition, explained as learning language in an unconscious manner similar to the way a first language is developed; and ‘language learning’, explained as developing language through deliberate teaching. Krashen (1980) proposed that ‘acquisition’ was more appropriate for all school pupils. When reflected in teaching, the

knowledge called for meaningful activities and language-rich environments (Bourne, 2001; Franson, 1999). The discourse of language teaching as a specialism was opposed. There was also a recommendation that mainstream teachers work in partnership and collaboration with those with specialist knowledge (Bourne, 1989; 1990; Edwards and Redfern, 1992). The language skills of bilingual teaching staff were informally recognised (Baker, 2012; Martin-Jones and Heller, 1996), however, this was reflected within a discourse that advocated for acquisition through environmental approaches rather than specialist teaching.

There was also a change within the discourse of linguistic pluralism that languages other than English were of value. In the Swann Report (DES, 1985) there was clear opposition to any form of teaching in minority languages, and in effect, earlier emerging moves to bilingual education were rejected as erroneous:

‘To avoid misunderstandings, it should be said straightaway that this does not, as will become apparent, mean that teaching of school subjects in languages other than English’ (DES, 1985, p.385).

Other languages were still considered of value; however, they were only of value for transitional purposes, particularly in early years provision. However, as a means of instruction, the altered discourse only granted languages other than English a place in community provisions outside of school (DES, 1985; Bourne, 1990). The period saw the start of the National Curriculum (Education Reform Act, 1988), and any claims for bilingual education or that language could be beneficial to learning were rendered invisible (Blackledge, 1998; Leung

et al. 1997). Instead, other languages were to be for cultural purposes, further exemplifying the discourse of multiculturalism. In the words of Conteh (1993, p.46), other languages were of 'anthropological or curiosity value' as further exemplified by the circular published by the National Curriculum Council (NCC, 1991) (cited in Conteh, 1993, p.46):

'...linguistic diversity is an asset. ...It provides an opportunity for pupils to gain first-hand experience, knowledge and understanding of other cultures and perspectives. It also helps to prepare pupils for life in a multicultural society by promoting respect for all forms of language'.

4.7 The mid-1990s to the early-2000s

By the mid-1990s, the social context was again changing and the discourses of the previous period were strengthening. Statisticians named immigration as the most significant social change throughout 1990s Britain, particularly from 1994-95 onwards (Carvel, 2001). The population statistics showed a growth in the number of people settling in the UK from outside the European Economic Area, particularly in the number of people applying and being accepted for asylum into the country (ONS, 2001). Within this, there was a sizeable flow of children under 15 years entering the country (Dobson et al., 2001). The political context of Britain was also altering, and in 1997 the new-Labour party entered government and declared that the reshaping of education was to be at the centre of their political goals (Bache, 2003; West and Pennell, 2002).

Throughout this period, the discourse of multiculturalism with English as a sign of national identity, remained dominant. For example, Leung et al. (1997) writes that, although the linguistic and ethnic diversity in society was accepted as an

official status, the emphasis on English as a universal language projected the population as an homogenous society with one language and culture. Creese and Leung (2003) further this point by drawing attention to a government minister who acknowledged the diversity of Britain in every way but language.

These discourses were apparent in teaching practice, where linguistic diversity was recognised in the classroom, but the use of languages other than English continued to be for cultural and transitional use only, despite growing national and international discourse that bilingualism could produce individual and societal benefits (e.g. Nuffield Languages Inquiry, 2000). The 2000 National Curriculum exemplifies this, as teachers were directed to respond to those from diverse linguistic backgrounds by recognising the experiences they bring to school and considering their linguistic needs in teaching (DfEE and QCA, 1999). However, their needs were very much related to their level of English, and any references to another language were only in relation to their acquisition of English. For example, there were recommendations for teachers to encourage pupils learning EAL to recognise differences between languages, and a recommendation that where the teacher deemed appropriate, a pupil's first language could be used to support their access to the English-language curriculum and assessment procedures (DfEE and QCA, 1999). The growing employment of bilingual school staff also exemplifies these discourses, as research suggests they were granted little opportunity to use their language within teaching and learning unless it was prescribed by the teacher, in connection to cultural practices, or of transitional use (Bourne, 2001; Martin-Jones and Saxena, 1996; Mills, 1994).

There was also a discourse that all pupils had comparable language needs. The arrival of the National Literacy Strategy (NLS) in 1998 embodied this, as regardless of language background, all pupils were considered to benefit from being taught and assessed in line with the highly prescribed programme of English language and literacy, with the only recommended adaptations being strategies and techniques (Leung, 2001; 2005). The programme gave minimal consideration to the first language of pupils or to a focused approach to supporting language learners to learn English (Cummins, 1997; Franson, 1999; Gravelle, 2000).

Researchers have characterised this period as being absent of a pedagogic response to EAL and of linguistic diversity being peripheral (Harris et al., 2001; Leung, 2001), or as Leung writes a 'supra-subject phenomenon' (Leung, 2001; 2005). Research investigating teaching practice reflects this, with teachers viewing the only necessary change in practice as additional strategies and techniques or adult support, rather than programmes or approaches that utilise the diversity of languages (Bourne, 2001; Franson, 1999; Leung, 2001).

4.8 The mid-2000s to the late-2000s

By the mid-2000s, the social landscape was again changing. The continued diversity of Britain became a point of national focus, with questions raised regarding the cohesiveness between communities following racially-based community riots, and the discourse of multiculturalism became a point of public debate and contention (Blackledge, 2005; BBC, 2005; Phillips, 2004).

Multiculturalism continued as a dominant discourse, but from within developed a discourse of community cohesion, and in 2007 schools became legally obliged to address and promote matters of community cohesion (Bourne, 2007; DCSF, 2007). Dialogue regarding these discourses focused on race, religion and other cultural features of diversity, with language largely omitted. Instead, the English language remained the norm and discourses concerning language were beginning to reflect the integration discourses of earlier periods. For example, in the documents that advised schools on their community cohesion duties, a number of recommendations were made to encourage diversity and promote understanding between cultures and communities. Alongside, there is a recommendation that integrating pupils through the English language can support cohesion:

‘Support for pupils for whom English is an additional language (EAL), and specific support for their teaching staff, to remove barriers to effective learning, enabling the pupils to be integrated and achieve the highest possible level in English’ (DCSF, 2007, p.9).

Outside of education, the English language gained legal status as a marker of national identity, with all applications for request to remain in Britain, requiring evidence of proficiency in the English language to a level in line with a native speaker (Blackledge, 2005). There were now legal structures contributing to the discourse of English as a sign of national identity.

However, in a shift from previous periods, there was a developing discourse that teaching the English language to EAL learners should be a distinct focus within the curriculum. Contingent with this is again knowledge regarding language acquisition, particularly the theories of Cummins (2008). Although it is

not directly referenced, Cummins' theory regarding BICS and CALP is recognisable in the 2006 curriculum framework documents, with teaching staff encouraged to recognise that although pupils learning EAL may have fluent conversational skills, they still required support to develop their cognitive and academic language within the whole-class environment (DfES, 2006). The changing discourse is particularly noticeable in the initiation of a government project focusing on the teaching of bilingual pupils (White et al., 2006) and the publication of teaching materials designed for pupils learning EAL (DfES, 2007). Although both the project and teaching materials were pilots, they demonstrated a developing discourse of supporting pupils learning English as a specific concern within the mainstream curriculum.

The discourse regarding pupils' first language also began to change, and return toward a discourse of linguistic pluralism. The evaluation of the DfES bilingual learners project (White et al., 2006) provides an example of this. The evaluators note that teachers were informed about the evidence-base for using a pupil's first language, and that by the end of the project a greater proportion of schools were systematically using other languages to support learning, and schools which had incorporated first languages were reporting improvements in pupil understanding and confidence (White et al., 2006). Class teachers were reported to vary in their confidence to utilise first languages effectively or implement them in a planned and systematic way (White et al., 2006). Nevertheless, the shift towards languages other than English being used in teaching and learning marks a change from the previous discourse of languages being for cultural and transitional use only. The teaching of a pupil's

first language was not deemed a method of support, however, it was also not discouraged. It was instead viewed as the realm of a new initiative to teach modern foreign languages in primary schools (DCSF, 2007). This was considered by some to be a first step in developing an integrated approach to teaching community languages and teaching EAL within the curriculum (Anderson, 2008), although research later suggested that schools with above 6% of pupils learning EAL were less likely to offer language teaching, and of all the schools which did, western European languages were the most common (Wade et al., 2009). Researchers in the field have described this change as a growing principled awareness of the distinctive characteristics of bilingual pupils, and an increased recognition that plurilingualism (individual competence in multiple languages) is of value (Conteh et al., 2008; McPake et al., 2007).

Teaching practice of the time was, however, considered discordant with these discourses, and the training and professional development needs of teaching staff became an area of focus. Newly qualified teachers (NQTs) were found to consider themselves lacking in the required knowledge and training to teach EAL learners (Cajkler and Hall, 2009; Hall and Cajkler, 2008). A similar need was highlighted by researchers commissioned by the Training and Development Agency (TDA) to develop a national strategy to support the teaching workforce to educate bilingual learners (Wallace and Mallows, 2009). Through a series of case studies, the researchers highlighted that there was a need to address a lack of understanding and limited provision for advanced learners, a lack of overall EAL pedagogy, and a limited emphasis on the regular use of first languages. Perhaps the most salient example of the changing

discourse was the critique of the earlier discourse of multiculturalism excluding language, as the researchers concluded that:

‘It was striking that even in those schools which could be deemed as having ‘good’ EAL provision there was greater sensitivity to cultural diversity than to language diversity’ (Wallace and Mallows, 2009, p.9)

Therefore, by the close of the decade, mainstream teaching practice was very much in the early stages of being re-formed.

4.9 From 2010 to present day

In more recent times, England has seen continued social change. The population has continued to grow through migration patterns, with statistics indicating that there has been a particular growth in the number of people moving to England from central and eastern European countries (ONS, 2014). The political context also changed, when in 2010 the Coalition government whose leaders had contested multiculturalism entered into power (Blackledge and Creese, 2010). There has been a continued focus on the educational reform prioritised under the previous government; however, the direction of education has altered and there has been an on-going reshaping of discourses in multilingual schools (Ball, 2013).

The English language has a strengthened status as a sign of national identity, with the requirements for fluency in speaking English being ‘toughened’ under Home Office policy (Home Office and Harper, 2013). Within education, news reports regarding linguistic diversity in English schools continue to reflect the same discourse of integration returned to in the previous period, with a

spokesman for the DfE stating that the English language is vital for full integration into society (Paton, 2012).

In contrast, national discourses regarding teaching English and using first languages other than English are inconsistent. The national strategy for developing the teaching workforce to support EAL learners published a five-year vision of priorities, and suggested strategies that reflected the discourses of a distinct focus on EAL learners and the use of first languages in teaching (Mallows, 2009a; 2009b). However, since publication there has been no further public discussion, and the researchers themselves have deemed the work to have had no impact on policy or practice (Andrews, 2010). There is also a noticeable lack of reference to linguistic diversity within currently available government documents. For example, in the new 2014 curriculum, there is limited reference to language. Amongst a section on inclusion and responding to the needs of pupils by overcoming barriers, teachers are advised to recognise that the ability of EAL learners 'to take part in the national curriculum may be in advance of their communication skills in English' (DfE, 2013b, p.9). Teachers are therefore recommended to teach in a way that supports pupils to develop their English, and to provide the support that pupils need to take part in curriculum subjects, with no further description as to what that support may need to be (DfE, 2013b). All reference to the earlier discourse that supporting EAL learners should be a distinct focus in the curriculum, and that the use of other languages is beneficial to teaching and learning have been withdrawn. This suggests an implicit opposition to the discourses emerging at the end of

the previous decade, and a return to discourse that the curriculum is suitable for all learners, or as Costley (2013) writes, a 'one-size-fits all' approach.

There is a notable inconsistency in discourse reflected in teachers' practice. In some schools, teachers are trying to teach in a way that is responsive to the linguistic needs of pupils, both by supporting their development of English and in utilising their first language in teaching and learning, although in the same schools, teachers are reported to have limited understanding of second language development or are cautious about how to use other languages in a way that is effective (Cajkler and Hall, 2012; Wardman, 2012). In other schools, teaching staff are actively discouraging the use of pupils' first languages or using them in a tokenistic manner (Conteh, 2012; Wardman, 2012). There are schools where pupils attend intensive English-teaching from specialist teachers prior to engaging with the mainstream curriculum (Morrison, 2014). In addition there are schools that implement a pupil-buddy system for pupils learning EAL, but avoid partnering them with pupils who speak their first language as communicating together is considered to hinder their acquisition of English (Morrison, 2014). The variation is evident, with the mix of practice reflecting discourses from the 1960s onwards.

Research focusing on the language use of bilingual teachers reflects discourses that their linguistic skills are of restricted value (Safford and Kelly, 2010; Safford and Drury, 2013). Further research into the views of teachers, teaching assistants and SEN / EAL co-ordinators documents a profession that seeks to support the needs of EAL learners, but with an overarching view that the pupils

are not bright enough and are unable to access the curriculum (Mistry and Sood, 2010; Sood and Mistry, 2011). Yet, in a pursuit to support pupils, staff place greater emphasis on managing cultural diversity rather than addressing language (Mistry and Sood, 2010; Sood and Mistry, 2011).

Overall, the above suggests a return to a national discourse of integration and in some parts assimilation, with other languages considered a barrier to making progress, unrepresentative of a British national identity, and a hindrance to the acquisition of English. However, also in existence are contrasting discourses that present other languages as beneficial to teaching and learning, albeit with a lack of clarity as to how to do so.

4.10 Summary and relevance to research focus

In summary, a number of discourses have formed teaching practice in multilingual schools throughout the past 60 years. There has been a consistent discourse of English as the norm and necessity, although this has moved between discourses of assimilation and integration. In comparison, there has been variation in discourses regarding languages other than English, with discourse moving between assimilation, linguistic pluralism with languages valuable in teaching, and multiculturalism with languages valuable for transition and culture only.

Discourses concerning teaching in relation to language have also changed. The discourses have moved between specialist teaching for learning English,

learning English through the environment, learning English not being a particular need different from other pupils, and learning English being a distinct part of the curriculum.

Recent research and government publications, however, suggest a currently inconsistent discourse that in some ways reflects discourse in the 1960s. Costley (2013) suggests that this indicates very little movement in policy framework over the past 60 years. Nevertheless, what is apparent from recent literature, is that the current context varies on a local basis, with practice in schools often dependent on local factors such as training, local authority support and the level of linguistic diversity (Costley, 2013; Safford and Drury, 2013; Wardman, 2012). It is therefore of interest to consider multilingual schools that serve a similar linguistically diverse pupil population, and explore what discourses regarding language and language use in teaching are apparent.

CHAPTER 5:

CURRENT ALTERNATIVE DISCOURSES RELATING TO LANGUAGE IN MULTILINGUAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter considers alternative discourses relating to language in multilingual schools, with a focus on discourses relating to multilingual education and discourses regarding EAL pedagogy.

From the historical literature discussed in Chapter 4, it is clear that there has been a range of discourses, and that as the dominant discourse has changed, earlier discourses have been opposed and rejected. One example highlighted in Chapter 4 is the 1980s rejection of languages other than English being valuable in teaching, and another is the current implicit opposition to discourse that the language needs of EAL learners should be a distinct curriculum focus. Although rejected as dominant, the discourses are identifiable in smaller sections of society.

For example, following the period when languages were being restricted to cultural and transitional use only, Marland (1987) proposed a bilingual education policy and a curriculum model where both English and a minority language would be taught in the curriculum and used as a medium of instruction. In another example, Lamb (2001) reported on a local authority project that aimed to teach a range of languages in schools throughout a city

towards the north of England, in a bid that all young people would be proficiently bilingual in 'both English and any European, Creole, Asian or African language' (Lamb, 2001, p.7).

Therefore, to comprehend the current discourse in multilingual schools it is important to consider what alternative discourses may be at work. Of particular relevance are discourses within the academic literature and in viewpoints offered by national organisations, primarily the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) who assert that:

'Our mission is to promote the effective teaching and learning of EAL and bilingual pupils in our schools' (NALDIC, 2011, para. 2).

5.2 Multilingual education discourses

5.2.1 Language use

There are a number of discourses regarding language use in education. Often discussed are bilingual education programmes (Baker, 2011). Programmes can be conceptualised as moving from a monolingual education programme where all pupils are submerged in the majority language, to a mainstream bilingual education programme where all pupils use and develop multiple languages (Baker, 2011). Baker (2011) and Wardman (2012) both present typologies of this variation, which are summarised in Table 1. Each reflects a different discourse in relation to languages in school, and each can be related to a different discourse in the history of education in England. For example, assimilationist discourses in the late 1960s mirrored a submersion monolingual

programme, with withdrawal classes for pupils to learn the majority language. In comparison, when calls were made for the teaching in and teaching of minority languages in the mid-1980s, the linguistic pluralist discourses reflected a maintenance / heritage bilingual programme.

Type of educational programme	Language of the classroom	Support for minority language	Dominant discourse
Submersion monolingual	Majority language	None	Assimilation
Submersion monolingual, with withdrawal classes	Majority language, with additional support for developing majority language	None	Assimilation
Transitional	Moves from minority to majority language	Temporary, until majority language is mastered	Assimilation
Immersion bilingual	Bilingual, with initial emphasis on majority language	Strong	Pluralism
Maintenance / heritage language bilingual	Bilingual, with emphasis on the minority language	Strong	Pluralism
Two-way / dual language bilingual	Minority and Majority language	Strong	Pluralism
Mainstream bilingual	Two majority languages		Pluralism

Table 1: Forms of bilingual education programmes (Adapted from Baker, 2011; Wardman, 2012)

Bilingual education programmes are considered by some as the ideal form of language use in multilingual schools (e.g. Blackledge, 2010), and a recent media report suggests that there is a non-state funded school employing a bilingual approach (Middleton, 2013). One recent programme reported by Kenner et al. (2008), involved introducing bilingual strategies into mainstream literacy and numeracy lessons in an East London primary school, where a focus group of pupils was learning Bengali in out-of-school community lessons. The bilingual strategies employed included the presentation of vocabulary in Bengali and English, actively using bilingual resources, and using transliteration, which means to explore words in a written script different from its original (Kenner et al., 2008). The authors propose that the introduction of bilingual learning to mainstream schools will support pupils to draw on their linguistic knowledge, improve conceptual understanding and activate skills that will enrich learning. A further proposition within bilingual education, is the use of translanguaging, meaning the strategic planning of multiple languages in a way that allows learners to move fluidly between languages and maximise their understanding of lesson content (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Conteh, 2012).

In contrast, other researchers regard bilingual programmes as worthy of consideration but impractical in England due to the large range of languages spoken, and wide variation in language use and experience (Anderson, 2008). As introduced in Chapter 2.3, language use is complex; for example, some languages may be used for speaking but not for reading, while others will have multiple vernaculars (Anderson, 2008). Furthermore, the formal instructional use of more than two languages is considered difficult, thus limiting the options

for the introduction of a multilingual mainstream educational programme (Cenoz, 2013).

5.2.2 Language development

Proponents of multilingual education often refer to Cummins' theories of language development (Creese and Blackledge, 2010; Kenner et al., 2008). In addition to the BICS / CALP distinction, Cummins states that languages are interdependent and draw upon a common underlying proficiency (Cummins, 1980; 1981). The theory is often described as the iceberg model, as visual representation presents the surface features of two languages as independent, when underneath they draw upon a common proficiency (Cummins, 2000; 2008; see Figure 1). Cummins (2008) also describes the common underlying proficiency as a central processing system comprised of linguistic and cognitive skills such as memory, reasoning and knowledge of concepts.

Cummins' theories suggest that if pupils develop academic skills and knowledge in their first language, they will be able to transfer, or more precisely demonstrate the same skills in their second language (Cummins, 2000). More recent views in the field of neuropsychology have also posited links between languages; for example Buchweitz and Prat (2013) report that bilingual learners share neural representations for the same concepts in different languages. Therefore, recommendations seated within multilingual education discourses advise that the use of first languages in teaching can support pupils in their learning and overall language development (Cummins, 1980, 1981).

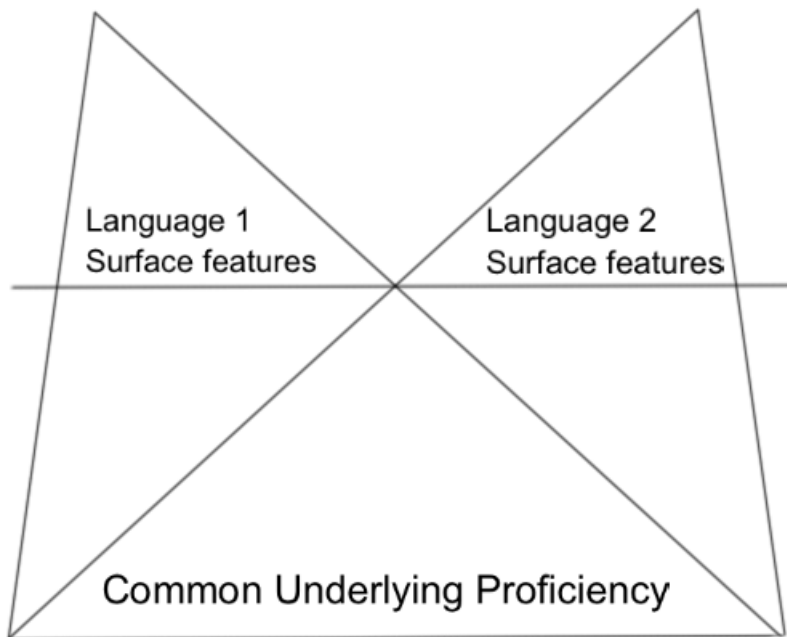


Figure 1: Cummins' Iceberg model of Common Underlying Proficiency in languages (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 1980)

5.3 EAL pedagogy discourses

5.3.1 Language teaching

Another alternative discourse is that teaching should reflect an EAL pedagogy. It is a claim found throughout educational history, for example when Leung proposed the re-thinking of EAL as a supra-subject phenomenon (Leung, 2001; 2005), and more recently by Costley (2013) who questioned the status of EAL as a 'non-subject'.

There are a number of perspectives regarding how the teaching of English should be addressed in the curriculum. Kumaravadivelu (2006) helpfully

conceptualises approaches as moving from a language-centred method where the rules and structure of language are explicitly taught, to a post-method where principles of language learning are embedded throughout all teaching activities (Table 2).

Kumaravadivelu's (2006) discussion focuses on second language teaching for adults; however, the same progression in approach is apparent in the history of the multilingual school. For example, discourses in the late-1960s that language teaching is a specialism reflected learner-centred approaches, whereas discourses in the mid-1980s reflected a learning-centred approach.

Teaching approach	Explanation
Language-centred (Audiolingual)	Learning a language is a behavioural process involving the formation of a mechanical habit; therefore teaching should be based on introducing and practising structured language systems.
Learner-centred (Communicative)	Learning a language is a developmental process mediated by a learner's cognition; therefore teaching should be based on communicative interaction between teacher and learner.
Learning-centred (Meaningful-activities)	Learning a language is an incidental process; therefore teaching should be based on providing meaningful and comprehensible activities.
Post-method	It is a myth to think that theories of language learning can equate to language teaching; therefore teaching should be context-sensitive and based on principles rather than methods.

Table 2: Approaches to language teaching (Based on Kumaravadivelu, 2006)

Current endorsements reflect a post-method approach. For example, Leung and Creese (2010) and NALDIC (2012b) recommend that teachers increase

their knowledge of language development and create their own individualised strategies based on Kumaravadivelu's (2006) post-method macro-strategies, which are described as follows:

- Maximise learning opportunities.
- Facilitate negotiated and meaningful interaction between learner-learner and learner-teacher. Therefore, learners are encouraged to initiate talk rather than solely respond.
- Minimise perceptual mismatches between interpretations and intentions of learners and teaching staff.
- Promote the autonomy of learners.
- Foster language awareness, by drawing attention to the formal features of the language being learnt.
- Activate intuitive heuristics in learners, so that the learner can infer language rules.
- Contextualise linguistic input, so that the learner can draw on pragmatic cues in order to make meaning.
- Integrate the language skills of listening, speaking, writing and reading.
- Ensure social relevance.
- Raise cultural consciousness.

(Creese and Leung, p. xix-xxi; Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p.201)

In a similar perspective, Leung (2010) reasons that a change in teaching practice would be insufficient and instead advises further theoretical consideration of what it means to be an EAL learner:

‘Helping pupils to develop their English language is not an easy task, not something that can be achieved without considerable professional and infrastructural support, articulated within a theoretical framework that grapples with the meaning of learning in context.’ (Leung, 2010, p.202)

Therefore, current discourses concerning EAL pedagogy propose a reconsideration of teaching practice, in line with overarching principles that can be individualised to learners and contexts.

5.3.2 Language acquisition

As will be apparent from Table 2, approaches to teaching language are often linked to theories of language acquisition. In particular, Krashen’s (1980) theory of additional language acquisition is a dominant perspective in the learning-centred approach (see Chapter 4.6).

Also relevant to discourses involving EAL pedagogy are Cummins’ theories. Cummins (1981) proposed that when learning an additional language, BICS develop at a much faster rate than CALP. Two years is considered sufficient for a learner to demonstrate BICS in line with first-language speakers, and five to seven years for CALP skills. More recent literature exploring the rate of acquisition for EAL learners in England mirrors Cummins’ conclusions that acquisition can take on average five to seven years (Demie, 2013). Cummins’ reasoning is that communications involving BICS are cognitively undemanding and are embedded in a social context where those involved can draw on interpersonal cues and other non-verbal information (Cummins, 2000; 2008). In contrast, communications involving CALP are considered to be more cognitively

demanding as they draw on skills such as memory and vocabulary knowledge, and they require language to be used in a manner where context is reduced (Cummins, 2000; 2008; see Figure 2).

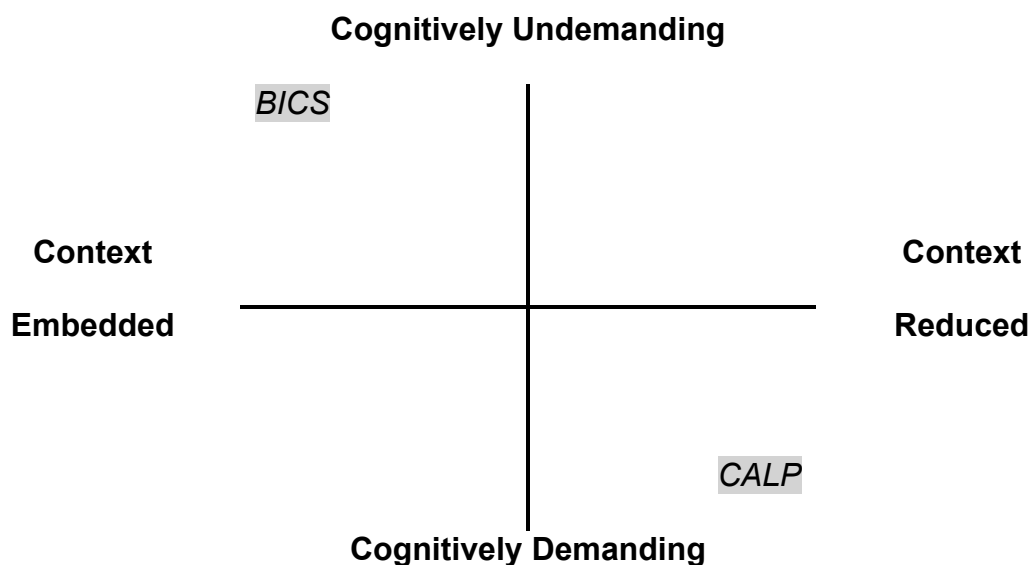


Figure 2: Cummins' model of context embedded and context reduced communicative proficiency (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 2008)

When used to support language acquisition, this theory contends that teaching tasks should be embedded in a clear context, for example using visual support (Baker, 2011; Frederickson and Cline, 1996). Moreover, due to the variation in the rate at which BICS and CALP develop, proponents present a need to support learners beyond the acquisition of conversational language (e.g. Demie, 2013).

5.4 Summary and relevance to research focus

In summary, there are a number of discourses relating to language in multilingual schools, many of which differ from the dominant discourses of

recent times. Prominent alternative discourses focus on increasing the use of languages other than English in multilingual schools and implementing a pedagogic approach that addresses the acquisition of English. Cummins' BICS/CALP theories have a prominent place within these discourses. His theories are not without critique, in particular the distinction between BICS and CALP can be considered simplistic, with elements of CALP being present in conversational communication, and elements of BICS within academic communication (e.g. Leung, 2014). Though as Cummins (2008) reflects, the theories are discourses produced in a particular period of time with specific reference to a social and historical context:

'Any set of theoretical constructs represents only one of potentially many ways of organising or viewing the data. Theories frame phenomena and provide interpretations of empirical data within particular contexts and for particular purposes. However, no theory is "valid" or "true" in any absolute sense' (Cummins, 2008, p.78-79).

There are a number of alternative discourses regarding language in education, and only a few prominent discourses have been discussed. However, when considered alongside the variation of present-day discourse as suggested in recent literature, it is of interest to further explore discourse in current multilingual schools, and in particular to gain an appreciation of discourses in local schools.

CHAPTER 6: METHODOLOGY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodology that underpins the study. Furthering the brief introduction to Foucauldian discourse presented in Chapter 3.3, this chapter begins with a discussion of the social constructionist orientation of the study, and the relevance of a Foucauldian discourse approach in educational psychology. This is followed by a detailed presentation of the researcher's understanding of Foucauldian thought, and the rationale for adopting the approach within the present study.

Prior to commencing an account of the methodology, it is helpful to restate that the focus and aim of this study is to explore discourses relating to language and language in teaching practice in multilingual schools. The precise research questions are outlined in Chapter 7.2.

6.2 Research orientation

All research is founded and orientated towards a belief system that not only determines the methodological approach taken, but also the nature of the findings sought and the conclusions that are drawn (Kuhn, 1962). What follows is a discussion of the belief system behind the present study and the rationale

behind its selection, including discussion of how the orientation led to the research design and method.

The different orientations within social science research can be distinguished through their perspective on the nature and reality of the world, referred to as ontology, and their view regarding how knowledge in the world is to be known, referred to as epistemology (Burr, 2003; Corbetta, 2003). The varying orientations overlap and researchers use different terminology; for example constructivism and constructionism are distinct terms that are often used interchangeably (Burr, 2003). Table 3 provides a summary of three common orientations, with an overview of the ontology and epistemology of each.

Traditionally, positivism has been a common approach within psychology; however there is a growing movement of psychologists considering different perspectives (e.g. Gergen, 1999; Burr, 2003). Practitioner EPs have also shifted (e.g. Billington, 1995; Macready, 1997; Pomerantz, 2008), and there have been calls to debate the epistemological basis of the profession and build praxis in social constructionism (Fox, 2009; Moore, 2005). This study adopts a social constructionist position, and in doing so builds upon previous application of the position in educational psychology research.

	Ontology	Epistemology
Positivism	There is an objective and knowable reality. This has been termed naïve realism.	Research can objectively gather information to explain the world. This objective information is knowledge.
Post-Positivism	There is an objective reality; however, it is difficult to capture and knowledge is therefore imperfect. This has been termed critical realism.	Research can gather information to approximately explain the world. This imperfect information is knowledge.
Social Constructionism	There are multiple possible meanings of reality. This is often termed relativism. Through interaction with the world and each other, individuals construct meanings (knowledge). These meanings are placed within a social and historical context.	Research can provide understanding of constructions or interpretations of the world.

Table 3: Overview of orientations to social science research (Developed from Crotty, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; della Porta and Keating, 2008)

6.3 Social constructionism

It is important to clarify social constructionism, as there are broad notions and it is a term often used without definition (Burr, 2003; Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009). There is no single defining feature of social constructionism, but instead

as Burr (2003) writes, a family of shared features. Incorporating those presented in Table 3, Burr (2003) presents the following:

- There are multiple constructed meanings of reality, rather than a single 'true' reality.
- There are therefore multiple versions of knowledge.
- Meanings are constructed through social interactions.
- Meanings have a social and historical context.
- Meanings are not only constructed through social interactions, but also sustained through them.
- Different constructions of the world lead to different activities and actions.

(Adapted from Burr, 2003)

The features and processes involved in the construction of meaning are theorised in various ways. Burr (2003) conceptualises various theoretical perspectives into micro and macro social constructionism. The former emphasises constructions taking place between people in everyday interactions, and the latter emphasises constructions in social structures and institutions. It is the latter that forms the focus of the present study, in particular the ideas of Foucault, which are often aligned with a social constructionist tradition (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Burr, 2003; Peters and Burbules, 2004), although Foucault dismissed identification with schools of thought (Foucault, 2002).

6.4 Foucauldian discourse in educational psychology practice

Discursive approaches have previously been applied in educational psychology (e.g. Bozic et al. 1998; Hewett, 2013; Marks, 2012), and the view of discourse used within the present study bears most similarity to that of Billington (1995; 1999; 2002) and Pomerantz (2008).

Billington (1995) applied a discursive approach to analyse the construction of social positions and issues concerning power in an EP's discussion with a parent. Whereas Billington (1995) is not explicit in taking a Foucauldian perspective, the approach is comparable. The relevance of a discursive approach to EP practice is exemplified through Billington's (1995) foregrounding of discursive constructions and the recognition that issues can be represented in a multitude of ways. Billington (1995) concluded that through analysis of discourse, EPs can more easily see the constructions of professional practice and access other ways of analysing issues. Billington furthers this position in later works, and encourages practitioners to be aware of other claims to knowledge and the power associated with them (Billington, 1999; 2002). Pomerantz (2008) presents a similar discussion and takes a Foucauldian approach to the discursive analysis of a consultation meeting between school staff and an EP. It is argued that a discursive approach using Foucauldian tools can assist EPs to develop their reflective practice. Indeed, it is Pomerantz's (2008) position that it is not only necessary for EPs to recognise discourse and consider how issues are constructed, but also to understand their own influence

within the constructions and interrogate and analyse EP practice and claims to knowledge.

The use of a discursive approach and specifically a Foucauldian approach is therefore recognised in educational psychology literature. Although this study will consider discourse within education in general, rather than within a specific example of EP practice, the relevance to EP practice remains the same. As detailed in Chapter 2.4 EPs play a role in supporting systemic structures in education. Therefore, to develop as reflective practitioners, the use of a discursive approach is of relevance to every domain of EP practice. In the current study that domain is the multilingual primary school.

6.5 Overview of Foucauldian discourse

Foucault's discussion of discourse has influenced the present study, specifically his discussions within a lecture entitled *The order of discourse* (1981), and the works *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002) and *Discipline and Punish* (1979). It is in these works that Foucault defines discourse and explores his own understanding, albeit in a complex manner that he himself calls cautious and stumbling (Foucault, 2002). Key elements of Foucauldian discourse are presented below.

6.5.1 Description of discourses

Discourses are described as groups of statements that are common in some way or have a similar context, and which group together to make claims to

knowledge (Foucault, 2002; Mills, 1997). Statements, considered to be the central building block of discourses, are defined as texts or utterances that function together to produce meaning and have an effect upon the world (Foucault, 2002; Mills, 1997). It is the operational nature of discourses that Foucault (2002) emphasises, and in doing so views statements as not reducible to a linguistic unit, but instead as any system of signs that function together as units:

‘I now realise that I could not define the statement as a unit of a linguistic type...but that I was dealing with an enunciative function that involved various units (these may sometimes be sentences, sometimes propositions; but they are sometimes made up of fragments of sentences, series or tables of signs, a set of propositions or equivalent formulations); and, instead of giving ‘meaning’ to these units, this function **relates them to a field of objects**; instead of providing them with a subject, it **opens up for them a number of possible subjective positions...**’ (Foucault, 2002, p.119; emphasis is the researcher’s own).

In essence, statements can be anything that carries meaning (Willig, 2008). Furthermore, to explore discourses in a Foucauldian sense is to explore the functioning of statements, in particular how statements function in relation to objects and how they position subjects, both of which are described below:

- Objects are ‘things’ formed in discourse, and extend beyond material entities to events and actions (Foucault, 2002; Mills, 1997; Parker, 1992). By being formed, objects are named, classified and described, and discourses also specify how an object can be spoken of and dealt with (Foucault, 2002, Mills, 1997). As Burr (2003) explains, different discourses can surround an object, and each will bring different aspects of the object and different issues into focus.

- The subject relates to the person or people positioned in discourse. The subject cannot be reduced to a physical person such as the speaker, or the people grammatically mentioned in the text. Instead, within any group of statements there are spaces for individuals to fill as a subject. It is the functioning of the statements that determines how the subject is to be positioned, for example how the subject is to speak and how they are to act (Foucault, 2002; Willig, 2008).

6.5.2 Contradictions

Discourses are not coherent but contain contradictions. In *Archaeology of Knowledge* (2002), Foucault determined different levels of contradictions. At the basic level, a contradiction can have no influence on the overall discourse; at the farthest level, a contradiction can oppose the formation of the discourse it is within. Three functions of contradictions are theorised by Foucault, the first being to bring about a development in a discourse, for example in relation to a new object; the second is to re-organise the discourse, for example by altering an object into another one within the same discourse; the third is to be critical about a discourse and perhaps lead the discourse to a point where it is no longer possible.

6.5.3 Exclusions

Discourses constrain and exclude other discourses. At any given time, discourses may be tabooed, rejected as void, or excluded by a division between

true or false and a consequential 'will to truth' by societal practices and institutions (Foucault, 1981; Hook, 2001; Mills, 1997). Discourses can be excluded through the reinforcement of a dominant discourse, for example through regular commentary, or the development of a discourse into an academic topic of study (Foucault, 1981; Hook, 2001; Mills, 1997). Therefore, whilst exploration of objects and subject positions provide an indicator of discourse, it is also important to consider what alternative discourses are excluded.

6.5.4 Power

Power is also important in discourse. In *Discipline and Punish* (1979), Foucault offered an opposing view to the perspective that power is held by individuals or systems, by offering that power is dispersed everywhere due to its link with knowledge (Foucault, 1979; Allen, 2012). Referred to as power-knowledge, Foucault (1979) discusses the relationship and explores how the different forms of power operate to produce knowledge through a history of modern institutions, particularly schools and education. The key assertion of Foucault is the existence of subtle disciplinary powers, which control through the use of a set of instruments. Written with particular emphasis on the role of disciplinary power in schools, Foucault theorised the instrument of hierarchical observation, which is applied through surveillance of everything by everyone; the instrument of normalising judgement which presses for uniformity, for example by introducing punishment and facilitating the measurement of individuals; and the instrument of examination, which through inspection and varying forms of examination

make it possible to surveil and punish (Foucault, 1979; Allan, 2013; Hope, 2013).

Consideration of disciplinary powers has often formed the central focus of researchers' application of Foucauldian thinking (e.g. Hope, 2013; Morgan, 2005). The term discourse is also devoid in *Discipline and Punish* and the work has come to represent a shift in Foucault's thought, from what is termed his archaeological period (when *Archaeology of Knowledge* was written), to his genealogical period (Allan, 2013; Kendall and Wickham, 1999). However, the broader genealogical view of there being varying claims to knowledge is comparable with the earlier discussed archaeological elements of discourse, and consideration of disciplinary powers alongside archaeological elements opens up the exploration of how individuals may be constrained or controlled by discourse (Kendall and Wickham, 1999).

6.6 Rationale for and challenges of adopting a Foucauldian perspective

It is apparent that Foucault's views are complex. However, as the literature review has demonstrated, adoption of a macro social constructionist view of discourse highlights how accepted knowledge regarding education in multilingual contexts has changed in recent decades. Exploration of discourse within the current national educational and local context is therefore worthy of consideration, and given the relevance of Foucauldian thought, the application of Foucauldian tools is considered a reasonable choice. However, this is not

without awareness and critical examination of the challenges of adopting the perspective, especially in comparison to other approaches.

Foucault's ideas have been described by some as vague and ambiguous and there is a lack of suggested method regarding how his tools are to be employed (Burr, 1995; Garrity, 2010). This absence of a prescribed method and coherent theory is attractive to some (Thomas, 1997); however, simultaneously it has led others to consider the use of Foucault as dangerous or leading to ambiguous research (Graham, 2005; O'Farrell, 2005). A further concern is Ball's (2013) caution that Foucault is often systematically misused and misread by educational research.

Therefore, prior to the decision to apply a Foucauldian perspective, the closely aligned critical discourse analysis (CDA) was considered as an alternative approach. CDA is orientated towards analysing discourse from a social perspective with an emphasis on social change (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). The variant of CDA advanced by Fairclough is based on Foucault's ideas of discourse, although the approach aims to provide an operational method of analysis (Fairclough, 1992; 2001). Given the complexities of Foucault, the existence of a method that draws on his ideas was certainly appealing; however, application of the approach was deemed at odds with the position that the researcher had adopted. Foucault held the position that certain discourses should not be viewed as better than others (Burr, 2003; Foucault, 2002). Nevertheless, due to the emphasis on social change, researchers who apply CDA do so from a critical realist position, and often select and subscribe to a

certain critical perspective from the outset (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer, 2010; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). However, due to the decision to adopt a relativist position, CDA was not judged a suitable methodological approach. This does not negate the possibility of critique, but instead, opens up the wider possibility of questioning all claims to 'truth' and bringing to the fore excluded discourses (Burr, 2003).

An ethnographic approach was also considered as it is recommended within the area of multilingualism and education (e.g. Safford and Drury, 2013), and is used to explore discourse within the field (e.g. Creese, 2003; Gardner and Martin-Jones, 2012). To conduct ethnographic research, the researcher typically immerses his or herself into the field of study and collects detailed data on naturally occurring discourse from a range of sources (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007). However, the method required to adopt this approach was deemed impractical in the time available to the researcher for the study.

As a result, a Foucauldian approach was considered to fit most suitably with the research aim. In light of the above challenges and as recommend by Graham (2005), the researcher carefully engaged with the writings of Foucault, whilst also drawing from the insight and experience of others. Therefore the study is grounded in the researcher's understanding of Foucault, although attempts are made to apply his tools in a manner compatible with his approach. This study represents one researcher's venture and conversation with Foucault, and takes solace in his view to not found a theory, but instead establish a possibility (Foucault, 1979).

CHAPTER 7:

METHOD

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods applied in the study and begins with the research questions, details of the research design, and the methods of data collection and sampling. An overview of ethical considerations is then provided. Finally, the method of data analysis is detailed, followed by a reflexive discussion of the role of the researcher.

7.2 Research questions

The purpose of the research is to explore discourses relating to language in teachers' talk about their teaching practice in multilingual primary schools. In particular, the research focuses on schools located within an area of a local authority where a high proportion of the pupils speak a first language other than English. The research questions are as follows:

- How is language described?
- How is teaching described in relation to language?
- How are pupils and teaching staff positioned as subjects?
- What contradictions are present and how do they influence the discourses?
- What disciplinary powers are present and how do they constrain or control subjects?
- What alternative discourses are excluded?

7.3 Research design

The study adopted a flexible research design. This is in keeping with the orientation of the research, as it allowed each aspect of the design to be revisited throughout the research process and facilitated an active approach to the methods employed (Creswell, 2012; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Robson, 2011).

Contrary to a realist search for knowledge of a positivist or post-positivist orientation, the design did not need to assure that the knowledge was produced in a particular manner. For example, whereas a realist study would aim to reduce threats to the internal validity of the research, for example the role of the researcher (Campbell and Stanley, 1963), within a relativist study the researcher is an inherent aspect of the study and therefore takes an active and reflexive role (Scheurich, 1997). Furthermore, the research does not make claims of generalisability as realist studies do, but instead views the research as presenting a single construction of knowledge encountered within the realms of the individual study.

7.4 Data collection method

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as the method of data collection, and interviews were held individually and in pairs.

The choice to collect the data from interviews was made after consideration of a range of alternative methods. Foucauldian discourse can be considered with any material that carries meaning (Willig, 2008), which opened a range of potential data sources and methods of collection. Observation of naturally occurring talk was considered, however, due to limitations in the time and resources available for collection and analysis of data, this method were deemed impractical. Document analysis of setting and teacher documents were also considered. However, it was deemed logistically difficult to identify and gain access to documents that would answer the research questions. Therefore, the pragmatic decision was made to gather data directly through conversation with teachers, as it would provide material suited to the analysis of discourse whilst also being manageable within the constraints of the study.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as they provide a degree of formality that assists in focusing discussion, whilst also being an informal conversation that allows respondents freedom in their responses (Willig, 2008). This was considered helpful to support the gathering of data suited to exploring discourse. In line with the social constructionist orientation and the search for discourse, the interviews were not considered to be a means of revealing information held by the respondents, but instead they were considered to be a place where meaning was actively co-constructed through the interaction between respondent and researcher (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Therefore, whilst a schedule was devised to facilitate exploration of a range of elements, it was viewed as a prompt for a more dynamic process. The progression of each interview and the meanings co-constructed led to unscripted discussion taking

place over elements on the schedule, and topics on the schedule being explored in novel ways. Furthermore, the active stance of the researcher facilitated opportunities to question possible connections between ideas, and as the interviews progressed, the researcher gained further local knowledge that was of assistance to the collaborative exploration process (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995).

The interview schedule was designed to allow space to explore a range of elements associated with teaching practice, including curriculum, teaching methods, resources and assessments (see Appendix 1). The elements were formulated based on the literature, and the suggested questions were based on prompts that would support exploration of each area.

Interviews were held with pairs and individual teachers. The use of paired interviews developed during the early stages of the study. In the second interview, two teachers asked if they could be interviewed together, and the flexible research design was utilised to incorporate their request and explore an alternative to individual interviews. Following the interview, it was felt that the paired interview provided respondents with increased opportunity to explore and construct collaboratively, leading to richer meaning within the data (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; also see Section 7.8 for a discussion of reflexivity during the interview process). As a result, when pairs of teachers from the same school volunteered for subsequent interviews, they were offered the choice to engage in the interview individually or in pairs, and on all occasions, the teachers chose pairs. All the teachers in the pairs were familiar to each other. Interviews lasted

between 40 and 60 minutes. They were held at the convenience of the teachers on school premises. Each interview was digitally audio-recorded and later transcribed by the researcher.

7.5 Sampling method and participants

7.5.1 Identifying schools

The sample population were teachers teaching in primary schools with the highest proportion of pupils learning EAL in the LA where the research was conducted. The sampling was purposeful (Creswell 2012; Robson 2011) as the majority of the schools belonged to the same local cluster; the TEP or a colleague EP had positive links with the school, and there were no other Educational Psychology Service (EPS) projects taking place in the school. Six schools were contacted and five demonstrated an initial interest. One school, after indicating interest, was unable to identify any volunteer teachers and therefore did not take part. In total, four schools contributed to the study. Three schools had between 60% and 90% of pupils on roll learning EAL and one school had approximately 40% (NALDIC, 2012a).

7.5.2 Identifying teachers

The initial invitation was sent to the Head Teacher and Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator (SENCo) within each school, the SENCo being the primary contact due to established links with the EPS. Following agreement, the SENCo informed the teaching staff and asked for volunteers. Participants were

sought across the primary stage and therefore the year group or key stage of the teachers was not specified. The researcher was then either directly contacted by interested teachers or arrangements were made through the SENCo.

In addition to being purposeful, the sampling approach was active (Robson, 2011; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995). Respondents were sought initially from schools with the highest proportion of pupils learning EAL (approximately 60% to 90% based on LA data); however, the opportunity to involve the school with approximately 40% was judged of interest to consider a possible variety of discourse. In addition, whilst class teachers were primarily the designated group of respondents, one school offered teachers who held a specific group support and co-ordination role in the school, and again this was deemed an opportunity to consider possible variety in discourse.

7.5.3 Participant characteristics

The final participants were eight qualified teachers from four schools. The teachers were based across the primary curriculum, from Nursery to Year 5. Six of the teachers were classroom-based, of which one also held the SENCo role. Two teachers held a group support and co-ordination role. There was a range of teaching experience from 3 years to 38 years (mean of 13.5 years, median of 11 years), and a range of time in post at the school from 3 months to 37 years (mean of 11.7 years, median of 9 years). All teachers described their cultural background as White British and all spoke English as a first language.

All the teachers completed primary education in Britain and none recalls hearing other pupils speak another language whilst they were at school. Two of the teachers had the experience of attending school in another European country for part of their primary education. One of these teachers attended a school where lessons were taught in the language of the country, whereas the other attended a school where lessons were taught successively in English and the language of the country.

In total, two individual interviews and three paired interviews were held, culminating in five data sets from eight teachers.

7.6 Ethical considerations

The researcher's dual role as a postgraduate researcher and a TEP required adherence to principles guiding both academic research and professional practice. The following guidelines were adhered to: the University of Birmingham Code of Practice for Research, the British Educational Research Association Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (BERA, 2011), the British Psychological Society Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2010), and the Health and Care Professions Council's Standards of Conduct, Performance and Ethics (HCPC, 2012a; 2012b). In addition, the researcher paid close attention to Macfarlane's (2009) virtues for conducting academic research with integrity. Although the guidelines are written for different purposes and audiences, they are common in their aim of supporting researchers and practitioners to conduct their work in accordance with certain

principles and values. As a result, care was taken to ensure that the following principles and values were upheld.

7.6.1 Respect

Informed voluntary consent: All respondents were given full information about the project before being asked for consent. The information was provided through recruitment letters sent to the school, information sheets made available to those who expressed interest, and face-to-face at the time of the interview (see Appendix 2). Respondents were asked if they had any questions and if they were happy to take part, and once verbal consent was given, respondents were asked to provide written consent (see Appendix 3).

Anonymity and confidentiality: Steps were made to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the individuals and organisations involved. The local nature of the project and the decision to make initial contact with schools using EP links resulted in a greater likelihood of schools or respondents being identified through deduction. Therefore, once links had been made, details on individual respondents were not shared. In addition, school staff were not informed of the names of other schools where staff were taking part.

To safeguard anonymity and confidentiality, consent forms are stored in a securely locked cabinet away from any other research information, and no names or identifiable details are recorded on audio-recordings, interview

transcripts or in final reports. The audio-recordings and electronic transcripts are stored anonymously on a secure password-protected computer.

Right to withdraw: All respondents were informed of their right to withdraw from the study at any point before and during the interview, and up to four weeks afterwards. A time limit was provided as the ability to remove individual data increased in difficulty after the commencement of analysis. Respondents were informed that there would be no consequences to withdrawal and that if the interview had already been completed, the audio-recording and the transcript would be deleted and the data removed from the study (see Appendix 2).

Respect for persons: The interviews were conducted in a manner that respected the professional and personal knowledge, experience, expertise and insight of respondents, rather than criticised or demeaned their contributions. The co-constructive nature of the interview further facilitated this provision as the interviews were based on a dynamic and collaborative exploration of meaning.

7.6.2 Responsibility

Responsibility to ensure welfare: As the respondents were teachers and the interviews were held on school grounds, the researcher held the added responsibility of ensuring the welfare of children, and therefore to report the hearing or witness of any illegal behaviour or behaviour that caused harm. This

was a limit of confidentiality that respondents were made aware of prior to providing consent (see Appendix 2).

Feedback to respondents and social responsibility: By undertaking the study, the researcher accepted a responsibility to make available the findings of the research. Therefore, steps were taken to share the study with the schools involved and the EPS and LA where the research was conducted (see Appendix 5 for the public domain presentation).

7.6.3 Reduction of potential risks

Risks to individual respondents: The risk to respondents was minimal, however, there was the possibility that respondents would identify or realise concerns regarding their practice that would cause them unnecessary stress. If this were to occur, the researcher was prepared to adjourn the interview in a supportive manner and encourage the respondent to access professional support from a colleague or senior member of school staff.

Ethical approval: To ensure that advanced plans were made in accordance with the above, approval for the study was gained from the University ethical review board prior to any contact being made with schools or individual respondents.

7.7 Data analysis

The data were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA). The approach to FDA combined Parker's (2002) post-structural discourse analysis with the researcher's own reflective reading of Foucault. Parker's (2002) view of discourse is founded on Foucault's thinking, but departs from it by adopting a realist position to the discourse created. The approach is also missing elements the researcher considered important to a Foucauldian approach, particularly the examination of relationships between objects and consideration of systems of exclusion: a matter also recognised by Hook (2001). Therefore, rather than adopting in whole Parker's (1992) approach, steps were incorporated with the researcher's understanding of Foucault. This led to the steps in Table 4 being applied to analysis of the interview data.

The qualitative data analysis software NVivo 10 (QSR International, 2012) was used to assist in the administrative management of the analysis, in particular to record the codes electronically and to ease the grouping of codes within and across interview transcripts. The software was not used to provide analytical support. This was supplemented by further paper-based analysis of grouping and naming the codes. As the analysis progressed, the process and findings were reflected upon in conversation with research supervisors.

Step	Description	Process
1	<p>The talk regarding the objects contains groups of statements.</p> <p>Within the statements, what are the objects being referred to? How are the objects described? How do they relate to each other?</p>	<p>The digital audio recordings of the interview were electronically transcribed (typed) by the researcher.</p> <p>The interview transcripts were read and initial codes in relation to objects and subjects noted electronically alongside the interview transcripts.</p>
2	<p>What type of person (subject) is being talked about and how are they positioned?</p>	<p>The initial object and subject codes were reviewed and then electronically grouped within each interview transcript. The groups of the codes were reviewed.</p> <p>The codes were then grouped across the interview transcripts. The codes within these groups were then reviewed and re-categorised and/or re-named as deemed necessary.</p>
3	<p>What contradictions are present within the discourses?</p>	<p>Contradictions within the description of objects and positioning of subjects were identified and noted.</p>
4	<p>What do the discourses exclude?</p>	<p>The description of objects and positioning of subjects were reviewed in comparison to prior literature and exclusions in the discourse noted.</p>
5	<p>What, if any instruments of disciplinary power are present within the discourses?</p>	<p>The description of objects and positioning of subjects were reviewed and instruments of disciplinary power noted.</p>

Table 4: Steps in the analysis of data (Adapted from Parker, 1992)

7.8 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a key component of studies that utilise qualitative methods, particularly those that adopt a relativist position (Burr, 2003; Willig, 2008). In social constructionist research, reflexivity relates to recognising that the researcher is linked inextricably to the research, the research has been informed by the researcher's personal history and background, and the process of undertaking the research is in turn likely to have influenced the researcher (Burr, 2003; O'Connor, 2007). For this reason, Scheurich (1997) calls for researchers to reveal the 'baggage' that they bring to interviews, from training undertaken within the subject area, to social positions such as gender and ethnicity. Reflexivity also involves recognising that in the act of an interview the researcher and respondent construct meaning in the data collaboratively, and that the analysis of data and interpretation of findings are informed by the researcher (Burr, 2003; Fox and Allan, 2014). Unquestionably, by choosing to take an active co-constructor role during the interviews and then engaging in a data analysis process that is inevitably interpretative and intuitive in nature (Burr, 2003), it is impossible to overstep or ignore the role of the researcher in the claims that will be shared. Furthermore, by researching discourse from a Foucauldian perspective, the researcher and the research itself cannot be considered as separate from the discourse within the field of study (Hewitt, 2009), but instead must be viewed as a part of the discourse.

Due to the researcher's position as a postgraduate researcher and a TEP, the discourse that this study seeks to display sits within discourses concerning

academic research and professional educational psychology. Discourses concerning the researcher's characteristics as a monolingual-English speaking female of an ethnic and cultural minority background must also be considered. In addition, the researcher brought personal experiences to the study, including: completing compulsory education in monolingual primary and secondary schools in England, completing undergraduate study in an English university alongside students from other countries and consequently forming friendships with multilingual speakers, and engaging in discussions with multilingual family friends and their children who are multilingual speakers completing compulsory education in England.

Willig (2008) draws attention to this problematic status regarding the claims that Foucauldian research seeks to make, and encourages researchers to be reflexively aware. Therefore, throughout the study, the researcher sought to be aware of her role in the research. During and after each interview, the researcher considered how her approach to interviewing influenced respondents. For example, during the early interviews, the researcher judged her approach to be too passive and therefore made greater attempt to build questions on what respondents were saying, and to offer potential connections between answers. As a result, the researcher's approach altered during each interview, and the approach adopted in the later interviews may be considered more active than those in the early stages of the study. Reflexivity was also practiced during the data analysis process. The researcher continually examined the analysis approach, which resulted in frequent re-reading of relevant literature (e.g. Foucault, 2002; Parker, 2002) and discussions with

research supervisors. In turn, this led to successive minor alterations in how the data were analysed. When grouping and naming the data, the researcher considered the extent to which the decisions were a reflection of the data or the researcher's notions. For example, where it was judged that the name of a code was more a reflection of the researcher, the data were re-examined and the name was adjusted. The same process was undertaken during the interpretation of the findings, and where appropriate the findings were re-examined and the interpretation reconsidered.

As a result, the researcher is not separate from the study and it can only be declared that the discourses shared have been authored, rather than discovered, by the researcher (Willig, 2008); and that these claims sit within wider systems of discourse unexplored in the study. In order to present a clear and coherent account of the study and support the reader to evaluate the research, information on the steps taken during the data analysis are further detailed in Appendix 4.

CHAPTER 8:

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

8.1 Introduction

This study explores discourses relating to language in teachers' talk about their teaching practice in multilingual primary schools, and asks the following research questions:

- How is language described?
- How is teaching described in relation to language?
- How are pupils and teaching staff positioned as subjects?
- What contradictions are present and how do they influence the discourses?
- What disciplinary powers are present and how do they constrain or control subjects?
- What alternative discourses are excluded?

Data was gathered through semi-structured interviews with pairs and individual teachers (eight teachers in total) and then the data were analysed using Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) drawing on Parker's (1992) method of post-structural discourse analysis and the researcher's own reading of Foucault (1979; 1981; 2002). This chapter presents the analysed data and discusses the findings in relation to the research questions. Firstly, to re-orientate the reader to Foucauldian ideas, definitions of key concepts are presented in Table 5.

Objects	Objects are formed in discourse. Different discourses name, classify and deal with objects in different ways.
Subjects	A subject is a person positioned in discourse. By being positioned, a subject is granted a particular way of speaking and acting.
Contradictions	Contradictions play a functional role in discourse, although they may not always have a strong influence. When a contradiction does have an influence, it can bring about a development in discourse, it can re-organise discourse, or it can be critical of a discourse.
Exclusions	Dominant discourses constrain and therefore exclude other discourses. Thus, to consider exclusions is to identify discourses that are not present.
Disciplinary power	Foucault asserts that subtle disciplinary powers operate in discourse to produce knowledge and control through instruments such as punishment, measurement and examination.

Table 5: Overview and definitions of Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA) concepts identified in the data analysis.

Language and teaching are the objects formed in discourse. Pupils and teaching staff are the subjects positioned in discourse. Therefore, the findings concerning these objects and subjects can be considered as indicators of discourse.

8.2 How is language described?

In the respondents' talk, language is described in multiple ways. It is described in terms of how language develops, how language is a need, and how different

languages are used, with a distinction drawn between the English language and languages other than English.

8.2.1 The development of language

The respondents' talk described language as being formed of multiple components that develop in stages. Hearing a language, speaking a language and learning vocabulary are described as the foundation to language development:

“There's sort of stages to language isn't there, it's listening, it's taking it in, before you use it.” (Respondent 1, School 1)

“If they don't speak it fluently, they're never going to learn how to write it fluently.” (Respondent 6, School 3)

This description places the development of a second language as akin to the development of a first, which is comparable to the theory of language development conveyed by Krashen (1980). In particular, the description places hearing a language and being provided with time to ‘take it in’ as of central importance prior to any use of the language, thus reflecting Krashen’s (1982) ‘Input Hypothesis’ that the output of an additional language only follows after being given time to listen to and naturally acquire the language. In the teachers’ talk, a distinction is made between being able to speak and communicate in a language and being able to use it during academic activities, which reflects the BICS/CALP distinction advanced by Cummins (1980).

Individual languages are described in the talk as separate but related to each other, with a developed language being of benefit to the acquisition of further languages.

“There are some children, they come to nursery, they will have good home language and good English very quickly.” (Respondent 1, School 1)

“You do find with children, if they know another language or two other languages, they will learn English much quicker, because they're making links in grammar and they're making links, just with words. I mean, I'm finding when, last year when I taught Spanish, two children who had EAL, erm, some of them remembered the Spanish word for orange, because it was the same as their language, or something like that.” (Respondent 3, School 1)

“We do Spanish as a school, in terms of teaching a language. Which is better for some of the children, because some of their languages are Spanish-based.” (Respondent 6, School 3)

In the talk, it is described as important that a first language develops appropriately before any additional languages are introduced:

“...you can't learn an additional language unless you have a good, one good language in your head. (Respondent 1, School 1)

“...if he's got them in his home language, then he can just build on that with the English, where if he doesn't know the concepts in his home language, then he's still got to learn the concepts.” (Respondent 7, School 3)

If a first language has not developed appropriately, the introduction of a second or third is described as having a negative affect on overall language development:

“I've got a child in my class at the moment... whose mother erm, speaks a language that not many people speak. It's a mixture between Latvian, Russian and Polish. ...And she's trying to speak to him in this language, made of 3 languages right. ...so he has no idea, he's getting very confused. ...He hasn't learnt her language properly at all. ...he can't make any links. ...So, he's erm, he has communication problems now.” (Respondent 3, School 1)

These descriptions reflect Cummins' (1980; 2000; 2008) theory of interdependence, which states that the acquisition of a second language draws upon linguistic skills in the first. Also reflected is Cummins' (2000) 'Thresholds' theory, which posits that one language must develop and function appropriately, otherwise bilingualism may lead to negative educational and cognitive outcomes (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 2000).

8.2.2 Language is a need

In the teachers' talk, language is described as a need distinguishable from other educational needs, in particular special educational needs (SEN). Although it is considered difficult to distinguish between the two:

"...but, sometimes you don't always know if a child's got some special need, if they've got additional language and that doesn't always become obvious until further on through the school." (Respondent 1, School 1)

"...our biggest problem I think, is when you've got EAL children and we think there could be an SEN issue. That is a big thing. ...you think where do you unpick it? You think, is it EAL, or is it SEN?" (Respondent 7, School 3)

This reflects literature that caution should be exercised when identifying SEN in pupils learning English, as learning EAL is not to be considered a SEN or as a reason for developing SEN (Baker, 2011; Cline, 1998; Lindsay et al., 2006). Similarly, the difficulty identified in the teachers' talk reflects conclusions that teachers find it difficult to distinguish between language needs, SEN, or a need related to curriculum content (Safford and Drury, 2013).

8.2.3 The English language and languages other than English have specific uses

In the teachers' talk, a distinction is drawn between how the English language is to be used and how languages other than English are to be used. Languages other than English are described as of use for non-curriculum activities where recognition of culture is emphasised. The activities illustrated in the talk were assemblies, minority cultural group promotion activities and using different languages to answer the register:

“ 'cus we're doing a little graduation thing next week ...And the Polish children said they wanted to sing a Polish song, so they're singing a Polish song. ...so I said to [pupil] you're Portuguese'. He said, I can count in Portuguese. So I said, right!” (Respondent 4, School 2)

“We have done work with them [Local Authority Multilingual Language Assistants] to promote different groups within the school... we did one where they wrote stories and they produced a book. ... and they came from other schools as well and they were reading out parts of their books. ...They're written in English, although some of them wrote in their first language and that was translated. So it could be part of a book, which was lovely, a really good experience for them.” (Respondent 6, School 3)

Other languages are also of use when translating for pupils yet to acquire English, signifying a use to support pupils to transition to English:

“We've got a number of Polish children who've gone down to sort of Reception and Year 1 to actually help.... To translate.” (Respondent 2, School 1)

However, once pupils have acquired English, the use of other languages is deemed unnecessary and problematic: unnecessary, as pupils may not have the required vocabulary in their first language; and problematic, due to the high number of different languages in the classroom:

“...most of these would've left Poland or whatever when they were 4, 5, if not younger. So they never really got on to be learning octagons. So they haven't got that word in their head. So the first time they hear it is in English. Yeah. So it doesn't really help them, seeing it.” (Respondents 2 and 3, School 1)

“This is the problem. But we have all sorts of languages and dialects, and you just can't accommodate everybody.” (Respondent 4, School 2)

Instead, the English language is described as most appropriate for use in school:

“So at one point we used to have a lot of Polish words, when it was just Polish. But we can't now. We can't cater for all of the different languages. ...and some of them, you know, there isn't an awful lot of point to it. So, it, that sounds awful, but you can't have all of those visual things and then all those other visual things. So, basically, it is a lot of English.” (Respondent 5, School 2)

“I wouldn't automatically think to ask how you'd say that in your home language, or what would you say if we said this. ... It's something I'd like to do in time, but I don't, I don't know how practical it is either, really, at times too. I think, knowing this class, I think that would just de-rail them slightly. ...They would just get carried away.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

These descriptions echo previous discourse. The chief discourse reflected is that in the monolingual education system, the English language remains the norm. This conclusion is found throughout previous studies (e.g. Creese and Leung, 2003; Safford and Drury, 2013; Wardman, 2012), and indicates the pervasiveness of this discourse. Also reflected is the discourse that in a multicultural society, languages are of value, but only in relation to transition and culture. The use of languages to translate to and from English directly relates to transition, and the use of languages for non-curriculum activities such as assemblies, cultural support, and answering the register reflects a cultural use. When considered alongside discourses regarding bilingual education, the

description reflects a transitional programme, where support for minority languages is in place only until the majority language is mastered (see Table 1 in Chapter 5.2.1). This reflects the conclusions of Creese and Leung (2003) and more recently Conteh (2012) that a transitional model of bilingual education is the most prevalent in England. The problematic description of other languages also reflects practice in a school in Wardman's (2012) study, where due to the diverse range of languages it was considered difficult to use other languages in instructional activities.

8.3 How is teaching described in relation to language?

In the teachers' talk, teaching is described in relation to language as dealing with language through curriculum structures, providing English, and using specific tools and people to manage and provide language.

8.3.1 Teaching deals with language through standard curriculum structures

The talk describes teaching as dealing with language and providing English through curriculum and assessment structures. Any adjustments made for language are in relation to the structures. The adjustments described are reducing the English language requirement of tasks, drawing on the curriculum developed for younger pupils, and grouping pupils according to ability as assessed by the curriculum structures, which leads to placing pupils into lower ability groups:

“Breaking the curriculum down into small steps. Isn't it, and just taking it one step...” (Respondent 4, School 2)

“We’ve got that [a resource pack]. ...But this is pretty standard Year 1 work.

...But it is at their level.

...So you do try, as much as possible, to make their work fit in. I mean, we did, in Year 5 last week, we did persuasive writing about zoos and whether they were a good thing or bad thing. And for the two real EAL children, erm, I'd got them some zoo books, and they were doing zoo animals, and they were doing, they did their own dear zoo book.” (Respondents 2 and 3, School 1)

“...From an assessment English point of view, erm, we follow the criterion scale from a levelling point of view, so we may have targets according to, like according to what they need to work on next.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

This description of standard curriculum and assessment structures is as expected, given the structure of the National Curriculum. Nevertheless, as detailed in Chapter 4.9, the most recent curriculum framework documents are absent of information regarding linguistic diversity, which suggests a ‘one-size-fits all’ discourse where standard structures are suitable for the multilingual school and pupils learning EAL (Costley, 2013). The description of teaching in the teacher’s talk certainly reflects this. In a contradiction, the curriculum structures are considered inaccessible to pupils new to learning English at the late primary stage. For these pupils, the teachers’ talk described a need to introduce separate work or withdrawal approaches until pupils can access curriculum content:

“When I was in Year 3...we used to have packs that they would do, whilst the others were doing the normal literacy lesson. Because, like in the first couple of weeks, because they just couldn’t access anything you were teaching them.” (Respondent 3, School 1)

“[regarding a pupil with little English] I think [going out for interventions] helps him a lot. Because it must be, it must be really hard to not really, quite, grasp what’s going on, but for the majority of the day, so that, that helps him a lot.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

Simultaneously, those pupils who are at an advanced stage of learning EAL are positioned as disadvantaged in the structures due to their continued acquisition of English for academic purposes. The academic attainment of the pupils is considered to be affected by the variation in the language used during standard assessment procedures, and the more complex use of language used during the later primary stage:

“...you know that as soon as they get in to do, so their Year 6 SATS, they're going to put in something, you know, in a different way. And it can be something, they can say such and such has 6 sacks and somebody has 4 sacks, how many are there altogether, but if they can't get the language of what it is that they've got, they'll get that question wrong. ...and that's where it becomes hard.” (Respondent 2, School 1)

“A lot of our higher children are not where they should be, and a lot of it's just because English isn't their first language. Erm, so they're already at that slight disadvantage, because they're trying to learn in English, and they haven't got the tenses, or they haven't got the vocabulary.” (Respondent 7, School 3)

The contradiction is further discussed in Section 8.5. The description reflects declarations in the literature that the spiral nature of the National Curriculum presents difficulties for pupils new to learning English in later primary (Sood and Mistry, 2011), and that pupils at an advanced stage of learning English continue to experience difficulties accessing the curriculum in comparison to monolingual same-age peers (Demie, 2013).

8.3.2 Teaching provides English

Teaching is described as providing English through opportunities to hear, speak and learn vocabulary. Throughout all school stages, teaching is described as providing an environment that allows pupils to hear and practise English:

“...we need an adult there to input, so I mean I can set out anything you like, but without an adult to input the language, they'll just work quietly.” (Respondent 1, School 1)

“ ‘Cus if they are surrounded by English all the time, they do tend to pick it up quicker.” (Respondent 3, School 1)

There is a variation between providing opportunities during the early stages of primary schooling and during the mid-to-later stages. During the Foundation Stage, the environment and curriculum-based language activities are the primary source of English:

“I mean, coming to nursery, ...[the teacher's] got little language cards. You know, she's got a pack of nouns, a pack of cards with actions on, so they learn, you know, ... so they get the basics of the food, naming, you know actions and doing the verbs.” (Respondent 4, School 2)

“a lot of the work I do is vocabulary-based, just building up, because especially when they're as young as 4 and 5, that's what they need initially, and once they've got a good amount of vocabulary, then we start building up those concepts as well.” (Respondent 7, School 3)

Yet, from Key Stage 1 to Key Stage 2, the environment is supplemented by additional instruction for pupils with little to no English, which may include withdrawal from the main classroom in order to focus on language:

“...we've got that [a resource pack]....So lots of different alphabets, we've got English as a different language, all the different equipment, sounds, standard bits, and it's just we can pick things, you know we can dip into here, erm and we're starting now to build it up into sentence level, and building up the vocab.” (Respondent 2, School 1)

“...He [a pupil with little English] goes out for some interventions, language unit that we do, structured language unit, and he has some specific small group time with some other children who are around the school too. He also works with some children, some other children who are of the same, who speak the same language as he does.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

The basis of both approaches is the provision of an appropriate environment. This can be related to the description of language as an interdependent skill, as all pupils are positioned as being able to draw on the interdependency:

“Well we do have, erm, we have children that arrive with no English at all, who are at their age-appropriate or higher, who may only spend half a term withdrawn for the English part. ... because actually, if a child, I think, erm, is doing, has done well in another language, they're sometimes better off in with children speaking English all the time to pick it up a lot quicker. ...And a lot of them...they've got a whole range of languages that they already know. And then, really, it's just learning the syntax isn't it.” (Respondent 6, School 3)

The overall description reflects Krashen's (1980) theories of second language development: in particular, the theory that additional languages are acquired through involvement in a language-rich environment with meaningful activities, and that structured programmes should only be used as a support (Krashen, 1980). Creese (2003) made a similar conclusion that this view of language acquisition is dominant. This indicates that the learning-centred approach has remained a dominant discourse in teaching for almost 40 years. The use of withdrawal practices appears to counter this, as withdrawal is historically related to the learner-centred discourse that pupils need specialist teaching prior to engaging with the mainstream curriculum. However, in the present study withdrawal is described as supplementary to acquisition of the English language and is therefore considered compatible with the learning-centred approach. This use reflects descriptions in recent studies (Cajkler and Hall, 2012; Wallace and Mallows, 2009; Wardman, 2013), and suggests that withdrawal is becoming a dominant approach to supporting pupils learning EAL.

8.3.3 Teaching uses specific tools

Teaching is described as requiring the use of specific tools when providing for language. The tools of use are:

Visual support:

“...trying to be visual with everything, so we're actually setting ourselves up a bit more this year as a visual nursery, using visual cards...”
(Respondent 1, School 1)

Practical resources and activities:

“I mean a lot of things I do are very hands-on. I mean they're small, they're very young, so it's a lot of experiences, and kind of hands on. Getting the objects and using the objects.” (Respondent 7, School 3)

Encouraging and using talk:

“...We have a talking partners programme, which we try to put in place for a lot of our EAL children.

Talking partners. Is that peers or? (Researcher)

It's with a TA. About, maybe about 3 to 4 children in a group.”
(Respondents 4 and 5, School 2)

Explanations and repetitions:

“I do find that we give a lot more definitions of words. You are explaining a lot of words, a lot of new words more, like new vocab, especially in science, geography, history.” (Respondent 3, School 1)

“A lot of repetition.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

The emphasis on tools further indicates the discourse of curriculum structures being suitable for all and the only adaptations needed are tools that facilitate the development of a language-rich and meaningful environment. The specific tools mirror those identified by Cajkler and Hall (2012), who when asking newly qualified teachers what approaches they used in multilingual classrooms, identified visual approaches, teaching vocabulary, modelling, repetition and reinforcement. The tools can again be related to Cummins' theories, as the

description reflects recommendations to embed learning tasks in a clear context (Baker, 2011; Cummins, 2008). This further reflects the provision of a learning-centred approach to language teaching, where meaningful and comprehensible activities are considered the most appropriate support for language acquisition.

8.3.4 Teaching uses people as resources

In addition to tools, teaching is described as using people as resources, and different subjects are allotted different positions. Teaching staff (teachers and teaching assistants) are positioned as the foremost resource, which reflects a continuation of previous discourse that supporting language is the domain of all teachers, rather than the role of specialist teachers (e.g. Bourne, 1990):

“...I mean the Head Teacher is very much that people are the best resources, isn't she?
Absolutely, and that's where the money is. ...In terms of where the money's gone in the budget, it's to develop people, the teaching staff and the support staff.
Yeah, it's the adults that make the difference to the children.”
(Respondents 6 and 7, School 3)

This view is furthered by the positioning of external support staff, who although described as a useful resource, are positioned as supplementary to resources within the school, with their primary role being to provide translation:

“They just come to do everyday things for them. To hear them read, to make them feel more comfortable. They're not teachers. You know, what I mean. ... We've got [external support] I think she comes two mornings a week ...but that's just for the Polish children.” (Respondent 4, School 2)

8.4 How are pupils and teaching staff positioned as subjects?

Pupils and teaching staff are the principal subjects positioned in the teachers' talk. Many of the positions are introduced above, though they are discussed and added to below.

8.4.1 The positioning of pupils

In the discussion of language and teaching in relation to language, pupils are positioned as users of multiple languages. They are positioned as being able to make links between languages, but only following the appropriate development of a first language and the provision of a suitable environment with meaningful activities. However, pupils are also positioned as unable to access the standard curriculum and assessment structures when at an early stage of learning English, and when at an advanced stage they are positioned as disadvantaged in the structures.

A further positioning is that those who acquire English and therefore have the use of multiple languages are to be admired:

“I mean, I'm always thinking, they just amaze me, because I couldn't do it. Because I couldn't sit in a lesson and have two languages going on at the same time, and be able to make any sense out of it.” (Respondent 6, School 3)

“I said 'you know what, you can speak two languages, I can't do that. I can speak English, but I couldn't do what you can do'.” (Respondent 4, School 2)

This mirrors the admiration expressed by teachers in Wardman (2012), although in Wardman's study, the teachers' admiration also included a sense of jealousy. It was aforementioned that pupils' opportunity to use a language other than English is limited to transition and cultural purposes. As part of this discourse, pupils are positioned as a translation resource to support other pupils who are yet to transition to using English. Pupils are positioned as translators during learning activities for pupils in the same group or class, and also as a translator resource for pupils throughout the school, particularly for pupils in lower year groups:

"A lot of our African families have got links, and we realised that they are, they're not always related, but...they speak the same language. ...we can say, oh if there's a problem, we can go and get such and such to speak to them in their language." (Respondent 5, School 2)

"I'll be teaching and all of a sudden, one of the children will say to the other child in Slovak, what I've just said and will explain it to them. So it's almost sort of automatic, to be honest. It's not even 'Oh can you translate?', they'll just do it naturally anyway." (Respondent 6, School 3)

This is a novel position that is not prominent in previous discourse, although Kenner et al. (2008) briefly acknowledge it as a possibility. Its dominance in the current description is a noteworthy variation and may reflect the growing proportion of multilingual schools, and therefore the higher number of pupils positioned as in need of support to transition to English.

When pupils are not using their additional language for translation, they are positioned as choosing to use English in school, rather than any other language. This includes when pupils are communicating socially with each other particularly when beyond the Foundation stage of primary school.

“A child, that may speak a different language at home, but is used to speaking English at school, and that's their language, their language almost for school is English, they'll use English a lot more.” (Respondent 6, School 3)

“They all speak English to each other within the school. That's what I've generally heard. ...they won't talk to each other in their home language.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

The teachers' talk also describes pupils' language use as controlled by parents, as parents are positioned as wanting their children to speak English, rather than any other language at school:

“Sometimes parents don't want the children to use their home language when they come to school. They see that when they come to school they're going to learn English, they want their children to learn English.” (Respondent 1, School 1)

“I don't think that they feel, oh, I can only speak English in school, or I can only speak one language at home. Yeah, although some parents, are very keen, aren't they, for their children to speak just English in school.” (Respondents 6 and 7, School 3)

This mirrors a discussion by Conteh (2007), where in a study exploring the language use of bilingual teachers, a teacher described a bilingual pupil who, when asked questions in Punjabi, would only respond in English, and the teacher considered parents to insist pupils only use English at school.

Pupils who have not acquired English or are without someone who can act as a translation resource are positioned as helpless:

“...we had a couple of children and it was their first ever experience of school. ...So they not only had the problem of leaving their parents, and not understanding about that. Then they had the problem with the language and not being able to speak to anybody. ... when they first came, we didn't always have the support, there wasn't always the interpreter. And we said that we couldn't cope, we couldn't do that. Because they'd be spending all their time crying that, we needed to treat

them, like we would treat children coming into nursery or Reception.” (Respondent 5, School 2)

“Often it [the use of older pupils to translate] tends to be when they first arrive, they just need that kind of reassurance sometimes, that they will be able to go home at the end of the day. ...so get them to sometimes pop down and speak a few words just calms them.” (Respondent 7, School 3).

When this position of helplessness is considered alongside the position of pupils being unable to engage with and so being disadvantaged in the curriculum structures, there are echoes of Conteh’s (2012) portrayal of EAL residing within a discourse of deficit. However, in contrast to Conteh’s (2012) description that pupils learning EAL are positioned as deficient due to an internal barrier to their learning, the discourses in the present study positions pupils as deficient due to being placed in an unsuitable schooling system.

8.4.2 The positioning of teaching staff

As discussed in Section 8.3.4, teaching staff are positioned as the primary resources in teaching, which includes providing English through teaching. Bilingual teaching assistants, a sub-group of teaching staff are primarily positioned as translators for parents:

*“Is your teaching assistant bilingual ...In the languages of the pupils?
(Researcher)*

Some of the pupils, yep...

And is that something that's used in the classroom? (Researcher)

Erm, not really to be honest, no. It's not something that I've really picked up on. It's been quite helpful, sometimes, trying to communicate with parents.” (Respondent 8, School 4)

This translator position reflects the observation of other researchers that bilingual teaching assistants utilise their language skill to liaise with parents

(Baker, 2012; Mills, 1994). However, within this description there is limited potential for bilingual teaching assistants to use their language skill in day-to-day teaching activities (e.g. as in Cajkler and Hall, 2012) (see Section 8.6).

In the talk, teaching staff are positioned as developing their own knowledge of teaching practice in multilingual schools:

“So what do you think it is that's made your teaching practice effective? Considering you said you've made changes over the past 7 years or so?” (Researcher)

“I think it's learning from your experience.

Ah, yea. I think it's learning and building on our experience.

On your knowledge, experience. Knowing what works, what doesn't work.” (Respondents 4 and 5, School 2)

“So it's practice that you've, what you're doing is things that you've developed?” (Researcher)

“Over time. Yeah. And reading, and that type of thing. There's a lot of research obviously that's been done and different bits, so I've read, some of it!” (Respondent 8, School 4)

This suggests that supporting pupils learning EAL is considered a teaching practice endeavour. This contrasts with Creese and Leung's (2003) conclusion that teachers describe supporting EAL learners as a content-free teaching approach with an emphasis on being caring and sensitive. It also denotes that formal training or development opportunities are not part of the discourse, which reflects the observation of Cajkler and Hall (2009; 2012; Hall and Cajkler, 2008) that teacher education programmes have a history of a minimal focus on language.

8.5 What contradictions are present and how do they influence the discourses?

In the teachers' talk, there is a contradiction in how curriculum and assessment structures are described. They are described as suitable for all learners, yet pupils learning EAL are positioned as disadvantaged by these structures. The contradiction is that the structures are suitable for all, yet also unsuitable for all. As outlined in Table 5 and Chapter 6.5.2, a contradiction can have a strong and critical influence in that: it leads the discourse to a point where it is no longer possible, it can lead to a re-organisation in the discourse, it can bring about a development in a discourse, or it can have no influence on the discourse. This contradiction appears to be an influential contradiction that could either re-organise or bring about a development in the discourse. A possible reorganisation or development could be in relation to teaching.

One possible change in teaching would be for the description of teaching to incorporate Kumaravadivelu's (2006) approach to EAL pedagogy (see. 5.3). Teaching would then be described as incorporating an approach that supports pupils to engage with curriculum structures. The overall discourse would remain the same; in particular teaching staff would continue to be positioned as the primary resources in teaching and as providers of the English language. They would also continue to be positioned as self-developing their knowledge of teaching practice, as the approach would involve teaching staff creating micro-strategies individualised to their teaching context (Leung and Creese, 2010).

Alternatively, teaching could return to previous discourses where pupils were considered in need of English teaching prior to engaging with the mainstream curriculum. Pupils learning EAL would then be considered as more able to access the curriculum and may be positioned as less disadvantaged in the structures. The current description that pupils in Key Stages 1 and 2 require some form of withdrawal support suggests that teaching may already be altering in this way.

8.6 What disciplinary powers are present and how do they constrain or control pupils and teaching staff?

In the teachers' talk, the standard curriculum and assessment structures of teaching can be seen as operating instruments of power. Through the structures, pupils are measured and categorised in relation to a norm:

"We've had newly arrived kids, both of us have, who haven't spoken any English. And you do automatically put them with your bottom group in writing, because they can't write English. I mean they might have the ideas in their head, and that's all fine. Erm, and if they make really like, you know, if they progress really quickly, you do end up moving them into a slightly higher group." (Respondent 3, School 1)

"...maths they're grouped independently of their literacy ability. I've grouped them on, just maths. Literacy, obviously they're grouped in literacy groups." (Respondent 8, School 4)

The system of inspections that relate to pupil measurement also places teaching staff under continuous surveillance, and exerts control through the curriculum and assessment structures:

"I think that's also what makes it hard. Going on a bit a bit on a...political rant, but, that erm, you know we're supposed to be judging them against their Year 6 SATS. ...Where for us, you know, that's not the most

important thing, that they'll achieve that Level 4, because he might not have only arrived the year before.
But we'll be seen as a failing school, for not achieving that Level 4.”
(Respondents 2 and 3, School 1)

“Because then the expectation is they've all got to make 2 sub-levels, no matter what, whoever they are. ...Whatever their experiences, yeah, and the pressures that come with all that, and Ofsted. ...And, all of that and performance management. ...And it's that constant pressure that we're getting as well. And it's not f..., the children don't learn like that.”
(Respondent 6, School 3)

These disciplinary powers are echoed in recent literature, with researchers voicing how normalising judgements are rooted in the school system through pupil classification according to ability (Ball, 2013), and that the Ofsted system of inspection is a surveillance that judges schools in relation to a norm and places teachers under constant observation (Perryman, 2006).

When considered in relation to language, the discourses at work within multilingual settings are infused with these disciplinary powers of normalising judgments and surveillance. Due to the constant observation and surveillance, teachers are constrained to practise in line with standard structures, to the exclusion of other discourses (see section 8.7). In one sense, this mirrors the verdict of Safford and Drury (2013) that a prescriptive curriculum limits space for teachers to respond to local linguistic contexts; however, in the present study, it is not due to a lack of space, but instead, to the instruments of power functioning in the curriculum. Disciplinary powers would limit the response of teachers even if space were to be created. This contrasts with Hélot and Ó Laoire's (2011) view that teachers are restrained by top-down (government) policies, and should therefore focus on developing bottom-up (school-level)

policies regarding language in education. Bottom-up level policies would be subject to the same disciplinary powers. Moreover, when considered alongside contradictions, it can be supposed that disciplinary powers could constrain how any contradictions could alter the discourse in the future: for example, they could constrain any change towards an EAL pedagogy such as that proposed by Creese and Leung (2010).

How bilingual teaching staff use their language can also be considered a reflection of disciplinary powers. In the mid-1990s to early 2000s, researchers explored how discourses controlled and limited how bilingual support assistants used their language skills. The current discourse certainly reflects this (also see Section 8.7). However, Bourne (2001) viewed the difficulties as due to power asymmetries between monolingual teachers and bilingual assistants, not allowing space to explore an alternative pedagogy. Similarly, Martin-Jones and Saxena (1996) considered the position of bilingual support as shaped by power asymmetries and the views of monolingual teachers who were founding their pedagogy on official discourses. The discourses explored in the current study do not suggest that bilingual teaching assistants are constrained by teachers' possession of power, but in contrast by the disciplinary powers within the education system. Specifically, the disciplinary powers constrain possibilities for teachers to explore alternative pedagogies that incorporate the use of other languages in curriculum activities.

The disciplinary powers can also be related to the positioning of pupils as choosers of English. Cummins (2000; 2013) refers to schools as sites where

power is exercised and where the school as a dominant institution requires minority groups to give up other languages in order to succeed in society. Cummins (2000; 2013) does not view power as fixed, but instead as generated through interactions such as between teacher and pupil. This is an alternative view of power to that taken in this study; nevertheless there are parallels. The respondents positioned pupils as choosing to use English and parents as controlling pupils' use of English at school. Both positions can be regarded as a reflection of disciplinary power. The pupils can be considered as controlled in their use of other languages by the normalising judgments of grouping by ability according to English language structures, in addition to being educated in a system where teaching is constrained in the use of other languages. Pupils are therefore restricted and regulated to use English throughout the school day, and to using other languages only for translation or when a cultural opportunity arises. Parents who are aware of the educational structures would be likewise constrained in how they view their child's use of language, as education relates to success in society. Overall, pupils can be considered as disempowered in their use of language.

It is noticeable that there is no dominant discourse as to why the English language needs to be acquired. This may also be considered in relation to disciplinary powers. It suggests that the discourse of English as the norm has become so embedded within the educational structures, that it is now a self-sustaining discourse that no longer needs a consistent reason.

8.7 What alternative discourses are excluded?

A number of alternative discourses are excluded. Firstly, the restriction of languages for transitional and cultural use excludes the use of languages other than English during curriculum activities. Excluded from the discourse are bilingual education programmes, such as that outlined by Kenner et al. (2008), where mainstream teachers employed bilingual strategies during literacy and numeracy lessons. The number of languages could be considered a practical restriction to such practice; however, within discourses of bilingual education there are practices that do not require a highly structured programme. For example Blackledge (2001) proposed that in schools where there are groups of pupils from the same language background, literacy activities could be designed to facilitate pupils to work together and write stories or record experiences in their first language.

Similarly, the restricted use of languages other than English excludes opportunities for translanguaging (the planned use of languages to allow pupils to move fluidly between languages) (Creese and Blackledge, 2010). In particular, this description negates opportunities for bilingual teaching staff to utilise languages when supporting learning tasks. This corresponds to the conclusion of other researchers that bilingual teachers are prevented from utilising any linguistic knowledge in teaching activities (Safford and Kelly, 2010; Safford and Drury, 2013).

Also excluded are discourses that propose pupils' cognition benefits from using multiple languages, for example through the heightening of their metalinguistic awareness and divergent thinking skills, as reported by Schwinge (2010).

A final exclusion is apparent in relation to supporting the acquisition of English. The prominence of the discourse of acquisition through the environment negates a return to previous discourse that language teaching is a specialism.

8.8 Summary

In summary, the discourse of multilingual schools in the focus local authority is that English is the norm in a monolingual curriculum, but languages other than English are of some value and can be used to support pupils' transition to using English. The transition support is likely to include translation by other pupils. This view relates to the dominance of the theories of Cummins (e.g. 2008) that languages are interdependent and therefore a pupils' first language is important when they are learning English. Languages other than English may also be used when recognising culture; however, any use of other languages within curriculum activities by bilingual pupils or bilingual teaching staff is excluded.

Krashen's (1980, 1982) theory of language acquisition requiring provision of a meaningful environment is dominant, and there is a discourse that pupils will acquire English through the provision of a standard teaching environment structured on a curriculum that is suitable for all. The discourse is not coherent, and a key contradiction is that the standard curriculum and assessment

structures are inaccessible to learners new to learning English and disadvantageous to pupils at an advanced stage of learning EAL. The use of withdrawal sessions is therefore adopted in order to supplement acquisition from the environment. This contradiction could lead to a change in discourse, either furthering the practice of withdrawal or altering how the standard curriculum is mediated, for example by incorporating an EAL pedagogical approach.

Overall, when compared to historical discourses, there is a continuation of the discourses that developed from the mid-1980s onwards that languages other than English are for transitional and cultural use, and that supporting the acquisition of English is the domain of all teachers in a curriculum fit for all pupils. In the historical responses, these discourses became particularly dominant following the introduction of the National Curriculum (Education Reform Act, 1988), and the contingent reshaping of educational structures. This is of importance, as the findings suggest that disciplinary powers operate through educational structures to constrain and control subjects to act in accordance with current discourse. Therefore, alternative discourses are excluded, such as a prominent discourse in the literature that encouraging the use of languages other than English in learning is of academic benefit to pupils learning EAL.

CHAPTER 9:

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGISTS

9.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the study, the conclusions that can be drawn, and discusses implications for educational psychology practice. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations of the study, possibilities for future research, and reflections on the influence of the study on the researcher.

9.2 Summary of the study and conclusions drawn

This study explored discourses relating to language in teachers' talk about their practice in multilingual primary schools. The literature review documented the range of discourses present within English multilingual schools since the 1960s and the range of alternative discourses present in the academic literature regarding language and teaching. The empirical element of this study found that in multilingual schools in the local authority of interest, there are discourses that English is the norm, that pupils learning EAL are able to use their first language to support their own and their peers' acquisition of English or for cultural use, but that any curricula use of other languages is excluded. Concerning the discourse of how teaching addresses the acquisition of English, there is no discourse that EAL is a specific curriculum concern, but instead that the curriculum structures are suitable for all, yet in a contradiction they are also unsuitable and disadvantageous for pupils learning EAL. Finally, due to the

disciplinary powers at work in the education system, teaching staff are constrained and regulated to work within these discourses, while pupils appear disempowered in their language choice.

In conclusion, the findings suggest that there is a discourse of multiculturalism concerning language use in schools; however, in specific relation to language in teaching there is an overriding assimilationist discourse. Within this discourse the English language is described as the only way of appropriately accessing the English education structures and educational attainment is supported by acquisition of English from the earliest age possible. All pupils who enter the system beyond their early years are at a disadvantage that remains with them throughout their primary education. Lastly, due to the constraints on teaching, staff to work within this discourse, their response and use of language can only be in line with the assimilationist use of language in teaching. These conclusions reflect the findings of others, in particular Costley (2013) who concluded that EAL provision 'appears to be unwavering in its pursuit of assimilation via the classroom' (p.14).

This study has not sought to document what discourses are 'true' and in what direction education and language use in multilingual schools should change. Indeed, other researchers have concluded that such a claim is difficult; for example Costley (2013), wrote that 'where we go next in regard to provision for English as additional language learners is unknown' (p.15). Nevertheless, the discourses found and the discourses excluded have important implications for

EPs working in multilingual schools. At the very least, EPs should remember that language in education is never 'free' from its social and historical context.

9.3 Implications for EPs

The implications of this study for EP practice can be grouped into two areas, firstly the relevance of an awareness of discourse in multilingual schools and secondly, the use of a Foucauldian discourse approach to practice.

9.3.1 Awareness of discourse in multilingual schools

The importance of being aware of discourse in multilingual schools firstly has implications for supporting pupils in these settings. In particular, during individual casework it would be helpful for EPs to consider how pupils are positioned and how their language use is described when reading casework documents, completing assessments, and when involved in consultations or other meetings. Doing so will provide insight into the following, and support EPs to reflect on and interrogate discourses that are taken for granted as truth:

- how pupils are positioned in relation to the standard curriculum and assessment structures;
- how pupils' language use is described in relation to the presenting need or concern;
- whether pupils' language is a point of consideration, both their acquisition of English and their use of languages other than English;

- how languages other than English are described in relation to teaching activities;
- how the acquisition of English is described;
- the discourses that are dominant and the alternative discourses that are excluded; and
- how disciplinary powers may constrain how teaching staff are able to act.

The study also has implications for EPs supporting multilingual schools. EPs may be involved in projects or delivering training aimed at equipping schools to support the needs of EAL learners, or specifically to address the needs of pupils who are newly-arrived in the country with little English. The findings from this study can support EPs to make teaching staff aware of the following:

- that educational responses to language in multilingual schools reside within a social and historical context;
- that teaching practice resides within a system where the structures are built on English language as the norm;
- there are ideas that counter the dominant view that other languages can only be used for transition and culture;
- there are ideas that languages other than English can be used to support learning and academic progress; and
- there are ideas promoting a different approach to supporting pupils to acquire EAL.

Again, this study does not view alternative or excluded discourses as ‘truth’; however, as Burr (2003) wrote in reference to Foucault, by increasing

awareness of discourse there is the option of legitimately questioning and challenging the dominant discourses through which we understand our lives. When applied to language use in multilingual schools, increasing teachers' awareness of alternative discourse may open up a source of resistance to challenging discourses that are dominant.

9.3.2 Utilising a Foucauldian discourse approach

Secondly, this study provides a further example of the application of discourse within educational psychology practice. The use of a Foucauldian discourse approach can be of particular utility to EPs seeking to explore other topics that are taken for granted in education. EPs are at the interface between academic research and educational practice, and this provides the unique opportunity to undertake research using different methodologies and to contribute to a greater understanding of issues in education. The use of the approach can also be of utility within professional practice. Through reflection on discourse during activities such as consultation and assessment, EPs may be able to identify dominant discourses and through professional interaction offer alternative discourses that may otherwise be excluded.

9.4 Strengths and Limitations

This study has certain strengths and is not without limitations. Both can be considered by evaluating the quality of the study. Due to the social constructionist orientation, the quality cannot be evaluated from positivist standards such as reliability and validity that seek to determine how well a study

has drawn objective conclusions about the world (Burr, 2003). Instead, as Willig (2008) writes, the research must 'be evaluated in its own terms...on the basis of its internal coherence, theoretical sophistication and persuasiveness' (p.156).

9.4.1 Internal coherence

Internal coherence refers to how well an 'analysis hangs together' (Coolican, 2008; Madill et al., 2000). The researcher sought to be coherent in her understanding of the topic and theory throughout each stage of the research process, and sought to present a consistent, clear and integrated 'story' through the written presentation of the literature, methodology, methods, findings, discussion and the conclusions drawn. This not only refers to the topic of language in teaching practice, but also to the Foucauldian approach adopted. Therefore, in order to ensure a coherent understanding of the theory when applying it to the research, the researcher regularly returned to the literature regarding Foucauldian discourse. Evaluation of internal coherence can also be considered in relation to data collection. The study is based on two topics that on the face of it are 'real' objects, i.e. language is a verbal or written symbol system, and teaching practice is a series of actions completed by teachers in schools. These topics were the consistent focus of study throughout the collection of data, as only teachers practising in mainstream primary schools contributed to the research data, and respondents were only engaged in a discussion about language and teaching practice. Moreover, the interview schedule was designed to explore a wide variety of actions (e.g. delivery of the

curriculum, use of resources, and assessment considerations), rather than being limited to considering one particular action. Therefore, a strength of the study is the consistency and coherence in its claim to be an exploration of discourses relating to language in teaching practice in multilingual primary schools.

9.4.2 Theoretical sophistication

The theoretical sophistication of a study can be related to whether deviant cases were explored during the data analysis process (Madill et al., 2000; Willig, 2008). The researcher sought to do this through repeated reading of the interviews, on-going interrogation of the data, and continuous return to deviant cases to examine to what extent they fit the descriptions and positions that were being identified. This can be considered a strength of the study, and to provide an example of how this approach contributed to the final data, the steps taken in the data analysis process are illustrated in Appendix 4.

9.4.3 Persuasiveness

Persuasiveness relates to whether the study contributes a plausible and persuasive new insight into the topic area (Coolican, 2008). The topic has sought to add to the research literature regarding language in multilingual schools, and through doing so has sought to provide new insight that will be of relevance to EPs.

To corroborate the plausibility and persuasiveness of the claims, the findings are reported alongside illustrations from the data. For the same reason, an extract from an interview is also provided in Appendix 4, alongside an account of the data analysis.

The study is limited in its persuasiveness. If the study were conducted in a different group of schools, if another researcher were to conduct the interviews, or if another researcher were to analyse the interview data, the discourses identified in the teachers' talk may well be very different. The study cannot, and does not claim to be a reflection of discourse beyond the contexts in which the data were collected. In addition and as discussed in Chapter 7.8, the researcher is not separate from the discourse. Therefore, the interviews were analysed, the findings were reported, and the conclusions were made within a discursive framework that almost certainly includes discourses of which the researcher is not conscious.

The persuasiveness of the study also relates to the use of reflexivity. The study is strengthened by the researcher's examination of her role in the research (see Chapter 7.8). In particular, through the use of reflexivity, the researcher acknowledged that she was co-constructing meaning in the interviews. The effect of this was that the researcher considered her contribution and consciously adjusted her use of an active interviewing approach. This further enhanced the use of reflexivity, as during the data analysis and interpretation of findings the researcher sought to give priority to the respondents' voice in the co-construction.

However, the use of reflexivity could have been enhanced. For example, the audio recording of interviews could have been reviewed with research supervisors to examine critically the researcher's approach to active interviewing, which in turn may have enhanced the development of the interviewing approach. The transcripts could have been provided to respondents, which would have allowed them to clarify any responses and comment on whether the transcripts reflected their experience (O'Connor, 2007; Scheurich, 1997). Through doing either of the above, the researcher may have further increased her awareness of her contribution to the co-construction of meaning, which would have served to strengthen the application of reflexivity during the data analysis and interpretation of the findings, and therefore the persuasiveness of the study.

Similarly, due to the relativist orientation of the study, the research cannot make any claims to what discourses are 'true' and what discourses are 'false'. There can therefore be no recommendations regarding what theories of language acquisition should be accepted, what approaches to language teaching are the most effective, or how first languages should be used in school or in curriculum activities. All that can be identified is what discourses are current and what discourses are excluded. Likewise, the study cannot suggest how pupils and teaching staff should be positioned. As a result, the study leaves little room for action or recommendations for change, which an alternative discursive approach such as Critical Discourse Approach (CDA) may have provided.

9.5 Future research

This study can be built upon in a number of ways. Firstly, future research could adopt the same methodological position, but explore discourses in the talk of other subjects. It would be of interest to explore the talk of bilingual teaching staff, as there may be contrasting or supporting discourse regarding their use of language. For example, there may be discourses that languages other than English are used but in a way that is hidden from other teaching staff, or there may be greater reference to restrictions and constraints in language use. A similar study could be completed with pupils; however, this could instead take an ethnographic approach and explore the language use of pupils in context. It would also be of interest to explore the discourses utilised by parents. To ensure that the voices of a range of parents are explored, this could open up possibilities of collaborative studies with researchers who speak languages other than English.

Future studies could also adopt an alternative methodology. For example a critical realist orientation and a CDA approach could be used. By choosing CDA, the study could provide insight into areas of action and how to move forward to address and end the disempowerment of marginalised groups and subjects. This could provide specific implications and actions for change, which may be acted upon by EPs.

Lastly, research could extend beyond a focus on language to look at discourses regarding language and associated factors such as language status, identity,

ethnicity and culture. Considering more than one object of discourse could open up a wider exploration of multilingual schools. For example, exploring the discourses concerning identity and language could provide insight into important subject positions regarding language and bicultural identity (Schwartz and Unger, 2010).

9.6 Reflections

Completing this study has had an influence on myself, the researcher. Through the study I have become familiarised with a different way of researching in psychology and education that draws away from the positivist perspective of searching for the 'right' answer. Through the application of reflexivity, I have become more aware of how I contribute to the co-construction of meaning. Through adopting a Foucauldian perspective of discourse, I have also become more critically aware of how accepted 'truths' in the fields of psychology and education can be viewed as formations of one type of knowledge. In terms of professional practice, I am beginning to become more aware of discourses within all elements of practice. In particular, when completing casework, I am more reflective of the discourses being drawn upon when parents and professionals are describing pupils or pupils are describing themselves, how these descriptions may be contradictory, and what alternative discourses are being excluded. Accordingly, I am more reflective about how increasing awareness of these contradictions and exclusions may support those involved to move forward in a situation.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1: Semi-structured interview schedule

Before starting the interview:

- Explain the research and the interview (time and question topics).
- Read the information sheet through with the participant.
- Guide the participant through details in the consent form.
- Check understanding of details on the information sheet and answer any queries.
- If participant consents, ask the participant to sign the consent form.

Interview commences (turn on audio-recorder)

The following schedule is a guide to the key questions. The order and further questions will be guided by the participant's responses.

Biographical information

- Background
 - How would you describe your cultural background?
 - Do you speak any other languages?
 - Did you hear any other languages when you were in school?
- Teaching experience
 - What was your qualifying route into teaching?
 - How long have you been teaching?
 - How long have you been teaching in this school?
 - What was your teaching experience before you started teaching at this school?

Classroom context

- Number of languages
 - How many pupils in your class speak English as an additional language?
- Number of support staff
 - How many different languages do pupils speak in your classroom?

Pedagogy

• Curriculum

- How do you approach the curriculum in your classroom?
- How do you approach differentiating the curriculum?
 - Consider the different curriculum lessons.
 - Do you make curriculum links to pupils' linguistic backgrounds? If so, how?
- How did this practice begin / why do you do this?
- Do you view it as effective?
- Why do you think / not think it is effective?

• Teaching methods

- How would you describe the teaching methods you use?
 - Do you utilise pupils' first languages in teaching? If so, how?
 - Do you use peer support in your classroom?
- How did this practice begin / why do you do this?
- Do you view it as effective?
- Why do you think / not think it is effective?

• Resources

- How do you use other staff, such as teaching assistants in your classroom?
 - Do you use bi-lingual staff?
- How do you use physical resources in your classroom?
 - How do you approach your classroom displays?
 - Physical resources: E.g. books, concrete objects, photos etc.
 - Bi-lingual resources?
- How did this practice begin / why do you do this?
- Do you view it as effective?
- Why do you think / not think it is effective?

• Assessment

- How do you approach curriculum assessment in your classroom?
- How do you consider the language proficiency of pupils?

- Do you consider their first language?
- How did this practice begin / why do you do this?
- Do you view it as effective?
- Why do you think / not think it is effective?

Overall

- How do you view teaching in a classroom with a wide variety of languages?
- What do you feel have been the key influences on your practice?
 - How would you describe the experience of teaching in a multilingual classroom?
- Do you have anything else that you want to add about teaching in a multilingual classroom?

Interview concludes (turn off audio-recorder):

- Thank the participant for taking part.
- Remind participant about details in the information sheet regarding their right to withdraw, and the publication of a public brief regarding the research which if they want to can be sent to them.
- Ask if they have any other questions.

Appendix 2: Recruitment letters and information sheet

A2.1 Letter to Head Teacher

Dear [Name],

I would like to invite your teaching staff to take part in a research project exploring teaching practice in classrooms where a high proportion of pupils do not speak English as their first language. I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist working at [Fairview City¹] Educational Psychology Service and the research project forms part of my qualifying doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology at the University of Birmingham.

I would like to gain the views of teachers teaching in classrooms where there is a high proportion of pupils learning English as an additional language (EAL), and as your school contains a high proportion of EAL learners I would like to invite your class teachers to take part.

In brief, the project will involve class teachers taking part in a one-hour interview focusing on teaching practice including teaching methods, resources, curriculum and assessment. The interviews will be confidential and anonymous, and the final report and any associated publications will not include any information that could identify the school. The attached participant information contains further information about the project and is also the information that teachers will receive.

I shall endeavour to contact you within the next two weeks to check you received this letter and discuss inviting teachers in your school to take part.

If you wish to contact me beforehand, please do so by phone on [PHONE] or by email on [EMAIL]. You may also contact my supervisor Dr Colette Soan at the School of Education, University of Birmingham on [phone] or [email].

Thank you for considering this request,
Kind regards,

Cherelle McDonald

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Postgraduate Researcher – Doctorate in Applied Educational and Child Psychology

¹ 'Fairview' is a pseudonym to ensure the anonymity of the Local Authority

A2.2 Letter to Class Teachers

Dear class teacher,

I would like to invite you to take part in a research project exploring teaching practice in classrooms where a high proportion of pupils do not speak English as their first language. I am a Trainee Educational Psychologist working at [Fairview City] Educational Psychology Service and the research project forms part of my qualifying doctorate in Educational and Child Psychology at the University of Birmingham.

I would like to gain the views of teachers teaching in classrooms where there are a high proportion of pupils learning English as an additional language (EAL), and as your school contains a high proportion of EAL learners I would like to invite you to take part.

Please read the attached information sheet containing further information about the project. If you wish to be involved, please return the interest slip in the attached envelope to the school reception or email me at [EMAIL]. I shall be collecting the interest slips from the school reception on [DATE].

Thank you for considering this request. If you have any questions or wish to speak to me before completing the interest slip, please feel free to do so by phone on [PHONE NUMBER] or by email on [EMAIL]. You may also contact my supervisor Dr Colette Soan at the School of Education, University of Birmingham on [PHONE] or [EMAIL].

Kind regards,

Cherelle McDonald

Trainee Educational Psychologist

Postgraduate Researcher – Doctorate in Applied Educational and Child Psychology

I am interested in taking part in the ‘Teaching practices in multilingual classrooms’ project

Name: _____

Contact email: _____

A2.3 Participant information sheet

Why is this topic being researched?

The number of school pupils who speak English as an additional language has risen rapidly over the past decade, and in many classrooms there can be a diverse range of first languages. These classrooms can be termed multilingual classrooms, and schools in [Fairview City] are a good example of this.

There is a variety of research exploring the teaching of pupils learning EAL. Findings indicate that it is important to consider how pupils learning EAL are taught, however there can be a range of practice and a number of factors can influence how teachers teach. Previous research has been carried out in different contexts to [Fairview], and in [Fairview City] the number of languages can be extremely diverse. This research aims to understand the picture in [Fairview City] by gathering the views of class teachers in different schools on teaching practice including teaching methods, resources, curriculum and assessment.

What will taking part involve?

I would like to gain your views through an individual interview. The interview will take approximately one hour and can be arranged for a time and place suitable to you. During the interview I will ask you your views on practice when teaching in multilingual classrooms.

What will happen to my contribution?

To ensure I gather an accurate record of what is said, I would like to audio-record the interview. The audio-recordings will be for transcription purposes only, and both the audio recording and transcript will be stored securely and only accessible by myself (the researcher). The research will adhere to the Data Protection Act, and in accordance with the University of Birmingham research policy, the data will be kept securely for 10 years after completion of the project, at which point all information will be erased and shredded.

The interviews will be completed anonymously and what you say will remain confidential, unless illegal or harmful behaviour is disclosed. This means your contribution will only be used for research purposes, it will not be reported to

anyone inside or outside the school, and the final report and any associated publications will not include any information that could identify you or your school. Quotes from the transcript may be used in the final report, however they shall be done so anonymously and will not include any identifying details.

Once all interviews have been completed I shall look at all the anonymous transcripts, identify key ideas within all the interviews and report the ideas collectively as part of my doctoral thesis. I would also like to share my findings with those who have contributed to the project so I will create a public briefing summarising the findings, which if you wish I can send to you.

It is hoped that the research will contribute to developing local practice, whilst also contributing to academic thinking regarding teaching practice in multilingual classrooms.

What if I change my mind?

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary and you are free to change your mind and withdraw from the project at any point before, during or after the interview. If you choose to withdraw before the interview, simply inform me. If you choose to withdraw during or after the interview, again, simply inform me and I shall delete and destroy any information you have provided. As it can be difficult to withdraw data from the analysis, please inform me within 4 weeks of completing the interview if you do choose to withdraw.

How do I become involved?

If you wish to take part, please complete the interest form on the letter. You can either email me at [EMAIL] or hand the interest slip in the attached envelope to your school reception and I shall collect it on the date stated on the letter, after which I will contact you to arrange the interview.

What if I have more questions or want further information?

If you have any questions regarding the research please contact me by phone on [PHONE] or by email on [EMAIL]. You can also contact my supervisor Dr Colette Soan at the School of Education, University of Birmingham on [PHONE] or [EMAIL].

Appendix 3: Consent form

If you give your consent to take part in this interview, please *read each statement below and indicating your response with a tick (✓) in the appropriate box.*

Yes	No	
		I consent to taking part in this interview regarding teachers' views on pedagogy in multilingual classrooms.
		I understand that what I say will remain anonymous and the final report and associated publications will not include any information that can identify my school or myself.
		I understand that direct quotes from the interviews may be used in the final report, however they shall be done so anonymously and will not include any identifying details.
		I understand that what I say is confidential unless illegal or harmful behaviour is disclosed.
		I understand that I can withdraw before, during or after my contribution (within 4 weeks of the interview date), and that once I withdraw any information I have provided will be removed from the project and erased.
		I understand that the interview forms part of a University of Birmingham postgraduate doctoral research project.
		I consent to the interview being audio recorded in order to produce an accurate record of what is said.
		I understand that in line with the University of Birmingham's policies on research, the researcher will store the interviews (audio and transcribed) in a secure location (password-protected computer and a locked cabinet), and will securely keep the anonymously transcribed interviews for up to 10 years after completion of the project, at which point they will be erased and shredded.

Signed: _____ **Date:** _____

Initials: _____

Appendix 4: Steps taken during data analysis

An example of the data analysis is provided using 2-page extracts from the interview in school 3. The following steps are exemplified using the same interview extract:

- A4.1 Coding the objects and subjects in individual transcripts
- A4.2 Coding how the objects and subjects are described, and grouping and reviewing within individual transcripts
- A4.3 Codes grouped and reviewed across transcripts
- A4.4. Example of a code being reviewed and re-grouped

Alongside each transcript is a coding strip designating the different codes assigned to each line of text. In appendices A4.2 and A4.3 there are multiple codes for each extract, therefore the coding strip for each single page of interview extract is split across two pages.

A4.1 Coding the objects and subjects in individual transcripts

R: Quite a lot there. Erm, so, just quickly, erm, it sounds like there's a lot going in, in terms of language support, whether that's supporting first language or second language, or parents. Erm, do you view the practice that's developed as effective?

TR2: Yeah

TR1: Definitely

R: And why, do you think it's effective?

TR2: It's the number of staff that's involved, a lot of it isn't it.

TR1: I think so

TR2: Just them being able to teach them in small groups, being able to take them out of their class, so that they, because in the classroom they are lost, a lot of them, if everything's going on and you can't understand you just do switch off, whereas in a small group, they don't have the chance to switch off.

TR1: No they don't.

TR2: And it's aimed at their level. I had a, erm a TA was watching a child but in different groups and she said in the class, she never talked in the class, and then she came to watch her in a group I was teaching, and in the group I was teaching, she was one of the higher one's in the group and her hand was up all the time, and she she was involved, because, it was much more at her level, and she understood the questions and she could be one of the first, rather than, yeah. By the time she's maybe thought of an answer, everything has moved on.

TR1: And we really work well together as teacher's as well. So even when they start, you know that transition back into the classroom, we'll have lots of conversations about what they need and what skills they already have, and, so everybody really knows the child almost, don't they.

TR2: Yeah, definitely.

TR1: That's the kind of relationships we have.

R: That was my, so that transition back, so the work that you do in the small groups, it sounds like you support it to translate into the classrooms?

TR1: Yeah, I think it's more, we've got, because we've got a teacher and a TA for example, in each class, I think they realise that it's going to be difficult for those first few weeks, you can imagine. If they're doing literacy, for two terms or even longer, outside in a small group and then they're going back to the class, I think, their awareness is that's going to be difficult. And they will be there to support them, and we would have had a conversation about the things that would actually, if they can really do certain skills, it will help them in the classrooms, we would have already had that conversation, and they do find it difficult to start with, you know, because a lot come out and say 'I want to be back in your group!' (laugh). But then some just blossom, because that's what they need now and they're getting bored in the group because they can do it.

TR2: That's it, and maybe it's holding them back, keeping them, when they can...

TR1: So it is hard, but they do manage eventually. And occasionally you do get them back in the group, because they've found it impossible back in the class. And I know some people would say, is that inclusion? And there's a big debate about that, but I think, you know, we're very much, what does that child need and let's make sure they get it, really aren't they.

Coding Density	Teaching Staff
	Children
	Object - Teaching
	Children
	Object - Language

R: So how long are your groups, in terms of weeks? Is it half-termly?

TR1: We change them all the time, but then we do have children that are with us for a long time.

TR2: Yeah. I mean like in Reception, it's very, very flexible.

TR1: So there'll be children in my group that have maybe been in the school for 3 years, and still that's what they need, and that's where they're at you know, because they couldn't cope with the language in the classroom, unfortunately, and that, you know, you will have by that point, we would hope, some identified special needs.

TR2: And also, they're not withdrawn from the classroom, like the whole time, are they?

TR1: No, it's only for that literacy session or that maths session.

TR2: It's only for that literacy session or that maths session, and then they'll be back in, their, doing work or other activities with their peers.

TR1: No, they're not completely removed, they're not completely removed. It's only for those specific lessons

R: Ok. Erm, just returning to an older question, about assessment. Is their first language considered in assessment, I know you talked about...

TR2: Yeah, we, we try to. We, yeah. Obviously assess them in English, but then, especially if we think their may be other needs, then we try and get them to be assessed in their home language, then we can identify whether it is

R: By whom?

TR2: By the MLAs.

TR1: Or if they're newly arrived further up in the school, then we try and get a first language assessment, if possible, as soon as possible. Because I think it's important to know what the actually know in their first language. Particularly, when I think they get to year 5.

TR2: Yeah, definitely.

R: And is it, you that will use that knowledge to support them, or does it go to class, or does it go to the team?

TR1: It'll go to the team, but obviously I think, if they're newly arrived it will probably be us that will use it more.

TR2: But then we share it with the class teacher, because obviously they'll have them for half the time as well, so they need to know.

R: How do you use that knowledge of where they are in their first language? Where they are relatively age-appropriate in their first language, does that make a difference?

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Teaching Staff	
Children	
Object - Teaching	
Teaching Staff	
Children	
Object - Language	
Coding Density	

A4.2 Coding how the objects and subjects are described, and grouping and reviewing within individual transcripts

Utilise external language support					
Share and advocate for children	Support and equip - language based				
Provide experiences and opportunities					
Understand need and recognise provision					
Grouping for need				Identify need	
	Advice giving				
Practice					
Description of object					
Object - Teaching					
Provide support to cultural and linguistic encouragers					
Encouragers of language					
Teaching Staff					
Self-dividers of language use					
Resource to self and others					
Parents are controllers of their child's language					
Need language survival skills					
Learning a language can disadvantage					
In need of own language support as a requirement					
				Active users and lea	
				Children	
				How subjects are po	
Formed of specific skills components					
Skill to learn and use					
				Single but important	
Linked, made separate in use					
Learning English disadvantage achievement					
Is a communication need which can be supported					
First languages used as a support					
First language has a knowledge base					
All languages are for active use					
Variable supported need					
Acquisition of language is a specific need requiring specific support					
				Description of object	
				Object - Language	
Coding Density					

R:	Quite a lot there. Erm, so, just quickly, erm, it sounds like there's a lot going in, in terms of language support, whether that's supporting first language or second language, or parents. Erm, do you view the practice that's developed as effective?
TR2:	Yeah
TR1:	Definitely
R:	And why, do you think it's effective?
TR2:	It's the number of staff that's involved, a lot of it isn't it.
TR1:	I think so
TR2:	Just them being able to teach them in small groups, being able to take them out of their class, so that they, because in the classroom they are lost, a lot of them, if everything's going on and you can't understand you just do switch off, whereas in a small group, they don't have the chance to switch off.
TR1:	No they don't.
TR2:	And it's aimed at their level. I had a, erm a TA was watching a child but in different groups and she said in the class, she never talked in the class, and then she came to watch her in a group I was teaching, and in the group I was teaching, she was one of the higher one's in the group and her hand was up all the time, and she she was involved, because, it was much more at her level, and she understood the questions and she could be one of the first, rather than, yeah. By the time she's maybe thought of an answer, everything has moved on.
TR1:	And we really work well together as teacher s as well. So even when they start, you know that transition back into the classroom, we'll have lots of conversations about what they need and what skills they already have, and, so everybody really knows the child almost, don't they.
TR2:	Yeah, definitely.
TR1:	That's the kind of relationships we have.
R:	That was my, so that transition back, so the work that you do in the small groups, it sounds like you support it to translate into the classrooms?
TR1:	Yeah, I think it's more, we've got, because we've got a teacher and a TA for example, in each class, I think they realise that it's going to be difficult for those first few weeks, you can imagine. If they're doing literacy, for two terms or even longer, outside in a small group and then they're going back to the class, I think, their awareness is that's going to be difficult. And they will be there to support them, and we would have had a conversation about the things that would actually, if they can really do certain skills, it will help them in the classrooms, we would have already had that conversation, and they do find it difficult to start with, you know, because a lot come out and say 'I want to be back in your group!' (laugh). But then some just blossom, because that's what they need now and they're getting bored in the group because they can do it.
TR2:	That's it, and maybe it's holding them back, keeping them, when they can...
TR1:	So it is hard, but they do manage eventually. And occasionally you do get them back in the group, because they've found it impossible back in the class. And I know some people would say, is that inclusion? And there's a big debate about that, but I think, you know, we're very much, what does that child need and let's make sure they get it, really aren't they.

Pressurised by external
Organisers and overseers of support

One of many working together

Knowlegable and experienced
Identifiers of need
Enjoyable
Embedded approach
Controllers of approach
Teaching Staff
Within a standardised structure
Transient - affects efficiency of teaching
To be admired
Resource to teachers
Require support prior to accessing standard curriculum

In need of specific additional identified support

In need of own language support as a requirement

In need of experiences
Helpless and in need of support and reassurance
Benefit from cultural promotion and inspiration
Able but learners in need of support to achieve
Children
How subjects are positioned
Visual support
Talk
Standardised structures are a tool
Signs and Gestures
Practical resources
Practical experiences
Differentiation
Created resources
Adults
Tool
Professional experience and knowledge
Cultural background
Children's skill in other languages
Resource

Progressors

- R:** So how long are your groups, in terms of weeks? Is it half-termly?
- TR1: We change them all the time, but then we do have children that are with us for a long time.
- TR2: Yeah. I mean like in Reception, it's very, very flexible.
- TR1: So there'll be children in my group that have maybe been in the school for 3 years, and still that's what they need, and that's where they're at you know, because they couldn't cope with the language in the classroom, unfortunately, and that, you know, you will have by that point, we would hope, some identified special needs.
- TR2: And also, they're not withdrawn from the classroom, like the whole time, are they?
- TR1: No, it's only for that literacy session or that maths session.
- TR2: It's only for that literacy session or that maths session, and then they'll be back in, their, doing work or other activities with their peers.
- TR1: No, they're not completely removed, they're not completely removed. It's only for those specific lessons
- R:** Ok. Erm, just returning to an older question, about assessment. Is their first language considered in assessment, I know you talked about...
- TR2: Yeah, we, we try to. We, yeah. Obviously assess them in English, but then, especially if we think their may be other needs, then we try and get them to be assessed in their home language, then we can identify whether it is
- R:** By whom?
- TR2: By the MLAs.
- TR1: Or if they're newly arrived further up in the school, then we try and get a first language assessment, if possible, as soon as possible. Because I think it's important to know what the actually know in their first language. Particularly, when I think they get to year 5.
- TR2: Yeah, definitely.
- R:** And is it, you that will use that knowledge to support them, or does it go to class, or does it go to the team?
- TR1: It'll go to the team, but obviously I think, if they're newly arrived it will probably be us that will use it more.
- TR2: But then we share it with the class teacher, because obviously they'll have them for half the time as well, so they need to know.
- R:** How do you use that knowledge of where they are in their first language? Where they are relatively age-appropriate in their first language, does that make a difference?
- TR1: Well we do have, erm, we have children that arrive with no English at all, who are at their age-appropriate or higher, who may only spend half a term withdrawn for the English part. They won't necessarily be with us for maths, for example, because although there is a lot of language in maths, they may be able to pick that up through the lessons that they're at. Erm, but in terms of literacy, in terms of speaking the language they may only spend a short time, because actually, if a child, I think, erm, is doing, has done well in another language, they're sometimes better off in with children speaking English all the time to pick it up a lot quicker. So they'll only be taught really the sort of survival language, and then the basics in terms of the written language, before they go back in, but then it depends, very much on the individual children, it really does. And a lot of them, it's not really

A4.3 Codes grouped and reviewed across transcripts

15A

Peers			
Parents as a resource			
External support			
People as a resource			
Culture, sometimes accompanied by language is a resource			
3) Teaching uses...			
Varying and adapting teaching to child's needs			
Identifying			
Ability and need grouping			
Provision based on identifying and grouping need within standard structures			
Language as a focus			
Giving experiences			
Focus on Integration and Assimilation			
2) Teaching provides...			
Assessing progress in relation to standard curriculum			
Standard curriculum			
1) Teaching is structure-based			
Object - Teaching (description)			
Negatively effects the object of teaching			
Home use of language can be a hinderance			
5) Problems of languages other than English			
Intertwinned with culture			
First languages used as a translation support			
First language has a knowledge base			
4) Benefits of languages other than English			
Languages other than English are for specific of translation and communication support			
English is the most appropriate and desirable language to be used in school			
3) Language is used...			
Should be met with support			
Different but not always distinguishable from other needs			
2) Language is a need...			
Skills in different languages inter-relate			
Formed of multiple staged components			
Acquired through immersion			
1) Language is a skill...			
Object - Language (description)			
Coding Density			

R:	Quite a lot there. Erm, so, just quickly, erm, it sounds like there's a lot going in, in terms of language support, whether that's supporting first language or second language, or parents. Erm, do you view the practice that's developed as effective?
TR2:	Yeah
TR1:	Definitely
R:	And why, do you think it's effective?
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Peers	
Parents as a resource	
External support	
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Giving experiences	
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Object - Teaching (description)	
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Home use of language can be a hindrance	
5) Problems of languages other than English	
Intertwined with culture	
First languages used as a translation support	
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4) Benefits of languages other than English	
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	English is the most appropriate and desirable language
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Different but not always distinguishable from other needs	
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Skills in different languages inter-relate	
Formed of multiple staged components	
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Object - Language (description)	
Coding Density	

R:	So how long are your groups, in terms of weeks? Is it half-termly?
TR1:	We change them all the time, but then we do have children that are with us for a long time.
TR2:	Yeah. I mean like in Reception, it's very, very flexible.
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R:	Ok. Erm, just returning to an older question, about assessment. Is their first language considered in assessment, I know you talked about...
TR2:	Yeah, we, we try to. We, yeah. Obviously assess them in English, but then, especially if we think their may be other needs, then we try and get them to be assessed in their home language, then we can identify whether it is
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TR1:	Or if they're newly arrived further up in the school, then we try and get a first language assessment, if possible, as soon as possible. Because I think it's important to know what the actually know in their first language.
TR2:	Particularly, when I think they get to year 5.
	Yeah, definitely.
R:	And is it, you that will use that knowledge to support them, or does it go to class, or does it go to the team?
TR1:	It'll go to the team, but obviously I think, if they're newly arrived it will probably be us that will use it more.
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TR1:	Well we do have, erm, we have children that arrive with no English at all, who are at their age-appropriate or higher, who may only spend half a term withdrawn for the English part. They won't necessarily be with us for maths, for example, because although there is a lot of language in maths, they may be able to pick that up through the lessons that they're at. Erm, but in terms of literacy, in terms of speaking the language they may only spend a short time, because actually, if a child, I think, erm, is doing, has done well in another language, they're sometimes better off in with children speaking English all the time to pick it up a lot quicker. So they'll only be taught really the sort of survival language, and then the basics in terms of the written language, before they go back in, but then it depends, very much on the individual children, it really does. And a lot of them, it's not really

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How they are...

TAs specific use

Providers of language

Identifiers of need

Do...

Teaching staff

...Receive language provided by others

...Language use and skill in the control of parents

...Have dual language learning and support needs

...Have additional needs separate to language

Have...

In experiences

In ability and knowledge

Lacking in skills to benefit from teaching

Individuals with needs that can be grouped

Helpless and in need of nurture and support

Cultural resources

Able learners, but may be disadvantaged by language

In relation to teaching

Skilled users of multiple languages

Independent selectors of English

A language resources for others (pupils, parents, staff)

In relation to language

In need of support

In relation to both language and teaching

Are...

Children...

Subjects

Visual support

Using and encouraging talk

Translation

Repetition and explanation

Professional experience and knowledge

Practical resources and activities

Physical signs, gestures and expressions

Tools

Teaching staff



A4.4. Example of a code being reviewed and re-grouped

Example of codes that lead to final description of language 8.2.3 'The English language and languages other than English have specific uses'.

Stage 1 – Initial coding in individual interviews	Comment
<p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Language'</u></p> <p><i>English:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desirable means of communication • Language of peer communication • Language pupils keen to speak in home contexts • English is the most appropriate language • English is the solution • Amongst the range of languages, English is the language of communication <p><i>Languages other than English:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variations between languages can create difficulties • Useful for translation to an extent • Some languages have precedence over others in curriculum • Words to be accommodated • Wide variation • Not for use in teaching and learning • Kept at expense of English • Have value • First languages used as a support • All languages for active use • Other languages exist but aren't referred to • Other languages are for translation and communication support • Other languages are for specific English teaching support • English language support requires first language <p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Teaching'</u></p> <p><i>Languages other than English:</i> Resource to be utilised in teaching Cultural linguistic resource</p>	<p><i>These are a selection of codes from the initial coding of individual interviews.</i></p> <p><i>These codes were added to a visual map of all the codes relating to 'language' and then grouped together under the headings 'How language is used'.</i></p> <p><i>These codes were added to a visual map of all the codes relating to 'teaching' and then were grouped together under the heading 'resources'.</i></p>

Stage 2 – Grouping codes across interviews	Comment
<p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Language'</u></p> <p><i>How the English language is used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Desirable means of communication • Language of peer communication • Language pupils keen to speak in home context • English is the most appropriate language • English is the solution • Amongst the range of languages, English is the language of communication <p><i>How languages other than English are used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variations between languages can create difficulties • Useful for translation to an extent • Some languages have precedence over others in curriculum • Words to be accommodated • Wide variation • Not for use in teaching and learning • Kept at expense of English • Have value • First languages used as a support • All languages for active use • Other languages exist but aren't referred to • Other languages are for translation and communication support • Other languages are for specific English teaching support • English language support requires first language <p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Teaching'</u></p> <p><i>Resources in teaching – Languages other than English are:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resource to be utilised in teaching • Cultural linguistic resource 	<p><i>These codes were grouped together to form the re-named codes in stage 3.</i></p> <p><i>The interview extracts attached to these codes were reviewed.</i></p> <p><i>Removed codes that fitted more appropriately with subject positions (e.g. language of peer communication).</i></p> <p><i>Removed codes that were not dominant across interviews (e.g. Language pupils keen to speak in home context).</i></p> <p><i>These codes were grouped together to form the re-named codes in stage 3.</i></p> <p><i>The interview extracts attached to these codes were reviewed.</i></p>

Stage 3	Comment
<p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Language'</u></p> <p><i>Language is used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is the most appropriate and desirable language to be used in school Languages other than English are for translation and communication support <p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Teaching'</u></p> <p><i>Teaching uses:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching uses culture, sometimes accompanied by language as a resource All languages for active use 	<p><i>The interview extracts attached to these codes were reviewed.</i></p> <p><i>Removed 'All languages are for active use' as it was only of relevance to one interview. This is an example of a 'deviant case'.</i></p>

Stage 4	Comment
<p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Language'</u></p> <p><i>Language is used:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is the most appropriate and desirable language to be used in school Languages other than English are for translation and communication support <p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Teaching'</u></p> <p><i>Teaching uses:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching uses culture, sometimes accompanied by language as a resource 	<p><i>Reviewed interview extracts attached to these codes.</i></p> <p><i>Grouped all descriptions under 'Language' as the object.</i></p>

Stage 5 – Final codes	Comment
<p><u>Coded in relation to object 'Language'</u></p> <p><i>Use of English:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is the most appropriate for use in school <p><i>Use of languages other than English:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Languages other than English are for translation and culture 	<p><i>The interview extracts attached to these codes were reviewed.</i></p> <p><i>These are the final codes.</i></p>

Appendix 5: Public domain presentation

Language and teaching in multilingual primary schools:

Literature review

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Overview

- Relevance: National and local linguistic diversity
- Historical view of education in multilingual primary schools
 - 1960s – 1980s
 - 1980s – 2000s
 - 2000s to present day
- Current perspectives on language in multilingual primary schools
 - Multilingual education
 - EAL pedagogy

2

Relevance:

National and local linguistic diversity

- National population: 2011 census data
 - 7.7% of population in **England and Wales** reported a language other than English (or English and Welsh in Wales) as their first language.
 - 7.2% of the **West Midlands** speak a language other than English (or English and Welsh in Wales), making it the second most diverse area of England.
- School population: 2013 school data
 - 18.1% of all primary pupils spoke a first language other than English.
 - 19.9% of primary pupils in the **West Midlands** spoke a first language other than English.

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Relevance:

National and local linguistic diversity

- Nationally, in approximately 10% of schools over half the pupils on roll speak a first language other than English.
- Locally, this grows to approximately 14% of schools.
- Over 300 different languages spoken nationally by British pupils.
- Over 100 different languages in the focus local authority.

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- Britain is becoming an increasingly linguistically diverse society.
- National data indicates a growth in the linguistic diversity and the range of languages spoken: The most common reported being Polish, Panjabi, Urdu, Gujarati, Arabic, French, Chinese, Portuguese and Spanish.
- School population: In 2003 10.4% of primary pupils spoke a first language other than English, by 2013 it had risen to 18.1%.
- In the local authority, the most linguistically diverse school documents over 90% of pupils on roll with a first language other than English.

The complexity of language use

- Recognition of languages used by pupils is based on the designation English as an Additional Language (EAL).
- However...designation does not account for:
 - Competence or proficiency in a language.
 - How a language is used: speaking, listening, reading and/or writing?
 - Pupils who learn another language alongside English from young, and therefore bilingual or plilingual, but not learning EAL
 - 'Balance' between languages.
 - Differences in language for communication (BICS) and language for academic learning (CALP).

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- Due to the above, there is a complex mix of language use in English schools.

Discourse

◦ ◦ ◦

- A topic can have a **range of meanings**, and examination at a particular moment may illustrate a certain meaning, and therefore the discourse.
- Discourses sit within a **social and historical context** and form social structures, practices and institutions that **influence how we experience the world**.

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- The literature maps how the educational response has changed over time.
- The way this is conceptualised is through use of the term 'discourse'.
- Discourse can be described as above.
- The literature review focuses on the dominant discourses throughout history. Therefore during each period there would have been alternative discourses.
- Literature focuses on England only, as educational response is specific to the immediate national context.
- Taking a historical perspective to multilingual schools is established in the literature. Other researchers have established that educational responses are specific to the social and cultural context of the time.

Historical discourses in multilingual schools:

Late-1960s to early-1980s

Late-1960s to mid-1970s		Late-1970s to early 1980s
Key social context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growth in immigration to the UK from a range of European and Commonwealth nations. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> European direct that member states should teach children of migrants their native language.
Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is the norm and supports assimilation. Not speaking English prevents access to society. Use of other languages are an interference and should be discouraged. Develops through age-related stages. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English is the norm and supports integration. Other languages are of value and should be maintained. Languages share a universal grammar and are useful to learning.
Teaching in relation to language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language teaching is a specialism. Pupils withdrawn to English-language centres prior to accessing mainstream classes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Other languages can be used in teaching and taught in school. Withdrawal is still common.

- 1960s: Assimilation - Meaning to be absorbed into the majority culture with a loss of minority features such as language.
- The problem of other languages is that a lack of English restricts access to education and can lead to an insufficient ability to cope in the country. A lack of English restricts access to education and leads to an insufficient ability to cope in society. Possessing a language other than English is a handicap, a barrier, and an interference. Therefore to reduce the interference, the use of other languages should be discouraged.
- Language develops through age-related stages (Plowden report) – reference to Piaget. Therefore infant-school age pupils are in the appropriate stage, whereas junior-school age have gone beyond.
- 1970s: Integration - Groups can maintain minority features. Therefore, other languages not a hindrance or interference.
- Universal grammar (Bullock report) – reference to Chomsky

Historical discourses in multilingual schools:

Mid-1980s to early-2000s

Mid-1980s to early-1990s		Mid-1990s to early-2000s
Key social context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Racial tensions and minority communities vocalising concerns regarding poor academic achievement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Growth in immigration.
Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English language is a sign of British identity. Other languages are a part of multicultural Britain, but only for transitional and cultural use. Acquisition through meaningful language-rich environment. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English language is a sign of British identity. Other languages for cultural and transitional use only. Supporting the acquisition of English is not a distinct curriculum concern.
Teaching in relation to language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All pupils in mainstream classes. Teaching English is the domain of all teachers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> National curriculum suitable for all.

- Mid-1980s to early-1990s: Minority communities part of a multicultural Britain.
- Language centres considered 'an example of institutional racism' (DES, 1985, p. 389).
- Mainstream classroom considered the most equitable place for language teaching.
- Language acquisition from a meaningful environment (Krashen, 1980)

Historical discourses in multilingual schools: <i>Mid-2000s to present day</i>		
	Mid-2000s to late-2000s	From 2010 to present day
Key social context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Racially-based community riots and multiculturalism a point of national debate. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continued growth in migration. Particular growth in people moving from central and eastern European countries.
Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English language is a sign of national identity and supports social cohesion. Other languages continue to be part of multicultural Britain, but only for transitional and cultural use. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> English language a continued sign of national identity. Variation in how other languages are considered.
Teaching in relation to language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching English to EAL learners should be a distinct pedagogical focus. Teachers encouraged to recognise distinction between conversational skills and academic language. Movement to incorporate first language use in the curriculum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lack of reference to linguistic diversity in new curriculum documents. Omission of earlier references to pedagogical focus of teaching English to EAL learners or incorporation of first language use in the curriculum. Variation in teaching practice.
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Conversational skills and academic language: indirect reference to Cummins (2008) in the curriculum documents.

Historical discourses in multilingual schools: <i>Summary</i>		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A number of discourses have formed teaching practice in relation to language in multilingual schools. Consistent discourse: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discourses of assimilation and integration where English language is a norm and necessity. Variability in discourse regarding languages other than English. Movement between: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Discourses of linguistic pluralism with language valuable in teaching; and Discourses of multiculturalism with languages valuable for transition and culture only. 	10

Alternative discourses regarding multilingual schools

- Throughout history, there have been alternative discourses which have opposed the dominant discourse.

For example:

- o Marland (1987): Bilingual education policy and bilingual curriculum
- o Lamb (2001): Local authority project to teach a range of languages throughout a city, in a bid that all young people would be bilingual in 'both English and any European, Creole, Asian or African language' (Lamb, 2001, p.7).
- o NALDIC (2011): 'Our mission is to promote the effective teaching and learning of EAL and bilingual pupils in our schools. (NALDIC, 2011, para. 2)

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NALDIC: National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

Multilingual education discourses

Language use:

Bilingual education programmes

Type of educational programme	Language of the classroom	Support for minority language	Dominant discourse
Submersion monolingual	Majority language	None	Assimilation
Submersion monolingual, with withdrawal classes	Majority language, with additional support for developing majority language	None	Assimilation
Transitional	Moves from minority to majority language	Temporary, until majority language is mastered	Assimilation
Immersion bilingual	Bilingual, with initial emphasis on majority language	Strong	Pluralism
Maintenance / heritage language bilingual	Bilingual, with emphasis on the minority language	Strong	Pluralism
Two-way / dual language bilingual	Minority and Majority language	Strong	Pluralism
Mainstream bilingual	Two majority languages		Pluralism

(Adapted from Baker, 2011; Wardman, 2012)

- Assimilationist discourses in the late-1960s mirrored a submersion monolingual programme, with withdrawal classes for pupils to learn the majority language.
- When calls were made for the teaching in and teaching of minority languages in the mid-1980s, the linguistic pluralist discourses reflected a maintenance / heritage bilingual programme.
- Bilingual education programmes considered by some as the ideal form of language use in multilingual schools.

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

Multilingual education discourses

Language development:

Cummins (1980, 1981)

- Languages are interdependent.
- If pupils develop academic skills and knowledge in their first language, they will be able to demonstrate the same skills in an additional language.
- Therefore, teaching pupils in their first language supports learning and overall language development.

(Baker, 2011; Cummins, 1980)

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- Surface features of two languages as independent, when underneath they draw upon a common proficiency.
- The common underlying proficiency is a central processing system comprised of linguistic and cognitive skills such as memory, reasoning and knowledge of concepts.

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

EAL pedagogy discourses

Language teaching:

- Current endorsements reflect a post-method approach.

(Kumaravadivelu, 2006)

Teaching approach	Explanation
Language-centred (Audiolingual)	Learning a language is a behavioural process involving the formation of a mechanical habit; therefore teaching should be based on introducing and practising structured language systems.
Learner-centred (Communicative)	Learning a language is a developmental process mediated by a learner's cognition; therefore teaching should be based on communicative interaction between teacher and learner.
Learning-centred (Meaningful-activities)	Learning a language is an incidental process; therefore teaching should be based on providing meaningful and comprehensible activities.
Post-method	It is a myth to think that theories of language learning can equate to language teaching; therefore teaching should be context-sensitive and based on principles rather than methods.

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- Teaching should reflect an EAL pedagogy. Claim found throughout history, e.g. Leung proposed a re-thinking of supra-subject phenomenon of EAL.
- Kumaravadivelu (2006) based on adult models but reflected in education.
- Discourses in the late-1960s that language teaching is a specialism reflected learner-centred approaches
- Discourses in the mid-1980s reflected a learning-centred approach.

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

EAL pedagogy discourses

Kumaravadivelu's (2006) post-method macro-strategies:

- Maximise learning opportunities.
- Facilitate negotiated and meaningful interaction learner-learner and learner-teacher. Meaning learners are encouraged to initiate talk rather than solely respond.
- Minimise perceptual mismatches between interpretations and intentions of learners and teaching staff.
- Promote the autonomy of learners.
- Foster language awareness. Meaning to draw attention to the formal features of the language being learnt.

(Creese and Leung, p. xix-xxi; Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p.201)

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- Recommended by Leung and Creese (2010) and NALDIC (2012).
- Leung (2010) also recommends further theoretical consideration of what it means to be an EAL learner.

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

EAL pedagogy discourses

Kumaravadivelu's (2006) post-method macro-strategies:

- Activate intuitive heuristics in learners, so that the learner can infer language rules.
- Contextualise linguistic input, so that the learner can draw on pragmatic cues in order to make meaning.
- Integrate the language skills of listening, speaking, writing and reading.
- Ensure social relevance.
- Raise cultural consciousness.

(Creese and Leung, p. xix-xxi; Kumaravadivelu, 2006, p.201)

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- Recommended by Leung and Creese (2010) and NALDIC (2012).
- Leung (2010) also recommends further theoretical consideration of what it means to be an EAL learner.

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

EAL pedagogy discourses

Language acquisition:

- Krashen (1980)
 - 'Acquisition': Developing an additional language through the environment.
 - 'Learning': Developing an additional language through teaching.
 - Acquisition considered most natural and most appropriate for pupils learning an additional language in school.

• Cummins (1981)

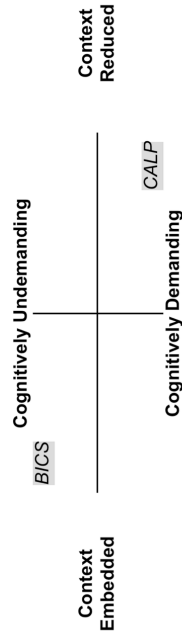
- BICS develops faster than CALP

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Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

EAL pedagogy discourses

Cummins (2000, 2008)



- Teaching tasks should be embedded in a clear context to support language acquisition.

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- BICS: Two years for a learner to demonstrate skills in line with first-language speakers.
- CALP: Five to seven years for a learner to demonstrate skills in line with first-language speakers.

- Communications involving BICS are cognitively undemanding and are embedded in a social context where those involved can draw on, interpersonal cues and other non-verbal information (Cummins, 2000; 2008).

- Communications involving CALP are considered to be more cognitively demanding as they draw on skills such as memory and vocabulary knowledge, and they require language to be used in a manner where context is reduced.

- Also need to support learners beyond acquisition of conversational language.

Current discourses regarding multilingual schools:

Summary

- Number of alternative discourses:
 - Use first language in the multilingual school
 - Implement a pedagogical approach to address the acquisition of English.
- Cummins' theories have a prominent place.
 - Critiqued by some as simplistic. For example BICS elements in academic language and CALP elements in conversational language (e.g. Leung, 2014).
 - Theories are a discourse:
 - 'Any set of theoretical constructs represents only one of potentially many ways of organising or viewing the data. Theories frame phenomena and provide interpretations of empirical data within particular contexts and for particular purposes. However, no theory is "valid" or "true" in any absolute sense.' (Cummins, 2008, p.78-79)

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Language and teaching in multilingual primary schools:

A Foucauldian discourse analysis of primary school teachers' talk about their teaching practice in multilingual schools

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Overview

Research focus: *To explore discourse relating to language in teaching in multilingual schools*

- Methodology and Research Questions
- Method
- Findings
- Conclusions
- Implications

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Methodology

- Social constructionist:
 - There are multiple possible meanings of a topic.
 - Meanings have a social and historical context.
 - Examination of a topic at a particular time will illustrate a certain meaning, and therefore the discourse.
- Foucauldian discourse:
 - Discourse forms the social structures and practices that influence how we view the world.
 - To explore discourse is to deconstruct social structures and practices.

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Foucauldian discourse requires the exploration of particular elements of discourse. In brief:

- Objects: 'Things' formed in discourse
- Subjects: People granted ways of speaking and acting in discourse.

Also need to look:

- Where the discourse is not consistent, i.e. a contradiction as they can influence the discourse
- What is not said in the discourse, i.e. an exclusion
- The power associated with the discourse. But not power from above, but power within the discourse. Termed, disciplinary powers, and they can constrain or even control what subjects can say and do. Although, subjects may or may not 'feel' constrained or controlled, but the power comes from the knowledge and meaning in the discourse.

Research Questions (RQs)

1. How is language described?
2. How is teaching described in relation to language?
3. How are pupils and teaching staff positioned as subjects?
4. What contradictions are present and how do they influence the discourses?
5. What disciplinary powers are present and how do they constrain or control subjects?
6. What alternative discourses are excluded?

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Method

- Flexible research design
- Semi-structured interviews, 2 x individual and 3 x paired with eight teachers across primary (Nursery – Year 5).
- Purposeful sample
- Four schools in one area of the local authority. All schools 40 – 90% of pupils on roll learning EAL.
- Ethical considerations
- Data analysis: Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA).

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Flexible: Each aspect revisited throughout the research.

Ethical considerations:

Respect

Informed voluntary consent, Anonymity and confidentiality, Right to withdraw, Respect for persons

Responsibility

Feedback to respondents and social responsibility

Reduction of potential risks

Risks to individual respondents, Ethical approval

Key findings

RQ1. *How is language described?*

Development of language

- Reflects Krashen's (1980, 1982).
- Reflects Cummins (1980, 2000, 2008) theories.

Languages other than English are for:

- Non-curriculum activities. E.g. assemblies.
- Translating for pupils yet to acquire English.

English language:

- Most appropriate for school.

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Reflects Krashen's (1980, 1982) theories that the development of a second language is similar to the first.

Reflects Cummins (1980, 2000, 2008) theories:

- Language for communicating is different to language for learning at school.
- Languages are interdependent.
- One language must develop and function appropriately.

Key findings

RQ2. *How is teaching described in relation to language?*

Teaching deals with language through standard curriculum structures:

- Reflects 'one-size-fits' all discourse in previous literature.
- But, there is a contradiction is they are also considered inaccessible and disadvantageous to pupils learning EAL.

Teaching provides English:

- Foundation stage: Through the classroom environment.
- KS1 and KS2: Through the classroom environment and withdrawal sessions.

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Contradiction:

- Inaccessible to pupils new to learning EAL.
- Disadvantageous to pupils in the advanced stage of learning EAL.
- Answers research question 4.

Teaching provides English

- Opportunities to hear and practise English through meaningful activities.
- During early Primary, the environment and curriculum-based activities are the primary source of English.
- During mid- to later- Primary, the environment is supplemented by additional instruction including withdrawal.
- Pupils can draw upon the interdependency of language to acquire language through the provision of the environment (reflects Krashen, 1980).

Key findings

RQ2. *How is teaching described in relation to language?*

Teaching uses specific tools:

- Visual support, practical resources and activities, encouraging and using talk, explanations and repetitions.

Teaching uses people as resources:

- Teaching staff.

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- Tools mirrored in previous literature (Cajkler and Hall, 2012).
- Use of people reflects previous literature that teaching is the domain of all teachers.

Key findings

RQ3. *How are pupils and teaching staff positioned?*

Pupils:

- To be admired.
- Translators for other pupils.
- Without English or someone to translate, pupils are helpless.
- Unable to access or disadvantaged by curriculum structures.

Teaching staff:

- Bilingual TAs translate for parents.
- Teachers develop their own knowledge of practice in multilingual schools.

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Finding for research question 4: Unable to access or disadvantaged by curriculum structures

Pupils also:

- Users of multiple languages: able to make links between languages, need to appropriately develop a first language before making links, need to be provided with a suitable environment in order to make links.
- Choosing to use English in school.
- Language choice also controlled by parents who want pupils to use English in school.

TAs : Teaching Assistants

Teaching staff also:

- Primary resources in teaching.

Key findings

RQ5. What disciplinary powers are present?

Standard curriculum and assessment structures are a disciplinary power:

- Pupils measured and categorised in relation to curriculum norms.
- Teaching staff under continuous watch through structures.
- Therefore, teaching practice has to be in line with the discourse of the structures, to the exclusion of all alternative discourses.

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Disciplinary powers:

- Power is dispersed everywhere due to its link with knowledge.
- Subtle disciplinary powers control subjects through continuous observation, judging against a norm, and examinations.

Pupils measured: Ability groupings

Teaching staff under watch: School results, school inspections.

Key findings

RQ6. What discourses are excluded?

Use of first languages in the curriculum:

- Bilingual education programmes.
- Translanguaging (planning to allow pupils to move fluidly between languages).
- Flexible use of first languages by bilingual teaching staff.

Regular use of first languages may benefit the academic and cognitive development of pupils learning EAL.

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Translanguaging: the planned use of languages to allow pupils to move fluidly between languages (Creese and Blackledge, 2010).

Key conclusions

- Discourses regarding language development and use of other languages in the curriculum reflect discourse from mid-1980s onwards.
- Contradiction in the suitability of the curriculum and assessment structures for pupils learning EAL.
- Withdrawal practices are used for pupils learning EAL in KS1 and KS2.
- Discourses of:
 - Multiculturalism: Languages other than English are for transition and culture.
 - Assimilation: The English language is for curriculum activities.

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Mid-1980s onwards was when the National Curriculum was introduced:

- Krashen's theories of language development
- Use of languages for transition and culture.

Due to the contradiction:

- The English language is the only way of appropriately accessing educational structures and educational attainment is supported by acquisition of English from the earliest age possible.
- Pupils who enter the education system at a later age are positioned as being at a disadvantage.

Disciplinary powers work through the curriculum structures which originated with the National Curriculum.

- Therefore teaching practice has to fit this discourse.

Implications for EPs:

EPs should consider how pupils are positioned and how language is described during casework by reflecting on answers to the following:

- How is the pupil positioned in relation to the standard curriculum and assessment structures?
- How is the pupil's use of language described in relation to the presenting need or concern?
- Is the pupil's language a point of consideration? Both acquisition of English and use of languages other than English?

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Implications for EPs:

- How are languages other than English described in relation to teaching activities?
- How is the acquisition of English described?
- What discourses are dominant and what alternative discourses are excluded?
- Are there any disciplinary powers constraining how teaching staff are able to act?

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Implications for teaching staff:

Teaching staff should be aware of the following:

- Educational responses to language in multilingual schools reside within a social and historical context.
- Teaching practice resides within a system where the structures are built on English language as the norm.
- There are ideas that counter the dominant view that other languages can only be used for transition and culture.
- There are ideas that languages other than English can be used to support learning and academic progress.
- There are ideas promoting a different approach to supporting pupils to acquire EAL.

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