The Constitution, Positioning and Normalisation of

'The EAL Learner'.

A Foucauldian-Phenomenographic Study

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This thesis results entirely from my own work and has not been offered previously for

any other degree or diploma.

Signature

Abstract

This study is a critical investigation into the constitution, positioning and normalisation of 'EAL learners' - learners 'who have English as an Additional Language' (EAL). The study argues that the official discourse around EAL constitutes a homogenous image of 'the EAL learner', neglects emotional needs, portrays bi- and multilingualism and bi- and multiculturalism as deficit and positions bi-and multilingual and bi- and multicultural (BMLC) learners as 'others'. Subjection to this discourse perpetuates the learners' vulnerability and can lead to normalisation being perceived as the only possible solution for survival and success.

On a conceptual-methodological level, the implications of this study relate to the innovative methodology of combining two ontologically congruent, epistemologically intersecting and methodologically diverse perspectives leading to new understandings of normalisation. On a substantive level, they relate to the responsibilities of all stake holders working with BMLC learners, to pedagogy and to curriculum design.

The positioning of BMLC learners via the prevailing discourse around EAL is examined by applying a Foucauldian lens to governmental documentation on EAL and interviews with staff. The phenomenographic study, using interviews with BMLC learners, identifies the variation in the learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education.

Mapping the findings of the Foucauldian and the phenomenographic studies against each other illuminates how BMLC leaners' positioning via the dominant discourse is reflected in the variation in their perceptions. It leads to new insights into the normalisation process BMLC learners undergo in English secondary schools.

The study aims to highlight to all stake holders, especially BMLC learners, the possibility of alternative 'truths', to enable an understanding of positioning, create critical spaces to reflect on this positioning and offer choices of actively engaging in, challenging or resisting normalisation.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Aims of the study and research questions

"Even though you are bilingual, you can achieve, you are the same as everyone else." (Bilingual learner cited in Hawkins 2006:11). The 'even though' embodies the constitution, positioning and normalisation through the prevailing discourse around EAL provision and 'EAL learners' in BMLC learners' thinking. Normalisation is described by Foucault as a 'great instrument[s] of power' (1991a:184). It is established via the prevailing discourse which creates norms by prescribing what is 'normal' and therefore accepted and expected. The establishment of the norm implies what is outside the norm, what is 'abnormal' and less desirable (Derrida and Caputo 1997, Culler 1983). Subjection to this discourse normalises individuals which means they start to view and judge themselves and others against these norms. Individuals start to aim to conform to them as these norms are portrayed as the 'truth', as the right way of being (Gillies 2013).

The opening quotation highlights the issues I explore in this thesis: a deficit model based on the supremacy of the English language towards bi- or multilingual learners from bi- or multicultural backgrounds. The deficit model centres around 'English language deficiency' and is rooted in institutional racism and hegemonic thinking (Lander 2011a) which is historically directed at black minority ethnic (BME) learners but increasingly via 'non-colour based racism' (Tereshchenko and Archer 2014:6) also at not-quite-white learners (Dyer 1997). Deficit models are created and preserved via the definition of norms.

This study aims to raise awareness of how the prevailing discourse around EAL prescribes the way for BMLC learners to integrate into their new environment. This integration is portrayed as needing to acquire English as quickly as possible and to adhere to cultural rules even if it is at the expense of native language(s) and cultural identity. There is limited space for BMLC learners and their parents to consider alternatives or make their views known which might support succumbing to 'reality'.

The study's aims will be pursued by answering the following research questions:

1. How does the official discourse around EAL position BMLC learners and their needs?

2. What is the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education?

3. How is the positioning of 'EAL learners' via the official discourse reflected in the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions?

1.2 Choice of topic

The choice of the topic of my study cannot be separated from my personal and professional interests and background (Mills 1975). My own background, positioning and beliefs are linked to the choice of the topic, the aims of my study, methodology and choice of methods. My role as a researcher together with ethical concerns cannot be separated from my ontological positioning and my epistemological viewpoint resulting in the methodology I employ to explore the topic. My interest in EAL is rooted in my experiences with languages as a learner, teacher and teacher educator. I immigrated to England as an adult and became an 'EAL learner'. In my capacity as a language teacher, I encountered young BMLC learners at secondary level. Moving

into Initial Teacher Education (ITE), I started to teach others how to work with 'EAL learners' based on practical experience in school, and to support 'EAL trainee teachers'. Based on my trainee teachers' and my own experience it seems provision for students 'with EAL' varies considerably from school to school. Mistry and Sood (2010:111) describe this variation as 'huge differential practice for EAL provision, support and training'. Research around EAL in general seems to focus on teaching strategies and language learning needs (Kokkinn and Stupans, 2011; Manning et al 2004), policy (Leung, 2001) and teacher training (Cajkler and Hall, 2009). It seems to be carried out mainly with professionals working with BMLC learners rather than BMLC learners themselves (Mistry and Sood, 2010, 2012). Andrews (2009) states that the majority of research around EAL seems to be conducted at primary and early years level. However, there are studies at secondary level that include EAL learners in the research. Kaneva (2012), for instance, uses the stories of three secondary school pupils with EAL to explore the variety of strategies and methods applied by professionals in working with these pupils. My interest focuses on secondary school BMLC learners' perceptions of their needs, so that their voices can be taken into account if or when alternative provision is developed.

1.3 Relevance of the study

The study aims to make contributions at both a theoretical and a practical level. The methodological discussion of perspective-compatibility between Foucauldian poststructuralism and phenomenography could lead to a new approach to data analysis. It could be used in studies aiming to highlight the possibility of alternatives to the dominant discourse, as it provides marginalised groups with a tool to strengthen their

voice when policy decisions are made at macro level. This links to the study's practical impact which lies in raising all stakeholders', and first and foremost BMLC learners', awareness of alternative discourses. This awareness might lead to reflection on and revision of current practices of working with BMLC learners at institutional, departmental and classroom level. BMLC learners might be enabled to make an informed decision on engaging in, challenging or resisting normalisation.

Amy Thompson (Naldic 2013), previously chair of Naldic (National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum and national subject association for EAL) raises the association's concern that EAL is insufficiently covered in teacher education. As a consequence, teachers are inadequately trained and so are teaching assistants who are increasingly given responsibility for EAL provision. The audiences my study wishes to reach are, therefore: trainee teachers and colleagues in Initial Teacher Training and Education; school-based staff from teaching assistants working with BMLC learners to teachers and senior leaders; BMLC learners and their parents/carers; any organisations concerned with provision for BMLC learners such as Naldic; and policy makers.

One in eight secondary school pupils does not speak English as her/his first language. One in six primary school pupils speaks at home a language other than English. The percentage of learners with English as an additional language varies greatly from region to region and school to school. Nationally, the number of BMLC learners has doubled between 1997 and 2013 to over one million (Arnot et al 2014). According to relevant demographic data, the linguistic and cultural diversity in Britain will continue (Leung 2016). Research claims (Mistry and Sood 2010, Foley et al 2013, Leung 2005)

that, despite this prognosis, insufficient attention is given in policy and practice to consistent EAL provision in schools. This applies to issues around inclusion of BMLC learners, and the development of a specific curriculum framework for BMLC learners which takes into account and distinguishes between language needs and learning needs. However, these studies research policy and/or practices in educational settings, they do not consider BMLC learners' perceptions of their learning and life experiences.

This study aims to provide new insights for exploring 'possible avenues for change and development' (Leung 2016:172) by investigating discursive normalisation from BMLC learners' perspectives. It furthermore includes Eastern European children who are described by Arnot et al (2014: 5) as an 'under researched group of EAL learners'.

'*Substantive* differences in attainment and **experience'** need to be addressed rather than simply 'questions of *access'* to achieve equality in education (Gillborn 2008:211 N18; 75, italics in original, my bold emphasis). This thesis focuses on multilingual learners' perceptions of their experiences in English secondary schools in the light of the normalisation to which they are subjected, and the role English language plays in this process.

1.4 My methodological positioning

Following on from 1.2 Choice of Topic, it is evident that this research is a reflexive study influenced by my personal and professional circumstances. Rooted in poststructuralist thought, I do not claim to provide 'truth' but 'possible truth(s)' based on my data and analysis which cannot be separated from my positioning. At the same

time, the study's phenomenographic part aims to provide an insight into the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner'. As phenomenography establishes 'depersonalised' variation in perceptions, its use could at first glance seem incompatible with my poststructuralist Foucauldian position. This issue will need to be resolved at an ontological, epistemological and methodological level when discussing in detail the use of poststructuralism and phenomenography in harness. The study explores 'perspective-compatibility' between poststructuralist thought and a phenomenographic approach to data analysis. It establishes if and how the positioning of BMLC learners is reflected in the variation of BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in an English secondary school. It aims to enable BMLC learners to understand positioning via discourse, the possibility of alternative discourses and to provide BMLC learners with a voice and choice. In 3.2 under the heading Compatible Perspectives, I present poststructuralist Foucauldian thinking and phenomenography as ontologically congruent, epistemologically intersecting and methodologically diverse. I argue that using poststructuralist Foucauldian thinking and phenomenography, in harness, offers an innovative approach to both gaining new insights into the normalisation to which BMLC learners are subjected in English secondary schools and identifying possible starting points for alternative education policy and practices in schools.

1.5 The structure of the thesis

The thesis starts with a review of literature to contextualise EAL and BMLC learners' constitution, positioning and normalisation, and to demonstrate the gap in the literature, which this study aims to fill. The reviewed literature around EAL includes:

considerations of the terms EAL and 'EAL learner'; the diverse cultural backgrounds and life experiences of BMLC learners; BMLC learners' and parents' behaviours around issues of multilingualism, as well as an overview of the history of EAL in the light of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, anti-racism, community cohesion and super-diversity. In this context EAL, ethnicity and the constituted concept of 'race' are explored. The literature review continues with providing information on current EAL policy and some statistical data on numbers of BMLC learners in English schools. The discussion of the status of English as the dominant language and its role in normalisation leads to considerations of the status of bi- and multilingualism and bi- and multiculturalism, and its relation to assumptions of underachievement and the conflation of language and learning needs. The literature review concludes with deliberations on language and its importance for identity. It refers to Foucault's work at times. However, the 'Foucauldian project' (Gillies 2013:12) as relevant for this study, is discussed in detail in the chapter on methodology as is phenomenography.

The chapter entitled methodology, methods and ethical considerations is firstly concerned with conceptual literature relevant to the study and the use of two diverse perspectives in harness. The chapter introduces the Foucauldian concepts of discourse, power/knowledge relations, governmentality, technologies of the self and normalisation, upon which this research draws, and applies them to the topic of EAL. The discussion of the relevant literature around phenomenography is subsequently presented, followed by an explanation of the contribution to knowledge which the combination of the two perspectives is aiming to make. Furthermore, the methodology chapter addresses my role and position as the researcher within this study: methods used; a description of the research sites and information on participants where

appropriate; as well as consideration of ethical issues, validity, generalisability and reliability of the research.

The analyses of the data and presentation of findings are divided into three sections. Section one addresses the first research question and covers the Foucauldian analyses of government documentation and staff interviews. Section two generates outcome spaces 1 and 2 of the phenomenographic study addressing the second research question. Finally, using phenomenography and Foucauldian poststructuralism in harness, and mapping the two sets of findings against each other, section three answers the third research question. The structure of the subsequent chapter discussing the research findings in the light of the literature follows the four conceptions established in the phenomenographic study, and each is examined in turn to illuminate how the prevailing discourse is reflected in BMLC learners' perceptions within conceptions 1 to 4. The chapter also discusses the limitations of the research.

The study concludes with: a review of the research journey; a reflection on methodology and ethics; a summary of the findings in relation to the research aims; a discussion of the relevance of the study for wider audiences by highlighting the contributions it makes to the field; and finally, it makes suggestions for practice and recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Contextualising EAL and 'The EAL Learner' in history, politics and policy

2.1 Introduction - eight themes identified in the literature

The academic and professional literature, including references to governmental documentation and the media, on issues of EAL and their close links to the history of immigration, are discussed under eight subheadings. The subheadings correspond to eight themes in the body of the literature which contribute to the constitution and positioning of 'the EAL learner'. These themes cover the use of the terms EAL and 'the EAL learner'; the diversity of cultural backgrounds and life experiences of BMLC learners; ideological concepts from Assimilation to Fundamental British Values; EAL, ethnicity and the constituted concept of 'race'; current EAL policy; the status of English as the dominant language in a predominantly bi- and multilingual world; language needs and their conflation with learning difficulties; and the connection between language and identity.

The discussion of the above themes and their role in constituting and positioning BMLC learners, contextualises EAL and the 'EAL learner' in history, politics and policy, which forms the basis for the archaeological policy analysis in this thesis. The literature review aims to provide an overview of the relevant literature in the field, define a gap in that literature and offer an insight into the emergence of the current dominant discourse by exploring if, how and why the discourse around EAL has changed over the last seventy years – the basis for the genealogical approach to policy analysis in chapter 4.2.1.

Foucault understands discourse as 'constructed reality, and so contingent, provisional and fallible' (Gillies 2013:25). Referring to Foucault, Inglis (2005:7) equates 'different languages' with 'discourses', however, Mills (2003:55) reminds us that discourse 'is not the equivalent of "language"'. Inglis's statement could be misinterpreted as Foucault seeing discourse and discourse analysis as limited to text (Gillies 2013:114). My understanding of discourse is based on Gillies's (2013), Mills's (2003), Ball's (2013a) and Hall's (2013) explanations of Foucauldian discourse. Ball acknowledges that the term 'discourse' is used in various ways by Foucault. Foucault's main focus, however, was on 'structures and rules that constitute a discourse' not on text as such (2013a:19). Ball continues 'Discourse is that which constrains or *enables*, writing, speaking and thinking' (ibid) which is in line with Hall's (1992:291) interpretation of Foucault's understanding of discourse as 'a language for talking about … a particular topic at a particular historical moment' and therefore producing knowledge.' In addition to language, Hall comments on the importance of practice for discourse in the Foucauldian sense, '… since all social practices entail *meaning*, and meanings shape and influence what we do … all practices have a discursive aspect" (Hall 1992:291, original emphasis). In 2013, Hall reiterates that

> It is important to note that the concept of *discourse* in [Foucault's] usage is not purely a "linguistic" concept. It is about language *and* practice. It attempts to overcome the traditional distinctions between what one *says* (language) and what one *does* (practice) … Discourse, Foucault argued, never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source.' (Hall 2013:72)

In order to capture 'the discourse' around EAL and 'EAL learners', not only academic literature but also newspaper articles, politicians' comments, some statistical information and references to policy have been included in the literature review as they

contain language (writing, speaking and thinking) *and* reflect practice. They can also shed light on changes in language use and practice over time.

The gap identified in the explored body of the literature is a focus on the 'normalisation' of BMLC learners. By employing Foucauldian poststructuralism and phenomenography in harness, the findings of my study fill this gap.

2.2 EAL and 'the EAL learner'

In the early 1990s, the term ESL, English as a second language, started to be replaced by the term 'English as an additional language' (EAL). The change happened in recognition of some BMLC learners already speaking two or more languages (Leung 2016). 'English as an Additional Language' or 'EAL' is recognised as an official term in education today and current educational research as evident from education policy and government documents such as 'Developing quality tuition: effective practice in schools - English as an additional language' (DfE 2011a) or the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b); academic and professional writing, for instance, 'The EAL Teaching Book' (Conteh 2015); or the online support for schools, teachers, parents and pupils at the EAL Nexus website (British Council 2016). EAL Nexus is a project funded by the European Integration Fund, the British Council and The Bell Foundation, and supported by Naldic (British Council 2014).

Like EAL, the term 'EAL learner' or similar terms that refer to the subject of learning English and include the phrase EAL seem to be equally accepted, for instance, 'pupils with English as an additional language'. The official definition by the Office of

National Statistics (2010), pupils whose 'first language was known/believed to be other than English' positions BMLC learners as a homogenous group in terms of linguistic ability. I agree with Leung (2016) who judges the definition as unhelpful as it can include both new arrivals with no knowledge of English and third generation pupils who are fluent English speakers. There is no clear definition of 'EALness' (Naldic 2013:3).

In line with Conteh (2015), I use the term BMLC learners. I perceive it as a positive term compared to 'EAL learners' as it acknowledges the pupils' ability to converse in two or more languages. I added the 'C' in order to acknowledge the learners' knowledge and understanding of not only other languages but also other cultures. Before continuing the discussion of terms used to refer to BMLC learners, my use of the term 'culture' requires an explanation. Inglis (2005) refers to a review of the various definitions of 'culture' in the available literature in the 1950s. 164 different definitions were found which demonstrates the complexity of the concept of culture and its varied constitutions. With Inglis, I subscribe to Raymond Williams's definition of culture as a 'whole way of life' meaning 'all ways of thinking, understanding, feeling, believing and acting "characteristic" of a particular group' (Williams 1980:6-7). This generous definition underpins other authors', quoted in this thesis, understanding of culture or opposing certain definitions: culture as wider family, the link made between culture and 'race' or culture and ideology, and culture as a signifier of difference, the difference between 'us' and 'them' (Smith 2013). Lander (2011b) repeatedly refers to the conflation of 'race', culture and ethnicity, and Ball criticises the constituted fusion of 'Blood and culture' (2013a:97). Foucault discusses the 'art of living' (1983: lecture 5) and 'behavior,

phenomena, processes' (1983: lecture 6), all part of the 'whole way of life' (Williams 1980:6).

Returning to terms used to refer to BMLC learners, in contrast to Conteh (2015) I reject the use of the term 'EAL learner' due to its emphasising the lack of English which assigns a deficiency to BMLC learners and has the potential to position them in an English – No English binary (Derrida 1978). Others too struggle with finding an appropriate term to refer to these learners. Carrasquillo and Rodriguez (2002) consider the term 'pupils for whom English is an additional language' to be neutral or even positive. Nevertheless, they decided on the use of the term 'language minority students' in the belief that language minority learners face cognitive challenges at subject level in the same way as their 'English native language' (ENL) peers, and in addition, they face the linguistic challenge of learning a new language. I share this belief. However, in my view the term 'language minority students' has the potential to contribute to the constitution of not only a dominant but a superior positioning of English over other languages, a point I will return to later. My use of the term BMLC learners, students or pupils is based on the understanding of their ability and need to use more than one language for effective communication in school and/or at home. It does, however, not necessarily imply fluency in all the languages used (Hall et al 2001).

For the BMLC learners I refer to in this study, learning English seems to be a necessity rather than an option. Based on Romaine (1998), Mills (2001) distinguishes between elite and folk bilingualism. Elite bilingualism is concerned with the choice of learning a foreign language and is, according to Mills, mostly the domain of the educated middle class in many societies and cultures. Folk bilingualism refers to ethnic groups having to

'become bilingual involuntarily in order to work and take part in the educational and welfare social structure' (Mills 2001:387). Although a distinction between terms referring to 'choosing' or 'having to learn' another language might be useful, the binary (Derrida 1978, Culler 1983, Derrida and Caputo 1997) 'elite' and 'folk' seems to describe opposite ends of a scale and constitutes BMLC learners somewhat as reluctant learners. I argue, not all pupils from a middle-class background might appreciate the opportunity to learn another language in school and consider it to be a choice, just as learning English might not be an involuntary process for BMLC learners even if it is a necessity for the reasons given by Mills.

The literature positions EAL and 'the EAL learner' in the historic, political and policy context by illuminating the discourse, which means 'social, linguistic and cultural practice' (Farrell 2012:103) around EAL. The constitution of 'the EAL learner' and BMLC learners' positioning as a homogenous group seems to be based on sharing not being English native speakers. The argument that BMLC learners are constituted as a homogenous group is strengthened further by the following exploration of the perception of BMLC learners as a culturally homogenous group based on sharing not being British.

2.3 Diversity of cultural backgrounds and life experiences

The terms to describe BMLC learners, which refer to a lack of English as a common denominator, imply that 'EAL learners' are linguistically a homogenous group. From a poststructuralist perspective there is no such thing as universal experience (Francis 1999). 'EAL learners'' varied background, 'their vast range of experience and knowledge of languages, literacies, cultures and schooling' (Conteh 2015:15) needs to

be acknowledged. To name one example, whether children attended school prior to arriving in England (Arnot et al 2014), had disrupted education or did not have any schooling, needs to be considered when organising effective provision. Additionally, differences are apparent in parents' behaviours and beliefs around issues of bi- and multilingualism and bi- and multiculturalism. There seems to be a range of parents' attitudes towards the learning of English which results in various ways of 'linguistic parenting' (Mills 2001:386). Some parents seem to insist on their children speaking English at home to the point that other languages are perceived as inferior. Other parents forbid the use of English in their home as they are afraid their children might forget their native languages and with them their cultural heritage and identity. Other families speak several languages at home to keep all their languages alive, or the young people speak different languages with different groups – parents, grandparents, siblings, friends at school or in their home countries (Hoque 2015).

Further differences to acknowledge in BMLC learners' backgrounds are customs, traditions, different life experiences, 'accomplishments, skills, values, styles of dress, and tastes in food' (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002:40). BMLC learners can be divided into three categories: children from established ethnic minorities, refugee children seeking asylum and children of migrants who entered the UK to work (Arnot et al 2014). However, there are other backgrounds to consider, for example, children of people who came to the UK to study or were brought here to learn English to a native-like level, or 'sojourners', people planning to leave the country again after a couple of years (Conteh 2015:15). Furthermore, even within these different groups, customs and traditions, skills, values and life experiences can vary dramatically. 'EAL learners' form an 'extremely diverse population' (Kaneva 2012). One young

participant arrived in England fleeing war and starvation, having been separated from other members of her/his family, with nothing but the clothes they wore, no prior knowledge of English and hardly any previous schooling. Another interviewee came to England as her/his parents had lost their jobs in their country. I could describe myself as an 'EAL learner', however, I made the decision to move to England myself and arrived as an adult with a working knowledge of English. BLMC learners of such different backgrounds are frequently portrayed as a linguistically and culturally homogenous group simply based on their lack of English language and knowledge of the English culture, and without recognition of their languages and cultural backgrounds. In addition, there are further constituting and constituted 'factors' at play which underpin normalisation, most importantly the ideological and unscientific construct of 'race' (Winant 2009, Banton 2009, Archer and Francis 2007). This is discussed in detail after the following overview of the political background to EAL since the 1950s which provides the historic context to my study.

2.4 From Assimilation to Fundamental British Values

A detailed summary of the concepts relevant to the discourses around the education of BMLC learners since 1950 is provided by Race (2015). Assimilation perceives diversity as a problem and sees the solution in ethnic minorities, as one homogenous group, shedding their identities in order to assimilate to the 'British norm'. It is an entirely one-way process which entails constituting BMLC learners as 'others' (Fine 1994) and forces them into the position of having to choose between cultures and languages with implications for family lives and identities. Integration, supposedly a two-way process in which both the minorities and the mainstream would change, is

exposed as a still one-sided process as controlled by the majority's institutions. Integration was the prevailing concept until the mid-1970s. The aim of teaching English was to ensure that a BMLC learner could fully integrate into normal school life (Derrick 1966). In 1977, albeit more critical of the concept of integration, Derrick describes the aim as "…to help him become 'invisible', a truly integrated member of the school community' (Derrick 1977:16). Her comments raise the question of whether there was in practice much difference between ideas of assimilation and the concept of integration. Both neglect ethnic minorities' cultural heritage, languages and identities. This view is supported by Martin (2009:15) citing David Blunkett's comment in 2002 "that switching between two languages in the home is a form of 'schizophrenia'", and Blunkett's belief that 'not speaking English at home has an impact on integration'. I would add David Cameron's (2011) suggestion of practically forcing integration by ensuring immigrants speak English and 'people are educated in the elements of a common culture and curriculum' which he made in his speech on radicalisation and Islamic extremism.

Multicultural education seemed to mark a turning point in terms of recognising the importance of teaching multilingual pupils' mother tongues albeit with no practical consequences in the form of curriculum changes (Tosi 1988). The Education Reform Act 1988 paid little attention to multicultural education although the Green Paper in 1977 had asked for the curriculum to reflect Britain's cultural and ethnic diversity (King 1993). However, social and educational exclusion does not necessarily improve with policies of inclusion (Youdell 2006a).

In 2004, Trevor Phillips, head of the Commission for Racial Equality, declared

multiculturalism a failure as it 'suggests separateness' (Gillborn 2008:79). His comments on multiculturalism (Phillips 2004) along with the conditions placed on migrants in order to join British society, signalled a change in the official discourse around multiculturalism and anti-racism (Race 2015). Embedded in multicultural thinking, the Swann report (1985) had acknowledged the extent of underachievement of children of diverse ethnic minorities. However, by suggesting the maintenance of community languages were the responsibility of the communities, it cemented "a long process of 'monolingualising' in English education policy" (Martin 2009:11-12, Conteh et al 2007). References to this community responsibility are contained in DfE documentation like 'Aiming High' (DfES 2003) and government reports (Arnot et al 2014).

Multiculturalism had acknowledged the multicultural dimension of British society, antiracism went further and was 'looking for the conditions to produce social equity and equal opportunities' (Race 2015:28). However, I agree with Gundara (1986) that racism is ingrained in British society, its institutions and its ideology but also on an interpersonal level. Gillborn (2005:499) confirms this view by speaking of 'racially divisive policies and practices', 'tacit intentionality in the system' and subsequent outcomes which could be described as racist 'may not be coldly calculated but … are far from accidental'. Antiracism, therefore, fights an ongoing struggle against institutionalised racism. This institutionalised racism is still inherent in current provision for BMLC learners in schools, their constitution as 'EAL learners' and positioning as 'others' via government documentation and educational policies as explored in this thesis.

The Cantle report (2001) drew on the recommendations of the Swann report (1985) that cultural diversity needed to be taught in schools and all teachers would need to be trained in this. The Cantle report (2001) also suggested allocating 25% of all places in every school to learners from other cultures or ethnicities. This seems to be in opposition to the early educational approach of 'dispersal' (Tosi 1988:83) which prescribed no more than 30%, later 45%, of immigrant pupils in any one school. The Macpherson report (1999), following the death of Stephen Lawrence, included recommendations for education and moving on from assimilation and integration. Nevertheless, it did not lead to any changes in anti-racist education, only to 'repacked' plans for citizenship education by David Blunkett (Gillborn 2008:128). The Cantle report (2001) led to the introduction of the citizenship curriculum in 2002 and coined the term 'community cohesion'. It was a concept that, according to Race (2015:39-40), signalled a step back from multiculturalism and anti-racism to the need for integration. It emerged after far-right activists, the police and young British Asian Muslims had clashed violently in 2001 in the North of England (Kapoor 2013). The cause for the disturbances 'involving large numbers of people from different cultural backgrounds and which resulted in … attacks on the police', was given in the Cantle report (2001: Foreword) as ethnic minorities' 'self-segregation' (Kapoor 2013:1035). David Cameron commented in 2007 on the importance of re-establishing community cohesion and advocated educating children about British achievements in order to teach them British values (Edyvane 2011). His comments also highlight 'assimilationist tendencies of the community cohesion agenda' (Smith 2013:441). These tendencies become obvious in the government's belief in the importance of '*tolerance* and building harmonious communities' via the community cohesion agenda

(Naldic 2012:4 – my italics). It aims for schools to play a leading part in promoting

community cohesion as

> encouraging young people to learn about different people's cultures
> can help them to understand better the community in which they live
> and to become good citizens (ibid).

There is no mention of mutual understanding of cultures. The requirement for teachers

not to undermine Fundamental British Values (FBV) in the Teachers' Standards (DfE

2011b), and even to promote FBV (DfE 2015b), is the result of developments such as

community cohesion and 'Prevent' (HM Government 2011). The Prevent Strategy is an

integral component of CONTEST, the UK Government's counter-terrorism strategy.

Prevent was extended in 2015 by the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act to incorporate

schools' responsibility to report any suspicions relating to drawing in pupils to violent

or non-violent extremism (HM Government, 2015, 11-12). Farrell (2016:283)

summarises this development aptly as 'The war on terror is now embedded in the

safeguarding policies of schools and colleges.' 'Prevent' makes the disciplinary aspects

of community cohesion more explicit, and it insists that 'the community function as a

mode of surveillance and control' (Kapoor 2013:1042). It supports the 'demonisation

of multiculturalism and the promotion of assimilationist ideals together with a critical

lack of attention on racism' (Smith 2013:441, Farrell 2016). Tomlinson mentioned

British values as long ago as 1990 when she criticised claims that in order to 'achieve

equality of opportunity and acceptance into the nation', minorities would need to 'give

up adherence to their own culture, language, customs and values and regard themselves

as British, adhering to British values' (Tomlinson 1990:37). Windzio's quantitative

study on the 'integration of immigrant children into inter-ethnic friendship networks'

(2012) is an example of persistent assimilationist thinking hidden behind comments on

establishing shared values and norms across cultures. He argues, based on Coleman's

(1990) theory of intergenerational openness and Bourdieu's forms of capital (1986), that the existence of interethnic friendships or acquaintances between parents, supports the social integration of their children due to 'mutual agreement on social norms' and because the parents can 'consult with each other on the validity of norms' (2012:259). A couple of pages later, Windzio suggests that a visit from 'immigrant children' to their native friends' homes 'can surely serve as a formative experience…' and that

> At the very least, immigrant children might notice differences from their families, which can be a stimulus for assimilative efforts in later life (2012:266, 268).

The above quotation implies that assimilation is anticipated and expected. Efforts have to be made only by immigrants to achieve acceptance and not by natives to be open-minded towards alternative traditions and thinking. The possibility of both ways of living co-existing and being equally 'valid' is not considered. The 'immigrant child' is constituted as 'other', the one who needs to assimilate (Butler 1997). Considering that Windzio's statement was made in 2012 and assimilation was a concept in the English education policy-making discourse in the 1950s and 1960s (Race 2015), the above is an example of the persistence of assimilationist ideas. The discourse of assimilation or exclusion seems to be more and more accepted and welcomed in the light of constituted islamophobia (Farrell 2016; Smith 2016), the refugee crisis (Dearden 2016) and the Brexit decision on 23rd June 2016 (Asthana et al 2016). Smith (2016:301) cites Trevor Phillips's suggestion in The Daily Mail on 10th April 2016 that 'no more than 50% Muslim or other minority pupils' should be in any one school – a return to the dispersal approach in the 1960s. She rightly points out that there is no mention of limiting 'the number of White pupils or pupils of faiths other than Islam …. in order to encourage social integration.' (ibid).

Considering the longevity and persistence of assimilationist thinking since the 1950s reflected in the title of this section, 'From Assimilation to Fundamental British Values', Gillborn's (1999) book title 'Fifty Years of Failure: 'Race' and Education Policy in Britain' could simply be changed to 'Seventy Years of Failure'. Though there were attempts to address the lack of improvement of BMLC learners' education and to recognise the importance of bilingualism and biculturalism such as in the Bullock report (DES 1975, Martin 2009). The second part of Gillborn's (1999) title, 'Race and Education Policy in Britain' provides the link between the above overview of the prevailing discourse surrounding the education of BMLC learners in the last seventy years and the conflation of EAL, ethnicity and 'race'. The term 'EAL learner' and culturally different backgrounds and life experiences have been explored to demonstrate how BMLC learners are constituted as a homogenous group in the prevailing discourse. The historic overview over the last 70 years aimed to provide an insight into the official discourse around immigration and the education of BMLC learners. How BMLC learners and their education are affected by the concepts of ethnicity and 'race' and the terms' conflation is the focus of the following section.

2.5 EAL, ethnicity and the construct of 'race'

The changing terminology surrounding BMLC learners and their ethnicity is commented on by Leung (2016:162), describing the change from the term 'immigrant children' to 'ethnic minority children' in the Swann report (1985) as "recognition that these children were no longer 'outsiders'". Considering the conflation of ethnicity and the social construct of 'race' (Winant 2009, Banton 2009, Appiah 2009, Archer and Francis 2007), and the binary 'majority – minority' (Derrida 1978, Culler 1983,

Derrida and Caputo 1997), I argue the term 'ethnic minority' positions minority ethnic children as 'others' who need to become part of the norm for their benefit. Foucault develops the notion of 'the power of the norm' (1991a:184). The norm is, by Foucault's definition, what discourses construct as 'acceptable, true, legitimate' and 'what is expected' (Gillies 2013:16) and implies what lies outside the norm as 'the norm introduces … all the shading of individual differences' (Foucault 1991a:184). The prevailing discourse constructs the true way of thinking and normal people's feelings and behaviours (Gee 1996) and thereby constitutes the 'normal and the 'abnormal' which implies two opposing categories of feelings and behaviours, a 'binary opposition' (Bartle 2012:33). Bartle explains Derrida's deconstruction (Derrida 1978, Culler 1983, Derrida and Caputo 1997) as seeing and 'understanding the world' via 'binary opposition/duality'. In a pair, expressing binary opposition such as 'black and white' or 'male and female', one of the two is considered stronger, the other 'less preferable or undesirable' (Bartle 2012:33). They both need the other for their meaning (ibid). Foucault (1991a) disagrees with Derrida's concept of binaries (Derrida 1978). He sees the 'shading of individual differences' on a continuum. In the context of EAL, 'race' and ethnicity, the norm is constituted as the 'white British English speaking pupil'. The binary opposition would be the 'black, non-white, non-British EAL learner', constituted as less preferable (Bartle 2012, Derrida 1978). Foucault's concept of the norm introducing 'all the shading of individual differences' (1991a:184) on a continuum rather than presenting a binary pair, explains the constitution of 'white non-British EAL learners' and 'non-white British' speakers of English too as less desirable. They also differ from the constituted norm and are positioned on Foucault's continuum under 'ethnic minorities'.

The origin of the term ethnicity or ethnic in the Latin word 'ethnicus' – heathen (Knowles and Lander 2011), supports the view of emphasising 'otherness' as the term was used to describe non-Christian, and more specifically, Jewish groups. It can be seen as a way of labeling a group as 'other' and of a lesser status (Smith 1996). As Youdell (2006c), I understand identity markers as performatives in Butler's sense as 'discursive practice that enacts or produces that which it names' (Butler 1993:13), for instance, 'the EAL learner'. This production might be due to a lack of careful consideration of the positioning of individual human beings or a deliberate act (Youdell 2006a). Positioning processes provide 'metrics and hierarchies for categorising people' (Toohey 2000:8), norms provided by hierarchies articulate standards which are used to judge people against. The 'law of truth' (Foucault 1972:212) is imposed on individuals by judgements based on these norms (Toohey 2000). In this context, these judgements might be made by teachers, peers and friends but also parents and relatives, and by the BMLC learners themselves.

Awareness of the racialisation of ethnic minorities is crucial for understanding why BMLC learners might not be able to benefit from their bi- or multilingualism (Garcia 2009). Foucault's archaeology and genealogy (Gillies 2013, Foucault 2002) are used in this thesis to establish how contemporary discourses are linked to the past. I apply a diachronic genealogical approach to investigate the *how* and *why* certain discourses have been developed over time and under what influences. To be able to explore the *how* and *why*, and the links between past and present knowledges, I established first what kind of knowledges were constituted at specific times in history by employing Foucault's archaeology tool. Its synchronic approach to exploring beliefs, perceptions, and use of language at a certain point in time enables the uncovering of *what* kind of knowledge was developed. (Gillies 2013). Tinkler and Jackson (2014:72) refer to the

necessity to develop 'historical sensibility' when they state 'traces of the past are embedded in contemporary practices, discourses and experiences'. This sensibility enables recognition of, for instance, assimilationist ideas in FBV. Throughout this thesis I refer to policy documents and comments made by leading politicians which can be recognised as constitutive in current policy around EAL. Gillborn (2008) claims that in the last fifty years none of the political parties in power has made serious attempts to tackle 'race' inequalities. John Major's (1997) declaration of policy having to be colour-blind, and Tony Blair's (2006) statement on 'the duty to integrate' pronouncing 'Our tolerance is part of what makes Britain, Britain. So conform to it; or don't come here' are two of the examples provided by Gillborn (2008:74, 83) to underpin his claim. I agree with Gillborn who calls the terms 'integration' and 'cohesion', which were used to portray new attitudes to 'race' inequality, 'code words for contemporary assimilationism' (2008:81) and with Shain (2010) who argues that assimilationist thinking is identifiable in government documentation. Gillborn (1999) provides a detailed account of 'race' and education policy, 1945-1999, and Tosi (1988) a brief summary of legislation since the Aliens Act 1905. More recently, Kapoor (2013:1042), calling 'Prevent' the 'pinnacle representation of racial politics in Britain', has claimed that any policy that contains even superficial suggestions for tackling inequality has become part of policy aimed at policing and suppression of black minority ethnic (BME) communities. BMLC learners are exposed to the political climate of mistrust on a daily basis in school and in their personal life, and unable to escape from it.

The use of the term 'black minority ethnic' (BME) is generally recognised in Britain to describe people from visible 'non-white' and non-European backgrounds (Lander

2011a). Therefore, I use the term BME in this work where necessary. I feel uncomfortable with it as I am aware of my own white ethnicity which is just as visible. I am not 'colourless' (Smith 2013:438), however my colour is not visibly different to the majority, to the 'norm'. My ethnicity is not commonly entitled 'white minority ethnic' although I am not white British. I am also aware that nobody has ever seemed to associate me with 'being EAL' or from a minority background although I have a white, European-German ethnic background and English is an additional language for me. Ethnicity is not something only people from BME backgrounds have. Everybody has ethnicity, a cultural and linguistic background (Conteh 2015, Smith 2013) including nationality, history and religious beliefs (Knowles and Lander 2011). All ethnicities are visible, colour blindness (Lander 2011b, Smith 2013) does not oppose the construct of 'race' (Omi and Winant 1994:159), it rather seems to ignore it. Like other social constructs such as gender or class, 'race' is ascribed certain attributes through constitution and positioning via the prevailing discourse varying according to experiences and beliefs of the constituted (and constituting) individual. This leads to 'a process of identification in which the label shapes the intentional acts of (some of) those who fall under it' (Appiah 2009:671).

Conflation of EAL and BME by visual representation and the terms being presented as interchangeable in official documentation on EAL, for instance DfES (2003), and in the media (BBC 2016), ascribes certain attributes to 'EAL learners' and 'BME pupils' as if they were identical. Cummins's (2000:232) comment referring to the United States that 'discourses of educational equity collide with discourses that are xenophobic and racist' can equally be applied to Britain and other countries, to racism

based on skin-colour and to 'non-colour based racism' (Tereshchenko and Archer 2014:6).

Many BMLC learners are from BME backgrounds and many English native speakers are from a BME background. They might be second or third generation and might hold British passports, or they might be American or from other English speaking countries. At the same time there are many white, non-English speaking people from mainly European backgrounds in Britain (Conteh 2015). In 2015, 15% of pupils in state-funded secondary schools in England and 19.4% of pupils in state-funded primary schools were 'exposed to a language at home that is known or believed to be other than English' (DfE National Statistics 2015a:7). In 2013 Naldic had reported the numbers as 13.6% and 18.1% of 'EAL pupils' in secondary and primary schools respectively (Naldic 2015). The numbers are rising. Comparing the above figures to the percentage of pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds, it becomes obvious that 'EAL' and 'black minority ethnic' cannot be used interchangeably: in state-funded secondary schools 26.6% of pupils are from 'minority ethnic origins', and in state-funded primary schools the percentage is 30.4% (DfE National Statistics 2015a:6-7).

Immigration by migrants from white European ethnic backgrounds into Britain started after 1945 with mainly Italian, Spanish and Polish workers coming to Britain (Tomlinson 1982). Since 2004 when the A8 'accession countries' joined the European Union, and 2007 when the A2 countries joined (Tereshchenko and Archer 2014) and migrant workers from these countries were allowed to access the labour market in Great Britain under certain conditions (BBC 2005), the number of Eastern European migrants has increased rapidly. According to Tereshchenko and Archer (2014), 1.1

million people of Eastern European descent live in the United Kingdom. In schools, the fastest growing group is that of speakers of Eastern European languages. This development has contributed further to the so-called 'super-diversity' in many British cities (Vertovec 2007). Super-diversity is not merely based on migrants from many different countries settling in Britain, it refers to a complex interplay of various factors, for instance languages, migration status, educational and religious backgrounds, socio-economic conditions and access to the labour market, to name some of the factors according to Vertovec (2007). Referring to the growing super-diversity, Hollingworth and Mansaray (2012:4) criticise the 'crude ethnic categories (of Black, White, Asian) in published DfE data' as they 'mask a great deal of ethnic, national, linguistic, religious and social diversity …' I argue that these categories support the concept of 'race' by simply constituting a 'white – non-white' binary and masking diversity within BME groups and white ethnic background groups. Referring to Irish and Jews as examples, Dyer (1997:51) claims 'Whiteness' decides on being part of or being excluded from the norm. He explains differences in positioning on the continuum between whites as 'some people … are white sometimes, and some white people are whiter than others'. In the current political climate and based on Tereshchenko and Archer 2014, I argue this applies overwhelmingly to Eastern Europeans in the UK. If this 'non-colour based racism' (Tereshchenko and Archer 2014:6) or 'othering' (Fine 1994) amongst whites is seen in the context of the difference in economic wealth between European countries, it might explain why a German-European background is perceived as 'less EAL' and not as 'minority ethnic' as, for instance, an Eastern European background.

BMLC learners from a BME background can be subject to a further perception of deficit. Lander (2011a, 2011b) refers to the existence of the prejudice of a reduced

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ability to be educated in people from black minority ethnic backgrounds as, for instance claimed by the nowadays discredited Herrnstein and Murray (1994). Archer and Francis (2005) state that policy documents treat 'race' and ethnicity, and racism as separate issues, and that 'race' and ethnicity are only addressed within the discussion of underachievement (Archer and Francis 2007). In 2013, Ball (2013b) comments in his examination of DfES 2005 statistics on ongoing underachievement and exclusion of black Caribbean pupils, mainly boys, and highlights that political concepts like multiculturalism and anti-racism have not led to better outcomes for these pupils. In the context of their discussion of the "identity 'effortless achiever'", Jackson and Nyström (2015:400) referring to Leathwood (2013) remind us that the 'serious intellectual subject' is constructed by culturally prevailing discourses as belonging to the middle class, masculine and as white (ibid:402). Such discursively constructed social categories, amongst them 'race', can limit the availability of certain 'identities' (ibid:400). Lander (2011a:196) sees "'sichtbare' Minderheiten" ('visible' minorities, my translation) affected by this prejudice as opposed to white ethnic minorities in Britain. The deficit hypothesis is based on the assumption that white culture is the 'norm' and is used as a reference framework for all other cultures (Lander 2013; Smith 2013; Gillborn 2008, Tomlinson 1990).

In the context of schools in Germany with pupils from diverse, black minority ethnic backgrounds, Lander speaks of a 'Hegemonialanspruch' (hegemonic challenge, my translation) by the white that renders 'non-whites as 'Andere' (others) or 'Ausländer' (foreigners) (Lander 2011a:197, my translations). Lack of a proficient level of English is also perceived as a feature of 'otherness'. Tomlinson (1990:37) argues that even imposed assimilation and integration cannot happen in societies where 'white

superiority' is perceived as the norm and 'racial discrimination and harassment' are ignored. Headlines such as "White British pupils 'lag behind ethnic minority peers'" (BBC 2016) do not help reduce perceptions of 'otherness'. They seem to support the construct of white superiority as it becomes obvious in the article that 'ethnic minority' refers to children with 'Chinese, Indian, Asian and black African heritage'. The article does not consider if these children are second or third generation. Its analysis rather seems to label them as 'learning English as a second language' which 'should on the face of it, be a significant disadvantage in education' (ibid). There seems to be an element of surprise that children from minority ethnic, specifically non-white, backgrounds, are able to achieve higher educational attainment than their white British peers. If they achieve lower results, education nationalists argue that barriers to achievement are self-imposed due to a lack of English and the wish to maintain cultural identity, and that therefore

> minorities should abandon demands for their children to be respected as different but equal potential citizens, and should accept colour-blind, monocultural and monolingual policies (Tomlinson 1990:37)

When David Blunkett in New Labour's first education White Paper states children and young people need to appreciate the culture and background of others (DfEE 1997), Ozga (2000:103) quite rightly asks 'Who are the others?'. If they are the ones outside the created 'collective identity' and if there is an 'us and a 'them', then there is the potential that this relationship will be strained and become one of 'friend and enemy', (Martin 2013:148). 'Othering' (Fine 1994), implying deficit, is part of marginalising groups based on ethnicity, 'race', disability, sexuality, gender, social class, and in the context of this study, I have added English language proficiency to the customary list. For literature on the customary list, see references cited in Youdell (2006a). The

association of such 'identity markers' with specific outcomes and educational experiences 'are the result of discriminatory practices whether these are explicit or intentional or not' (Youdell 2006a:34). In this work, I concentrate on all BMLC learners regardless of their ethnicity. This does not imply disregard for the link between the construct of 'race' and educational experience constituted by discursive practice, colour blindness or marginalisation of discriminatory practices against pupils from BME backgrounds.

Section 2.4 provided an overview over approaches since 1950 to the education of BMLC learners and their positioning as 'others'. From the historic overview arose the question of the conflation of EAL, ethnicity and 'race', which was the focus of section 2.5. All previous sections in this chapter so far have highlighted the constitution of 'EAL learners' as deficient and as a homogenous group. The following section on current provision demonstrates how the historic constitution and the conflation of EAL, ethnicity and 'race' are still influential in today's approaches to EAL and BMLC learners.

2.6 Current EAL policy

By the importance the Government, and therefore Ofsted, assign to the National Curriculum (DfE 2014) and the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b), these documents are portrayed as describing the only way of effectively educating young people and are constituted as the 'truth' of successful teaching. The documents are crucial for initial teacher education and the entire career of teachers as meeting the Teachers' Standards forms part of performance management, influences career progression and can be related to teachers' pay. This importance allows such policy documents to

exercise so much power (Bartle 2012) that they seem to take the form of a 'totalizing' discourse (St. Pierre 2011:615). This 'totalizing' discourse is a demonstration of Foucault's concept of governmentality as the process of establishing such a powerful truth involves controlling individuals' conduct, in this case via policies and subsequently the teacher educator, and the 'self-governing' individual active agent's self-control (Gillies 2013:15) - the student teachers who during their teacher education might internalise the Teachers' Standards as the only 'truth' without questioning their origin, content and purpose as they were not encouraged to critically reflect on them.

In her discussion of teaching standards in England, Smith (2013) claims that the current Teachers' Standards pursue an assimilation agenda mainly aimed at 'non-white' pupils as deficit is in the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b) more overtly ascribed to the ones who are 'other' than in previous standards for teachers. The addition of the word 'dispositions' to the Teachers' Standards within TS1 'set goals that stretch and challenge pupils of all backgrounds, abilities and dispositions' (DfE 2011b) and the mentioning of 'ability and dispositions' in one clause might insinuate a link between the two (Smith 2013). 'Disposition' is defined as 'a person's inherent qualities of mind and character' (Oxford English Dictionary 2016) and highlights the underlying belief of an everlasting deficit and abnormality (Smith 2013), it links to perceptions of inherent 'malfunctioning of the [immigrant] children' (Tosi 1988:83). The label of deficit and abnormality will forever stick to multilingual leaners regardless of the level of English they achieve, as English will always be an additional language for pupils who learn English as a second or further language. The impact on BMLC learners of these assumptions of deficit being portrayed as the 'truth' can be severe and lead to the deployment of survival strategies where deemed necessary. To hide ascribed 'abnormality', BMLC learners frequently react with silence (Bligh 2014,

Safford and Costley 2006, 2008). Independent study in and outside school to learn the English as quickly as possible is employed as a survival strategy (Safford and Costley 2006) to become part of the 'norm', to be seen as 'normal'. BMLC learners might even attempt to hide their ability to speak another language and pretend to speak only English as the superior language (Garcia 2009). Such strategies have potential implications for family relationships and cultural identity.

That 'the quality and quantity of education for diversity are uneven across England' was reported by Ajegbo (2007:6) in 2007. Together with the examples provided in the previous chapter on the conflation of ethnicity, 'race' and EAL (see Archer and Francis 2005 and 2007, Ball 2013b), his report demonstrates the confusion of previous approaches to EAL and their persistence in current educational provision for BMLC learners. The need arises for not simply the creation of a new, deceptively positive sounding term like community cohesion but for ongoing debate on how to achieve equity. I argue this process requires an awareness and understanding of constitution, positioning and normalisation via prevailing discourses to create space for rupture and rethinking for all involved, especially the BMLC learners themselves. If they understand the power of official discourses and their subjection, they are able to recognise that they are constituted and positioned in certain ways (Davies 1992). They are enabled to resist 'particular forms of subjectivity' since they can free themselves from the belief 'that they [the forms of subjectivity] are their own – that they signal who they are' (ibid:217).

The current government policy on EAL (Naldic 2012) expects local authorities to provide education for all children of school age, 'irrespective of a child's immigration

status, country of origin or rights of residence…' (ibid:1). English language acquisition as quickly as possible is deemed desirable (Demie 2013, Leung 2016) so that BMLC learners can be included in mainstream education and prepared to join the 'workforce which can add to the economic wealth of the country and be accountable for doing so to society' (Lander 2012:693). Education is nowadays perceived as a commodity delivering a workforce to ensure the country's economic wealth (ibid), which is the driving force behind educational policy, and in the context of this study, behind normalisation. Ball (2013b:4) emphasises the Conservative Party's view that 'education is not simply about economic policy, it is also about social policy and social discipline and nation building.' Ball speaks of the insertion of education into a 'discursive bundle' binding together 'values, rigour, discipline and freedom' and then linking them to 'excellence, competition and prosperity' (ibid). In the foreword to 'The Importance of Teaching' (DfE 2010:3), David Cameron and Nick Clegg state

> […] what really matters is how we're doing compared to our international competitors. That is what will define our economic growth and our country's future. The truth is, at the moment we are standing still while others rush past.

Farrell (2016:287) describes the main concern of modern education policy as 'security and the management of populations to produce productive economic and subjective bodies', which is reflected in a statement by the DfEE (1997:9) claiming that the common goal is a well-educated society committed to life-long learning and that Britain's economic prosperity and social cohesion both depend on achieving this goal. This type of language resonates with what Ball (2006:146) describes as 'discursive interventions into the public sector'; "learning is re-rendered as a 'cost-effective policy outcomes'" [sic] and "achievement is a set of 'productive targets' (ibid). Constant reminders in school that academic achievement is a necessary requirement for a

successful career (Jackson 2013) affect BMLC learners especially as they are permanently confronted with their level of English in addition to subject specific achievement. This does not evoke thoughts of welfare, care and equality which are part of a separate, contrary discourse as discussed below. Leung (2016:171) confirms that the last 20 years have seen 'the ebbing away of the equality of entitlement narrative in the public domain'. Instead, the education sector is dominated by a neo-liberal discourse (Ball 2013b) with an emphasis on competition to drive up standards and 'as an organising principle for society and individual differentiation in terms of treatment and rewards as a desirable consequence' (Leung 2016:171). Aiming higher does not seem to leave room for bi- or multilingual education. BMLC learners in English schools mainly come from a variety of ethnic and language backgrounds which makes bilingual education in Cummins's (2000) sense unworkable. However, it does not mean minority languages and cultures cannot be implemented into the curriculum and daily school life in other forms than simply "token displays of 'culture' and folklore" (Martin-Jones and Saxena 2003:280) which rather constitute and perpetuate 'race' hierarchies (Youdell 2012). Such an approach would require the development of a language pedagogy (Leung 2005). Its absence might explain the considerable differences in EAL provision in schools (Foley et al 2013, Mistry and Sood 2010) and in practices some of which are potentially damaging to BMLC learners' education. For a collection of practical examples of EAL language pedagogies developed in primary and secondary schools see Mallows (2012). In 2010, Mistry and Sood report 'patchy provision' (2010:111) of staff development, and training not developing staff's cultural awareness and not being 'specific enough to effectively support the language development of EAL children …' (ibid:112). The employment of trained bilingual assistants, who understand the importance of the use of their BMLC learners'

languages, and therefore do not contribute to the positioning of English as a superior language by using mainly English out of politeness to monolingual teachers and peers (Bourne 2001), could be one element of bilingual education workable in English schools. Another one is the effective employment of 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzáles et al 2005) in teaching and learning. 'Funds of knowledge' are abilities, skills and practices which BMLC learners have developed in their native contexts, and which have been practised with other people in a trusting environment (ibid). Pupils use their 'funds of knowledge' as crucial tools in their thinking and to develop their thinking, However, 'funds of knowledge' are not necessarily recognised by teachers and schools as the "'right' knowledge" and therefore not perceived as important (Duckworth 2014:61). Debates around the importance of including multilingual pupils' languages and 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzáles et al 2005) instead of a sole focus on the dominant language (Bourne 2001) and culture, and how to accomplish this, are not unique to Britain. Similar discussions are taking place world-wide, for example in Germany (Neumann and Karakaşoğlu 2011), or in the United States (for example, Garcia 2009, Cummins 2000, 2001, Gonzales et al 2005, Thomas and Collier 2002), bearing in mind the different forms bilingual education can take depending on the variety of languages in any one region or in any one school. Supported by findings by Vygotsky (1962), bilingual education is proposed by scholars such as Garcia (2009), Cummins (2000), Gonzales et al (2005), Creese and Blackledge (2010), and Thomas and Collier (2002). Conteh (2015:45) maintains that bilingual education offers a pedagogy providing multilingual learners with 'safe spaces to use all their language and cultural resources in their learning'. She argues that such a pedagogy would support BMLC learners to 'feel that their identities are valued and respected in the classrooms they inhabit.' A pedagogy and methodology of 'conceptual transfer, translation and interpretation,

increasing knowledge about how language works, linking new material to familiar worlds, and building learner identities' are identified as benefits of bilingual education by Kenner et al (2008:122). Cummins (2000) states that due to a failure of understanding the research in the field, opponents promote their view based on Krashen (1982) that full immersion in English is the best strategy for language learning for BMLC learners. Cummins argues '… this maximum exposure hypothesis is totally at variance with all the research findings from bilingual programs around the world …' (2000:241).

Arguments for bilingual education are also concerned with BMLC learners' emotional and academic needs. Carrasquillo and Rodriguez (2002:40) claim it provides BMLC learners with 'moral and social support to survive' when their traditions and language are part of their education. In the 1990s some of Swann's (1985) suggestions were implemented by employing ancillary helpers or volunteers to assist BMLC learners in class. However, the introduction of the 'bilingual resource' was to 'help with the transitional needs of non-English speaking children starting school' (Swann 1985:407) rather than to strengthen the status of the BMLC learner's language. This was despite Bullock asserting in 1975 that a child entering the school building should not have to 'cast off the language and culture of the home … and the curriculum should reflect those aspects of his life' (1975:543). In comparison to current EAL policy stating that the main responsibility of maintenance of other languages than English lies with the communities (Naldic 2012), Bullock's comments in his report in 1975 sound much less 'normalising'.

Linked to the discussion around bilingual education is the issue of including BMLC learners in mainstream education as raised in the Bullock report (1975, Leung 2016). Leung (2016) acknowledges Swann's attempt at an overhaul of teaching in multicultural contexts. In most schools however, he claims, provision for BMLC learners was simply reorganised within mainstream, and BMLC and 'ENL learners' were allowed and encouraged to use their native languages or dialects for informal conversations. BMLC learners returning to mainstream education 'was seen as a measure of equality of opportunity' as it 'would provide a better curriculum environment for English language development' (Leung 2016:166). Krashen's (1982) claim of language acquisition being an innate process and his 'input hypothesis' supporting the view of exposing language learners as much as possible to the 'target language', became a useful ideological tool in mainstreaming BMLC learners without paying attention to their linguistic progress as their proficiency in English would develop naturally (Bourne 2001). Consideration was not given, firstly to the development of basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) in contrast to CALP, cognitive academic language proficiency (Cummins 2000, 2001) and the possible impact on BMLC learners' academic development and wellbeing if their progress in English was left unmonitored, and secondly to the possible impact on their native language(s). Currently, schools vary substantially in their approach to, support for and monitoring of BMLC learners' learning of English (Foley et al 2013, Mistry and Sood 2010).

Since September 2016 schools have been required to report on the number of 'EAL learners' on roll and their level of proficiency in English as well as their country of birth and their nationality regardless of their language. This change is supposedly necessary to provide more accurate performance data than currently available and to support the targeting of resources (Schools Week 2017). However, the assessment process is

decided on by the school, carried out by whomever the school chooses and quite possibly without any training; furthermore, each BMLC learner is given a grade (A-E, or N for not yet assessed) combining their proficiency in speaking, reading and writing in English (ibid) which might be used as an indicator for ability. EAL professionals welcome additional data, however there are concerns about the collection and use of such information (ibid). Considering that no data is required on BMLC learners' language(s), the information could potentially be used to further enforce the dominance and importance of the English language in comparison to other languages. Garcia (2009:106) comments on the dominance of some languages over others due to the 'power of its speakers' and states where this is the case, 'bilingualism develops poorly, or not at all, and cognitive and social advantages are not forthcoming.' The following section discusses the role of English as the dominant language in the constitution of 'the EAL learner' and their positioning as 'others'.

2.7 The status of English as the dominant language

Globally, bi- or multilingualism is the 'norm' rather than the exception. Crystal (2010) states that about 75% of the world population grow up bi- or multilingually. Five years later, Conteh (2015:48) claims '80% and rising' are multilingual which means monolingual speakers are worldwide in the minority. Martin (2009:12) speaks of a still prevailing 'monolingualising ideology' in Britain and 'a myopic monolingual malaise' (ibid:17). Being monolingual might be perceived as the norm for and by 'ENL pupils' in English secondary schools, but even if the only language proficiently spoken is a world language like English, being monolingual is not the 'norm' worldwide. 'Yet, the school is one of those places … where the norm produces abnormality' (Ball 2013a:54),

'abnormal' meaning in this context being an 'EAL learner', constituted as outside the norm. According to the Department of Education and Science in 1975, this abnormality inherent to immigrant pupils in the form of lacking educational knowledge and an acceptable language needed to be addressed (Tosi 1988). Tosi (1988) continues by saying that, after the publication of the Linguistic Minorities Project and The Mother Tongue and English Teaching Project reports in the first half of the 1980s, 'the bilingual conditions of minority children are no longer presented as a deficit but neither are they treated as an asset' (1988:82-83). Three decades later, I disagree with Tosi as the use of terms like 'EAL learner' and 'pupils with English as an additional language' implicitly still define young people by a deficit, their lack of English, as overtly ascribed 'disadvantage' did in the time of compensatory education. The Swann report's (1985) recommendation of the use of 'bilingual resources' leading to reinforcement of the positioning of English as the dominant language due to a lack of appropriate training for bilingual assistants (Bourne 2001) further supports my disagreement with Tosi's claim. With 87.5% of teachers in state-funded schools in England in November 2014 considering themselves as white British (DfE 2015a), there could be an issue of 'power asymmetry' (Bourne 2001:256) between the powerful monolingual class teacher and the powerless bilingual assistant. If the 'bilingual resource' does not fully understand the role of bilingual support, s/he might use English to avoid exclusion of the monolinguals in the classroom (Bourne 2001) and, therefore, inadvertently perpetuate the supremacy of the English language.

In my discussion of terms to refer to bi-and multilingual learners at the beginning of this chapter, the term 'language minority students' used by Carrasquillo and Rodriguez (2002) also implies a superior position of English over other languages. Furthermore,

'The monolingual fallacy' and 'the native speaker fallacy' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2007:140) insinuating an English native speaker is the best option as a teacher for BMLC learners are fallacies worldwide upholding the status of the English language as the dominant one. As Phillipson (1992:47) states 'English linguistic imperialism' positions English at the top of this hierarchy.

> … the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages.

Tony Blair's declaration in 2006 that proficiency in the English language and its use are a prerequisite for gaining British citizenship (Gillborn 2008) is a further demonstration of the ongoing existence of this constituted linguistic supremacy and it supports Phillipson's (1992) claim. Hoque speaks of multilingual learners' coercion into the use of English by media, the internet, the education system and 'the system of governance and commerce' (2015:61). From interviews with teaching staff and pupils it is evident that the use of English at home and in school is still strongly encouraged although it is nowadays recognised that multilingual learners' use of their native language in either setting does not hinder learning, it rather supports understanding (Conteh 2015; Tosi 1988).

The constant reinforcement of English as the dominant language denies BMLC learners 'basic linguistic human rights' (Skutnabb-Kangas 2007:137) as it creates obstacles to achieving high proficiency in two or more languages. Referring to bilingual education in Cummins's (2000) sense, or the lack thereof, Skutnabb-Kangas (2007:137) argues that 'education participates in attempting and committing linguistic genocide in relation to minorities'. However, the argument can equally be applied to

any classroom or school in England that does not cater for or allow the use of languages other than English. BMLC learners need to be given the opportunity to draw on, practise and use their own language(s) alongside learning English with neither language being perceived as superior. It is obvious that BMLC learners with little English have language learning needs. Issues arise when these language learning needs are conflated with learning needs and learning difficulties.

2.8 Language needs and their conflation with learning needs

In the 1970s, linguistic and cultural 'otherness' with its implication of deficit, was ascribed to BMLC learners (Tosi 1988). Ascribing 'cultural deprivation', 'special needs in education', 'cultural and linguistic deficiencies', 'cultural limitations' and 'linguistic handicaps' to immigrant children led to the assumption that issues arising from the education of these children were rooted in their 'malfunctioning' not the schools' or the curriculum's (Tosi 1988:82-83). Compensatory education found little resistance, and disadvantages possibly being caused by the system, schools or the education provision was not part of the official discourse (Tosi 1988). Tosi's (1988) comments demonstrate how responsibility for poor outcomes was dispersed among individuals involved if not pushed onto parents and pupils as the 'others' outside the norm (Britzman 2000, Archer and Francis 2007, Martin 2009). The control over the choice of philosophy and approach to education, however, lies with the ones who have the power to create knowledge and disperse responsibility (Ozga 2000). Language needs might lead to temporary underachievement as 'language minority students' (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002) in addition to their language needs, face cognitive challenges at subject level, new ways of learning, new traditions, behaviours and

expectations. BMLC learners need to develop their English language proficiency alongside their curriculum knowledge. At the same time, they are required to learn to understand and adapt to the values, practices, ethos and traditions of their new and foreign setting (Wallace 2011). However, this kind of underachievement would be temporary, not be constituted as deficit and certainly not as disposition. The perception of deficit is enforced by the confusion of language needs with learning needs, having linked EAL and special educational needs and disabilities (SEND) in educational policies since the addition to the 1998 National Literary Strategy and in National Curricula from 2000 onwards (Conteh 2015). Davies, previously chair of Naldic (Naldic 2010:1), referring to Edwards (Naldic 2010), speaks of pathologising BMLC learners instead of developing strategies for diversity as a consequence of 'bolt-on solutions' and the lack of recognition of bi- and multilingualism and bi- and mulitculturalism as assets from which the individual and society could benefit. She asserts that funding policy supports both the link between BMLC learners and underachievement, and the link between BMLC learners and SEND. Similarly, her successor, Amy Thompson (Naldic 2013) criticises the White Paper, The Importance of Teaching (DfE 2010), for linking cognitive and learning needs with BMLC learners' language needs and draws attention to the need for specialised staff in EAL to abandon the common practice of professionals trained as Special Educational Needs and Disabilities Co-ordinators (SENDCOs) managing EAL provision in schools.

Cummins's language learning theories of linguistic interdependence, CUP, and BICS and CALP highlight why (language) teaching, especially for multilingual learners needs to build on their existing language skills and cultural experiences (2000, 2001). CUP, the common underlying proficiency, means a common proficiency for language

in general, not a separate proficiency for each language. Learners draw on their CUP 'to make meanings that the language user needs in the context in which they are situated' (Conteh 2015:63). Linguistic interdependence means the knowledge and understanding of the first language supports knowledge and understanding of further languages (Cummins 2001). BICS, basic interpersonal communication skills, are used in everyday language which is less cognitive demanding than language used for providing explanations and analyses. CALP, cognitive academic language proficiency, is based on cognitive language for thinking, and on academic language for expressing our thinking (Cummins 2001, Conteh 2015). BICS are usually acquired in six months to two years, much more quickly than CALP which take a minimum of five years, and sometimes up to seven or eight years to develop (Cummins 2001, Demie 2013). It is the lack of CALP that can lead to multilingual learners being allocated to lower sets or SEND groups (Thomas and Collier 2002) due to the confusion of language and learning needs (Conteh 2015, Conteh et al 2007). The learners might only be missing the cognitive academic language in English required for a certain subject and it might be fully developed in the learners' first language. Cummins's (2001) theory is supported by Thomas and Collier's claim based on their longitudinal 'national study of school effectiveness for language minority students' long-term academic achievement' in the United States (2002) that the longer the new arrivals had experienced schooling in their first language, the higher their achievement in English would be long-term. However, BMLC learners' language development does not only affect proficiency in English and academic achievement, together with their perceptions of the importance or dominance of the English language and culture, it has consequences for the constitution of their identities with possible implications for the whole family and community.

2.9 Language and identity

If and when trying to adapt to their new cultural environment, BMLC learners might start to feel excluded from their own communities and families without having a feeling of belonging to mainstream British society (Hoque 2010). A language and culture divide between generations can result from young people internalising the hierarchy of cultures and languages (Hoque 2015). Martin (2013) describes identity as relational and affirmation of difference as a prerequisite for identity; which means such a relationship can constitute the platform for antagonism.

Culture, language and identity are closely linked (Hoque 2015, Conteh 2015, Francis et al 2010). I agree with Hoque's statement that 'rejecting a language' means 'rejecting the history and culture associated with the language' and 'assuming a new language' involves 'forging new cultural identities' (2015:56, Mills 2001). BMLC learners arriving in England and being subsumed into the English education system face the dilemma of being torn between cultures and languages. It is therefore of vital importance that teachers find ways to incorporate BMLC learners' languages and cultures into school life and the classroom (Conteh 2015). BMLC learners' perceptions of cultural and linguistic differences, their confidence in dealing with the situation in which they find themselves, and support from school, parents and friends (Safford and Costley 2006) are essential for personal well-being and academic achievement. 'Social relationships constitute a crucial component of school life', and are influential in how school is experienced, if it is enjoyed and 'in terms of academic outcomes' (Jackson 2006, 2013). Wallace (2011:98) reflects on 'tensions and resistance as well as moments of achievements' in BMLC learners' attempts to find their place in school

and the community. She uncovers contradictions in their behaviour and comments as they wish to become part of the school but simultaneously affirm 'other identities and values' in response to restrictions imposed by the curriculum or school rules (ibid). This type of resistance is rare compared to compliance, and unlike general "'counter-school culture …entrenched... opposition to 'authority'" (Willis 2000:11), it seems to be considered and motivated (Wallace 2011). Mac an Ghaill (1988) explores African-Caribbean boys' creation of 'anti-school male students' sub-cultures' (1988:9) and states they reject 'the model of White society presented by teachers and resist institutional incorporation into White cultural identities' (ibid:110). This 'sub-culture of resistance to schooling' is seen to guarantee 'collective protection and survival' (ibid:102). Resisting normalisation brands these young people and their culture as 'undesirable', 'intolerable' (Youdell 2003), they might even be constituted as 'impossible learners' (Youdell 2006a:40).

BMLC learners struggle with their diverse and changing identities depending on social discursive sites such as school, home and community (Garcia 2009). As Hall (1990:226) states 'Cultural identity is not a fixed essence at all . . . . Not an essence but a positioning'; it is in Foucault's view fragmented, and individuals' or societies' identities are multiple, shifting and might be contradictory (Eckerman 1997) as they result from constituting processes (Martin 2013). However,

> 'Fitting in' is of such importance to young people that they succumb to 'reality', to discursive normative processes in an attempt "to construct identities that enable them to 'fit in'" (Jackson 2013:194).

Their constructed identities might be in conflict with the BMLC learners' original cultural identities and might lead to tensions within families, communities and within individuals themselves.

2.10 Summary

The literature review demonstrates how recurring themes in the prevailing discourse contribute to the constitution of the 'EAL learner'. The issue of homogenising due to a shared lack of proficiency in the English language and knowledge of the English culture was explored as it highlights the application of a deficit model to BMLC learners. The official discourse around EAL, ethnicity and 'race' since 1950 further elucidates how the current discourse has developed and BMLC learners' positioning has been sustained, and how it is still obvious in current policy for EAL provision. Supremacy of English contributes to the deficit model as does the conflation of language needs and learning needs. All themes considered in the literature review relate in one way or another to the issue of 'identity' which would require a separate thesis to do its complexity justice. Reflections on the importance of language for identity in the light of the literature, however, concluded the chapter to raise awareness of the strong connection between language and identity. Reviewing the literature in the light of constitution, positioning and normalisation of BMLC learners set the context for this study which aims to provide BMLC learners and people working with them with tools to understand how 'truth' is constructed, their subjection and their positioning via the prevailing discourse and to offer them choices. They can then knowingly undergo normalisation, are enabled to challenge the process or they can choose to resist. Raising awareness of these options and creating critical space for reflection and choice is a further aim of this thesis. Foucauldian poststructuralism and phenomenography are employed in an attempt to capture normalisation processes using subjection and positioning via the prevailing discourse, to highlight their impact on BMLC learners' perceptions to expose power-knowledge interrelations. The following chapter provides an overview of the research design. It explains how

Foucault's thinking and phenomenography were used in harness to complement the existing literature by demonstrating how the prevailing discourse around EAL is reflected in BMLC learners' perceptions leading to normalisation.

Chapter 3: Methodology, Methods and Ethical Considerations

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate my approach to research in this thesis using two compatible perspectives to gain new insights into the normalisation of BMLC learners in the English secondary education system. In order to make and defend the claim that Foucauldian poststructuralism and phenomenography are compatible, I begin by presenting my research perspective and ontological and epistemological considerations, followed by a discussion of Foucault's concepts which are relevant to this study. Phenomenography is then introduced and subsequently set against Foucault's ontology, epistemology and methodology, highlighting similarities and differences, and their implications for this project. As 'The ethnographic life is not separable from the Self' (Richardson and St Pierre 2005:965), a reflexive account is provided to demonstrate how I, as the researcher, am situated in my research. The following discussion of methods based on the ontological, epistemological, methodological and reflexive considerations, explains the use of methods, and how and what kind of data was generated. Before moving on to questions of validity, generalisability and reliability, the research sites and participants are introduced and their selection discussed. The chapter concludes with thoughts on ethics, principally concerning relationships and working with vulnerable young people, and finally a summary reflecting on all the chapter's deliberations.

3.2 Compatible perspectives

3.2.1 My research perspective

This research project is a qualitative study rooted in postmodernist, poststructuralist, Foucauldian thinking. Adopting a qualitative or quantitative research approach depends on the researcher's ontological and epistemological position. Phenomenography and Foucault both adopt a qualitative approach to research. In this study, they are presented as different, nevertheless compatible, interpretive perspectives due to their congruent ontologies, intersecting epistemologies and diverse methodologies. I will return to the question of their ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies when discussing Foucauldian concepts and phenomenography.

Quoting statistics and percentages in my work referring to the number of BMLC learners in English primary and secondary schools, implies recognition of the use of quantitative research. With reference to the first 'paradigm war' (Denzin and Lincoln 2011:1) and mixed methods approaches, Bryman et al (2008:264) state that 'Each source of data represents an important piece in a jigsaw'. Interdependence between qualitative and quantitative research is, to a negligible extent, evident in my work. The statistics providing the number of BMLC learners in English schools are based on a qualitative interpretative definition of what characterises a BMLC learner in order to obtain the numbers (Gorard 2001). Equally, qualitative research might be triggered by statistics, for example, if GCSE results demonstrate an achievement gap between certain ethnic groups, qualitative studies might subsequently investigate the reasons. Nevertheless, this study does not take a mixed method approach despite quoting percentages when referring to rising numbers of BMLC learners in English schools

and including a Wordle (wordle.com) highlighting the words most frequently used in interviews by BMLC learners. My conceptual standing is firmly rooted in Foucauldian poststructuralism which rejects the unified and rational subject of Enlightenment (Weedon 1997) and the scientific, objective approach of positivism (Ball 2013a, Gillies 2013, Archer and Francis 2005).

For the purpose of this study ontology is interpreted as considerations of the nature of reality and the human subject (Crotty 1998, Denzin and Lincoln 2011), epistemology as considerations of the nature of knowledge, relationships between the researcher, researched and the 'known' (Denzin and Lincoln 2011), and methodology as considerations of the purpose of the application of certain methods (tools) and the analysis of the generated data (Blaxter et al 2010). Cohen et al (2007:47) refer to methods as 'techniques and procedures used in the process of data-gathering' and to methodology as helping to understand the research process.

Believing in the constitution of multiple 'truths' and the impossibility of 'true' knowledge claims in poststructuralism raises questions around the traditional notions of ontology and epistemology. As Farrell (2012:101) states

> Foucault shows that the very notion of a truth, a foundation to what can be known, and therefore the very construct of epistemology, is the outcome of a dominant, discursive regime that is a truth ensemble.

My ontological position means I believe in multiple 'truths' which are constituted via discourses within power/knowledge relations. My epistemological position means I believe that bodies of knowledge are temporary, anchored in cultures, space, time and societies, and not universal (Cohen et al 2011). A more detailed contemplation of my

position as a researcher is offered in my reflexive account (3.3). Poststructuralist and phenomenography's ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies and their compatibility are explored further in the next section to justify my deployment of the two perspectives in harness to gain new insights into the normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary schools.

3.2.2 The Foucauldian project

The heading of this section is taken from Gillies (2013:12) who describes the 'Foucauldian project' as explaining interrelations between power and knowledge to identify 'what seems obvious, necessary, and universal […] as assumptions, contingencies, and constructs.' Foucault's work is about 'unmasking' and exposing (Ball 2015:309). The purpose of this study is to familiarise BMLC learners and all who work with these learners with the idea of a constructed 'truth' around 'the EAL learner'. To achieve this aim, I will draw on components of all phases of Foucault's work, the importance of discourse, the power/knowledge relation, and ethics (Ball 2013a, Allan 2008, Fairclough 1992).

Foucault (1991, 1980) links power and knowledge indivisibly (Castle 2012; Woolhouse 2012), 'each produces the other' (Gillies 2013:12) and Mills explains Foucault's understanding of 'power/knowledge as an abstract force which determines what will be known, rather than assuming that individual thinkers develop ideas and knowledge' (Mills 2003:70). 'Knowledges are produced within power relations' (Ball 2013a:15), power produces and sustains truth, and truth 'induces' and 'extends' power, it is a 'circular relation', a '"regime" of truth' (Rabinow 1991:74). The 'subject of power' (Butler 1997:14) is affected by power and it affects by power as it is constituted

and constituting. According to Foucault, truth cannot be constructed from outside discourse (Niesche, 2011; Woolhouse, 2012). He defines discourse as what is said, can be said, is thought, is omitted, by whom, with what authority and when (Foucault 1991a, 1981; Fairclough 1992; Ozga 2000; Bourke et al 2013). The When takes into account that 'History throws the contemporary into relief, offering fresh perspectives on the present' (Jackson and Tinkler 2007:252) which means '… we cannot speak of anything when and where we like' (Sheridan 1980:122). Discourse is privileged above other forms of practice (Foucault 1981) and intrinsically linked to power as power cannot 'be' 'without the production, accumulation, circulation and functioning of discourse' (Foucault 1980:93). The prevailing discourse constitutes the 'truth' and constituted social structures and practices perpetuate it (Francis 1999). Youdell further explains the interdependence between power and discourse by referring to Foucault not seeing discourses as reflections of 'truth' but the '*production* of these truths' (Youdell 2006c:35; original emphasis). 'Knowledge' and 'truth' are created 'in a certain way [which] limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed' (Hall 1992:291). 'Discourse, therefore, is never merely descriptive; it is constitutive. Discourse involves power' (Gillborn 2008:72). However, discourse can be resisted via counter-positioning in alternative discourses (Francis 1999:383). The importance of resistance and agency in Foucault's work is in stark contrast to critics accusing him of nihilistic, fatalistic, and deterministic thinking (Gillies 2013, Soper 1993 in Francis 1999), and of excluding 'active social agency in any meaningful sense' as, for instance Fairclough does (1992:45). Foucault explained that his position 'leads not to apathy but to a hyper- and pessimistic activism' (Foucault 1984:343). Based on the authors cited in this study, specifically Foucault, I argue that deconstruction and poststructuralism enable us to recognise our 'reality' as constructed and challengeable.

By deconstructing and exposing, and then allowing space for the individual or groups of individuals, in this case the BMLC learners and all stake holders, to reconstruct knowledge and 'truth' for themselves - although still within discourses as we cannot escape them - Foucault empowers. The criticism that Foucault deconstructs but fails to reconstruct seems to misunderstand Foucault's work. If he reconstructed, he would simply provide another constructed 'truth'. He aims for the individual to understand positioning via discourses. This understanding allows subjects agency and choice (Laws and Davies 2000) to position themselves via alternative discourses (Francis 1999).

Foucault encouraged other scholars to use his books as tool boxes to expose systems of power (Ball 2006:43). His work provides the tools for this research to question the current 'truth' around EAL provision and the constitution and positioning of BMLC learners. The aim of this study is to raise awareness of BMLC learners' normalisation (Ball 2013a) amongst all working with these learners, parents or guardians, and predominantly the learners themselves. Allan (2008:97) provides an excellent summary of what this research might enable in schools by increasing awareness:

> The governmentality of the state, with its double contradictory imperative of individualizing and totalizing, may limit the opportunities for transgression; *alternatively, the micro-regime of governmentality within the school and among young people could have a positive and productive role in encouraging and supporting transgression.* (Italics: my emphasis)

I argue that space to reflect, question, and ponder alternatives to the given 'truth' is needed so the unconsciousness of the cycle of being subjected and subjecting can be overcome, and the subject can be reconstituted and transgress imposed limits (Allan 2008). My argument reflects Butler's view that the 'subject is neither a ground nor a

product, but the permanent possibility of a certain resignifying process' (Butler 1992:13). Those who transgress are able 'to shape their own identities by subverting the norms which compel them to repeatedly perform as subjects with a particular marginal identity, such as ... ethnic minorities' (Allan 2008:93). Francis et al (2009:527) provide an example of transgression by describing how British-Chinese pupils refuse "the discursive 'Othering' of their minority ethnic language as irrelevant in western culture" and use their language skills rather as 'currency in the neo-liberal marketplace.'

Normalisation as 'one of the great instruments of power' (Foucault 1991a:184) can be resisted due to the 'unmasking of power for the use of those who suffer it' (Sheridan 1980:221), which 'Foucault identified as the real task of political criticism' (Farrell 2016:287). This 'real political task' is to unmask the 'working of institutions' and 'political violence' ... 'so one can fight them' (Rabinow 1991:6). Analysis of discourses supports understanding of the constitution of power and subsequent positioning via discourses (Davies 1997). It enables new discourses to be created leading to 'reconstitution through discourse' as the analysis allows for deconstruction and 'different readings' (Francis 1999:384). I agree with Maynard (1994) and Power (2010) that Foucault's poststructuralist deconstruction does not offer solutions only critique. As Francis and Mills (2012) point out, it is 'hard' to provide solutions and attempting it might initiate discussion rather than offer answers. However, I argue that it is the critique that provides a platform for resistance and reconstruction for the individual as it raises awareness of positioning. Such awareness is a prerequisite to some form of agency, to be an 'active but not sovereign protagonist' (Weedon (1997:31).

Normalisation is a discursive process and central to disciplinary power as norms are established via discourse and support the recognition, 'othering' (Fine 1994) and rejection of the abnormal (Gillies 2013). Foucault (1984:380) clarifies the relation between power and discipline as 'Power is not discipline; discipline is a possible procedure of power.' Discipline "normalises", "analyses and breaks down".

> Learners are "seen" and "modified" and "broken down", by age and sometimes by gender, by ability, by "need", in relation to talents and other forms of specialty or abnormality' (Ball 2013a:46-47).

The 'breaking down' involves exercising power which does not mean forceful, negative domination of subjects; subjects are incorporated in power which "is 'productive' in the sense that it shapes and 'retools' them to fit in with its needs" (Fairclough 1992:50). Allan (2008:87) explains, it is the sort of power that generates 'reality' and 'truth' 'in the shape of individuals and what is known about each of them'. Power, as defined by Foucault, is not a possession or a commodity, it 'is constituted through multiple, and constantly shifting discourses' (Francis 1999:383). Considering the impact on BMLC learners, I argue the processes involved in shaping these students are potentially damaging (Laws and Davies 2000). They could be interpreted as 'ways in which fears may be constructed and used for political purposes' (Jackson 2013:187).

Discourse creates the 'reality' we live in at this moment in time. It is a constructed reality and only temporarily fixed (Weedon 1997). Nevertheless, it is portrayed as a constant truth. How created reality portrayed as constant truth is reflected in phenomenography is the focus of section 3.2.4. Before I turn to the discussion of similarities and differences between the two perspectives, the following section provides a short introduction to phenomenography.

3.2.3 Phenomenography

In phenomenography, the way of experiencing a phenomenon is seen as an 'internal relationship between the experience and the experienced' (Marton and Booth 1997:113). Similarly, Trigwell (2006:369) states 'meaning is seen as being constituted in the relationship between the individual and the phenomenon'. It is these internal relationships phenomenography uses to explore phenomena and, therefore, its perspective is described as relational. It is also described as non-dualist, realist and second order. Non-dualist means phenomenography's focus is on the experience of the phenomenon, the relationship between the object and the subject, the one existing world that is simultaneously objective and subjective (Richardson 1999). Marton (1994) understands phenomenography's aim as discovering and classifying 'people's conceptions of reality' (Richardson 1999:65) which explains Marton's claim of phenomenography being realist. As in phenomenography the phenomenon is not accessible directly, and can only be researched via the variation in perceptions resulting from interview data, the approach is also described as second order (Marton 1981). Phenomenography makes statements about individuals' perceptions, and more precisely, about the variation in individuals' perceptions of the world not about the world directly (Marton 1981, Marton and Booth 1997). It is the key differences in the experiences of the phenomenon of all respondents that are of interest (Trigwell 2006) as the researcher is in search of the meaning of the phenomenon s/he is researching (Marton and Booth 1997). Rather than capturing the richness of an individual account, the aim of a phenomenographic investigation is to map the variation in ways of experiencing the phenomenon (Marton and Booth 1997; Entwistle 1997). The phenomenographic part of this study is based on individuals communicating their perceptions of what it means to be a BMLC learner in the English secondary education

system, in order to establish the variation in ways of experiencing this phenomenon. A phenomenographic approach helps researchers to see learning and development 'as an individual's successive growing within the complex of differing understandings' (Marton 1995:177). It supports the identification of the variation in the ways groups of people experience a phenomenon and the different perspectives they view it from. Prosser and Trigwell's constitutionalist model of student learning (1999:17) presents the world and the individuals as 'internally related through the individuals' awareness of the world' (ibid:13). They claim prior experience, perceptions of the situation, approaches to learning and outcomes are all present simultaneously in the awareness of the individual. Some are more prominent than others at certain points in time, and they are different for each individual which explains variation in ways of experiencing a phenomenon. In Prosser and Trigwell's (1999) model, lecturers' ability to change the learning and teaching context implies that the context is formed by tutors, lecturers or teachers. However, the model does not explain how this environment is produced in specific teaching and learning interactions (Ashwin 2009). Neither does it consider that the interaction between the teaching and learning context and the individual's situation can be seen as situated in other contexts, like institutional, political and social contexts (Mann 2000). It is strongly focused on agency rather than structure (Ashwin 2009). The established variation in these perceptions in conjunction with the identified 'watershed' (van Rossum and Hamer 2010) can be used to enhance BMLC learners' understanding of positioning via discourse and the normalisation process they are subjected to.

The concept of the "watershed" is defined as 'a shift in focus' (van Rossum and Hamer 2010:26). It represents the main variation between conceptions that poses an obstacle

for learners towards changing perceptions. The obstacle can be overcome by supporting learners to develop awareness of other possible perceptions.

Anyone working with BMLC learners can use the variation in perceptions and the watershed identified in this study to tailor their input to the needs of BMLC learners and share and explore with them alternative ways of experiencing the phenomenon of being an 'EAL learner'. Phenomenography is criticised for only describing variation and not addressing the purpose of education, 'the contest of ideas and the means by which judgements are challenged' (Webb 1997:202). Webb's criticism seems to miss what the knowledge of variation in ways of experiencing a certain phenomenon and the identification of a possible watershed, can be used for and what might be achieved by their use in teaching and learning (Bowden 2000; Bowden and Green 2005). However, I share Hallett's view (2014, 2009) that phenomenography combined with another approach can achieve more than pure description of variation in perceptions. My study combines phenomenography with poststructuralist Foucauldian concepts to gain new insights into normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary education. The new insights can be utilised to enable the learners to understand normalisation via positioning through discursive power in order to use their agency in subjection to discourses. By using Foucault's tools in harness with phenomenography I aim to address what Webb (1997) sees as lacking in phenomenography – the provision of means that enable the challenge of judgements. This leaves the question if a poststructuralist approach on its own might not have been sufficient to achieve this aim. A further question arising is, how phenomenography and Foucauldian thinking can be combined considering possible ontological, epistemological and

methodological differences. These questions and issues are addressed in the following section that describes how and why I use the two perspectives in harness.

3.2.4 Using Foucauldian poststructuralism and phenomenography in harness

Perceiving myself as an 'interpretive bricoleur' (Denzin and Lincoln 2011:4), the new technique of a bricolage by employing Foucauldian thought and phenomenography seemed to be the appropriate choice considering my ontological and epistemological positioning, and the research questions which evolved from my own personal and professional lived experiences.

Finally feeling comfortable as a Foucauldian phenomenographer, resulted from a long journey of reflection, doubt and grappling with the two approaches, their similarities and differences. There were several questions to consider prior to having the courage to use the two perspectives in harness in my thesis. Firstly, if the two approaches are compatible. Secondly, if this compatibility could be applied as a useful methodological tool and lead to new insights, and thirdly, how they are compatible and how this compatibility can best be demonstrated. My first encounters with Foucauldian concepts and phenomenography were unrelated. However, by experimenting with both in separate projects during my doctoral studies, I came to realise that the approaches' similarities and differences could potentially be employed as a powerful tool to analyse data in an innovative way. In order to achieve such an innovative approach to data analysis, I was aware that it was not sufficient to conduct two studies, a Foucauldian study and a phenomenographic study, and then simply compare the results. It was vital to integrate the two approaches to demonstrate how the integrated data analysis leads

to new insights. Furthermore, I needed to consider if using both perspectives in harness would not lead to the Foucauldian analysis losing its Foucauldian characteristics, meaning that the Foucauldian concepts and questions to ask would not be recognisable any longer in the analysis. The same applied to the phenomenographic study: would the data analysis lose, for instance, the typical and crucial characteristic of analysing 'collective' data, data that would not be generated from individual participants but the collective of participants. Such considerations asked for a thorough understanding of ontological, epistemological and methodological similarities and differences between the two perspectives which I have shown below in this chapter. One main confusion resulted from Marton and Booth (1997) describing phenomenography's ontology as realist. Only my studies of the various forms of phenomenography and discovering discursive phenomenography, enabled me to demonstrate that my doubts about phenomenography's realist perspective were justified and the obstacle of incompatibility due to contradicting ontologies could be overcome. Further doubts were based on Foucault and phenomenography not having been used together in previous studies. This could have been a sign of their combination not being a valid option which highlighted again the importance of discussing both perspectives' ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies to justify their compatibility and the usefulness of such an approach. The final challenge arose from the realisation that the conceptions established in the outcome space in the phenomenographic study were somewhat transformed in the integrated analysis. However, as their role had changed rather than their establishment not following phenomenographic conventions, I interpreted this as a consequence of the integrated analysis of the results of the two separate studies contributing to its success and usefulness. I employed a phenomenographic approach to analysing the data generated in the eighteen interviews

with BMLC learners. However, I used the findings from the phenomenographic study to expose rather than to change or improve which is in line with Foucault's claims of not wanting to instigate change but raise awareness (see 5.3). I, therefore, perceive myself as a Foucauldian phenomenographer rather than a phenomenographic Foucauldian. The results from my struggle with both perspectives' ontological, epistemological and methodological considerations are presented in the following section.

Poststructuralists' ontological position is relativist, as 'truth' is seen as constructed, fluid, and subjectivity positioned by discourse (Foucault 1972, Weedon 1997). Foucault excludes in his work questions of ontology and epistemology. For him, they do not matter. What matters to Foucault is 'what people say there is' (Gillies 2013:11). Foucault does not deny reality beyond text or discourse but it is not his concern. His focus is on discourse and what discourse produces (ibid). The difference between the two perspectives is that phenomenography aims to explore a phenomenon via individuals' perceptions and subsequently establishes the variation in these perceptions of the phenomenon in question. Thus, its realist perspective (Marton and Booth 1997) seems in opposition to Foucauldian poststructuralism's relativist perspective. Foucault does not consider if there even is such a thing as a phenomenon: for him it is constructed via discourse, and therefore, he is concerned with what people say there is, how they act and interact. Discursive phenomenography similarly adopts a relativist rather than a realist position (Kelly 2002). The argument is based on Kelly's (2002) claim that in general, phenomenographers only have access to discourse and nothing else. Therefore, a relativist position would help address questions of validity of discursive phenomenography. Phenomenographers analyse what people say in

interviews in response to questions and therefore they do not categorise characteristics of phenomena or experiences and perceptions but rather what they are told about experiences and perceptions of phenomena. Richardson (1999:68) claims that phenomenography's dependence on 'discursive accounts demands a constructionist interpretation' and Kelly (2002) reiterates Säljö's claim made in 1996 for discourse to be taken more seriously by phenomenographers.

My study uses discursive phenomenography - it follows the five stages of interview, transcription, preparing data for analysis, the actual analysis and the creation of the outcome space (Hasselgren and Beach 1997). The interviews were conducted to 'produce expressions of conceptions' (ibid:197) which were subsequently phenomenographically analysed by establishing outcome space 1. Apart from 'realist', phenomenography is also described as non-dualist, second order and relational. None of these terms seems in conflict with Foucauldian thinking. The non-dualist perspective in phenomenography could be compared to Foucault's claim that 'truth' cannot be constructed outside discourse (Niesche 2011; Woolhouse, 2012). Derrida (in Spivak 1974:lxix) would argue 'the thing itself always escapes' as meaning is deferred and constantly changes. On an epistemological level, this links to the second order perspective that underpins phenomenographic thought (Marton and Booth 1997). Ontologically, phenomenography could complement a poststructuralist approach as variation in perceptions of a group of individuals' 'truths' reflects fluidity of truth and influences by different discourses.

In the comparison between ontologies of phenomenography and Foucauldian thinking, I pointed out that for Foucault it matters what people say there is, and discursive

phenomenographers have second order access to what there is via accounts of experiences and perceptions of a phenomenon. The close link between ontology and epistemology as matters of being and matters of knowledge and truth becomes evident when moving on to examining epistemological differences between the two perspectives. To Foucault it matters 'what people say is true, and accept as true in terms of discourse' (Gillies 2013:12). Discursive phenomenography also treats as 'true' or 'real' what interviewees say about their experiences and perceptions of a phenomenon. Both phenomenography and Foucault are concerned with what people communicate about a phenomenon. However, the difference lies in how the two perspectives interpret the meaning and purpose of what is said in interviews: in phenomenography, the communication refers to a description of the perception of a phenomenon; in Foucault's view, people construct the phenomenon. The issue of perceiving or constructing a phenomenon is linked to the perspectives' ontologies. Perceiving implies the phenomenon is already in existence and is simply experienced and subsequently described. Constructing a phenomenon implies what someone says and does brings a phenomenon for that person at that moment in time into 'existence'. I argue by adopting a relativist position, in discursive phenomenography communicating the description of a perception of a phenomenon equals constructing. This applies to informal, natural situations or a somewhat artificial interview situation. The communication can take the form of speech, behaviours, signs, paintings, music or other means.

On an epistemological level, interviewees' accounts of their 'lived experience' provide, from a poststructuralist perspective, access to 'locally, temporally and

situationally limited narratives' (Flick 1998:2) meaning 'knowledge' which is individual, fluid and subject to discourse(s). As Denzin and Lincoln (2003a:31) state

> Poststructuralists and post modernists have contributed to the understanding that there is no clear window into the inner life of an individual. Any gaze is always filtered through the lenses of language, gender, social class, race and ethnicity.

Phenomenography does not consider any filtering lenses such as language, gender, social class, 'race' and ethnicity. It does, however, claim second order access to 'knowledge' by identifying variation in perceptions of phenomena, conveyed via descriptions of perceptions in interviews, which corresponds to Denzin and Lincoln's statement. Then again, phenomenography aims for an overall picture of how a specific phenomenon is perceived, the individual's narrative is included in the attempt to establish the variation in perceptions of a group of interviewees (Marton and Booth 1997, Entwistle 1997). There is no 'I' in phenomenographic conceptions which is unthinkable in Foucauldian understanding of the researched. Poststructuralist research is reflexive, the researcher is part of it and 'influences' the research process by her/his own positioning. As the researcher 'my own telling is partial and governed by the discourses of my time and place' (Britzman 2000:32). Åkerlind (2012) recognises in her phenomenographic work the researcher's pivotal role as she acknowledges that the researcher's experience, preconceptions and assumptions enter the research process at the data analysis stage, which implies that different researchers will most likely establish different conceptions - Åkerlind (2012:116) calls them 'categories' - as interpretation of meaning is involved. A crucial epistemological difference between the two approaches lies in the part the researcher plays at the interview stage. Marton's phenomenography sees the researcher somewhat removed from the research at the interview stage by 'bracketing out' (Marton 1994, Ashworth and Lucas 1998). I will

return to this point when discussing the use of semi-structured interviews (3.4.2). The above indicates how the epistemologies of the two perspectives are diverse, yet there are convincing resemblances. Poststructuralist thought denies the possibility of universal experiences (Francis 1999) and so does phenomenography. Phenomenography groups individuals' perceptions into conceptions to identify the variation in the perceptions, therefore, it does not imply a universal experience (Åkerlind 2005a). Another similarity supporting the claim of epistemological compatibility between the two perspectives can be concluded from Denzin and Lincoln's (2003a:31) statement.

> Subjects or individuals, are seldom able to give full explanations of their actions or intentions; all they can offer are accounts or stories, about what they did and why.

I would argue that for phenomenography 'to give full explanations' could be replaced by 'describe and explain the actual phenomenon', as it is seen as impossible (Marton and Booth 1997). Only perceptions of the phenomenon can be relayed in accounts or stories. Both perspectives see social reality as not "amenable to the sort of causal analysis and manipulation of variables that are characteristic of the quantitative research inspired by positivism" (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995: 8). Furthermore, phenomenography is interested in what aspects are and which are not discerned by interviewees (Åkerlind et al 2014) just as Foucauldian discourse analysis looks at 'absences and silences' (Carabine 2001:281). The epistemologies of the two perspectives in question are, therefore, seen to be intersecting sufficiently to be judged as compatible as are their ontologies.

The methodological differences between phenomenography and Foucauldian poststructuralism lie in the purpose of the research and subsequently in the purpose of

the interviews and how the data is analysed (Blaxter et al 2010). The data generated in phenomenographic interviews is analysed to create a hierarchical structure of conceptions demonstrating the variation in perceptions of the phenomenon in question and generally used in order to transform and improve teaching and learning (Åkerlind et al 2014, Bowden 2000). Poststructuralist Foucauldian discourse analysis of an interview aims to make an individual's account accessible and an individual's voice heard, albeit this voice is subjected to 'editing' due to the researcher's positioning. Foucauldian analysis does not claim to explain or improve the social world: its focus is narrow as it sees individuals' accounts as historically situated, localised and temporary (Flick 1998). Foucauldian-style research outcomes can enable and empower as Kendall and Wickham (1999:30) explain.

> … it seems we are meant to see beyond the contingencies that have made each of us what we are in order that we might think in ways that we have not thought and be in ways that we have not been; it is a tool we might use in a quest for freedom.

Considering the congruent ontologies and the epistemological parallels, I argue the diverse methodologies do not pose a hindrance to combining Foucauldian poststructuralism and phenomenography, they are rather an advantage leading to new insights into normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary schools. In my view, phenomenography with its focus on variation, complements Foucault's thinking as a selection and combination of individuals' truths, and the variation in their perceptions reflects the fluidity of 'truth'. The variation in perceptions can support the claim that subjectivity is positioned by discourse. The representation of one individual's perceptions in more than one of the established varying conceptions could be aligned to Foucault's view of people's identities being multiple, fragmented and possibly contradictory (Eckerman 1997).

Phenomenography as a tool for transforming teaching and learning would use the generated conceptions to support learners in questioning and developing their understanding of a certain phenomenon (Åkerlind et al 2014). I believe the different conceptions could therefore be interpreted as 'discourse generation from the base', the base being the interviewees who portrayed the perceptions of their lived experiences of the phenomenon in question. The conceptions are examples of possible 'knowledges'. This raised the question of how to capture 'all possible knowledges' which from a poststructuralist, deconstructionist point of view is impossible as meaning is constantly deferred (Derrida 1978) and new epistemes can evolve from diverse or resistant discourses over time (Foucault 1980, 1982). However, a phenomenographic approach suggests possible 'saturation' after about 16-20 interviews (Åkerlind 2005a, 2005b; Trigwell 2006) as this provides sufficient information to establish a 'parsimonious' inclusive hierarchy of four to five conceptions (Marton and Booth 1997:125). In his earlier work, Marton mentioned an infinite number of possible conceptions (Richards 1999). I interpret the conceptions established in this study as a selection of possible knowledges. They are simply a finite number based on the data generated in the interviews for this specific work. In contrast to Foucault's focus, phenomenography's focus is on 'how things are understood' (Hasselgren and Beach 1997:195). The Foucauldian project is concerned with raising awareness of power-knowledge interrelations to identify the portrayed 'reality' as a construct (Gillies 2013). BMLC learners' perceptions, experiences and understanding of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary school system are in this thesis mapped against the prevailing discourse. Such an approach exposes power-knowledge interrelations and how what the learners perceive is not 'reality', not an unchangeable position but rather a construct, a constituted reality.

A poststructuralist approach would generate individuals' accounts of their experience(s) and the question arises about whether discourse can be defined as one individual's use of language. Foucault sees discourse as 'a set of relationships existing between discursive events' rather than an object (Wodak 2008:5) which supports the view that discourse is not based on one individual's remarks. Therefore, a poststructuralist approach on its own would not offer the opportunity to generate alternative discourses from the base. Phenomenography, however, categorises interviewees' responses into conceptions and each conception is based on remarks by a varying group of interviewees, hence the different conceptions could be interpreted as alternative discourses from the base. A purely phenomenographic approach to the data analysis of the interviews would in turn ignore that the hierarchically organised conceptions result from surrounding discourse(s) and the researcher's positioning. Exposing normalisation via the prevailing discourse and differences between individual BMLC learners' answers could similarly have been identified via interview analysis through a Foucauldian lens. However, the generation of a hierarchy of conceptions via the phenomenographic approach allowed me to examine the variation in perceptions in relation to the prevailing discourse(s) on EAL in government documentation and enacted by staff working with BMLC pupils. I was able to establish which areas of the discourse(s) seemed to position BMLC learners within the hierarchical conceptions and if there were differences between conceptions. The hierarchy of conceptions means participants identifying with one conception are aware of the previous conceptions. In this study, it might appear that the normalisation process via power relations and technologies of the self, practices undertaken by individuals to position themselves in relation to the discourse (Gillies 2013), progresses through conceptions. However, the outcome space in a phenomenographic

study does not imply a chronological hierarchy which participants pass through from the first to the last conception. The variation in conceptions can be used to identify where learners are positioned and position themselves in relation to the normalisation process. The establishing of the variation enables me, as the researcher, to raise awareness of positioning and offer the possibility of alternative 'truths' at the level of the learners' self positionings.

This study aims to contribute to closing the gap between theoretical attempts to improve provision and effective practice by including BMLC learners' perspectives of their subjectivities and needs. By applying a phenomenographic approach to the empirical study, BMLC learners will be given a voice to potentially develop alternative 'truths' to the current suggested effectiveness and equality of EAL provision leading to equity. Phenomenography allows the researcher to look

> at collective human experience of phenomena holistically despite the fact that such phenomena may be perceived differently by different people and under different circumstances (Åkerlind 2005a:72).

It is the collective experiences which can contribute to the possible evolution of a new episteme. Although the focus of the study is not the individual BMLC learner, its findings could be used to enable individuals or groups to change perceptions of the phenomenon of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary education system.

To conclude this section, I summarise the main points on combining Foucauldian thinking and phenomenography. The use of the two diverse but compatible perspectives leads to new insights into how the prevailing discourse and subsequently normalisation are reflected in BMLC learners' perceptions. The subjection to the dominant discourse perpetuates BMLC learners' vulnerability and leads to

'normalisation' being perceived as the only possible way to survive and succeed. Foucault's contribution to this study are the concepts of 'normalisation'; power/knowledge; governmentality, the 'rationalities of rule' (Gillies 2013:15) and technologies of the self, meaning how individuals rationalise their own behaviour in relation to the rule. It 'identifies' and 'highlights' the problem and explains its origins but does not offer solutions. Phenomenography provides a concrete starting point and tool to work with but without the Foucauldian theory, understanding of the problems' origins would be missing and support for learners and developing understanding of normalisation and positioning via discourse could not be as effective. The combination of the two compatible perspectives takes the positives from both and addresses points that are disputed. Poststructuralism is criticised for its lack of concrete solutions (Fairclough 1992). In my view, however, the provision of concrete solutions would equate to prescription via a new discourse and hence contradict Foucauldian poststructuralism's aim to probe and raise awareness. Phenomenography is criticised for its lack of a theoretical basis (Hallett 2014) and its failure to explain reasons for variation, which is not its aim (Marton 1981; Marton and Booth 1997). In outcome space one of the phenomenographic part of the study (Appendix 3) the variation in perceptions is presented via the four conceptions I 'constructed' from the interview data with BMLC learners. However, I am aware that another researcher will most likely have reached different outcomes, and from my ontological position rooted in Foucauldian poststructuralist thought I believe the possible knowledges to be infinite. Presenting only four conceptions in this study is a starting point to introducing BMLC pupils to the possibility of alternative discourses. The challenge is to present these perceptions not as the only possible alternatives but as a small selection of possibilities

generated from the base, expressed by BMLC pupils albeit subjected and subjecting to normalisation.

The phenomenographic study establishes variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education via the development of conceptions. The Foucauldian study demonstrates where the conceptions result from: it exposes the prevailing discourse. The mapping of the findings of the two compatible perspectives helps to establish how the dominant discourse is reflected in the variation of BMLC learners' perceptions. Using the two perspectives in harness is one possible way of demonstrating how the 'truth' might have influenced BMLC pupils' perceptions via power relations and technologies of the self.

Before turning to the detailed discussion of the methods used in this study, a reflexive account of my personal and professional interests and background will be given as this cannot be separated from the choice of the topic of my study or my own positioning (Mills 1975).

3.3 Reflexive account

Based on Jarviluoma et al (2003:33) stating that choices made by researchers relating to theoretical frameworks, methods and interpretations, are 'loaded with ideological and cultural assumptions', I attempt to critically self-scrutinise (Usher and Edwards 1994) my personal and professional history and my research journey to uncover ideological and cultural assumptions and define my role as researcher in this project. Mills (1975), Richardson and St Pierre (2005), Jarviluoma et al (2003) and Åkerlind

(2012) agree that the researcher is part of her/his work and another researcher would most likely come to different conclusions even if working with the same data and approaches to data analysis.

More than 20 years ago I moved to this country and have since experienced on a personal and professional level what it means to live in England as someone who speaks English as an additional language. However, I am aware that due to certain capitals (Bourdieu 1986), I was, on arrival in England, in an advantaged position compared to many BMLC pupils and their families. I had a working knowledge of English and integrated quickly into a white, middle-class society via my English husband. I was able to use my native language and university degree for a career in this country and trained, as a BMLC student, to become a secondary school teacher of German and French. The topic of EAL shares with Modern Languages the element of language learning and intercultural understanding. My own daughters are bilingual and for our family this has meant not only the learning of two languages but the lived experiences of two different cultures bringing with it opportunities and challenges. In my teaching career, I supported BMLC pupils in their personal and academic development. Moving into Initial Teacher Education as PGCE course leader for Modern Languages meant not only teaching trainees how to teach and engage with their BMLC learners effectively in their classrooms and schools on a personal and academic level but also working with and supporting BMLC trainee teachers. Based on my personal and professional history and multiple subjectivities around EAL as a learner, parent, teacher and teacher educator, I do not only feel part of the social world I am trying to study, I am trying to make sense of it by finding out 'how does who I am, who I have been, who I think I am, and how I feel affect data collection and

analysis' (Pillow 2003:176). My trainees' and my own experience of working in schools seems to suggest that provision for BMLC pupils varies considerably from school to school, a view supported in the literature by, among others, Mistry and Sood (2010). My interest focuses on secondary school age BMLC pupils' perceptions of what it means to be 'EAL learners' in an English secondary school to raise awareness of BMLC pupils' perceptions and make their voice heard, or as Pillow calls it 'forefront "voice"' (2003:186). The BMLC learners' voices provide alternatives to the prevailing discourse(s) sustained by stakeholders such as schools, staff, policy makers and parents but also BMLC pupils themselves and their English native speaker peers.

Having shared an office with a colleague whose thinking is deeply rooted in poststructuralist theory, I have been exposed to Foucauldian discourse through helpful professional dialogue from early on in my research career. Foucault's thinking resonated with my own life experiences, hopes and frustrations. St Pierre's and Pillow's (2000) 'Working the Ruins' impacted greatly on my development as a researcher. I was fascinated by their writing about Foucault's reminder that 'there are more secrets, more possible freedoms, and more inventions in our future than we can imagine in humanism' (St Pierre and Pillow 2000:16) and Alverman's (2000:123) reflection on possibilities opened up by Foucauldian poststructuralism

> Foucault (1985/1984) observed, "There are times in life when the question of knowing if one can think differently than one thinks, and perceive differently than one sees, is absolutely necessary if one is to go on looking and reflecting at all."

Allan (2008:85) offers a helpful explanation of why Foucauldian poststructuralism has motivated my work.

> Foucault's ethics also enables those of us involved in providing or promoting inclusion, whether as teacher, other professional, researcher or teacher educator, to identify the work we might do on ourselves to ensure the success of the inclusion project.

Although one of the study's aims is to enable the development of resisting discourses regarding EAL provision, I do not perceive my role as 'change agent' or 'expert' (Blaxter et al 2010:62). Rooted in poststructuralist understanding of 'knowledge' being fluid due to its situated, localised and time bound nature and subjectivity positioned by discourse (Foucault 1991a, Weedon 1997), the study endeavours to produce additional possible 'knowledges', not to prescribe the 'most effective way' to provide for BMLC learners' needs. I see my role rather as 'transformative intellectual' and 'passionate participant' (Blaxter et al 2010:62) as I am attempting to explore compatibility between a poststructuralist Foucauldian approach and phenomenography as a methodology to identify and expose the normalisation process to which BMLC pupils in England are subjected and its effects. Based on the "experts'" perceptions as a group, the BMLC learners themselves, this might lead to the opening up of possible, alternative ways of provision to support BMLC learners (Butler 2006). My role as researcher lies in the co-construction of knowledge at the interview (Knight and Saunders 1999, Silverman 2006) and the data analysis stage (Åkerlind 2012); it is to raise awareness of the normalisation process which BMLC pupils in the English education system undergo, and to highlight the possibility of other 'truths' concerning academic *and* pastoral provision for BMLC learners and their positioning.

The above reflexive account aimed to uncover the links between the topic of my

research, me as the researcher, and the theoretical background which all influence the choice of methods used in my study.

3.4 Methods

The following deliberations on the use of my methods for data generation aim to demonstrate their alignment to an innovative 'Foucauldian– phenomenographic' perspective. Methods are defined by Cohen et al (2007:47) as 'the techniques and the procedures used in the process of data gathering'. In recognition of my role as co-constructor of knowledge in the interview process (Silverman 2006, Knight and Saunders 1999), I use the expression data generation as used by Ashwin (2009) as it reflects the involvement of the researcher in the process. Data is not gathered or collected, it is generated by certain methods the researcher has chosen in alignment with her/his theoretical framework. If knowledge is co-constructed, data cannot simply be collected or gathered, it is rather generated as it is 'coded as soon as it is imagined' (St. Pierre 2005:970). Denzin and Lincoln (2003a:31) claim

> No single method can grasp all of the subtle variations in ongoing human experience. Consequently, qualitative researchers deploy a range of interconnected interpretive methods, always seeking better ways to make more understandable the worlds of experience they have studied.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen in this study as a method to interview staff and BMLC pupils. Applying Foucauldian discourse analysis means the discursive document analysis is not neutral but follows a specific purpose, in this case to establish 'areas of positioning' within the documentation to expose power relations and the

origin and process of normalisation. The choice and use of the methods are discussed in detail in the following sections.

3.4.1 Foucauldian discourse analysis of government documentation on EAL

The discourse around EAL is represented in this thesis by key governmental policies and documentation on EAL in text and photographic images. The terms 'policies' and 'documentation' or 'documents' are used interchangeably irrespective of documentation being statutory or intended as guidance. Rather than purely 'research *for* policy', the study presents 'research *on* policy', taking 'a critical view of policy' (Ozga 2000:96-97, original emphasis), as

> … close reading of policy texts helps to generate critical, informed and independent responses to policy. Reading and interpreting texts can be an act of engagement with policy, for the researcher and those with whom she or he works (ibid:107).

'With whom she or he works' are in this project the wider school workforce and BMLC learners themselves. Through their indirect engagement with policy via this study, I hope to raise awareness of positioning via discourses and to create space for possible rupture and resistance. Developing alternative discourses might finally influence policy. I follow Ball's (2006:44) understanding of policies as 'processes and outcomes' and his division of 'policy as text' addressing agency and 'policy as discourse' addressing structure (Ball 2015:311; 2006). The study treats Ball's two conceptualisations of policy as intertwined as he states "policy is not one or the other, but both, they are 'implicit in each other'" (Ball 2006:44). Policies as text change, they are always in "a state of 'becoming'" (ibid), and depending on interests interpreted differently by different actors, there is no universal reading of policies. Policy text is

situated, it "does not arrive 'out of the blue'… neither does it enter a social or institutional vacuum" (ibid:45). Ball summarises for policy analysis what this research is attempting to achieve by combining policy analysis with phenomenography:

> Policy analysis requires not an understanding that is based on constraint *or* agency but on the changing relationships between constraint *and* agency and their inter-penetration. (Ball 2006:48).

The above quotation addresses the link between the two conceptualisations of policy as text and as discourse. The effect of policy as discourse is to limit possibilities of "thinking 'otherwise'" and 'our responses to change' (Ball 2006:49). Investigation of policy as discourse allows us to think and respond differently and to submit to, challenge or resist positioning and constituted power relations.

As many more policy texts are produced by systems than can be analysed in a research project of this size, choices of documentation had to be made and justified (Ozga 2000). My choice adopted a 'clients'-perspective (Ozga 2000:98) as it evolves around the constitution of the 'EAL learner'. Government documentation around the issue of EAL is extensive, however not necessarily current. Current guidance seems to refer frequently to previous documentation developed under the coalition government (2010-2015) or even further back under New Labour (1997-2010). This implies that less importance is given to BMLC learners' academic and mental well-being and other educational issues than previously. The documents for this study, my selection from the 'archive', 'the domain of things said' (Gillies 2013:13) about EAL, were chosen to cover a variety of documentation: general government guidance on EAL provision in schools, specific subject guidance booklets, Teaching Standards for ITE and practising teachers, EAL Nexus, the National Curriculum 2014, Ofsted documentation

and guidance by Naldic. The choice of documents was based on importance, a rather subjective criterion that once more demonstrates the researcher being part of the research. My choice of documents was mainly based on importance for ITE as it is part of my role as teacher educator to decide to which documents to introduce trainee teachers. Unless all government documentation around EAL were examined, an element of subjective choice remains. The analysis of the documentation aimed to develop areas of positioning via the dominant discourse. I am aware that positioning and subjectivities are not due to exposure to one single discourse but several discourses (Mac an Ghaill 1994). In this study, the six areas of positioning could all be interpreted as individual discourses, for instance the discourse of EAL and underachievement or the discourse of EAL and 'race'. Whenever I speak of the prevailing or dominant discourse I refer to the different discourses I established from the documentation. Other researchers might have extracted different, or fewer or more areas. BMLC learners are also exposed to other discourses, for example, cultural discourses, however, the focus of this study is on the subjection to official educational discourse(s).

The genealogical analysis (Carabine 2001, Scheurich and Bell McKenzie 2005, Graham 2005) of the documentation is based on an investigation into the power-knowledge interrelations that produce and continue to sustain the discourse around 'EAL learners' (Gillies 2013). It investigates language and discursive strategies used to constitute and position the 'typical EAL learner' (MacLure 2003; Wetherell et al 2013a, 2013b). It also explores their relation to previous and accompanying documents, presentation, background and rationale to establish what kind of 'reality' the documents are trying to create (Carabine 2001; Silverman 2006, 2011; Blaxter

2010; Flick 2009) and how the text constructs its subject (Ozga 2000) which also involves elements of Foucauldian archaeology (Gillies 2013). Questions are directed at the documentation such as why is it produced at this time, what is going on in society/education, what types of statements, ideas, and concepts are being used, what is absent from the discourse and how are expressions used; can specific discourses be identified, i.e. the discourse of care or 'race', and what ideological framework and arguments are being used and what are they trying to accomplish?

Applying these criteria and asking these questions, the documents were read repeatedly recording areas which were continually reorganised until the 'final' six main areas emerged. As Ozga (2000:105) writes

> Reading and re-reading of texts, and groups of related texts, reveals the reiteration of phrases and key words that encapsulate policy makers' assumptions, while the tone also suggests what is felt about how things should happen.

It is the 'discourses and rhetorical strategies that bear power in their articulation of a representation of the world that positions subjects … in particular ways' (Francis 2015:440) which I focus on in the analysis of government documentation and subsequently the staff interviews.

3.4.2 Semi-structured interviews

Using semi-structured interviews, the data generation process involved the preparation of interview questions; choice of research sites and participants; meeting the participants to explain the aim of the study and the interview process and to provide an opportunity for the participants to get to know me as the researcher and ask questions in order to build trusting relationships; the actual interviews and the

transcription process. Interview content is about daily life (Kvale and Brinkman 2009), however, the actual interviews differ from every day interactions with others. They are planned events and have a purpose. Specific questions are asked but usually only by the interviewer. Responses ideally provide as much detail as possible and the researcher needs to adhere to rules which are explained to participants (Cohen 2011).

Despite having diverse methodologies, both poststructuralism and phenomenography commonly use semi-structured interviews as a research method. However, according to Marton (1994), and Ashworth and Lucas (1998), the phenomenographic interviewer attempts to 'bracket out' preconceptions and prior assumptions at the interview stage; the process of data gathering is supposed to be non-judging. 'Bracketing out' does not allow a constructivist approach to interviewing (Knight and Saunders 1999). Supported by claims by Kelly (2002) and Richardson (1999), I argue that 'bracketing out' is not feasible due to the researcher's involvement and crucial role in a research project. S/he chooses the topic for discussion, prepares questions, and follows up what interviewees say with further questions attempting to elicit further information. Moreover, my own positioning, as the researcher, motivates the research process. 'Bracketing out' is an idealistic and impossible approach to interviewing as researchers are unable to deny their life experiences and interest in the subject due to being 'biographically' and 'socially situated' in the research (Denzin & Lincoln 2011:12). The choice of my research topic is already influenced by my own life experiences, subjectivities and assumptions. Interviews with staff and BMLC learners were therefore conducted in a similar manner, the participant and the interviewer co-constructing situated knowledge together.

The differences between the staff and pupil interviews lay in the questions asked and were related to ethical considerations. Interviewing children and young people, especially from marginalised groups requires empathy and an even greater skill to build trusting relationships (Cohen 2011). Semi-structured interviews were chosen as a method to allow participants to make contributions to the interview process not only via answers to prepared questions but also by asking questions themselves or diverting to some extent from interview questions to reflect on matters important to them within the context of the interview (Kvale and Brinkman 2009, Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori 2011).

To do justice to participants' comments through deep reflection on what they communicated in interviews, I needed to familiarise myself as much as possible with the rich data generated in the interview process. In order to do this, I transcribed all interviews myself and concur with St Pierre (2005) that thinking happens in writing. For this reason, I also rejected the use of technology for data analysis. I started to use NVivo (10) to analyse my data but felt detached from the process and the data seemed to feel alien. In my analysis I used colours, different fonts and sizes of writing which provided me with the experience of being deeply involved with the data and the research as a whole. I used this approach for both the staff and the pupil interviews. The differences between their analyses are discussed in the following two sections.

3.4.2.1 Staff interviews

The staff interviews exemplify how this study combines Ball's (2006) conceptualisations of policy as text and policy as discourse. Staff's interpretation of policy (as text) is explored via their comments in interviews expressing their enactment

of policy. Policy as discourse is explored through 'the ways in which teacher subjects and subject positions are formed and re-formed by policy…' (Ball 2015:307) which leads to BMLC learner subjects and subject positions being formed by working with the positioned staff.

Four members of support staff were interviewed, three in one school with one interviewee being a peripatetic teacher of EAL, and one in another school. The schools were the same as those from which the pupil participants came. Interviews were conducted in their workplace and lasted between 30 – 50 minutes partly depending on staff availability. Interview questions for staff (Appendix 1) evolved around their working with BMLC learners, their 'knowledge' of their learners, advice they would give to BMLC learners and suggestions on how to improve EAL provision.

Interviews were conducted in English although three of the staff are BMLC adults. As they use English in their workplace on a daily basis and the topic was EAL, there seemed to be an expectation that the interviews would be conducted in English. Staff were met in advance of interviews and consent obtained in written form. Ethical considerations are discussed further below. Staff vignettes are included in the chapter on data analysis at the beginning of each interview analysis to set the scene via providing contextual information. The information is kept short to guarantee staff's anonymity as much as pupil participants' anonymity.

3.4.2.2 BMLC learners interviews

Conducting interviews with BMLC learners required a different mind-set and skills compared to interviews with adult staff. Ethical considerations are at the forefront when preparing and conducting interviews with young, potentially vulnerable people

in a language that is not their mother tongue. Interviews were carried out in English which could be argued disadvantaged some interviewees and might have impacted on the constructed hierarchy of conceptions by emphasising the voice of speakers with better English language skills. The use of an interpreter was considered but dismissed to avoid perceptions to be communicated through a third person. An interview for phenomenographic analysis tries to access the account of the perception of a phenomenon. Poststructuralist thought considers the life experience of the interviewee and the interviewer as influencing the interview. The presence of an interpreter as a third person in the interview was therefore judged as an additional barrier to accessing interviewees' accounts and more damaging to the data generation process than possible language difficulties. It would have meant an additional layer of communication and possible distortion of data due to filtering through lenses such as language and ethnicity (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). I acknowledge that the decision not to use an interpreter had an impact on the selection of respondents as participation in the study was only open to learners with at least basic English language skills. BMLC learners who had just arrived in the country were therefore excluded from the research. They would not have been able to communicate sufficiently in English but furthermore might also not have gained enough experience yet in England and in school to reflect on what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English education system.

The BMLC learners taking part in the interviews did not seem to mind being interviewed in English. This may have been due to English being the dominant language at school or due to my being a non-native speaker of English too which was clearly communicated to pupil participants prior to interviews. Thus, I risked

epistemological resonance (Shah 2004) which could have affected the self-selection of BMLC learners for, or even their responses in, interviews. BMLC learners seemed pleased to be able to use their English language skills for a considerable amount of time in a conversation with an English speaking adult. They enjoyed talking to somebody who was genuinely interested in their stories including hopes, aspirations, needs and fears and who sincerely appreciated their bi- or multilingualism and knowledge of other cultures. In that sense, the interviews showed at times signs of 'therapeutic interviews' (Kvale and Brinkman 2009:41) changing, for instance, BMLC learners' perceptions of their bilingual skills as something that sets them apart from others in a positive way rather than implying a deficit. I felt humbled by my participants' modesty and openness and emerged from the interviews as a different person (I also learned to say thank you in the languages of the participating BMLC learners as they taught me during interviews and which I used in thank-you-cards to all of them at the end of the interview process). BMLC learners shared their often difficult and tragic life experiences with me and at the same time felt comfortable to ask questions about me and my family's - especially my daughters' - experiences with EAL prior to and during the interviews.

'Bracketing out' would not have allowed such conversations and I would also not have been able to support the young people at times when struggling with English. Occasionally, the interviewee and the interviewer supported each other in looking for a specific word or expression in English. Although the language barrier might at times have hindered communication, such moments helped to build trusting relationships between researcher and participants which led to more relaxed conversations. It seemed to alleviate the 'asymmetrical power relation' in interviews which is inherent

to any interview situation (Kvale and Brinkman 2009:33). Every possible attempt was made to put the young people at ease. I introduced myself as somebody who was interested in their life experiences, a researcher from a university not a teacher, and someone who shared with them 'EALness' and experience of immigration. My role was not to judge or assess. Academic achievement, socio-economic background or possible SEND were not part of my inquiry.

As my second research question was *What is the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education,* I aimed to gain insight into BMLC learners' perceptions of their experiences and feelings rather than 'factual' information such as attainment in levels or percentages, or tick boxes completed for possible SEND or free school meals. The bmlc learners' perceptions of their experiences were supposed to be the focus of my research, not classifications of any kind. To encourage the young people to tell me about themselves, and their experiences of being an 'EAL learner', I considered what kind of questions I would need to ask to demonstrate my interest in their accounts, not their school's or teachers' impression and assessment of them. I wished to allow my participants as much freedom to direct the interview in a certain direction as possible without losing the complete focus of my research question. However, during the interviews I realised that any personal accounts were relevant in terms of my research question which is subsequently demonstrated in the five dimensions of Outcome Space 1, a point to which I will return.

The first interview question was intended to be an 'easy' question to answer, almost an icebreaker. As discussed in more detail in 3.7 Ethical considerations, I did not

realise what a 'loaded' question it actually was, eliciting extremely personal information regarding family situations or painful memories. The following question was designed to help participants to reflect on their use of more than one language in their daily life and how that made them feel. Questions 3 and 4 moved on to exploring the learners' emotional response to 'having to' learn English and their awareness of learning the language for personal, social and/or academic purposes. By asking questions 5 and 6, I hoped to gain an insight into participants' perceptions of experiences at the start of their schooling in England and their experiences at the present time as well as possible differences, what caused the situation to change and if learners were aware of the changes or any strategies and support they used or received to improve their positions if necessary. Question 7 was included to allow the bmlc learners to reflect back on their previous answers and experiences. It also provided an opportunity to reflect in case the learners had never been asked or asked themselves the question. The question acted as a 'pause and think' question and an opportunity to raise awareness of possible strategies used, dismissed or missed. Question 8 followed directly on from it in terms of possible identification of changes in feelings when using English since participants had arrived and started their schooling in England. I included question 9 to tap into perceptions of experiences of encouragement and support (or not) by teachers and self-awareness of likely improvement. Question 10 brought the interview to a conclusion with an opportunity for participants to add anything they felt was important for me to know and they had not been able to include, or to expand on a point or modify a previous answer.

Eighteen interviews with BMLC learners aged 11-15 were conducted lasting on average between 20-25 minutes depending on the participant's keenness to

communicate and proficiency in English. Individual rather than group interviews were deemed appropriate in order to avoid domination of more proficient speakers of English and to enable participants to speak freely. Some BMLC learners may not have liked sharing information about their background or use of language at home with others or liked speaking in front of older pupils or pupils of the opposite gender. The shortest interview was 12 minutes and the longest 50 minutes. The design of interview questions followed Åkerlind's (2005b) example very closely in the use of structured and unstructured follow-up questions. Appendix 2 lists the interview questions for BMLC learners. Access to respondents was given via schools, parental and respondents' consent. Twelve of the eighteen participants were interviewed in school A, the remaining six in school B. The following section will provide further information on the choice of schools as research sites and the choice of participants.

3.5 Research sites and participants

The choice of the two schools as research sites will be discussed and a description of both schools provided to set the contextual background to the study. Originally, eighteen pupils were going to be interviewed in three different schools. The criteria applied were location of schools, size and number of 'EAL learners' on roll. One school withdrew from the project at short notice due to internal issues. The two remaining schools represent contrasting sites. Farrell's description of schools as research sites provides a precise explanation for their importance for this study.

> From a Foucauldian perspective education is a discursive field where relations of power, subjectivity and language operate. Schools as social institutions are the sites of this discursive field in which dominant discourses … become operational and in turn give rise to teacher and learner subjectivities within a complex set of power relations between language and subjectivity (Farrell 2012:111).

Participants' differing experiences reflected the contrasting environments created by the two schools in which interviews were conducted. School A is a large secondary school with an above average percentage of BMLC pupils in an urban setting with a significant Asian, and generally an ethnically diverse, community. White British pupils were clearly in the minority. The school is well funded and equipped with the latest technology to support learning; all pupils are given iPads which they use in lessons to complete homework and for independent study. The one member of staff interviewed in the school was in charge of EAL provision alongside the SENDCO and this was her sole role. School B is a smallish secondary school in a small to medium-sized town surrounded by a rural area with a predominantly, if not exclusively, white ethnic community. There was only a very small number of BMLC pupils in the school, and the six pupils interviewed in the school were all from white minority ethnic backgrounds. As in school A, the age of participants ranged from year 7 to year 10, and there was an equal gender divide. The SENDCO was in charge of the EAL provision supported by teaching assistants. None of the staff was trained in working with BMLC pupils. Three teaching assistants were interviewed including one with experience of working with pupils with EAL, who came once a week from a nearby school to provide support.

Through my role as PGCE Secondary Modern Languages course leader I have positive working relationships with a number of schools and due to the mutual interest in issues surrounding EAL, school leaders and staff were prepared to be involved in my research project. Interview questions concentrated on trying to elicit an account of what it means to be a BMLC learner in England. The importance of relevance to the research question(s) and accessibility when choosing data resources (Merriam 2009) have

therefore both been considered and fulfilled in this study. In one school I interviewed the majority of BMLC learners. In the other school, a group of potential participants was chosen by the school via distributing the information on my research and an invitation to meeting me to discuss voluntary participation in the interview process. This raises the question whether access to a diverse group of EAL learners was actually given for this study. There might have been pupils, the schools, for various reasons, preferred not to be involved in the study and I had little control over this. However, the group of respondents included boys and girls, aged 11-15 from varied ethnic backgrounds and with varying levels of English language on arrival in the UK and at the time of interviewing. I therefore felt the participant group provided a maximum of demographic variation so the chances for variation in the experiences of the phenomenon were increased (Åkerlind 2005b). I did not have, nor did I desire to have, access to pupil achievement data. Interviewees' level of academic achievement felt irrelevant to me for answering my research questions unless brought into conversation by the participants themselves.

Before turning to the discussion of ethical considerations, questions concerning validity, generalisability and reliability of the study are addressed in the following section.

3.6 Issues of validity, generalisability and reliability

Despite the notions of validity, generalisability and reliability originating in positivism, their discussion is still important in qualitative research. However, the terms 'need to be reframed within the context of the ontological and epistemological assumptions of the research approach' (Åkerlind 2012:123). Issues of reliability and generalisability

will be addressed briefly before I turn to a more detailed discussion of the notion of validity.

The outcome space emerging from the data in the phenomenographic part of this research was solely my work. Other researchers will most likely have established a different hierarchy of conceptions as interpretation of meaning is involved in the data analysis process (Åkerlind 2012). Due to this work forming my thesis, I did not involve other researchers for coder or dialogic reliability checks as suggested for phenomenographic studies (ibid) and rather employed an alternative solution commonly used in phenomenographic research: in the chapter on data analysis and findings, I explained in detail to the readers the 'interpretive steps' taken and presented numerous examples for illustration (Åkerlind 2012:125). Positivistic reliability is irrelevant to qualitative research which acknowledges that it is impossible to verify empirically research participants' accounts of their social reality (Farrell 2012). Due to its qualitative nature and ontological and epistemological perspective, this study does not seek to generalise its findings in positivistic terms. There is no truth claim to findings: the created knowledge is situated and provisional (Blackler 1995) and therefore, findings only allow for fuzzy generalisation.

Validity as a disputed concept in qualitative research is replaced by 'trustworthiness, credibility, transferability, confirmability' (Denzin and Lincoln 2011:13). I argue for similar criteria to be applied to both the Foucauldian and the phenomenographic part of this study. Despite the field of possible interviewees being limited by English language proficiency and the schools' input in choosing participants for the study, the value of this research can be judged on 'trustworthiness, credibility, transferability,

confirmability' (ibid), all addressed in reflexive comments and accounts. Kelly (2002)

argues one should apply criteria for relativist validity in discursive phenomenography.

The established outcome space corresponds to human experience (Trigwell 2006) to

aim for communicative validity (Kvale and Brinkman 2009) via a defensible

interpretation (Åkerlind 2012). Pragmatic validity (Kvale and Brinkman 2009)

depends on the extent of the outcome space's usefulness to the audience (Åkerlind

2012). I do not claim the system of conceptions, which I developed in the

phenomenographic part of the study, to be exhaustive but all utterances and comments

made by the collective of respondents were included to establish the critical variation

between them (Marton and Booth 1997). The findings of the study demonstrate the

usefulness of the outcome space. Pillow (2003) offers a further way of demonstrating

the criteria listed by Denzin (2011) to judge the value of qualitative research. She

claims that self-reflexivity, commonly used in qualitative research, plays a vital role

in legitimising claims of validity.

> Although discussions of validity have been questioned and troubled in
> qualitative research (….) these debates have if anything situated self-
> reflexivity as even more important to the doing of qualitative research. If
> traditional measures of validity are not useful to qualitative researchers,
> then what are we left with to discuss and determine whether our data and
> analyses are "accurate?" [sic] (Pillow 2003:179).

Self-reflexivity has accompanied my research process from the beginning and is

explicitly addressed in my work.

Alderson (2014:87) refers to three "ways of thinking about what is 'good' research"

which link validity and ethics. Firstly, there are principles: 'respect for personal

integrity and autonomy; justice; avoiding harm; and beneficence or doing good'

(ibid:88). Secondly, there is outcome based research hoping for knowledge

contribution, and informing policy and practice, and finally there is rights-based research (ibid) in this case the rights of children, provision, protection and participation (ibid). According to Alderson (2014) these expectations of research are frequently combined and they appeal to my view of research and, where appropriate, generally my outlook on life and interactions with others. I do not agree with Hammersley's (1999) view that moral considerations divert attention away from the research aim of knowledge construction to social justice. Especially when conducting research that involves young and potentially vulnerable children, ethical considerations need to be at the forefront of the researcher's mind when planning the research and during the duration of the research process. My ethical considerations and reflection on learning experiences in this area during the completion of this study are the focus of the next section.

3.7 Ethical considerations

Carrying out interviews with young people with a varying level of English language proficiency and some of whose vulnerability only became apparent in the interview, demanded sensitivity that required reflection on my own values and adherence to my own ethical standards rather than simply following an ethical code (Blaxter et al 2010:62). In order to gain the young people's trust and make them feel comfortable talking to me, answering my questions and trusting me with their life experiences, it was necessary to move into what Christensen (2004) calls children's 'cultures of communication'. This was achieved by visiting the schools more than once, the first visit being entirely devoted to building relationships with potential participants (Flewitt 2014). Other strategies to build trust and create an atmosphere as relaxed and informal as possible (Cohen 2011) were employed such as offering the young people

water and a biscuit when they came to the interview room. I also asked them to choose a name for the interview which revealed in some cases participants' interests, for instance, when they chose the name of a famous footballer or a singer. Such information was used as a starting point in interviews.

Briggs (2007:562) raises the question of power relations in interviews which highlights the researcher's part in the research and her/his responsibilities not only in preparation for or during interviews but also in relation to analysis, use of data and prospective readers.

> … power lies not just in controlling how discourse unfolds in the context of its production but gaining control over its *recontextualization*—shaping how it draws on other discourses and contexts and when, where, how, and by whom it will be subsequently used.

Aware of this responsibility, I attempted to do justice to BMLC learners' accounts by fair and honest representation. One of the aims of the study was to give BMLC learners a voice. Kellett (2014:27) based on Lundy, conceptualises voice as 'space', 'audience' and 'influence'. I wished to give BMLC learners the space to reflect and express their experiences, their 'ethnodramas' (Denzin 2011:651), and acted upon their views appropriately by careful recontextualisation.

To show respect for truth and persons included in the research (Bassey 1999), detailed consent forms containing information concerning confidentiality, anonymity and the right to withdraw from the research at any point were issued to all pupil and adult participants. Participants and BMLC learners' parents signed the consent forms. Where necessary, schools communicated with parents to overcome possible language barriers. At the beginning of an interview the participant was reminded of her/his

consent form's content and reassured of anonymity by referring to her/him in the interview by their chosen interview name. Pupil participants are in the text referred to by a letter-number combination: R for respondent, a number to indicate the order of interviews and the first letter of their chosen interview name. I visited the potential participants of my study in school after the pupils had been informed of the project by the school staff. Pupils showing an interest in taking part in the study were invited to meet me in the school so I could explain the aim of the study and the interview process in the pupils' familiar surroundings. A further crucial purpose of the meeting was for pupils to have the opportunity to get to know me, ask about the research and my own experience of being a BMLC learner. Pupils could then decide if they wanted to take part and they were also informed of their right to withdraw their consent at any point. Parental consent was obtained and parents were invited to attend the information meeting but chose not to. I was overwhelmed by the positive pupil responses. Pupils were keen to support me with interviews by volunteering to become participants in the study. Considering that some of these young people had only arrived ten to twelve months prior to the interviews and felt just about able to hold a simple conversation in English, I felt it was extremely brave of them to work with me in a 'formal' interview context answering questions without prior preparation, with a recording device lying in the middle of the table and without the use of an interpreter. This led at times to communication issues and misunderstandings in the interviews but with the co-operation of the BMLC learners it was possible to overcome these issues. At times, I would reassure interviewees that it was I who was not understanding what they were saying or had asked a question in an awkward way so it was difficult to understand. Participants, therefore, did not feel they had done something 'wrong' or their English proficiency was insufficient for the interview. I would argue that such moments

actually contributed to establishing a trusting relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. The teacher in the second school in charge of EAL provision who acted as link person, commented on all pupils leaving the interview room with a smile on their face and being excited about being part of a study that researched their perceptions and experiences. It was the importance of establishing a trusting relationship between interviewee and interviewer that led – apart from methodological considerations – to the decision not to use an interpreter. An interpreter would have been another body in the interview process, possibly unknown to the interviewer and certainly unknown to the interviewee which I considered to be unhelpful.

Research ethics according to BERA (2011) guidelines were adhered to at all times. All information on participants was gained from participants themselves in the interviews, no additional information was asked for or obtained from the schools. Ethical considerations were given high priority, especially as eighteen of the twenty two interviews were conducted with young people who might feel especially vulnerable due to English not being their first language (Leung and Safford 2005, Lewis and Porter 2004). Despite all these deliberations and careful preparation, I learned that questions that appeared harmless on paper could turn into loaded questions due to BMLC learners' responses. I asked what I considered easy, ice-breaking personal questions, for instance where the pupils came from. This question led in some cases to participants talking about their home life with parents having separated or retelling the story of their journey to England fleeing warzones. The BMLC learners seemed to be fine talking about these tragic events whereas I was emotionally unprepared as I had not expected such openness and trust. Neither was I prepared for my questions' potential to upset my participants. The extremely diverse backgrounds

these learners come from and the varied experiences they bring with them means that terms such as 'EAL learner' need to be used with caution as there is no such thing as an 'EAL learner'. Reasons for immigrating to England, age, ethnicity, prior education and knowledge of English or other languages, and socio-economic backgrounds 'etc.' (Butler 2006:196) vary tremendously. English not being BMLC learners' first language may be the only characteristic these young people share and does not justify the perception of a homogenous group. However, individual differences do not surface in the phenomenographic study. The point is made here in the context of ethical considerations.

3.8 Summary

Chapter 3 discussed the feasibility of employing two varying perspectives to gain new insights into the normalisation of BMLC learners in the English secondary education system. It explained why I consider the two perspectives as compatible, what each one contributes to the research and how their use in harness leads to new provisional knowledge via an innovative methodology. A reflexive account was given to demonstrate alignment between my subjectivities, theoretical frameworks, methodology, methods and ethics. The discussion of methods covered Foucauldian discourse analysis of documentation and semi-structured interviews. The choice of research sites and selection of participants was explained and background information provided. Finally, issues of validity were addressed and ethics carefully considered as the interview process involved young people, 11-15 year old BMLC learners, from minority ethnic backgrounds. Quotations from the interviews with the young learners,

which form a major part of the following chapter on data analysis, illuminate the importance of ethical considerations in this project.

Chapter 4: Data analyses and main findings

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss my data analyses and subsequent findings in three sections. In the first section, I explore via Foucauldian analysis, as discussed in the previous chapter on methodology and methods, the discourse the BMLC learner participants are subjected to. The discourse around EAL is represented in this thesis by key governmental policies and documentation on EAL in text and photographic images, and staff interviews. The insight into the local and situated 'knowledge' of staff working with BMLC learners demonstrates how their positioning is enacted via power relations (Foucault 1991a), the care of the self and technologies of the self (Foucault 1990). The analysis and presentation of findings in section one consists of two parts.

The second part concentrates on individual interviews with four staff from both schools working with BMLC learners. It contains extracts from the interviews to illuminate the findings. Short interpretive participant vignettes are included to provide contextual background information.

In section two, outcome spaces 1 and 2 of the phenomenographic study will be presented including the various steps of thematic coding and categorising to explain how the data was managed and organised in the analysis, and how the outcome spaces were developed. The phenomenographic data analysis is exclusively based on the eighteen interviews conducted with BMLC learners. The four conceptions generated from learner participants' perceptions as identified in outcome space 1 will be explored and subsequently discussed further by presenting outcome space 2. Outcome space 2

establishes the relations between the qualitatively different ways of experiencing the phenomenon in question, and the perspective from which it is viewed (Marton and Booth 1997:100).

The poststructuralist data analysis in section one addresses the first research question on the discourse around EAL and power relations BMLC learners are subjected to and involved in. Section two, the phenomenographic analysis, aims to answer the second research question: what is the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL' learner in English secondary education. Section three, using phenomenography and Foucauldian poststructuralism in harness, addresses the third research question: how is the positioning of 'EAL learners' via the official discourse reflected in the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions?

4.2 Poststructuralist analyses

4.2.1 Governmental policies and documentation on EAL - six areas of positioning

Main governmental policies on the topic of EAL, as part of the 'archive' (Gillies 2013:13), were scrutinised employing Foucauldian tools of discourse analysis as discussed in the previous chapter on methodology and methods. Such an approach, analysing policy as discourse, permits a look at the wider discourse surrounding the topic of EAL and provides an insight into how the prevailing discourse positions BMLC learners in England. Other documents which were not included in the policy analysis were mentioned in the literature review if their inclusion in this thesis seemed to contribute to establishing the context of EAL over the last 70 years.

The following documents (in alphabetical order) were analysed:

- British Council (2014 and 2016). EAL Nexus

- DCSF (2007). Ensuring the attainment of Black pupils: Management guide.

- DCSF (2008). Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA): Using the Learning Discussion with Advanced EAL Learners.

- DfE (Department for Education) (1992). *Circular No 9/92: Initial Teacher Training (Secondary Phase)*

- DfE (Department for Education) (2011a). *Developing Quality Tuition: Effective Practice in Schools*.

- DfE (Department for Education) (2011b). *Teachers' Standards*

- DfE (Department for Education) (2013). *Statistical First Release. Schools, Pupils, and their Characteristics*.

- DfE (Department for Education) (2014). *Statutory guidance. National Curriculum in England: Framework for Key Stages 1 to 4*.

- DfE (Department for Education) (2015b). *The Prevent Duty. Departmental Advice to Schools and Childcare Providers*.

- DfE (Department for Education) and DoH (Department of Health) (2015). *Special educational needs and disability code of practice: 0 to 25 years.*

- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2002a). *Access and Engagement in Mathematics. Teaching Pupils for Whom English is an Additional Language.*

- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2002b). *Access and Engagement in History. Teaching Pupils for Whom English is an Additional Language*.

- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2002c). Subject Specific Guidance for Teaching Pupils For Whom English is an Additional Language. *Access and Engagement in*: Art, Design and Technology, English, Geography, History, ICT, Mathematics, Modern Foreign Languages (2004), Music, Physical Education, Religious Education, Science. (KS 3 National Strategy).

- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2003). *Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils*.

- DfES (Department for Education and Skills) (2006). *Excellence and Enjoyment: Learning and Teaching for Bilingual Children in the Primary Years*.

- DfES (Department of Education and Skills) (2007). *Ensuring the Attainment of Pupils learning English as an Additional Language. A Management Guide*.

- Equality Act (2010). *Chapter 15*

- HM Government (2011). *Prevent Strategy.*

- HM Government (2015). Revised *Prevent* Duty Guidance: for England and Wales.

- Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) (2003). *More Advanced Learners of English as an Additional Language in Secondary Schools and Colleges.*

- Ofsted (Office for Standards in Education) (2014). *English as an Additional Language. Briefing for Section 5 Inspection.*

- TDA (Training and Development Agency) (2007). *Professional Standards for Teachers. Why Sit Still In Your Career?*

- TTA (Teacher Training Agency) (1998). *National Standards for Qualified Teacher Status.*

- TTA (Teacher Training Agency) (2002). *Qualifying to Teach: Professional Standards for Qualified Teacher Status and Requirements for Initial Teacher Training*

The six main findings from the document analysis discussed in this thesis relate to *(1) Terms chosen to refer to BMLC learners; (2) EAL and 'race'; (3) Conflation of EAL and SEND; (4) EAL and assumptions of underachievement; (5) EAL and 'economic potential';* and *(6) Academic versus emotional needs.*

The six areas of positioning resulted from an archaeological approach to analysing policy from 1992 onwards. Especially, areas (1) and (2) demonstrate specific use of language reflecting beliefs and thinking, the 'episteme' (Gillies 2013:6), at certain points in time. The archaeological approach is linked to the genealogical investigation of the documentation to establish the 'how' and 'why' behind the development of specific discourses.

4.2.1.1 Terms chosen to refer to BMLC learners

Once relevant documentation on EAL had been identified and selected, the next step involved analysing the discourse, here in the form of the usage of wording to refer to BMLC learners in main governmental documents for schools and teachers in order to expose beliefs and perceptions at any given time. On EAL Nexus, BMLC learners are referred to as 'EAL learners' (British Council 2014). The document Developing Quality Tuition (DfE, 2011a) uses this expression too but also uses the terms 'Learners with English as an Additional Language', 'pupils learning English as an additional language' and 'pupils who have English as an additional language' which is similar to the description of BMLC learners as 'pupils for whom English is an additional language' and 'pupils whose first language is not English' in the National Curriculum (DfE 2014:9). Occasionally, BMLC learners are referred to as 'Bilingual learners' (DfES 2007:8) or 'more advanced bilingual learners' (Ofsted 2003).

Looking at the five sets of teaching standards from 1992 to the present, different expressions have been used to refer to BMLC learners. There is no explicit reference to EAL in the Circular No 9/92 teaching standards (DfE 1992), it simply mentions under 2.6.4 an 'awareness of individual differences, including social, psychological, developmental and cultural dimensions'. In 1998, the expression 'pupils learning English as an additional language' (TTA 1998) is used, and in 2002 BMLC learners are called 'EAL pupils' (TTA 2002). In the Professional Standards for Teachers (TDA 2007) BMLC learners are referred to as 'those for whom English is an additional language', and the current Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b) refer to them as 'those with English as an additional language'.

The term 'EAL learners' does not specify school age unlike 'EAL pupils', but both seem to attach a label. The terms give the impression of a homogenous group sharing defining characteristics and ignore diversity which is in line with the overt or covert beliefs in assimilation and normalisation being the best way for dealing with issues of immigration. In 2007, the DfES points out differences in bilingual learners referring to

> English language acquisition … but also a complex interplay of factors such as first language development, culture, ethnicity, previous schooling history and socio-economic status (DfES 2007:8).

There is no reference to age; gender; life experiences, for instance, if pupils have lived in several countries prior to arriving in England and reasons for coming to England; language(s) spoken, parents'/guardians' language(s) and language(s) spoken at home; possible SEND and/or high ability and talents in specific areas within or outside the curriculum.

Both terms, 'EAL learners' and 'EAL pupils', also imply only English is studied as a subject and only by those who do not speak it as a first language. 'Learners with English as an Additional Language', 'Pupils who have English as an additional language', 'Those for whom English is an additional language', 'Those with English as an additional language', and 'Pupils whose first language is not English' all imply a status quo and portray not knowing English as a permanent condition of deficit. There is no reference to progress in learning English or even mastering the language. EAL becomes a label, something that will stick forever as English will always be an additional language or always 'be had' as an additional language even if it has been mastered to a high level. The use of these terms constitutes the 'truth of everlasting deficit' which exposes what Foucault calls governmentality, the control of 'EAL

learners'' conduct via policy and policy enactment in schools but also via the self-governing individual employing technologies of the self in an attempt to be discursively included (Gillies 2013:15).

The expression 'Pupils learning English as an additional language' refers to young people and the process of learning English, however, it still focuses on the deficit of not knowing English rather than acknowledging BMLC learners' skills in conversing in two or more languages.

4.2.1.2 EAL, ethnicity and 'race'

The issue of conflation between the terms EAL and ethnicity became apparent during reading and looking at EAL policies. Text and images in documentation seem to evoke the perception of BMLC learners not being of white ethnic origin. However, according to 'Schools, pupils, and their characteristics' (DfE 2013:2) '… pupils, … who have been classified according to their ethnic group and are other than white British are defined as being of minority ethnic origin'. Foucault (1984) claims discipline classifies in order to normalise (Ball 2013a:46-47). Classification by ethnicity or even 'race' exposes the unbalanced power relations between those who have the power to constitute knowledge, and 'EAL learners'. 'Race' is a social construct (Banton 2009, Appiah 2009) for the purposes of classification to assert an implicit 'racial' hierarchy. There is no scientific evidence of different 'races' (Banton 2009), only for one race, the human race. Aptly summarised in an article on genetics in The Observer as 'Race doesn't exist, racism does' (Rutherford 2015). However, that 'race' is not recognised generally as a social construct shows in definitions in dictionaries such as the Oxford Dictionaries (2016) where 'race' is defined as 'having distinct physical characteristics'

and 'sharing the same culture, history, language, etc.; an ethnic group'. Ethnicity is described as '… belonging to a social group that has common national or cultural tradition' (ibid). The Equality Act (2010:5) includes under 'race' '(a) colour, (b) nationality and (c) ethnic or national origins' which merges the terms into one but, at the same time, separates physical appearance from ethnicity.

Based on the above definitions BMLC learners are perceived as of a different 'race', ethnicity or nationality. However, being from a diverse ethnic background does not exclude belonging to a white ethnic group. At the same time being Asian or black or of any other 'non-white' ethnic background does not mean being a BMLC learner. Documentation on EAL and educational policies, however, frequently seem to support – consciously or inadvertently - the conflation of terms in their titles, text and images as demonstrated in examples below, or at least use the terms in a seemingly inconsiderate and careless manner. The National Strategy/Secondary document on 'Ensuring the attainment of Black pupils: Management Guide' (DCSF, 2007:3) warns

> While it is important to understand a pupil's religion, culture and ethnicity
> in order to appreciate more fully who they are, it is simplistic to define
> them merely by one of these alone.

I argue it is too simplistic to define a pupil by taking religion, culture and ethnicity into account. Culture and ethnicity are not a matter of choice, neither might be religion at a young age. Personal characteristics and needs are ignored.

The EAL Nexus Project (British Council 2014, 2016) claims that belonging to a specific ethnic group can be one of the factors for low achievement. It mentions black African and Pakistani pupils in this context. The terms, however, refer to 'race' and nationality rather than to ethnicity. Pupils belonging to 'ethnic groups of white other'

are equally included in the group of possible low achievement which means all non-British, white pupils. Statements such as the DfE and the British Council having developed materials for teachers focusing on EAL and BME (British Council 2016) create conditions conducive to equalling EAL with BME. In 2008, the DCSF (2008) published the document 'Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA): Using the Learning Discussion with advanced EAL learners' whose title positions learners from minority ethnic backgrounds as 'EAL learners'. The 'good example' section on 'Reading and writing in mathematics' in the Key Stage 3 National Strategy document 'Access and Engagement in Mathematics' starts with an example which supports conflation of EAL and ethnicity portraying an assumption of equivalence.

> **…** is a girls' comprehensive school in north London. Around 30% of pupils are bilingual. Pupils from diverse ethnic backgrounds speak 44 different languages (DfES 2002a:9).

The frequency of EAL, ethnicity and 'race' being conflated in documentation and policies, in titles and text, has enabled the perception of EAL being predominantly a matter of 'race' associated with pupils from Africa and the Indian sub-continent rather than other non-native, 'non-white' English speaking learners. This is partly linked to the history of immigration to the UK which in turn is associated with the history of colonialism. The implicit perceptions of the term EAL, which are indeed steeped within the history of making educational provision for children who have a mother tongue other than English, do not appear to have kept pace with the current pattern of immigration from Eastern Europe. Examples of photographs and images in EAL documentation have been included to support my claim that government documentation on EAL frequently links EAL to learners from BME backgrounds.

Front page of 'Developing Quality Tuition' (DfE 2011a) which is the only photograph in the four-page document.

The front pages of the 'Key Stage 3 National Strategy. Access and Engagement' series with the subtitle 'Teaching pupils for whom English is an additional language' (DfES 2002c) are identical for all subjects and show a girl and a boy from non-white backgrounds:

The following photographs are taken from the 'Key Stage 3 National Strategy. Access and Engagement' booklets for history and mathematics as indicated.

(Mathematics   and   history,   DfES   2002a:5;   (History, DfES 2002b:10)
2002b:18)

The photograph above on the right shows a white teacher checking pupil work. She looks at the work produced by the boy from an Asian background implying he is the BMLC learner, rather than the boy from a white ethnic background.

(History, DfES 2002b:13)
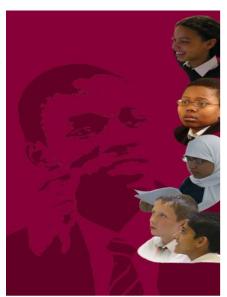
(History, DfES 2002b:9)   *(Mathematics, DfES 2002a:18)*

Photographs with a focus on individual pupils seem to portray mostly pupils from other than white ethnic backgrounds. However, photographs showing groups of pupils seem to depict a majority of pupils from white ethnic background emphasising that the 'other' pupils are in the minority. Teachers, as authorities on English language, are always white. This applies to the subject documentation (2002c) for history, mathematics, physical education, science, design and technology; music, information and communication technology, modern foreign languages, geography and art. English and religious education still feature white teachers and predominantly pupils from Asian and African background, however group or class photos rather show a balance between children from diverse ethnic backgrounds.

The 'National Strategy for school improvement. 'Ensuring the attainment of pupils learning English as an additional language: A management guide' (DfES 2007) features on its front page five pupils, four of them from African and Asian ethnic backgrounds. The remainder of the document does not contain any photographs.

The 'Primary National Strategy. Excellence and Enjoyment: learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years' document cover page (DfES 2006) and the photographs within the document also mainly feature pupils from 'non-white' ethnic backgrounds. Out of the twenty five adults represented on the photographs, nine are Asian, the remaining teachers/teaching assistants are white. None of the photographs show adults from other 'non-white' backgrounds, for instance African or Chinese teachers. The document tries to clarify what is meant by 'Minority ethnic group'.

> **Minority ethnic group** is used in this publication for all those groups other than the white British majority. Although children from these groups may well form the majority in some school contexts, they are still members of groups in a minority nationally and will continue to be referred to as children from minority ethnic groups. Most children learning EAL are from minority ethnic groups. School Census data shows that only a very small percentage of EAL learners are white (DfES 2006:2, original emphasis).

The paragraph starts by acknowledging that minority ethnic means all pupils apart from white British pupils. It is unclear which year the School Census data stems from and the statement 'only a very small percentage of EAL learners are white' is based on. Poland and the Czech Republic joined the European Union in May 2004 together with Slovakia, Slovenia, Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Hungary. With many Poles,

Czechs and emigrants from the other countries coming to England (Sherwood 2014), the percentage of white BMLC learners started to rise in English schools from 2004 onwards. This trend continued with Bulgaria and Romania joining the EU in 2007 and their citizens being allowed to migrate to Britain from 2014, although Eastern European children of Roma heritage would be classified as non-white. The above quotation fails to point out that there is a substantial group of pupils from non-white backgrounds who are native speakers of English and possibly have British nationality.

The examination of photographs for the portrayal of the 'typical EAL learner' supports the creation of conditions conducive to conflating 'EAL learners' with learners from BME backgrounds. It needs to be evident not only in definitions but in titles, text and from imagery that being a BMLC learner does not mean having a BME background and vice versa.

EAL Nexus's website on Education policy for EAL in England (British Council 2016) starts by referring to diversity in England

> The rich diversity of England's culture, society and language, which has evolved over centuries, is reflected in schools. Over 25% of pupils are from an ethnic minority background and almost one in six pupils speaks English as an additional language.

The image next to the text could be described as a stereotype of Britishness. It features historical British buildings including a church on a well-kept British lawn with a mature tree to the right. In the left-hand bottom corner people punting on a river give the impression the photograph was taken in Cambridge or Oxford.

Considering that the website is not only aimed at schools and teachers but also wishes to support BMLC learners and their parents, the choice of the image raises questions of inclusion or rather exclusion.

Does this elite and classed image try to portray a link between British history and education? Is the aim of education to go to university and preferably to Oxford or Cambridge? These questions will need to be left unanswered. However, I would argue that such an image does not support making minority ethnic groups living in Britain feel part of British society.

4.2.1.3 Conflation of EAL and special educational needs and disabilities

The following step of the document analysis identified the positioning of EAL as a barrier to learning comparing it to the barrier SEND might pose. It is not always agreed in documents that EAL constitutes a barrier to learning. In 2003, the documentation 'Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils' claimed 'Learning English as an additional language is not a barrier to achievement' (DfES 2003:29). The National Curriculum (DfE 2014:9), however, refers in the context of EAL to 'overcoming potential barriers'.

In contrast to the teaching standards from 1998 (TTA 1998) and 2002 (TTA 2002) which addressed EAL under a separate standard or heading, the Professional Standards for Teachers in 2007 amalgamated EAL and SEND in Standard Q19

> … make effective personalised provision for those they teach, including those for whom English is an additional language or who have special educational needs or disabilities, … (TDA 2007: Q19)

This use of language as part of the discourse around EAL, portrays the two groups as exclusive, and at the same time creates conditions conducive to perceiving EAL as a special educational need or disability. It is a further example of classification, a disciplinary tool of power. Similarly, the definition of SEND in the Special educational needs and disability code of practice (DfE/DoH 2015:285) and the supervision, or surveillance, and organisation of EAL provision falling under the remit of the Special Needs Co-ordinator, which was the case in one of the schools the interviews were conducted in, have the potential to signal to teachers, parents and pupils that EAL is comparable to having a disability or specific learning needs. The document 'Developing Quality Tuition' lists as one of the common features of BMLC learners' experiences

> Any additional support may be viewed negatively by parents/carers because of a misapprehension that interventions are for pupils with special educational needs (SEN) or other learning difficulties. (DfE 2011a:2)

The quotation used at the start of this thesis from 'Making the Grade' project, a project evaluating good practice of working with 'advanced bilingual learners' as recommended by Ofsted (2003), states

> Almost all students interviewed had a very clear idea of what they wanted to achieve. "Even though you are bilingual, you can achieve, you are the same as everyone else" (Hawkins 2006:10-11).

Firstly, some of the bilingual learners might be multilingual, and secondly the quotation supports that the prevailing discourse constitutes not only the lack of English but also bilingualism as a deficit. There is no indication that these 'advanced bilingual

learners' are aware of the importance of the skill they have by being able to speak two or more languages. The above quotation is a further example of normalisation through technologies of the self. It also raises the question if BMLC learners are aware that globally, bilingualism is the norm rather than the exception. The Key Stage 3 National Strategy document 'Access and Engagement in History' (DfES 2002b) provides a contrast to a neutral or even negative perception of multilingualism. By commenting positively on the advantages of being multilingual it differs from, for instance, the corresponding document for mathematics (DfES 2002a) which mentions bilingualism simply as a defining characteristic or a barrier to learning.

> It is an advantage to be multilingual; teachers can acknowledge this in the way they encourage and respond to the use of first languages. Pupils learning EAL are likely to have a better understanding of grammars and the ways in which languages work because they have the advantage of being able to compare languages (DfES 2002b:6)

In the current Teachers' Standards, EAL is addressed in one of the bullet points under TS5 Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils:

> have a clear understanding of the needs of all pupils, including those with special educational needs; those of high ability; those with English as an additional language; those with disabilities; and be able to use and evaluate distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support them (DfE 2011b:TS5).

However, BMLC learners might have a SEND (DfE 2000) or be of high or low ability. Otherwise there is no specific mention of EAL, or BMLC learners in the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b). EAL Nexus (British Council 2016) states that throughout the Teachers' Standards there is 'relevance to teaching and learning for EAL learners'. TS3 asks teachers to

> demonstrate an understanding of and take responsibility for promoting high standards of literacy, articulacy and the correct use of standard English, whatever the teacher's specialist subject (DfE 2011b:TS3).

TS1 mentions stretching and challenging pupils of all backgrounds, abilities and dispositions. This is echoed in the DfE's position on not offering support for specific groups but rather having 'high expectations of all learners irrespective of their background or needs' (British Council 2016) which could be perceived as avoidance of specific support for disadvantaged pupils. The National Curriculum in England, section 4 on inclusion (DfE 2014:9), starts with 4.1 'Setting appropriate challenges' for pupils of high and low ability and pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds. It then features a new heading, 'Responding to pupils' needs and overcoming potential barriers for individuals and groups of pupils', separating the learners mentioned under 4.1 from learners who have a SEND under 4.3 and 4.4, and 'pupils whose first language is not English' under 4.5. EAL as a barrier is positioned at the end of this list. The positioning at the bottom and the use of the word 'also' makes point 4.5 read like an afterthought that teachers 'must also take account of the needs of pupils whose first language is not English', and evokes the feeling of otherness. Point 4.2 in the National Curriculum (ibid) reminds teachers that they

> should take account of their duties under equal opportunities legislation that covers disability, race, religion or belief, sex and sexual orientation.

'Race' is portrayed as a factual given, there is no consideration of 'race' as a construct (Banton 2009). It echoes the Equality Act (2010) that includes nationality within 'race', and therefore, the above comment in the National Curriculum has the potential to position BMLC learners in the minds of teachers in a specific way. It could encourage the perception of 'having' EAL as having a disability, it might contribute

to the conflation of EAL and 'race' as discussed above, or in the current climate of Prevent (HM Government 2011, DfE 2011b, DfE 2015b), 'race', ethnicity, faiths, beliefs and EAL might be confused and all merged into one.

4.2.1.4 EAL and assumptions of underachievement

It is not the intention of this section to discuss differences in achievement between BMLC learners and pupils whose first language is English as portrayed in governmental documentation on EAL. I am intending to highlight firstly, instances of assumptions that BMLC learners are 'normally' outperformed by their peers who are native speakers of English, and secondly, that many suggestions on how to support BMLC learners are equally applicable to all pupils.

The BBC (2016) reported that white British pupils were underperforming in GCSE exams compared to BMLC learners. Within the text it becomes clear that the comparison is based on a specific group of white pupils, namely 'working class pupils'. The document 'Developing Quality Tuition' presents two graphs (DfE 2011a:1). The first graph shows the 'Percentage point gap in attainment between pupils whose first language is English and pupils who have English as an additional language'. The graph is accompanied by text that explains the change in the 'EAL attainment gap' at Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 4 between 2006 and 2010. Both the text and the graph assume it to be obvious that 'EAL attainment gap' means BMLC learners are achieving lower results than their peers who are native speakers of English. It does not seem necessary to clarify this anywhere in the text. 'EAL learners' are

considered as one group regardless of criteria such as proficiency in English, life experiences including prior schooling or socio-economic background.

The second graph (DfE 2011a:1) is entitled '2010 KS2 attainment of pupils who were below L2 at KS1 (by first language)'. It examines the impact of tuition on pupils' attainment in terms of progress and level 4+ achievement in mathematics and English. The text explaining the graph states that 'tutored EAL learners outperformed their peers in both progression and threshold measures'. It also points out that 'EAL learners who received tuition outperformed non-EAL learners who did not receive tuition'. However, what is also shown in the graph but not mentioned in the accompanying text is that BMLC learners receiving tutoring also outperform tutored pupils whose first language is English. Not only what is said but also what is unsaid forms part of a discourse and constitutes certain knowledge (Carabine 2001).

'Other factors influencing underachievement' is a heading in 'Aiming High' (DfES 2003:9) followed by a list of factors that influence achievement and therefore might possibly contribute to underachievement. By phrasing the heading as quoted, it sounds as if underachievement is assumed as the norm for pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds including BMLC learners.

The document 'Ensuring the attainment of pupils learning English as an additional language: A management guide' (DfES 2007) includes on its content list a section on 'Collecting and using data to identify and tackle underperformance'. The document defines English as an additional language as follows:

> First language is the language to which the child was initially exposed during early development and continues to use this language in the home and community. If a child acquires English subsequent to early development, then English is not their first language no matter how proficient in it they become (ibid:2)

Although the above quotation refers to consecutive bilingualism, there is no reference to the possibility that pupils who are proficient in English despite English not being their first language might achieve average or even excellent results rather than underperform. EAL seems automatically linked to underperformance despite the gap in attainment having narrowed, or even been reversed, and being more of a regional issue than consistent underperformance by all BMLC learners (ibid:8). The same document (ibid:13) claims that BMLC learners 'are empowered to move to independence', and the 'aim of good teaching for bilingual pupils is to scaffold the learner's progress to independence' is listed as one of five key pedagogical principles. The document fails to recognise the resourcefulness BMLC learners frequently display in order to develop their English as quickly as possible so they can cope with academic demands but also engage with their peers. BMLC learners' 'commitment to independent study' is identified, amongst others, by Safford and Costley (2008:143) and is evident in the phenomenographic findings of this study.

Another example of potential underestimation of BMLC learners in comparison to their peers with English as their first language is taken from the Key Stage 3 National Strategy document 'Access and Engagement in Mathematics' (DfES 2002a). It explains that reading and writing in mathematics frequently differs from reading and writing in other curriculum areas and provides examples such as 'the spatial arrangement of numbers and symbols carries different meanings – for example, 3^5 is not the same as 35' (ibid:8). It claims that this might cause confusion for BMLC

learners. However, I would argue that this could equally be the case for pupils whose first language is English. The same applies to the learning of mathematical terms. I maintain that mathematical terms and definitions might be as new and unknown to English native speakers as they are for BMLC learners, and not as the document alleges 'It is also important for pupils, bilingual learners particularly, to learn mathematical definitions' (ibid:7). Many suggestions and concrete examples of good practice on how to support BMLC learners found in the Key Stage 3 National Strategy subject guidance booklets (DfES 2002c) apply to all pupils.

4.2.1.5 EAL and 'economic potential'

'Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils' (DfES 2003) provides an insight into why the performance of minority ethnic pupils including BMLC learners is, or has been, a focus of governmental education policy. It addresses the concern of underachievement of all pupils from minority ethnic backgrounds, both pupils whose first language is English and BMLC learners. It is notable that pupils from white backgrounds are simply mentioned for comparison with 'non-white' pupils' achievement. There does not seem to be any recognition of white minority ethnic backgrounds. The document states that 'socio-economic disadvantage is closely associated with low educational attainment' albeit it is not the only impacting factor, and that 'continuing underachievement endangers social cohesion and leaves personal and economic potential unrealised' (DfES 2003:4). Later in the document the importance of minority ethnic young people going to university and getting a good job is discussed in the light of the contribution to society these young people will make. It is implied that if they do not go to university and/or get a good job, their contributions

to society will be negatively impacted on, and 'this is why it is so worrying that many minority ethnic young people underachieve' (ibid:7). The economic and cost factor is further emphasised when stating 'Whatever the causes [for underachievement], the costs of failing to address such achievement gaps are unacceptable and cannot be allowed to continue' (ibid:10). The costs are emphasised in the sentence starting 'Whatever the causes' immediately after the mention of institutional racism as a possible factor for underachievement, which seems to dismiss the existence of institutional racism in schools as unimportant. Implicitly, economic power was already expressed in the foreword of the document: '[achievement gaps] increase the chances that those who miss out [on good jobs or university] will disengage not only from education, but wider society' (ibid:1). Economic potential linked to contribution to society seems to be the main driver for supporting BMLC learners. Based on this 'discourse of economic usefulness' I would argue that the focus in EAL policies and documentation is overwhelmingly on academic achievement and neglects BMLC learners' personal needs, especially on arrival in the country. This argument is based on the findings concerning the positioning of BMLC learners' needs described in 4.2.1.6 below; the findings from the phenomenographic study (4.3) and it is discussed in detail in the discussion of findings in Chapter 5.

4.2.1.6 Academic versus emotional needs

Differences in BMLC learners' background are referred to in government documentation and policies on EAL. However, a lack of consideration of pupils' personal backgrounds and needs in relation to mental well-being is evident in documentation. For instance, Ofsted's 'English as an additional language briefing for

section 5 inspection' (2014:3) acknowledges differences between learners, albeit exclusively in educational background and learning needs.

> Learners will be at different stages of English language acquisition (from complete beginner to advanced bilingual), but even those at the same stage of English language acquisition will have different backgrounds and needs. For example, they will have had different experiences of schooling overseas. Some will be literate in other languages and might already have developed concepts in other subjects, such as science and mathematics, through another language. Others will have had little or no formal education and might not be literate in any language. Some will be gifted or talented; others will have learning difficulties and/or disabilities.

The document, however, acknowledges that on arrival BMLC learners' ability in subjects should be tested in their first language. The 2014 version of this handbook was withdrawn 14 months later in August 2015. It was replaced with a new general handbook for school inspections which was published in June 2016 and updated in August 2016. EAL or English as an additional language are not mentioned in the latest version.

'Ensuring the attainment of pupils learning English as an additional language' (DfES 2007:8) points out that

> Bilingual learners are not a homogenous group: when considering them not only must English language acquisition be taken into account but also a complex interplay of factors such as first language development, culture, ethnicity, previous schooling history and socio-economic status.

The document suggests for middle leaders to interview pupils or to conduct surveys but again only 'learning experiences' are mentioned as possible content of these activities. Such an approach seems to see the only importance of BMLC learners in academic terms and as potential (financial) contributors to society as discussed in the above section on EAL and 'economic power'. It misses the human factor in interacting

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with these young people. In contrast, the Key Stage 3 National Strategy 'Access and Engagement in History' provides guidance on how schools and teachers can support pupils' development of self-esteem as it recognises that 'Pupils cannot derive full benefit from their history lessons unless social aspects of their learning are taken into account' (DfES 2002b:2). This constitutes an attempt to see the BMLC learner as a human being with needs other than simply academic.

The Key Stage 3 National Strategy 'Access and Engagement in Mathematics' document (DfES 2002a:4) recognises that the

> … rate at which individual pupils learning EAL make progress in mathematics classrooms is likely to be determined by their literacy and schooling in their first language and their prior experiences of learning.

Ofsted guidance (2014) reiterates that schools should 'have taken steps to assess the learners' proficiency and literacy in their first language and established what prior subject knowledge and experience they have in other subjects' which is in line with TS2 'be aware of pupils' capabilities and their prior knowledge, and plan teaching to build on these' (DfE 2011b). However, despite government documentation focusing heavily on establishing the educational and academic background of BMLC learners, in none of the interviews did pupils or staff mention tests carried out in pupils' native languages to assess knowledge in subjects other than English whereas testing for proficiency in the English language on arrival in schools featured in most interviews.

The document analysis attempted to provide an insight into discourses surrounding and positioning BMLC learners, teachers, parents, schools and the wider society. Examples have been provided to illuminate the positioning of BMLC learners via

governmental documentation in terms of how BMLC learners are referred to, highlighting the lack of English as deficit rather than celebrating BMLC learners' language skills. The deficit model is further enhanced via the potential conflation of EAL and SEND, and EAL and 'race' linked to assumptions of EAL and underachievement. The portrayed deficit triggers support to boost future contribution to society, and therefore BMLC learners' academic needs are addressed in governmental documentation. Emotional needs, however, seem to play a rather minor role. The following section on interviews with staff highlights how governmental discourse on EAL is reflected in staff thinking and interactions with BMLC learners which leads to reinforced positioning of BMLC learners by staff.

4.2.2 Staff interviews

Exploring the local and specific positioning of individual staff by discourse around EAL, and their positioning of BMLC learners is the focus of the second part of the poststructuralist study. Quotations from all four participants are included to highlight subjection by and subjecting to discourses. The individual interviews were analysed in the light of the areas of positioning in governmental documentation on EAL. Staff vignettes are provided prior to each interview analysis to introduce the participants and their role in school. To guarantee anonymity the vignettes are kept short and alternative names chosen by participants in interviews were changed again in this account.

4.2.2.1 Susan

Susan has worked at her school for several years. She is bilingual herself and due to take on further responsibilities for EAL provision and working with BMLC learners in the school. Apart from her theoretical knowledge of EAL through self-study, Susan has not received any training. She uses her spare time to find effective ways of working with the pupils in her charge and strongly believes that her bilingual background helps her to understand how BMLC learners might feel on arrival in school. She perceives having another language as an asset.

Although Susan seems critical of the one-size-fits-all approach of teaching BMLC learners in the school, she falls into line with this universal approach, for instance, when she explains one of her teaching strategies, 'Blends and sounds of different letters because they look at letters differently from us'. She implies all BMLC learners struggle with letters, blends and sounds when learning English, and also creates a feeling of otherness by talking about 'they' and 'us'. Susan's account demonstrates how she is constantly torn between her own practical experience of working with BMLC learners and her own personal experience of bilingualism on the one hand, and the school's requirements on the other hand.

Susan's empathy includes a vague perception of unfairness, if not discrimination, as she is aware of 'these children' somehow being treated differently. She feels uneasy about it without being able to articulate reasons and makes amends by her caring but somewhat 'matronising' concern for the children she works with.

> … and they find a little friend … and have a little chat. … There is one
> little boy … They don't really have any other friends of their own little
> group.

Her advice to BMLC learners is to 'Just keep on practising their English language. At home as well as in school' which demonstrates her subjection to the school's 'truth' that constantly speaking English is paramount to successful integration and being able to succeed academically.

> We do encourage them to try and practise their English. We do encourage them to practise their language, English language, at home, so they can get into a routine, but it's just an automatic thing, they will go back to their own mother tongue.

Susan demonstrates understanding for returning to mother tongue use. However, her statement reduces language to English and does not consider the cognitive benefits of maintaining languages. Neither does it encompass consideration of the importance of maintaining one's own language as part of one's identity, or the impact of a potential 'language divide' between pupils and parents with possible implications for social, mental and physical well-being of all concerned. In contrast to the above quotation in which Susan uses the personal pronoun 'we', she then describes her wish for bi-lingual assistants as she acts as one for a BMLC learner. Her use of pronoun changes to 'I', the first person singular, which I interpret as a change from the school's policy-driven collective belief to her personal belief. The tension of being torn between her beliefs constituted by discourse(s) outside and prior to working at school, and the school's prescriptive 'truth' is expressed in the following statement and especially in the phrase I emphasised.

> One of those wishes, a bi-lingual person who speaks their language. Who I think would be able to get through to them better. Because, like, I can speak …, so if I was speaking … to somebody – *and I know that is really not what I should be doing* – I would speak English to make them think about what their … and the words I'm using to help them learn and understand. I believe that listening, that communication is the only way to learn. And if they had somebody in who could do that for them, who also had their native language, it would be so much easier and they would pick it up a lot quicker.

Although Susan uses the word 'little' frequently when expressing her empathy with BMLC learners, she seems at the same time aware of issues with the use of age-inappropriate resources which do not correspond to BMLC learners' cognitive ability. Yet, she is unable to imagine an alternative.

> A difficult situation is when their English is so limited, it's, showing them pictures, and I know you have to start from somewhere and to me it's like, they might feel a bit, it's like condesc…, it's like embarrassing them in a way because they feel like they're doing baby work and they're not. They're learning the basics. And that's where, they don't really like that but you have to start from somewhere.

Susan expresses the tension between her knowledge and experience of working successfully with BMLC learners and her school's policy and practice by positioning herself in opposition to a perceived lack of challenge and innate underestimation of BMLC learners' ability.

> I don't know if it's right or not but I don't like the idea of sitting a child in front of the computer doing little simple things. Again, I don't agree with that. It does help some, not all of them. I just think it should be more verbal communication. And that way, they will pick up quicker. If they know the language they will speak it. But a lot of them feel embarrassed to speak because they worry about the pronunciation or if they're using the right words. It doesn't always work, that's what I believe would be a good idea but that's not how they work here.

Susan's narrative is alive with tensions and contradictions, some of which are explicitly expressed and others which became obvious via analysis and Susan might not be aware of, or did not want to share in the interview. She distances herself from the school's practice, addresses diversity as an issue by recognising the different treatment BMLC learners receive, and cares about the young people in a seemingly sympathetic rather than empathetic manner. She would like her focus to be on the BMLC learners she is responsible for rather than purely their language development

but is unable to free herself from the restrictions of the school's policy on EAL and subsequently the school's expectations of staff.

The following account by Robert focuses on his personal experience and beliefs on how English should be taught to BMLC learners. He approaches his work with BMLC learners from a linguistic perspective.

4.2.2.2 Robert

Robert works as a peripatetic teacher of EAL. He comes once a week to the school to provide support for BMLC learners by teaching them English one-to-one or in small groups. Robert had been a BMLC learner in England himself. He feels he is on a mission to provide the best possible support in terms of teaching English effectively. Due to his background and experience he believes he understands the linguistic difficulties his pupils face and that he knows the best possible way of working with BMLC learners.

Robert does not use the words ethnicity or 'race' in his account. He talks about 'all kinds of nationalities'. He is aware that what he calls nationality impacts on perceptions of staff and pupils in schools and of what can result from these perceptions in relation to himself and BMLC learners.

> And most of the staff I have met in school were quite surprised, if not shocked that a Polish person could teach a Chinese person how to speak English. …And when I started, most of the staff… most of the staff, never gave me any chance.
>
> [BMLC learners], they get bullied, they get picked on, just because, yeah, of the differences, because they speak a different language.

He uses the first person singular throughout his account. This might be due to the peripatetic nature of his role and not identifying with one school, or his distancing himself from any school policy and prescribed practices. His beliefs are rather rooted in a grammar based and communicative approach to language learning (Richards and Rodgers 2001). Robert sees his learners in nationalities/mother tongue categories based on linguistic and personal characteristics, including ability, relevant to language learning and the work he does with the BMLC learners. Their personal life stories and experiences do not play a part in his thinking. He refers, for example, to a Hungarian speaker needing different input into learning English personal pronouns compared to, for example a German or Polish speaker as in Hungarian 'they have one word for it'. However, his understanding that pupils differ in many respects, rather than just linguistically, which also have an impact on how quickly pupils learn English, is obvious in his comparison between two pupils with the chattier, more confident one learning English more quickly and to a higher standard.

Robert sees himself in the role of problem solver and advocate for pupils who are BMLC learners. He feels 'teachers don't really differentiate' and 'most of the English-speaking staff don't understand'. Having been a non-English speaker himself and his experience of working with BMLC learners makes him an expert in improving BMLC learners' chances of academic achievement. He claims 'I can do it [teaching English] with anyone'. The pupils' role in the process seems rather passive: 'they are withdrawn from the classroom' and Robert needs to '…make them become independent' as he feels for the BMLC learners to receive the best support 'these people have to be with me…, … then … put them back in the classroom'.

Although he seems to distance himself from his learners at times by talking about 'such a person' and 'these people', he portrays himself as caring by stressing that a lesson is successful when pupils 'leave the classroom happy'. He refers to 'my EAL learners' and seems to judge results in academic and social terms

> … if you actually see the results from, from your learners. And they integrate and they make friends. And sometimes, they lose their accent … it makes your day, if not a week or a year.

The tension between the focus on academic achievement and social needs becomes evident in Robert insisting on the one hand that BMLC learners must become fully immersed in the English language. On the other hand, he claims to understand the effort BMLC learners need to make to listen and speak in a foreign language in school, 'they work hard, they are so tired when they come back home, they don't have the energy'. Robert seems to subscribe to the idea of BMLC learners needing to integrate. He perceives it as (his) success when he sees signs of his pupils integrating, here interpreted as making friends, and when losing their accents which enables them to integrate even better.

Reflecting on his co-operation with teachers in the schools he works in, Robert seems to fight a losing battle.

> … they think that if they put me in a class, like a History class or Science class with this person, EAL person and they are still on level 1 or the very, very basic level, I will be able to help. It doesn't work that way. They have to acquire some, some knowledge in the English language before we can start communicating and then I can help in a classroom.

The above account seems to suggest that teachers perceive not being able to speak and understand English as a special need or disability which requires additional support from a teaching assistant in the classroom. With a teaching assistant present, the

BMLC learner should then be able to understand and follow the lesson. The theme of EAL being equated with SEND continues in Robert's narrative on writing reports on the ability of his pupils to converse in English and that then 'the SENCO or the Head teacher decide how many sessions I could provide.' Due to the lack of current guidance, his reports are based on the old assessment levels and his recommendations are often ignored

> 'But most of the time they [the BMLC learners] are sent to a classroom anyway. It's just because we're so short-handed.'

Lack of resources and pressure to achieve results quickly is a recurring theme in staff interviews. Robert refers four times in the interview to having to '…find the quickest way…', '…put them back into a classroom environment as quickly as possible…', 'make them become independent … as quickly as possible…' and '… time …it's not the luxury we have'. Financial and organisational restraints constituted by the prevailing discourse as 'truth' and portrayed as insurmountable, jeopardise the social and emotional well-being of BMLC learners, their ambitions and future prospects.

Although Robert speaks of the pupils he works with, his account focuses on himself rather than the learners. Schools do not allow him to work with the BMLC learners in the, according to Robert, best possible way. In contrast to Robert, Marianne has no experience of working with BMLC learners. The school simply assigned her this new role.

4.2.2.3 Marianne

Marianne has been employed by her school for several years and has recently been

given the role of supporting BMLC learners. Marianne resents not having received any training relating to EAL, and tries her best to support her pupils as effectively as possible. She is proactive in asking for support from experts outside school as she feels a great deal of empathy for her BMLC learners, and does not want to disappoint them. Marianne sees it as her job to find out as much as possible about her BMLC learners including their linguistic ability to provide effectively for their needs. She is aware of differences between BMLC learners in ability, and access to resources and support in learning English.

> It depends on the student, some are more chatty than others. Well, some of the students have picked up English really quick, within 12 months, they speak good English. Others, three years until they're starting to speak, they might understand you but they don't speak. … It's a mixture. Some of them have got parents, or one parent, who speaks English and they speak English at home. Some of them, their parents don't speak any English at all. So, when they're at home they just speak their native language.

Marianne admits that she finds it hard to communicate with BMLC learners at the beginning of their learning English but she persists in trying to find ways to overcome any obstacles. She does not appear to perceive these difficulties as due to a deficit in her pupils, she rather seems to admire their determination and progress. She feels she learns from her BMLC learners.

> They advise me, I think because they all do so well…. Yeah, they want to learn English. We're all lazy but they want to learn English, they really do.

Marianne seems to recognise that there are potentially other reasons for pupils' underachievement like insufficient time spent with and support provided to BMLC learners, or teachers' unrealistic expectations rather than pupils' lack of ability and willingness to learn.

> … everyone was saying he was really lazy but then I started working with him and I think he is just not that bright and he's never been given the support. So, he was sent out but without any work and no one to help him. So, he'd be sat in […] and it looked like he wasn't doing anything. But he didn't know what to do. So he was given work with no explanations … because some of the teachers expect the kids to speak English in a few weeks.

Talking about her sessions with BMLC learners, Marianne attempts to find suitable resources for her learners despite the lack of funding. She feels without training and support for her as a teaching assistant, it should not be her responsibility to organise the EAL provision in the school. The person in charge of the provision for BMLC learners in the school is the SENDCO. Marianne tries 'Just to give them a basic knowledge of vocab. For all I'm doing I could have done everything wrong, I've just done my best.' She uses computer-based activities like online worksheets and practises vocabulary with the BMLC learners prior to their attempting the tasks. Marianne does not feel equipped to design resources and is not convinced that she does her role and her pupils justice. She is proud of the progress they make despite the seemingly little support they receive, and repeatedly expresses her respect for pupils' keenness to learn English. She associates BMLC learners' desire to learn English with their social needs and plans for the future which demonstrates her understanding of such needs, 'To make friends, well, it must be really hard in a country if you don't understand anything', 'So, err, they're just keen, they want to get on, they want to get jobs.' Marianne feels frustrated with the provision BMLC learners receive as she feels a much better job could be done with better training and more time. However, as long as there is a designated EAL Co-ordinator, the SENDCO and some support in place, however little and unstructured, the school ticks the required boxes. She applies this perception also to the teachers in the school who she feels

have just got no idea about EAL students. We give out work strategies to work with them and things like that but they haven't got the time and just want a quick fix … They want you to do all the work. They haven't got the time to differentiate all the work in the classrooms. They want the support with the students in the classroom but they don't want to differentiate. I think they should have someone to come into the school and explain to the teachers about working with the EAL students and their expectations.

Marianne's account is focused on the pupils and their academic but also their social and emotional needs. She recognises their home language(s) as assets rather than a deficit. Between the three staff they agree that there is a lack of resources in terms of time, staff, training and appropriate materials. The following account by Hera is in contrast to their experiences.

4.2.2.4 Hera

Hera joined her school a couple of years ago. She had arrived as an adult in England from another European country, spoke English on arrival and completed her teacher training in England. She describes herself as 'EAL'. To gain experience in school, she took a teaching assistant job. Soon after her arrival at the school, Hera got involved in supporting BMLC learners in her spare time, she took a proactive role in the school's provision for their BMLC learners.

Hera talks passionately about her work with the International New Arrivals (INAs). She proudly refers to having been called by her line manager 'Mother INA'. She loves playing an important role in BMLC learners' lives. She describes herself as 'I'm EAL anyway' and sees this 'insider' position as providing her with authority and knowledge in relation to her work with BMLC learners. Hera differentiates in line with school terminology between two homogenous groups, 'EAL' as making mistakes in English

like she still does, and the pupils who are recent arrivals to the school and have no or a very basic command of the English language, INAs. Hera portrays herself as caring and having her pupils' well-being at heart. She feels that her pupils benefit from adapting as quickly as possible to life in England and seems to have a strong belief that doing her best for BMLC learners involves (re-)educating them academically and socially. Her comments seem to indicate a deficit- rather than a diversity-model approach to EAL.

> … because of the background, because of the lack of social skills, even speaking in the language and feeling comfortable in this environment, was very important so that they can start feeling relaxed

> I think there should be created a classroom, a stage, a whole year, before they enter school to make sure their social skills, their motor skills are up to date and they are able to follow a lesson. To have proper understanding of what's going on around them, then to build the EAL stages for them. … understand what kind of civilisation we have here … what kind of processes you have here…. 'Oh I need to sit on chair, I didn't have to, I need to eat with fork, I didn't have to', and I think that their English would be much better by now if I didn't have to teach them so much about social skills and motor skills. Because I think those are the basic step for them in order to start understanding English.

Hera includes herself (and possibly me as the interviewer) in the 'civilisation we have here' and then excludes herself by referring to 'processes you have here', although she is aware that I, the interviewer, am an immigrant too. This might be as she has lived in England for several years or as she is European but at the same time she does not seem to feel fully integrated in Britain. Despite sharing not-being-British with her BMLC learners, she appears to distance herself from them as she has never experienced any of the 'issues' with 'social skills' she associates with her BMLC learners although she says 'when I first came here, it was intimidating *even* for me'. The way motor skills are referred to could evoke the impression that pupils have a physical disability, a special need, although what is discussed in this context is the ability, willingness or

habit to eat with a knife and fork. The perception of EAL being conflated with SEND is further supported by not only the SENDCO teaching English to BMLC learners but also content and materials being equally used for BMLC learners and learners with SEND.

> And English is upstairs with Miss …. who is the SENCO. And she is building up, she's exactly doing what I was doing on another base of the SEN context, … We are doing interventions, literacy, basic literacy and numeracy skills, and since September we started with social skills and motor skills and because of their, the obstacles they have I started from very basic skills so that in the end to be able to, for them to be able to start learning the English language properly.

Due to the lack of English, the INAs who arrive at Hera's school attend lessons that teach basic subject content. Hera refers to 'INA levels' which are specific to her school. This approach seems to ignore that the BMLC learners might have learned that lesson content in educational settings they attended previously but are as yet unable to articulate their knowledge and understanding in English. It seems to be assumed that if pupils did not attend primary school in England they are in need of basic input.

> So, for example, we started with, ehrm, human organisms. For the POD was, human organisms are pupils …, ehrm, people and animals and ehrm, and plants, and for the INAs that was the same because they didn't need that to be changed but then the rest of the POD had to go to animal cells and human cells, and the INAs had to be taught, yes there are animal and human cells but, for example the rest of the POD are doing a research while the INAs would be building with play dough, the cell. …For them, basic steps …. The rest of the POD has done for six years in primary schools. They haven't.

Different traditions, customs and ethnicity do not appear to be considered as equally valid as British (or European) 'civilisation', 'processes' and 'rules'. Parents are described as 'not capable, or not … confident enough', BMLC learners are 'given

chances' and 'English language could be used as a platform for them to be progressed first as people and as individuals'. Hera seems to perceive obedience, following rules, as a crucial part of the integration process. This does not only apply to her pupils but also to pupils' parents.

> … the last time we had (…) parents' night, ehrm, I had to translate the principal's letters in their own language and send it to them. We had 85% of attendance of the parents for the first time because they thought and they understood that now I can understand what they want me to do. Now I can follow the rules. Even like someone without adjusting, what you want them to do, they can't follow the rules. It's not that they don't care, they can't. They're struggling enough to survive and struggling enough to deal with all the difficulties.

There is empathy with families who have only recently arrived in England. At the same time there is an assumption of struggle and difficulties, and that parents and pupils want to 'follow the rules', alongside an expectation that rules should be followed in order to belong.

> It has been the most challenging role of my life teaching the INAs. But I can't describe you how fulfilling it is to have them walk by other people now, greeting them properly in English, opening the door, looking at a line, getting into a room not wandering around like I don't know where I'm going and what I'm going to do, 'Oh, there's a line, I'm here for a reason, let's go and stand behind that gentleman'.

According to Hera there is much more involved in working with BMLC learners than teaching English and other subjects. Nevertheless, all intervention seems to be aimed at BMLC learners and their families adapting as quickly as possible socially and linguistically to life in England. Little consideration appears to be given to BMLC learners' cultural backgrounds or life experiences unless pupils have suffered traumatic experiences and require medical intervention. Integration by understanding British culture, adapting to it, speaking English and following the rules in this country, Hera seems to see as the first priority for her pupils, academic attainment comes later.

Some expressions in Hera's and Robert's accounts might result from both being BMLC adults. For instance, 'what kind of civilisation we have here' or 'such a person' might have been expressed differently if speaking in their first language. However, their interviews overall, especially Hera's, support the impression of 'the other' needing to 'improve', and this impression cannot simply be ascribed to a lack of proficiency in English.

Comments by staff paint a varied and to some extent inconsistent picture. Susan sees the pupils as individuals but her teaching strategies do not seem to take into account individuals' specific needs. She does not differentiate the work but deals with BMLC learners as individuals with personal needs on an emotional level. Robert's approach is based on linguistic needs and he divides BMLC learners according to nationality and language background. Marianne recognises pupils' different experiences, for instance, if English is spoken at home or not. Hera positions herself most closely to a view of two homogenous groups – 'the INAs' and 'the EAL'. She identifies herself with 'the EAL' although her circumstances of settling in England are very different to the BMLC learners in her school which supports the impression of a homogenous group despite their diverse experiences. Working with 'their' BMLC learners on a regular basis seems to instil in the staff to a varying extent an understanding of individual needs. The inconsistencies in staff's answers point to the tension they experience between the 'official' view of a homogenous group of BMLC learners and prescribed strategies for working with them in contrast to their own personal experience when working with these learners on a daily basis.

The analysis of staff interviews exposed enactment of policy which demonstrates

staff's beliefs which are in line with the prevailing discourse around EAL and 'EAL learners' and at the same time it highlighted tension and inconsistencies within staff accounts and possible conscious or subconscious attempts of rupture. The construction of other possible discourses from the base, the BMLC learners, is explored via a phenomenographic approach. Simultaneously, the study researches via a poststructuralist discourse analysis how the emerging conceptions might be influenced by the prevailing discourse via official documentation and staff attitudes, behaviour and comments when working with BMLC learners. This approach offers an innovative way of looking at the data. New insights were gained from this combined approach. Individual staff interviews addressed the six areas of positioning identified in government documentation. Staff also mentioned the lack of current guidance on EAL and funding. From the interviews, it seems Marianne has the least training and experience of working with BMLC learners which implies least exposure to governmental EAL documentation. Susan completed research in the area, Robert has been working in various schools with BMLC learners for several years, and Hera has been in charge of EAL in her school for some time due to her commitment to improving resources for BMLC learners and communication between school, parents and other agencies involved. She also covered the topic 'EAL' during her teacher training in England. Marianne's account does not portray diversity as an issue in terms of ethnicity and language. Her impression of the learners in her charge is not based on a deficit model and she recognises the importance of addressing emotional needs and pupils' potential worries about their future. Her account links to the areas identified in governmental documentation in a qualitatively different way compared to the other staff. Whereas the other staff perceive their knowledge of a foreign language or 'being EAL' themselves as an advantage that provides them with authority on the topic of

EAL, Marianne approaches her responsibility without assumptions of knowing what it must be like to be a BMLC learner in England.

The analysis of the four staff interviews demonstrates the staff's positioning by the prevailing discourse via the governmental documentation. The following section addresses the second research question by presenting the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary school system. In the final stage of the analysis in section 4.4, the findings from the analyses of the government documentation on EAL and the four staff interviews will be mapped against the findings from the phenomenographic study.

4.3 Findings from the phenomenographic study

4.3.1 Outcome space 1
   - five dimensions/four conceptions

From the eighteen interviews with BMLC learner participants four qualitatively different conceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' have been identified in outcome space 1. This does not mean the best or the most typical ways in which the phenomenon can be experienced have been identified (Marton and Booth 1997), it only means one possible 'description of variation' (ibid:114) has been established. In preparation for the development of outcome space 1, four steps of thematic coding and categorising were completed to manage and organise the data. The following paragraph briefly describes these four steps of how the 'dimensions of variation', as Marton and Booth (1997:108) call the varying topics referred to by interviewees, were categorised and re-categorised in the process that finally led to the five dimensions in outcome space 1.

After having transcribed the interviews I scrutinised the transcriptions to group all information the participants had provided into twelve dimensions. Each dimension was represented by a colour matching the highlighted sections in the transcripts. The second step of thematic coding involved repeated reading of the interviews which led to re-coding, re-organisation and reduction of the number of dimensions by combining or dismissing. The third step of the analysis consisted of the collection of directly quoted contributions made by pupil participants in relation to each dimension. All sections in the transcripts highlighted in the same colour, for example in yellow for Social Networks, were transferred to one document. The fourth step of the analysis entailed capturing the most significant contributions of all pupil participants under each individual dimension. This process supported the tightening of dimensions and indicated the start of forming the conceptions. On completion of step four, I felt confident that the dimensions identified did not simply reflect the interview questions, that they contained all information provided by participants in the interviews and that they made the best possible attempt to capture participants' 'truths'. Each dimension will subsequently be described in more detail to highlight the type of comments that led to the formation of each particular dimension. At first glance, especially with dimensions 1 and 3, there seems to be a very close relation between interview questions 1 and 3, 4 and 8. However, the dimensions are developed from participants' answers not the questions asked, although questions, of course, direct answers to a certain extent. Explanations of dimensions 1 and 3 below demonstrate that the dimensions result from participants' answers to several questions and unprompted comments, for example when drawing comparisons between countries' school systems. Interviews with young people and non-native speakers of the language in which the interview is conducted, require more guidance and encouragement to speak, which is discussed in

3.7 Ethical considerations, and has the potential to lead to a closer connection between interview questions and the structure of the established outcome space, mainly its dimensions.

Dimension 1: *Background*

Participants provided information on the country they came from, why they emigrated from their home country and how they travelled to England. They spoke about the time they have spent in England, if they joined the education system at primary or at secondary age and what support they might have received prior to starting secondary school. Comparisons were drawn between their home countries and England. The answers used to form the first dimension resulted mainly from the first interview question. However, participants referred back to their background adding more information throughout the interviews triggered by other questions.

Dimension 2: *New Environment and Culture*

The focus of Dimension 2 was on issues relating to school but also the wider society like different laws, school rules, ways of behaviour and manners, or on the structure of the school day and timings of holidays. There were references to the weather, the multi-cultural society in Britain, opportunities to follow new types of sport but at the same time not being able to pursue previous interests. The difficulty of finding the way round in school and having to get used to not being the best anymore in class in certain subjects were frequently mentioned. This dimension was formed based on answers from all questions apart from questions 7 and 10, unless additional comments were made, as the participants referred, for example, to using English when visiting their home countries and drew conclusions from contrasting the two countries.

Dimension 3: *Language Related Issues*

As EAL plays a significant part of this research, language issues were obviously addressed in interviews and recognised as likely to appear as one of the dimensions due to the link between questions asked and answers given. However, dimension 3 does not simply include participants' answers to language related questions such as questions 2, 3, 4 and 8, they mentioned links between bullying and language issues, or the resilience required in their language learning process. Pupils remarked on the use of their native language(s) at home, with friends and at school, their level of English and how they improved their language skills. They mentioned awareness of language developing at different speeds in listening, speaking, reading and writing. Strategies used and preferences for learning English in particular ways including the use of technology were explained by participants. Issues of missing resources but also general support with learning English came to the fore.

Dimension 4: *Hopes, Interests, Aspirations and Responsibilities*

Comments on favourite subjects, interests pursued at or outside school, and aspirations for the future led to the construction of Dimension 4. The role of sports in making friends and feeling part of a community, the school community or a team outside school became apparent during the interviews. Pupils mentioned aspirations and their plans for the future in terms of jobs and where to live. They described responsibilities at home and expectations they felt obliged to fulfil, mostly concerned with supporting parents and siblings with learning English or translating written text or oral conversations for family members.

Dimension 5: *Social and Support Networks*

Social networks seemed to be an extremely important dimension for the pupil participants, and in this context also the use of technology and social media. The social support networks within family and friends were a frequent focus in the interviews. 'Friends' included friends at school, outside school, and friends left behind when emigrating. Description of school support or lack thereof was also a feature of the conversation.

After all comments from all pupil participants had been categorised under the five dimensions of variation, the comments were examined for qualitative differences in perceptions. The first reading crudely grouped quotations into *resenting*, *tolerating*, *accepting* and *embracing* being a BMLC learner in England. This grouping was based on first impressions gained during reading the transcripts for the development of dimensions. However, it transpired that participants' responses were too positive and forward thinking to justify a conception including the word *resenting*. All participants seemed to accept their current situation despite experiencing difficulties and facing challenges. *Tolerating* and *accepting* was too similar to assign responses to one or the other. Responses demonstrated understanding and willingness on the pupils' part to face the challenges, deal with them and adapt accordingly by developing coping strategies. *Embracing* could be divided into two groups of pupil responses. Some pupils felt that being a BMLC learner in England did not only pose challenges but also offered opportunities which they would otherwise not have had. Some of the pupils saw these opportunities not only in terms of external factors like better facilities in school and access to technology, having a garden, being able to sign up for a football

team, and learning a new useful language; they also felt that there were opportunities for personal growth and learning life skills.

The roughly established conceptions of *resenting*, *tolerating*, *accepting* and *embracing* being a BMLC learner in England were subsequently rephrased as follows. An overview of outcome space 1 with the four conceptions highlighted in light grey and the five dimensions in dark grey can be found as Appendix 3.

Conceptions 1 – 4

1. Being a BMLC learner in England means having to face new and challenging situations.

2. Being a BMLC learner in England requires adaptation and the development of coping strategies

3. Being a BMLC learner in England offers opportunities which would otherwise not exist

4. Being a BMLC learner in England teaches life skills and supports personal growth.

The four qualitatively different conceptions grow in complexity (Marton and Booth 1997) and are interconnected by forming an inclusive hierarchy. This means that Conception 1 is contained in Conceptions 2, 3 and 4. It does not mean that a BMLC learner moves over time from Conception 1 to Conception 4 as it is not a chronological hierarchy. If a BMLC learner identifies with Conception 4 s/he will also be aware of the other three conceptions but this does not apply vice versa (Ashwin 2005). Between conceptions 1-3 and Conception 4 seems to be a significant shift from responsiveness

to proactivity which could be seen as an inconsistency in the hierarchical structure. This has been identified as the watershed (van Rossum and Hamer 2010) and will be discussed below under outcome space 2. Prior to presenting outcome space 2, the four conceptions established in outcome space 1 will be examined in more detail. The dimensions of variation help to understand a certain way of experiencing a phenomenon. The four conceptions established in this study as outcome space 1 are described in relation to these dimensions, and quotations from respondents are used to illustrate the relational aspects between the dimensions and conceptions, and variation of experiences between the conceptions. The aim of a phenomenographic approach is that the conceptions cover all aspects of the collective experience of all participants (Marton and Booth 1997); individual quotations might only partly cover the sense of a conception based on the collective experience (Ashwin 2005).

4.3.1.1 Conception 1: Being a BMLC learner in England means having to face new and challenging situations

Participants identifying with Conception 1 seemed overwhelmed by the number and variety of challenges their life in England posed. Most of the participating BMLC learners did not seem to resent their moving to England although it would not necessarily have been their choice. Leaving behind family, friends, their culture and language meant a complete change of life compared to what pupils had known previously. Issues with identity loss were especially evident if pupils had experienced a journey with significant periods of time spent in other countries.

> My from is Bulgaria. I have live four years into Greece but after I'm going to England because in Greece don't have a work … for my parents but it's hard … going here and coming here. (R1J)

> Before I go to different country because some fighting in the country and
> I stop in more… [difficult] because every school is different. If you learn
> something in here, in the other school is different. (R18G)

Circumstances under which participants left their home countries varied but the challenges mentioned they had to face on arrival were the same regardless of the reasons for emigration.

> I came to England because I have a problem in Portugal, I'm bad in
> school …. . … and [name] said, you need to go to your father… . (R4C)

> It was just move away from my country because it was a thingy, like,
> they were fighting. (R18G)

The above quotations represent the wide range of reasons participants gave for coming to England: unemployment in home countries, issues with school and split families; and fleeing war. Participants identifying with Conception 1 had to leave family and friends behind and were faced with new family structures. This could mean living without a parent and siblings left behind and/or living with a stepparent and, in some cases, half- and step siblings. Coping with missing friends and having to make friends in a country whose language they could not speak posed a major challenge and participants described their experiences of their first few months in the country as difficult and hard. Feelings when starting school in England were described as scared, sad, lonely and confused. Participants talked about crying for days, being bullied and having to complete tests on arrival in school without sufficient support and resources. The lack of support and resources seemed to apply not only to the beginning of attending school in England, for instance, the lack of textbooks in pupils' native languages was an issue.

> But Science, err, it's very hard for me because I don't speak very good
> English and I'm going to computers and I translate one hour and I don't
> finished to translate lesson. But it's hard because I want maybe more help,

maybe one teacher coming in my lessons and help me with lesson. Or, maybe, now teacher maybe send books in my language, seen books but in my language, no English at this moment. (R1J)

Scared … Because I don't understand anybody. And… people look at me … don't understand what they're saying … and I was scared. (R18G)

… first day like crazy. … Because I'm not talking anymore. Sad. (R8G)

I just did not understand, … , so I was like alone, and I felt sad about it. (R10S)

It was like horrible because I came and I didn't know nothing and then the rooms and everything, it was like, I was like confused … like with everything. (R6A)

I was like, … something say to me 'go home, go home'. Like I feel I feel I feel like cry. I'm not happy 'cause all my friend, they're in Africa. Now I come to new country called England, innit? There's no friends in there for me. I was like, I was crying … I sat on my own and I was crying really for the first day. I was like I want to go home. For the first day and night time when we come to England I was crying to my mum. I was saying that I want to go back to my daddy, no I don't want to stay in England, … . (R14F)

So when we came here I was feeling really embarrassed, you know, everyone speaking English here, so we can't speak English, we were just looking round their faces, what are they saying? What are they saying about? Are they talking about us? So, me and my sister was really, you know, so those peoples were also bullying us when we can't speak English. 'Why are you here?', 'You shouldn't be here', and all that. It was really …, it was not good. (R9D)

I came, the first day I came, they gave me thingy… what do you call it, it's like a test, two pages, to test how much English you know. (R15R)

I was really scared. And my mum went away, and there was a teacher who came, he took us to some, to one of the classrooms. And I remember we did the, we did Maths, and then English, some questions and then we went to ICT room and we had spelling and then you had to look at a picture and say what is it, … They did not really focus on me because they would just tell me to do something and they would just leave me there to like write things, or read and then tell them. (R17R)

Feeling confused and overwhelmed was not only mentioned in connection with finding the way round school, or general differences in schooling like the structure of the school day and timings of holidays, wearing uniform and expectations of behaviour. It was also about the weather, using new currency and wider cultural differences like different ways of living, societal values and legal requirements. The examples participants provided of what was perceived as difficult, demonstrates the vast range and depth of challenges they faced.

> And I had no idea what the pounds, the money, the English, the pounds and everything, I didn't really know how to use them. (R17R)

> And one lady, she's Somalian. When we was new to England, she take us to her house and she show us everythings about how to behave in England. How to not like stall [steal] some things. We never do that. You know, in Africa, sometimes, peoples steal some things … Yeah, you can't do that here. And my mum said, that is true, don't do that in England she say. (R14F)

Language related issues evolved for BMLC learners around being expected by parents to keep practising their native language(s).

> Because I can't … allow to speak English. My mum was saying so you're going forget your language. You don't have to forget your language. And I speak my language that's why. (R14F)

Maintaining one or several native languages and at the same time facing the challenge of having to learn a new language meant a constant balancing act and mental struggle. Pupils described the effort required on a daily basis to cope with a new language.

> … if I'm not too tired at the end, that's a good day … because I'm mostly really tired when the school is finished because … that is my main problem that I'm thinking in Hungarian and I have to speak in English. (R11D)

Challenges were also related to parents and siblings not speaking English and therefore needing participants' help although they might not feel equipped to provide the expected support. This might have been either due to not speaking English well enough themselves at that point, or at the time of leaving their home country not having developed the level of their native language required to complete tasks parents ask for help with.

> … sometimes at home when I'm talking with my mum and like she gives me some papers 'cause she couldn't speak properly English but she learning, she started to learn, she goes college, and like she gives me some papers to read but sometimes I know what does it mean in English but I can't translate it at Czech. (R16R)

Conception 1 does not include any strategies on how to deal with the new situation and inherent challenges. In contrast, participants identifying with Conception 2 demonstrate awareness of their situation and the ability to develop coping strategies.

4.3.1.2 Conception 2: Being a BMLC learner in England requires adaptation and the development of coping strategies

Pupils seemed to accept their parents' reasons for coming to England or if they did not know the reasons they seemed to trust their parents' decision. They accepted the decision without questioning and rather focused on trying to adjust to their new life. The coping strategies participants developed were manifold: asking for and accepting help; getting on with the situation they found themselves in and not dwelling on the difficulties, being realistic; finding resources including the use of technology; believing that learning English will help with social and school life, and how important it is for the whole family to be able to learn English.

I speak with them Swahili. And little ..., we just speak a little English. When I speak older we just speak like eh, eh, I say in Swahili and I say in English. (R12E)

Participants identified how to learn most effectively; worked hard and independently in school and outside school; and they found or created safe spaces. The following quotations illustrate some of the strategies used.

Understanding the importance of learning the language of the country one lives in and finding effective ways of doing so:

Because I need English to help me in this country. So when I go to the shop they ask me some question and I don't know how to answer. So I want to know English for helping me. (R12E)

Because if you live in this country you have to speak English. (R18G)

Watching films in English, reading books, one-to-one input practising speaking whenever possible, and listening to music were seen as effective strategies for learning the language. The participants were also aware of the difference between learning English living in the country and learning a foreign language in school.

That's the thing, I mean, what we do like, what we do like here in English, in English lesson, is just like so different. Obviously in Lithuania learn English as if another language, so it will be different, like activities and all that. And here we have to explain a lot of things and everything and I think that really helped me, there, I can speak English! ... I'm doing German and I'm really bad at German. I wish it could just happen and then I could speak German. (R17/R)

Demonstrating resilience:

Yes, I have friends, have a good children, yes. But have too bad. But I know everywhere I, one people going have a friends and some people hate. ... This is life, but okay. (R1J)

Working hard and independently, using technology for language learning. One of the reasons given for working hard was to be able to move up a set as soon as pupils' level of English had improved.

> In Czech I feel safe because I understand everything. I was best in Maths, I was best when we was have an English lesson so I learned a lot … it's different … in school, we speak in like English and so I just hear it and then I learn it. Like I write in my notes English things like words and then I translate into Czech. Sometimes I'm writing it on my iPad, and sometimes I'm doing it in my book. (R7C)

> Every day I heard new words and so I remembered them and researched them at home and that's why I learned it. …I go on Google Translate and dictionary. (R11D)

> Errm, I learn on the Linguascope or reading the dictionary. (R2M)

Participants talked about friends helping with finding the way round school and in lessons. Individual teachers and support staff were mentioned too as providing academic and pastoral support. Strategies to find new friends are frequently related to finding friends from the same country or who share a language.

> Because my friends look after, he is in Polish, err, … . (R5L)

> Yeah, because the people from my country they respond by the look and by the … by the look and by everything that I'm from that country as well. So they came to me, start talking to me, and I was happy there – I've got friends. (R16R)

Sporting activities featured as a good way of making friends. Participants mentioned playing football with others they could at that point not communicate with verbally.

> I just sit with my friends. We used to play football outside. I was just meeting new people and stuff. (R15R)

Technology is used to communicate and make new friends but also to stay in touch with friends from home countries which provides moral support and comfort.

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I'm talking to my friends in English because I have… my phone has this translator and I was writing and she's reading and then she's writing and I'm reading. (R3R)

I text my friends. Yeah, I text them in English not in my language … when I text my friends which are left in Yemen, sometimes I text them, I text them in Oromo, yeah. (R15R)

Another strategy BMLC learners developed is the sourcing of safe spaces. This might be an actual space to relax, retreat to, meet other pupils in similar situations or hide, like the library, a designated area for vulnerable children in school or a club like film club; or it might be a comfort zone to retreat to when necessary.

Err, every break and lunch time, err, I'm going in film club but I'm goodest here, but upstairs have a big, a big break…. , err, big room for food and I doesn't like very much, I'm going here because have some childrens smoke me but I don't. I sit in my table and say me going, and say me bad things, bad things, and I don't like so I'm going film club here and I eat my food and I see films and I'm very good here. (R1J)

I go to the ECM and I sit with my friends at the table and talk what happened yesterday and like what did you do, and …. Yeah. (R6A)
I don't know. When I watch English movie, I don't understand all of them. So when I come home I watch the same movie but in Russian, then I understand more. (R10S)

Conception 2 described not just awareness of challenges for BMLC learners in England as portrayed in Conception 1, it contained descriptions of pupils finding ways of facing these challenges and developing coping strategies for survival. The BMLC learners obviously started to develop an open mind and resilience. However, this seemed to be a pragmatic rather than a consciously embracing way of dealing with challenges they face. Participants were willing to make the effort and demonstrated the ability to develop coping strategies. This was perceived as vital for survival and not necessarily as an option, choice or opportunity as in Conception 3.

4.3.1.3 Conception 3: Being a BMLC learner in England offers opportunities which would otherwise not exist

Participants identifying with Conception 3 talked about opportunities which their life in England offers them and their families, and advantages of being a pupil in England rather than in their native countries. Parental employment and with it escaping poverty as well as a perceived better standard of living were the basis for feeling positive and grateful. Pupils also mentioned having a garden to play in, 'I like because there is no mud, it's just good and err, err, I like my garden'(R12E), being able to 'go to the very big park or the swimming pool' (R18G), and appreciating the 'nice town' (R7C).

Participants adopting Conception 3 felt school was offering a positive learning environment with good discipline, no physical punishment and access to modern technology supported better education and training than in home countries.

> … in Pakistan the teachers hit the students with sticks on hands, so they never do any mistake again. So, in Pakistan, they check the nails and if the nails aren't pink they're gonna to hit them with one stick, so for one nail … so that's what I like about here, teachers are really kind to the students and students are really kind to the, … what are they called…, teachers. (R9D)

> Ah, here they give like,…is more experience and is good. This one is better than the one in Yemen because the one in Yemen they don't have like, these different technologies that this school have. (R15R)

A general feeling of achievement of having learned to communicate and handle academic demands in a new language, and being able to help parents, siblings and peers was evident in pupils' responses.

> So slowly, slowly I was learning English, and my sister, so it was going really good. So, so, slowly, slowly, everything was perfect and also we had now…, those peoples, those students, who were just like bullying us, now they are our friend. Only because of not speaking English, that. (R9)

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You know, just now there was, a new lady. A new student came, it's a boy, so he can't speak English. We were just showing our whole school to him, we was just like, it was fun. We were just like explaining him and he was laughing at us, how are we behaving, you know, it was really good. Now I feel like enjoy your life, I just say 'enjoy your life' because life is not gonna give you any second chance. Life is only came one. Enjoy your life, be happy, be healthy, eat well, get well, so it's really good. (R9D)

Pupils spoke about future plans when referring to the importance of being able to speak English for employment but also if going to live in other countries.

I like it because I want to speak learn English because I want to be a translator I like… because … I can help my mum to do some things like do a … like a taxi credits and something like that. (R3R)

English is very famous, err, language, this is langu.., English is Europe…, Europa language but it's very errm, it's very good and, maybe, I speak English and going at all countries. All countries speak English but … this is good. (R1J)

Another aspect participants recognised as an opportunity due to being a BMLC learner in England was encountering other cultures. The following quotation demonstrates how such encounters can lead to revised perceptions, in this case of English people.

And I thought that in my school there be only English people and I heard people say that they're rude and that they're not friendly. And when I came and they used to asking me questions I thought that's not that bad as I imagined … . (R17R)

Pupils at the school asking lots of questions can provide a newcomer with the feeling of being given welcome attention.

It was good day because lots of people ask what's my name, what's my country again and again, and again. (R5L)

BMLC learners adopting Conception 3 see opportunities their life in England and attending an English school offer. They appreciate these opportunities but do not seek

them out proactively. Opportunities are recognised as external factors, as situations that happen but which participants contributing to Conception 3 do not seem to consider having influence over.

4.3.1.4 Conception 4: Being a BMLC learner in England teaches life skills and supports personal growth.

Conception 4 entails a more reflective engagement with the status of being a BMLC learner that allows recognition of opportunities for personal growth. Pupils develop awareness of having some form of agency. Comments made by participants identifying with Conception 4 evolve around appreciation of having better opportunities and, in contrast to Conception 3, learning from these opportunities for personal growth. There seemed to be an implicit understanding of parents possibly having made sacrifices to enable their children to lead a better life.

> … because our parents, they, … the future, they want us to make our own future. They want us to have good study … For our future, for our education, they bring us here. So we are really happy to be here because the education is just perfect here. (R9D)

Participants also appreciate the development of skills for life, demonstrate awareness of and value their heritage, and they take responsibility for their lives and their role in supporting others. Life skills participants referred to were open-mindedness, resilience, and patience and persistence in overcoming language barriers despite initial embarrassment and apprehension.

> … and then I've seen loads of other people from other countries, culture and it was just like, so interesting. (R17R)

> But …for me it's very hard because I have to leave at my ten years old in Bulgaria, after I go in Greece, err, at my 14 years old and I'm going here

and I come in England, and I have go at various schools, various countries, and I'm scared, I don't know, but for me okay, I like new things… . (R1J)

So when we came here I was feeling really embarrassed, you know, everyone speaking English here, so we can't speak English. Seriously, I was feeling really, really embarrassed. But now, I'm proud of myself that, finally, I learn English, I can understand English. I'm really happy now. (R9D)

The ability to still speak their native language and awareness of their heritage was perceived by participants just as important as the feeling of having integrated successfully into English society including possessing a good level of English language. This was expressed via a strong identification with their native culture and in the desire not to forget their roots.

… so you came from your country, so you don't feel embarrassment to speak your own language … I always explain them [siblings] that it is your country, you came from that country, so you don't feel embarrassment because that country is your life. You lived there, you born there, so you should do….. you shouldn't be feeling embarrassment. (R9D)

Pupils use their networks strategically and decide whom to communicate with in which language in order to maintain all languages they speak and at the same time practise and improve their English. Friends in home countries were often a resource for maintaining the native language and so were parents or grandparents. New friends and school supported the development of English. Third or fourth languages were maintained via contact with other family members who spoke these languages or via finding new friends who shared these languages.

Finally, pupils within Conception 4 seemed to have made a conscious decision to make the most of their situation and take every opportunity to learn, develop and grow. They are keen to take responsibility and control for their own lives and appreciate being able to support others outside their families and circles of friends. They seemed to be aware

of having developed strengths and resilience from drawing on their experience of moving countries and adapting to a new culture, environment and language, and therefore seemed able to handle situations confidently and without worrying.

> I come to England for train for something and when I grow up to help my parents. I help my mum …   And I, like, kitchen, washing, washing something. My mum, she doesn't have now…..she's 60 years old, and she's fasting and she needs some help. … Yes, I love to cook, I know how to cook. (R14F)

> I wasn't sad about myself because it was first day and I knew that I will learn English like more and more when I come to school, like, more days. … . (R15R)

Above in 4.3.1 Outcome space 1, the four conceptions were described in detail, taking into account the dimensions of variation which had been identified in the interview transcripts. A substantial body of direct quotations has been included in this section to let the data speak for itself, to support and justify my choice of conceptions and to illuminate the conceptions further.

4.3.2 Wordle

Independent from but linked to the phenomenographic study all pupil responses were submitted in one document to Wordle (wordle.net 2014). Excluding the words 'yeah', 'like', 'just' and 'really', the Wordle created featured 'English' as the most frequently used word in pupil responses closely followed by 'speak', 'know', 'school' and 'friends'. It supports the findings in outcome space 1 that learning to speak English, to know English and to understand 'English' culture, as well as the importance of school life and having friends play a major part in BMLC learners' responses.

The next step of the analysis involved the comparison of the four conceptions and the exploration of the qualitative differences in perceptions of what it means to be a BMLC learner in England.

4.3.3 Outcome space 2

Relations between the qualitatively different ways of experiencing the phenomenon in question and the perspective from which it is viewed are established in outcome space 2. The structural aspects refer to 'what is held in focus and what is not' (Marton and Booth 1997:100).

Table 4.3.3: Outcome space 2

Being a BMLC learner in England	Referential		
Structural	Being aware of the situation	Responding to the situation	Growing as a person from the situation
Challenges	C1	C2	
Opportunities		C3	C4

Conception 1 seems to stop at the point of realisation that a new life in a country with a foreign language needs to be established and that this process poses numerous challenges. Despite this realisation no action is taken to deal with the challenges that lie ahead. The situation seems to have a paralysing effect. Where there is awareness of others' expectations to adapt to their culture and learn the new language in order to establish a new life, it does not seem to result in any action on behalf of the pupils identifying with Conception 1.

This is in contrast to Conception 2 which is based on actively responding to new situations. Identifying with Conception 2 entails BMLC learners taking action in developing coping strategies. For example, understanding other people's expectations that they will build a new life in a new country and deal with inherent challenges leads to adaptation as a perceived survival strategy. A plethora of other coping strategies is resourcefully developed to overcome obstacles to building a new life, and to fulfil basic needs like being able to communicate and having friends. Conception 1 could be described as passive and Conception 2 as active. What the two conceptions share and what sets them apart from conceptions 3 and 4 is the focus on the challenges of being

a BMLC learner in England. For participants identifying with Conception 1 life with its challenges continues without pupils engaging with it. They are living their lives in a new country in paralysis. For Conception 2 it means despite facing a number of varied challenges, BMLC learners make every effort to make their lives at least acceptable. They work hard to adapt socially and academically.

Conception 2 shares with Conception 3 the responsiveness to the new circumstances participants find themselves in. However, the pragmatic approach in Conception 2 of trying to cope with life as a BMLC learner in England differs from Conception 3 by a move from 'despite being a BMLC learner in England' to 'because of being a BMLC learner in England'. The focus shifts from challenges being in the foreground to opportunities being at the fore. Conception 3 entails a positive and enthusiastic perception of life in England and attending an English secondary school offering opportunities which pupils would otherwise not have had. Pupils conform and adapt happily to the new way of life and culture, and embrace the opportunity to learn English. They prefer being in England and perceive themselves as privileged compared to their peers in their native countries.

As with Conception 3, Conception 4's focus is on the opportunities offered by living in England as a BMLC learner. However, Conception 4 perceives the opportunities this life offers as opportunities for personal growth. Conceptions 1, 2 and 3 focus on the current situation and how to respond to it. This means a 'no-response' reaction, the development of survival strategies and, for Conception 3, the embracing of opportunities offered. It does not mean consciously turning stumbling blocks into stepping stones as portrayed in Conception 4. Conception 4 does not only look outward

but also inward as it involves reflection on the pupils' part adopting this conception. It is about actively seeking, utilising and creating opportunities to develop and grow as a person. Participants identifying with Conception 4 feel they would not be the same person with the same life skills had they not had the experience of being BMLC learners in England. They are forward looking, consciously drawing on their experiences and skills to take control over their lives including the strength to support others. Conception 4 requires an appreciation of being able to develop life skills because of being a BMLC learner in England and its inherent challenges. This is a significant, qualitatively different experience to conceptions 1, 2 and 3. It embodies the move from responsiveness to proactivity. Hence, I argue that the watershed, defined as a 'shift in thinking' (van Rossum and Hamer 2010:31) is located between conceptions 3 and 4 as highlighted by the double border separating the conceptions in outcome space 2.

The first two research questions have been addressed by the presentation of the findings from the poststructuralist and phenomenographic analyses in sections 4.2 and 4.3. These analyses were conducted to enable the mapping of their findings in order to address the final research question of how the positioning of 'EAL learners' via the official discourse is reflected in the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions which is the focus of the following section.

4.4 Phenomenography and Foucauldian poststructuralism in harness: mapping of findings – four conceptions of perceptions against three categories of positioning

In section one of Chapter 4, six areas of positioning were identified in government policies on EAL, and the analysis of individual interviews with four staff highlighted

how the official discourse is enacted by staff working with BMLC learners. Appendix 4 presents the areas of positioning from analysing the documents and staff interviews under three categories representing the findings and how the four conceptions identified in the phenomenographic study relate to these categories. The realignment of the six areas of positioning to three categories enabled a succinct demonstration of the interdependence between positioning, perceptions and normalisation.

In the first category, the areas of positioning *Terms chosen to refer to BMLC learners,* and *EAL, ethnicity and 'race'* have been have been aligned with *'*Othering - diversity as 'issue''. 'Deficit model' is the heading of the second category and entails content related to *Conflation of EAL and SEND,* and *EAL and assumptions of underachievement.* 'Contribution' to society, forms the third category and aligns to findings in relation to *EAL and 'economic potential,* and *Academic versus emotional needs*. The three categories (dark grey) have been arranged in columns (1) – (3) in Appendix 4 in order to arrange the four conceptions (light grey), which were developed in the phenomenographic study, in rows below. The rows contain quotations rephrased or shortened to bullet points from all BMLC learner participants who were directly quoted in the phenomenographic study under the corresponding conception.

All eighteen participants contributed to Conception 1, Being a BMLC learner in England means having to face new and challenging situations. Quotations have been selected from twelve BMLC learners as the most significant contributions. Other comments contained similar content and within the constraints of this thesis not all comments were listed. There are quotations referring to diversity and feelings of underachievement. However, Appendix 4 reveals that BMLC learners' focus is heavily on their emotional needs. The choice of vocabulary like 'scared', 'horrible', 'alone',

'sad', 'not talking' describes their feelings and needs, and is in stark contrast to the focus on academic needs and contribution to society the official discourse suggests. Pupils identifying with Conception 1 feel vulnerable and government documentation does not seem to consider BMLC learners' emotional needs. There does not appear to be any guidance for schools and staff on how to address BMLC learners' feelings of otherness. By using EAL as a proxy for 'race' and using terms like 'EAL learners' or 'pupils with EAL' as discussed in section one, part one, 'otherness' is created and supported.

Thirteen pupils' quotations out of eighteen contributors to establishing Conception 2 have been mapped to the three categories generated from the official discourse. The focus of BMLC learners who perceive being a BMLC learner in England requires adaptation and the development of coping strategies, is on the feeling of 'otherness'. Pupils are therefore eager to adapt and seem to wish nothing more than to fit in. In order to do so they feel they must learn English as quickly as possible - a perception that is fully in line with the official discourse. Any resources schools offer or suggest to improve language skills like the use of technology, iPads, translation software, watching English television, or speaking English as much as possible when engaging with others, including at home, are keenly utilised to achieve integration at any cost. At the same time, it is obvious from pupils' comments on their finding and creating safe spaces that there are emotional needs specific to BMLC learners which need to be met. They try to stay in touch with old friends with whom they share their language(s) and culture: they like to be with others who speak their language so they can communicate fluently and express what they really want to say. They like being in physical spaces with other young people who are in the same situation and understand,

and try to stay away from those pupils who do not understand, although BMLC learners 'know' – from what they hear and experience in school, the discourse surrounding EAL - that this is not what will help them to integrate and achieve.

BMLC learners portraying characteristics of Conception 3, Being a BMLC learner in England offers opportunities which would otherwise not exist, appear grateful for the opportunities they are given which manifests itself in comments on spaces, surroundings and facilities like gardens, parks and swimming pools. The focus, however, seems to be on academic needs related to future needs and plans, ranging from being able to communicate within and outside England, to opportunities offered, for instance in terms of access to the latest technologies and future job prospects and careers. BMLC learners' comments within Conception 3 refer to categories (1) diversity as 'otherness' portraying what is 'other' as positive, and to (3) contribution to society embracing the opportunities on offer for a successful life and career. As for conceptions 1 and 2, all eighteen pupils interviewed contributed to establishing Conception 3. Nine pupils' comments were quoted directly in the phenomenographic study and their contributions are included in Appendix 4.

Conception 4, Being a BMLC learner in England teaches life skills and supports personal growth. As for conceptions 1 - 3, comments contributing to Conception 4 concentrated on categories (1) and (3), othering and contribution to society. Conception 4 was established from nine pupils' comments and five pupils' quotations were included in the body of this work. BMLC learners mentioned pride in their academic achievements including learning English but also maintaining their 'own' language as many called their mother tongue. They are proud of their ability to live within different cultures and cross-cultural boundaries on a daily basis without

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perceived (or admitted) difficulties. Being 'other' is accepted as they are keen to function well in both cultures without denying their heritage but at the same time embracing the culture of their new home country. They enjoy multiculturalism as part of their life. Their resilience, patience, open mindedness, persistence and confidence has resulted in feeling accepted despite being 'other'. This acceptance might stem from and at the same time enhance the pupils' awareness of the importance of taking responsibility for themselves and others, and their ability to do so. They perceive it as their responsibility to take initiative in maximising what the English education system has to offer, to develop life skills and grow as a person so that they are able to help their parents, siblings and other new arrivals, and to become independent and successful in life. In governmental documentation terms this equates to 'economic power' and contributing to society. Having developed life skills like resilience, patience, open mindedness, persistence, confidence and responsibility, pupils identifying with Conception 4 appear as mature young people with a positive attitude to their life in England.

4.5 Summary

Chapter 4 discussed the data analyses and presented their findings on the constitution, positioning and normalisation of 'the EAL learner' and their needs in three sections. Section one, the Foucauldian analysis, consisted of two parts: the analysis of governmental policies and documentation on the topic of EAL and the individual staff interviews. Section one addressed the first research question. In section two, addressing the second research question, outcome spaces 1 and 2 of the phenomenographic study, generated from interview data with BMLC learners, were

presented. Section three focused on the third research question on using phenomenography and Foucauldian poststructuralism in harness.

The findings from analysing EAL policy and documents were presented as six areas of positioning. These areas reflect the themes recurring in the literature as discussed in Chapter 2. The analysis of the staff interviews, therefore, focused on the same six areas in order to explore the positioning of school staff via the official discourse around EAL in government documentation. In the phenomenographic part of the study, four conceptions were developed from interviews with BMLC learners. The conceptions related to five dimensions in respondents' comments. In section 4.4, the findings from the poststructuralist analyses in the form of the six areas of positioning were grouped into three categories: 'Othering – diversity as 'issue'', 'Deficit model' and 'Contributions to society'. Subsequently they were mapped against the findings from the phenomenographic study, namely the four conceptions, to identify how the prevailing discourse is reflected in the variation of BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education (Appendix 4).

The following chapter discusses the findings and their desired impact on ways of working for and with BMLC learners to improve provision and care in the light of the literature.

Chapter 5: Discussion of Findings

5.1 Introduction

The findings from analysing the documents and staff interviews suggest that the dominant discourse constitutes a homogenous image of 'the EAL learner' and neglects BMLC learners' individual emotional needs. It portrays bi- and multilingualism/-culturalism as deficit and positions BMLC learners as 'others'. Interviews with staff highlight their 'dilemma' (Hudson 2013: 393) due to having to work without training and sufficient resources, trying to adhere to school policy and at the same time experiencing BMLC learners and their emotional needs on a daily basis. The staff's dilemma was further illuminated by the insights gained from the mapping of the Foucauldian and the phenomenographic studies' findings. Section 5.2 discusses these insights in the light of relevant literature. The possible consequences and desired impact of the findings, which are to question the constitution, positioning and normalisation of 'the EAL learner' leading to improved provision, are discussed in section 5.3. Chapter 5 concludes with a presentation and discussion of the study's limitations and a summary of the chapter's main arguments.

5.2 Reflections on the mapping of findings in the light of relevant literature

Drawing on relevant literature, the conceptions developed in the phenomenographic study will be discussed in numerical order in relation to 'Othering - diversity as 'issue'', 'Deficit model' and 'Contributions to society', the three categories from the poststructuralist analysis. The conceptions themselves, however, are not to be seen as a chronological hierarchy as explained in sections 3.2.4 and 4.3.1.

5.2.1 Conception 1 - Being an 'EAL learner' in England means having to face new challenges and situations – outside the norm

BMLC learners identifying with Conception 1 are focused on the challenges they are confronted with and which evoke negative emotions. In addition to cognitive challenges at subject level, BMLC learners face the linguistic challenge of learning a new language together with new ways of learning, new traditions, behaviours and expectations (Carrasquillo & Rodriguez 2002). They feel overwhelmed by their new life, often in a new family or away from some of their family members. Being called an 'EAL learner' and constantly being reminded of lacking basic language knowledge people living in England need and 'normally' have, confirm feelings of being 'different' and 'not normal' which leads to silence being used as one survival strategy (Bligh 2014, Safford and Costley 2006). The prevailing discourse perpetuates this vulnerability and brings into play both governmentality and technologies of the self, laying the ground for normalisation (Gillies 2013).

Appropriate behaviour and achieving proficiency in English as quickly as possible seem to be more highly rated than BMLC learners experiencing the transition as smoothly as possible and settling in at school and their new home country. Comments made by BMLC learners in the interviews on their experiences on arrival at school exemplify what Youdell (2003:4) calls 'teachers' formal and informal constructions of an "ideal client" (Gillborn 1990:26) …, incorporating classed, gendered, and raced notions of 'appropriate pupil behaviour'' (ibid:25). Gillborn provides an example by referring to African-Caribbean boys' behaviour and their style of walking, as being judged by staff in schools as '*a challenge to authority'* (ibid:19, original

emphasis/title) and 'deemed 'inappropriate' (ibid:29) behaviour outside the norm (Gillies 2013).

Conception 1 also contains other references to forms of disciplinary power. Having to perform in tests on arrival in school to demonstrate knowledge or rather, as perceived by BMLC learners, their lack of knowledge of the English language, and not being able to communicate with peers or to express their emotions and needs but also their talents, interests and previous experiences, leads to anxiety and feelings of inadequacy. In following such assessment procedures schools present themselves as much more interested in BMLC learners' English language development rather than the learners' personal basic needs and mental well-being. Schools need to find appropriate ways to welcome BMLC learners and address their immediate needs as BMLC learners' social and educational exclusion does not necessarily improve with policies of inclusion (Youdell 2006a). Such changes occur, as Youdell (2006a) suggests, through different practices in schools on a daily basis, not necessarily through policy. Eight years later, with the introduction of the new National Curriculum (DfE 2014), policy does not seem to consider how to improve BMLC learners' social and educational exclusion as it unquestioningly adopts a common but disputed pedagogic approach (Leung 2016) which is reflected in the little space in the National Curriculum dedicated to provision for BMLC learners (Leung 2016, Conteh 2015). This approach takes for granted that mainstreaming is the best possible way forward for BMLC learners to 'acquire' the English language, which implies a 'nonconscious' (Leung 2016:164) way of 'learning' (Krashen 1982), by reconceptualising 'the ordinary classroom as a supportive environment conducive to additional language development' (Leung 2016:164). There is an assumption that pupils should speak English as much as possible which is at the expense of BMLC learners' own language(s), culture and identity (DfES 2002). In

contrast, there is some recognition that a 'must-speak-English-approach' is counterproductive to learning English effectively as second language learning is linked to first language acquisition through the CUP, the common underlying proficiency (Cummins 2000, 2001). Based on theorists such as Leung (2016), Cummins (2000, 2001), Bourne (2001), Conteh (2015) and Safford and Costley's (2006, 2008) finding of silence being one of the key strategies BMLC learners use, I would argue that re-ordering thoughts related to mathematical concepts as described in The Key Stage 3 National Strategy document 'Access and Engagement in Mathematics' (DfES 2002:5) might be more achievable if talking in one's own language either to another pupil who speaks the language, an assistant or even to oneself. An attempt in English could be made in addition. The insistence on the use of, in this case, spoken English does not take into consideration that BMLC learners struggle simultaneously with learning new subject content and the linguistic challenge of learning English (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez 2002) as R7's comment exemplifies 'In Czech I feel safe because I understand everything. I was best in Maths... .' In contrast, their ENL peers can focus entirely on the new information at subject level and draw on written and spoken explanations. Written language might for some BMLC learners be the only way to access learning as Safford and Costley (2008:14) illustrate.

> One student described waiting for the teacher to write something on the board throughout her first class; he never did, and she could only guess at the content of the lesson.

Furthermore, insisting on the use of English disregards the importance of emotional support at a difficult time in BMLC learners' lives and that their priorities might lie elsewhere, for instance trying to understand currency or more importantly to overcome feelings of anxiety and loneliness. Wallace (2011:110-111) sees as the first task for BMLC learners the development of English and curriculum knowledge. The second

task, which she describes as harder, is about resolving 'tensions between out of school identities … and past experience of school, with the expectations of the new setting.' Considering the negative emotions BMLC learners experience on arrival I would argue that support needs to be provided for both tasks at the same time with a focus on the mental well-being of the learners, not their academic achievement.

Cummins (2001) explains in his language theories of linguistic interdependence how teaching could build on BMLC learners' existing language skills and cultural experience. His division of language into BICS, basic interpersonal communication skills, and CALP, cognitive academic language proficiency, demonstrates why BMLC learners reach a 'deceptive' level of language proficiency in English within a short time. The language proficiency is described as 'deceptive', as it disguises the long-term requirement of targeted specific language input. After about two years (Cummins 2000, 2001) BMLC learners seem able to communicate well but subject specific and academic use of language is not developed as far as basic language skills, neither in their own language nor in English. Funding to support BMLC learners is only available in their first three years of schooling and ignores the need for CALP development (British Council 2014). Policy makers and schools need to recognise that language development differs between language used for everyday life and subject specific and academic language, and break the circle of 'discursive perpetuation of coercive relations of power' (Cummins 2000:245). In an attempt to avoid normalisation, alternative pedagogies could support teachers in recognising multilingual pupils' linguistic and cultural experiences, their 'funds of knowledge' as the pupils' most important thinking tools. Cummins (2000:245) speaks of 'transformative pedagogies' that

Give rise to micro-interactions between educators and students that challenge coercive relations of power operating in both the discourse and educational structures of the broader social context (ibid).

Such pedagogies and interactions would take into account 'the more hybrid identities' of BMLC learners as they are 'situated in specific social, historical, and cultural contexts' which they can comply to or resist (Garcia 2009:84). The discursive constitution of a homogenous group referred to as 'EAL learners' or similar terms discussed previously, highlights the shared lack of English and being other than British. It neglects BMLC learners' vast range of experiences (Conteh 2015:15) and 'funds of knowledge' (Gonzales et al 2005) as it implies universal experience of the group which is impossible from a poststructuralist perspective (Francis 1999). That it 'produces that which it declares' (Butler 1993:107) is reflected in staff's strategies of working with BMLC learners which are not necessarily differentiated and the focus is mainly on the lack of English rather than the acknowledgement of multilingual skills. The created binaries, 'ENL' versus 'EAL', '(white) British' versus 'not British', render one of the two as less desirable (Derrida 1978; Culler 1983) and therefore in need of normalisation where possible, namely the one that is 'performatively constituted as other' (Butler, 1997). No consideration is given to other options or 'truths' as, for instance, Hoque (2015) does when showing that the divide between Britishness and Islam is constituted by the prevailing discourse and can therefore be resisted and overcome. Normalisation is first and foremost aimed at 'normalising' language as a prerequisite for academic achievement and the ability to make positive contributions to the society and economy of the country as government documentation openly states (DfEE 1977 in Ozga 2000, DfES 2003).

Considering the link between language and culture, further normalisation that eliminates constituted differences between BMLC learners and their ENL peers is likely to happen alongside linguistic normalisation. Perceptions of being 'othered' based on ethnicity and bullying seem to be linked to not being able to speak English and being different in an undefined way. EAL having become a proxy for 'race' in the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b; Smith 2013, 2016) might be a contributing influence in this context. Once BMLC learners are able to communicate in English former bullies sometimes become their friends. The concept of 'race' based on physical features was not mentioned in pupil interviews but can be found in governmental documentation. Based on the findings of this study I would argue that this is a hidden operation of power where both ethnicity and the term EAL denote deficit – deficit in terms of language and ethnicity because the hidden and silent norm is assumed as white, middle class and a native speaker of English. Although looking at minority ethnic pupils' rather than BMLC learners' performance, 'Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils' (DfES 2003) seems to discuss black Caribbean, black other, black African, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian and Chinese pupils' performance compared to white pupils. The participating BMLC learners might not have experienced or realised any forms of institutional racism or racist comments by peers. They might not have wanted to, or felt they could not talk freely about 'racism' in school which would explain the 'silences', what is not discerned (Åkerlind et al 2014), or it might not have been relevant in either of the two schools. In one school all BMLC learners were of white minority ethnic background, in the other school white ethnic pupils were a small minority. There might also be other explanations why 'racism' did not feature in the BMLC learners' accounts.

Foucault (1991a:170) claims "The chief function of the disciplinary power is to 'train'" and its success stems from 'hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and their combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination.' The working of disciplinary power is reflected in BMLC learners' perceptions. In Conception 1, BMLC learners perceive being an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary system as challenging due to their overwhelming emotions and feeling different to the 'norm'. They are (made) aware that they do not measure up to the rule and depart from it (Foucault 1991a). This also applies to Conception 2 which illustrates normalisation through disciplinary power aimed at compliance and technologies of the self in the form of practices 'required of the self in order to be discursively included' (Gillies 2013:15). Testing and judgements based on English language proficiency (Robert), reminders to speak English as much as possible (Susan) and correction of behaviours (Hera) as referred to in staff interviews are examples of the use of disciplinary power and unquestioned pedagogical approaches. Bourne (2001:256) claims

> Ideas about learning are institutionalised in classrooms in what Schutz (1932) has called 'recipes', agreed and unquestioned ways of doing things. These recipes not only structure the way teachers organise and control events in classrooms, but how they see children themselves.

Even if the approach evident in staff interviews led to improved English language, it does not encompass consideration of the importance of maintaining one's own language as part of one's identity, or the impact of a potential 'language divide' between pupils and parents with possible implications for social, mental and physical well-being of all concerned. There is no support in place to help pupils to cope with the conflict between academic demands requiring to speak English all the time and personal and emotional needs involving communication with family in their own

language which can possibly lead to cultural and linguistic disassociation (Hoque 2015).

5.2.2 Conception 2: Being a BMLC learner in England requires adaptation and the development of coping strategies – self-disciplining individuals

BMLC learners identifying with Conception 2 feel if they adapt, they can be 'normal', overcome their deficits, stop feeling inadequate and 'fit in' (Jackson 2013:194). They feel the need to catch up to their ENL peers to be able to compete (Ball 2008) as suggested by the 'neo-liberal discourse that emphasises competition as an organising principle for society and individual differentiation in terms of treatment and rewards as a desirable consequence' (Leung 2016:171).

As with Conception 1, Conception 2 is based on perceptions of being 'othered', displaying some kind of inherent deficit and not being able to be successful in life if adaptation, in the first instance via proficiency in English, is not achieved quickly. However, in contrast to Conception 1, BMLC learners become active in the normalisation process, they are on a journey to becoming self-disciplining individuals (Foucault 1990). Wanting to escape the judgement of 'otherness', BMLC learners develop strategies that aim to bring them in line with the rule. They work towards becoming 'normal'. If they were invited to ENL peers' houses they might attempt to 'assimilate' via stimuli from such visits as Windzio (2012) suggests. However, BMLC learners did not mention mixing with ENL peers outside school, only friendships within school.

Self-study is one of the key strategies used by BMLC learners, and their multilingual families and friends' support with schoolwork and their future aspirations (Safford and Costley 2006) is crucial. BMLC learners are aware of feeling and being perceived as 'deficient' and underachieving. As English is accepted as the dominant and 'better' language (Phillipson 1992, Skutnabb-Kangas 2007) which needs to be spoken 'if you live in this country' (R18), the best remedy for feeling 'other' and deficient is seen as becoming proficient in English.

Although 'Aiming High: Raising the Achievement of Minority Ethnic Pupils' (DfES 2003) looks at pupil underachievement from a 'racial' rather than an minority ethnic perspective and includes ENL pupils from other than white backgrounds (Archer and Francis 2007), the document provides a good example of possible teacher positioning in relation to minority ethnic pupils which includes BMLC learners from any ethnic background. The publication lists, among other factors influencing underachievement, teachers' low expectations which 'deter some minority ethnic pupils from doing well'. Such teachers' positioning could be rooted in institutional racism which is listed as the last of six possible factors influencing underachievement based on the Macpherson report (1999) and The Commission for Racial Equality's definition of institutional racism which highlights that unfair treatment of ethnic minorities is 'often without intent or knowledge' (DfES 2003:10). Teachers' assumptions of BMLC learners' underachievement could equally result from the learners having somebody supporting them in class and how this support is provided (Bourne 2001), or due to the learners being allocated to lower sets (Thomas and Collier 2002) which they are trying to escape from (R7 and R11). The SENDCO being in charge of organising support for BMLC learners also contributes to the confusion of language and learning difficulties.

Staff development for working with BMLC learners does not develop staff's cultural and language awareness sufficiently to be effective (Mistry and Sood 2010) and therefore staff's support for BMLC learners might resemble support for pupils with learning difficulties.

In documentation, SEND and EAL are frequently mentioned together, for instance in the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b) which I argue has the potential to lead to the conflation of language and learning needs. I agree with Thompson (Naldic 2010) that BMLC learners should be mentioned as a distinctive group and not combined with SEND. I consider BMLC learners as falling under the terms 'vulnerable' and 'disadvantaged' just as pupils with SEND. However, documentation needs to make a clear distinction between the needs of the two equally important groups by differentiating between learning needs and language needs. This would avoid confusion and the impression that the same provision is suitable for all disadvantaged and vulnerable learners irrespective of the reasons for the disadvantage and vulnerability (ibid).

EAL documentation and policy, and subsequently schools, prioritise learning English over BMLC learners' personal and emotional needs and BMLC learners are exposed to this discourse via procedures in school, examination and staff working with them. Garcia sees 'obsession with language categories' (2009:39) and schools insisting on using only a particular standard connected to Foucault's concept of governmentality (1991b). She explains the dominant status of certain languages by referring to Foucault's interest in how language practices "regulate" the ways in which language

is used, and establish language hierarchies in which some languages, or some ways of using language, are more valued than others (Garcia 2009:39).

The learners subscribe to the dominance of English and believe that learning English as quickly as possible even at the cost of becoming ostracised from their own culture and language (Hoque 2015), is necessary for becoming part of the 'norm'. This linguistic normalisation process is further supported by BMLC learners' coercion into the use of English as Hoque claims,

> Most books, the internet, mass media, the schooling system and the system of governance and commerce all demand that they learn English. (Hoque 2015:61).

Conversely, coping strategies are developed to manage emotions and anxiety, for example, using safe places in school during breaks, staying in touch with old friends or finding new friends with whom BMLC learners share their culture and language, reduce feelings of 'otherness' and inadequacy. These strategies are in contrast to the common advice to speak English when and wherever possible but they support BMLC learners' mental well-being.

5.2.3 Conception 3: Being a BMLC learner in England offers opportunities which would otherwise not exist – positioned and normalised

Coping strategies only feature in Conception 2. BMLC learners identifying with Conception 1 are paralysed by the challenges they face and unable to respond. Conception 3 paints a very different picture of the BMLC learner. The focus shifts from negative to positive perceptions. 'Otherness' does not seem to be an issue and neither do feelings of inadequacy. What is 'other' in their new country, such as a

pleasant environment, access to sporting facilities and technology in school is embraced. The advantages of being proficient in English are linked to career opportunities for later in life and the ability to communicate globally which again opens up further employment opportunities. BMLC learners identifying with Conception 3 seem so relieved to be part of the 'norm' that they do not speak about their other language(s) and cultural experiences. They perceive their ability to converse in English as positive, not their ability to speak more than one language. Parents, carers and wider family might support this outlook. However, if parents, carers and other family members are not in agreement with such perceptions, BMLC learners might experience tensions within their families (Hoque 2015). Either way might lead to loss of cultural identity and bi- or multilingualism.

Normalisation via governmentality through policies, school, teachers, support staff, parents and peers, is in addition intrinsically motivated via the self-regulating individual (Foucault 1984, 1986). BMLC learners are not only positioned, they start to position themselves and others by constituting, in line with the dominant discourse, what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in an English secondary school as demonstrated in R9's comment about showing a new pupil around the school.

> We were just like explaining him and he was laughing at us, how are we behaving, you know, it was really good.

Conception 3 could be described as self-disciplining individuals developing a positive outward looking approach to being a BMLC learner in the English secondary education system. Opportunities offered are embraced, 'otherness' seems overcome and BMLC learners appreciate future career prospects they seem to have due to relocating to England. There does not seem to be any awareness of power relations and

still being perceived as 'others' by the ruling majority, still being seen as 'lacking' compared to the 'norm', and being offered opportunities in preparation for contributions to society and economy without possibly ever being fully accepted into a nation characterised by white Britishness.

In the previous chapter the watershed was located between conceptions 3 and 4, marking a significant, qualitatively different experience between the first three and the fourth conception that implies a shift in thinking, a move from responding to the situation to being proactive and creative in order to benefit from the situation (van Ross and Hamer 2010). This study uses the concept of the watershed in connection with the development of understanding and awareness resulting in agency. Hamer and Rossum claim progress in learning and development might only be achieved if the watershed can be crossed (van Rossum and Hamer 2010:149) and that overcoming the watershed is difficult and 'requires courage, stamina and self-confidence' and 'support' (van Rossum and Hamer, 2010:482).

5.2.4 Conception 4: Being a BMLC learner in England teaches life skills and supports personal growth – constitution via alternative discourses

BMLC learners identifying with Conception 4 developed the ability to reflect critically on their life as 'EAL learners' in the English secondary system. They actively seek opportunities for personal growth leading to resilience, confidence, patience, persistence, open-mindedness and the ability to take responsibility for themselves and others. Their capacity to look outwards and inwards allows them to take pride in their academic achievements and readiness to contribute to the society and economy of their now home country and simultaneously to be proud of their cultural heritage and

maintenance of their own language(s). BMLC learners aligning themselves with Conception 4 appreciate living in a multicultural society but are aware that 'otherness' or 'abnormality' (Ball 2013a:54) will always be ascribed to them via the prevailing discourse as they attempt to unite their diverse cultural identities, an ambition which does not fit the 'norm'. They develop fragmented, multiple, shifting and even contradictory identities (Eckerman 1997). They neither reject their own language, history and culture nor do they object to learning English and developing a new cultural identity (Hoque 2015, Mills 2001). Therefore, they are able to escape labels such as being 'undesirable', 'intolerable' (Youdell 2003:18) and 'impossible learners' (Youdell 2006a:40) which can be assigned to young BMLC learners if trying to resist normalisation, for example to African-Caribbean boys for creating "anti-school male students' sub-cultures" (Mac an Ghaill 1988:9).

The support BMLC learners receive seems to be recognised as predominantly aimed at normalisation and benefitting society but at the same time as helping them to fulfil their ambitions in life. BMLC learners realise that they have a choice and there are options how to respond to being constituted as 'other', 'deficient' and expected to become part of the workforce contributing to 'Britain's economic prosperity' (DfEE 1997: 9). They learn what is 'acceptable' and 'what is expected' (Gillies 2013:16) and make an active choice of compliance or resistance, and to what degree they wish to comply or resist and employ possible alternative constructions (Hall 1992). Such choices are nonetheless influenced by other discourses as the individual never acts as a 'sovereign protagonist' (Weedon 1997:40). Resisting the prevailing discourse is enabled by awareness of other constituted 'truths', by being positioned by resisting discourses not by being a rationally thinking subject as proposed in humanism

(Weedon 1997). Therefore, if individuals understand positioning through discourses, they are in a better position to recognise that constituted forms of subjectivities are not their own and that they do not 'signal who they are' (Davies 1992:56). BMLC learners identifying with Conception 4 resist the discourse that positions them as 'other' and 'deficient'. It is freedom as a condition of power that allows them to

> … be faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving, several reactions and diverse comportments may be realised (Foucault 1982:221).

BMLC learners in Conception 4 choose to position themselves via alternative discourses that constitute a positive image of a multicultural society and recognise the value of bi- and multilingualism and bi- and mulitculturalism (Francis 1999). They use their agency to make life work for themselves, to achieve what they want to achieve, which is not necessarily in contrast to the aims of the normalisation process in modern neoliberal society for 'self-governing individuals, active agents who embody social and corporate ideals at the individual level' (Gillies 2013:15). Children are expected to develop the strength of character and attitudes to life and work, such as responsibility, determination, care and generosity, which will enable them to become citizens of a successful democratic society' (DfEE 1997:10).

The difference to conceptions 1, 2 and 3 is BMLC learners' understanding of constituted responsibilities resulting from being positioned as 'others' outside the norm (Britzman 2000; Archer and Francis 2007, Jackson et al 2010, Martin 2009) and their awareness of other 'truths' and their agency. Conception 4 means a conscious decision of compliance or resilience (Gillies 2013:15). BMLC learners are aware of sacrifices to be made by themselves or the sacrifices their parents made. At the same time they recognise the benefits of being bi- or multilingual and bi- or multicultural

and of their education in England. These BMLC learners do not succumb to apathy but rather to activism (Foucault 1984). The variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education, as developed in this research, could be used as a practical starting point for BMLC learners to identify themselves with the different conceptions. The conceptions can be an instrument of power, 'a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy' (Foucault 1998:101).

Considering the findings from the mapping exercise and seeing the variation in the context of normalisation, tailored support could be provided accordingly. BMLC learners could be given individual emotional support and offered opportunities to ask the questions that mostly concern them. Support could involve appreciation of funds of knowledge and bi-and multilingualism combined with reassurance that English will be learned with time. Focusing on BMLC learners' plans for the future and probing their positioning to establish if it might pose an obstacle to their hopes and aspirations would support learners. Such approaches would need to be complemented by the introduction to alternative discourses. Support could take the form of encouragement of agency and overt discussions of the normalisation process and multicultural society. BMLC learners identifying with Conception 4 could provide peer support for others. The reasons why some BMLC learners identify with Conception 4 and others with Conceptions 1, 2 or 3 remain unexplained in this study which leads to the discussion of its limitations after a further reflection on the findings.

5.3 Findings in context: possible consequences and desired impact

The generation of a hierarchy of conceptions via a phenomenographic approach allowed me to examine the variation in perceptions in relation to the prevailing discourse(s) around EAL in government documentation and enacted by staff working with BMLC learners. Through the conceptions, I was able to establish which areas of the discourse(s) seemed to position BMLC learners. It was the conceptions rather than the variation in perceptions which enabled the exposure of the normalisation process via the dominant discourse. It could be argued that the conceptions in this study are no longer straightforward phenomenographic conceptions purely highlighting variation in perceptions. The use of the phenomenographic conceptions in harness with Foucauldian poststructuralism transformed the conceptions into a collection of possible perceptions, possible 'truths', of what it can mean to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary school system based on, in this case, eighteen contributors' collective comments. Conception 4, the only conception that includes some form of agency in drawing from various, if not contradicting discourses such as the discourse around EAL and 'otherness' and the discourse around celebrating diversity, could be used as a kind of discourse formation from the base to demonstrate an alternative to the prevailing discourse that underpins conceptions 1, 2 and 3.

The conceptions can be used to identify how learners are positioned and position themselves in relation to the normalisation process. Phenomenography as a tool to improve teaching and learning has been used in this study as a tool to expose the normalisation process. Via establishing the conceptions, I, as the researcher, am able to raise awareness of positioning and offer the possibility of alternative 'truths'.

The main finding from this research is that the prevailing discourse positions BMLC learners in a way that constitutes normalisation as 'truth', the only option to enable them to lead a 'successful' life in this country. Exposing BMLC learners to other 'truths' than the one prescribed by the dominant discourse, would enable criticality and choice of behaviours, reactions and comportments (Foucault 1982). A 'critical ontology of the self' (McNay 1994:133) could possibly result in resistance to normalisation which is not in line with assimilationist ideas of governance. BMLC learners might not as easily 'give up adherence to their own culture, language, customs and values' (Tomlinson 1990:37) if they are aware of alternative 'truths' by which to 'achieve equality of opportunity and acceptance into the nation' (ibid).

BMLC learners seem to suffer on arrival, fall victim to bullying (Martin 2009), show shame for not speaking English, feel linguistically and culturally incompetent and therefore might show humility and modesty in their 'passionate pursuit of a recognition' (Butler 1997:113). 'The mode of subjection', is explained by Foucault (1990:27) as the 'way in which the individual establishes his relation to the rule and recognises himself as obliged to put it into practice'. Subjectivation can, however, not only be accomplished through discipline but through technologies of the self. 'The subject acts … within/at the limits of subjectivation' (Youdell 2006b:42). Based on the findings of this study, I agree with Gillies (2013:16) that subjectivation might be achieved by technologies of the self or discipline or 'perhaps more accurately, by both, although not always in equal measure.'

I see the discursive process of normalisation as intertwined with, and at the same time concealed behind, two prevailing discourses which are purposefully in conflict with

each other to obscure assimilationist tendencies and disciplinary power in the shape of 'competition, survival, income maximisation' (Ball 2006:146) in line with neoliberal policy. Safford (2003) and Smith (2013) raise the point of incompatibility between discourses of equality. One of the prevailing discourses conceptualises need as 'attention to appropriateness of input in relation to … culture and ethnicity' (Smith 2013:434) and celebrates linguistic and ethnic diversity (Safford 2003), and the other conceptualises need as "attention to attainment of 'typical' outcomes within the norm-referenced standardised curriculum" (Smith 2013:434) and proposes 'the universal model of language development and assessment' (Conteh 2015:59). Examination, as one of the ways 'surveillance' is undertaken (Allan 2008:86), is a technology of power, a disciplinary power (Fairclough 1992) and 'a significant component' of "bio-power" (Ball 2013a:6), 'a power which takes hold of human life' (ibid: 74). Via examination 'Schooling is a means of sorting and sifting individuals, of grading them according to their abilities' (Jackson 2002:41). Foucault's explanation of examination highlights the contradiction between the discourse of care and celebrated diversity, and the discourse of assessment.

> The examination combines the technique of an observing hierarchy and those of normalizing judgement. It is a normalizing gaze, a surveillance that makes it possible to quantify, classify and punish. It establishes over individuals a visibility through which one differentiates and judges them (Foucault 1991a: 184).

Examination constitutes 'situations that provide a threat to one's sense of self-worth … such situations are plentiful in school situations, where assessments and grading are abundant …' (Jackson 2002:42; 2013). BMLC learners' voice as the voice of a marginalised group is lost in these discourses as

> some groups or institutions have been able to speak *knowledgeably about* "others", subaltern groups who were concomitantly rendered silent – men speak about women, deracialized whites about racialized others,

heterosexuals about homosexuals, the West about the Orient' (Ball 2013a:15, original emphasis)

I add, speakers of English speak about others who are not proficient in the language, and they do this in a manner that ignores BMLC learners' proficiency in other languages as these languages are not ascribed the same status as English. Furthermore, BMLC learners are not only 'othered' until they have acquired English and curriculum knowledge, they also need to have acquired the 'demeanours and practices linked to being a good citizen'" for 'becoming [a] pupil' (Wallace 2011:101). Positioned by racialised discourse, Archer (2008) argues, that BME learners are excluded from the construct of the 'ideal pupil'. Ball (2013a) reminds us that Foucault does not want the power/knowledge relation as taken for granted, it rather needs to be investigated and exposed in all instances. The creation of truth is, according to Heller (1999:11) possible via 'processes of regimentations which generally take the form of control over the construction of linguistic norms'. It exercises 'symbolic domination' (ibid) over 'docile bodies' (Foucault 1977:138, Gillies 2013:15), in this case vulnerable young people, and it operates on the basis that 'anyone exercises such regimentation, and that anyone takes this regimentation seriously' (Heller 1999:11). Institutions such as schools which are mainly under the control of powerful groups are discursive sites

> … to legitimate coercive relations of power as being reasonable, fair, and in the best interests of both the subordinated minority and the society as a whole' (Cummins 2000:235)

It implies that dominant groups might not act for their own benefit but in the belief of acting for society's best interest based on the assumption that they have the knowledge of what is best (ibid) for BMLC learners. However, it raises the question if 'othered' (Fine 1994) minority ethnic BMLC learners are included in this society. I concur with

Heller (1999) that the construction of truth by dominant groups implies subordinate groups

> … agreeing that somebody's idea of how to do things *or how things are*, is the right, normal, natural way to do *and see* things for everyone, despite that fact that only certain people get to make up the rules, and hence profit from the fact that they do so, while putting everyone else at a disadvantage (Heller 1999:12) [italics: my additions]

Controversial debates of education policy emanating from the Department for Education (DfE) and other authorities in education are therefore of immense importance as they can play a part in (re-)shaping discourse and offer a way of resistance (ibid). The 'truth' can be questioned, challenged and changed as agency cannot be denied to those who are critically aware of power relations, and a new episteme might evolve over time (Foucault 1980, 1982). It is the wider debates which raise critical awareness and enable the redesign of 'knowledge' or the creation of alternative 'knowledge' when policy is reshaped (Ball 2006) by 'street level bureaucrats' (Lipsky in Hudson 2013:393) or 'at the chalk face' (Gillborn 2008:71). If BMLC learners are exposed to a variety of discourses they might have a choice by which discourse or elements of different discourses they are positioned and their subjectivity is shaped.

Understanding of discourse or 'the discursiveness' of discourses around normalisation (Foucault 1991), and awareness of concepts such as governmentality, the 'rationalities of rule' (Gillies 2013:15), care of the self and technologies of the self, all 'practices which individuals undertake in order to shape themselves in particular ways in relation to discourse' (ibid) and to develop a 'critical ontology of the self', 'an alternative ethical standpoint' (McNay 1994), enable criticality and empower resistance (Gillies 2013, McNay 1994). Being able to voice determination to stay true to oneself and one's

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heritage rather than staying silent is 'a gesture of defiance that heals' and makes 'new life and new growth possible' (hooks 2015: preface) as reflected in Conception 4.

Although the study provides answers to the three research questions it is, due to the nature of the phenomenographic analysis of BMLC learners' responses in interviews, beyond its remit to identify the reasons that cause the variation in perceptions which will be discussed amongst other limitations in the following section.

5.4 Limitations of the study

The limitations of the study have been identified as conceptual and methodological. The methodological limitations are linked to the use of phenomenography, choice of and access to participants. The conceptual limitation lies in the created knowledge being situated and provisional (Blackler 1995). Constrained by wordage and the focus of the study, choices selecting government documentation had to be made and the confusing conflation of EAL, ethnicity and 'race' could not be given sufficient consideration. The same applies to the current discussion of Fundamental British Values which is omitted entirely in this study due to its vast scope. Each of these limitations will be discussed in turn.

The phenomenographic approach to analysing the interviews with BMLC learners enabled establishing the variation in their perceptions of what it means to be an EAL learner in the English secondary system. It enabled the identification of the watershed between the first three and the fourth conception. The shift in thinking is reflected in BMLC learners' awareness of agency and the preparedness to reflect on and engage

in repositioning practices. They seem to understand how the prevailing discourse positions them via the constitution of a specific 'truth', and that their agency allows them to resist this positioning as they are aware of other 'truths'.

It is, however, beyond the remit of a phenomenographic study to identify the reasons for the differences in conceptions including the watershed. As discussed in detail in the chapter on methodology and methods, phenomenography does not take into account influencing factors, it purely conceptualises participants' perceptions of a certain phenomenon to establish the variation in perceptions. Each participant in a phenomenographic study usually contributes to several, most or even all conceptions, the conceptions are based on all comments made by interviewees. Applying the hierarchy of conceptions in practice can help to establish with which conception a particular BMLC learner might identify to be able to provide tailored support. What this study in its entirety cannot explain is why an individual might specifically identify with one or another conception. It is beyond its remit to explain why BMLC learners within Conception 4 are aware of positioning, multiple 'truths' and agency.

This research maps the findings from its phenomenographic study against the findings from its Foucauldian analyses of EAL policy and staff interviews. It investigates how the prevailing discourse is reflected in the variation of BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary education system. The study aims to expose the microphysics of power constituting the 'EAL learner' in specific ways which position BMLC learners and staff, and subsequently influence behaviours. Its conceptual framework, poststructuralist Foucauldian thinking, positions all knowledge as situated and provisional (Blackler 1995) and so are

consequently the findings of this research. My thought processes and writing are subjective, positioned by discourse(s), and subject to 'plurality and constant deferral of meaning' Weedon (1997:104).

This study is a Foucauldian – phenomenographic investigation into the normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary education. Government documentation and policies have been analysed to establish the prevailing discourse around EAL. Thus, it was necessary to select certain documentation and disregard others. I attempted to include the most relevant documents. However, the choice will always be subjective and linked to my positioning in connection with issues around EAL.

The conflation of EAL, ethnicity and 'race', although a theme in this study, also presented difficulties in the research process. Documentation, for instance, 'Aiming High' (DfES 2003) is used to demonstrate certain points relevant to the research, at the same time the use of documentation that approaches minority ethnic pupils' underachievement from a 'racial' perspective defeats the object of trying to unpick the confusion of EAL, ethnicity and 'race'. I attempted to resolve this dilemma by referring to it whenever such contradicting examples were included. However, within the constraints of this thesis I have not been able to devote sufficient consideration to its discussion.

Within the context of 'Othering', valuable contributions could have been gained from the topical discussions around Fundamental British Values in general and in connection with Islamophobia in particular. Part Two of the Teachers' Standards (DfE 2011b), disguised as safeguarding, requires teachers not to undermine these values and

since 2014 to promote them. Teachers' Prevent duty demands reporting of any suspicious pupil behaviours or contributions possibly indicating vulnerability or exposure to extremist ideas. This means opening doors to a discourse of 'othering' and xenophobia which is relevant to the discourse surrounding EAL and BMLC learners. However, the inclusion of the discussion of issues around Fundamental British Values would have been beyond the scope of this research.

The number of schools from which participants were recruited poses a further limitation. Although a phenomenographic study requires only 16 – 20 interviews (Åkerlind 2005a, Trigwell 2006) and staff interviews have been conducted to demonstrate the link between the prevailing discourse via government documentation and BMLC learner positioning, a wider spread of schools might have been beneficial to the study. The schools taking part in the research could both be described as extreme. One, due to its vast majority of BMLC learners and noticeable minority of white British pupils. The other school, as it has a predominantly, if not exclusively, white British body of students with only a few white minority ethnic BMLC learners. A school with a mix of minority ethnic and British pupils, BMLC and ENL learners from varied backgrounds might have added to the findings.

The main limitation of the study, however, is that BMLC learner participants were recruited from a group of students which each school had selected. In one school this meant all but one student who was ill at the time, in the other school only the 'best' students in terms of behaviour, co-operation and attainment might have been chosen to be allowed to take part in the research. I had no access to BMLC learners who are school refusers or attend school only sporadically. In one interview, a participant

mentioned some of her friends' truancy and their indifference to education and learning English due to having been forced to move to England by their parents' decision to relocate. Although having been in the country for up to six years, they insisted they would neither need English education nor the ability to speak English. This behaviour and attitude seemed to be perceived as 'wrong' by the interviewee. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that there is at least one other conception to be captured in the context of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary education system. It would be useful to establish if and how the prevailing constitution of an 'EAL learner' and the surrounding dominant discourse are reflected in these young people's perceptions. They resist 'normalisation' but at the expense of their education and future opportunities.

5.5 Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the mapping of the two data sets. The six areas of positioning, summarised into three categories, within the poststructuralist study represent the prevailing discourse in the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an EAL learner in an English secondary school. Although normalisation as a process of assimilation is criticised, this does not imply that learning the language of one's new home country and becoming familiar with its culture, traditions and customs are deemed unnecessary or non-beneficial. The criticism refers to prescribed normalisation being portrayed as the only possible way to survive and to lead a successful, fulfilling life, and to how normalisation is also portrayed as only possible at the expense of BMLC learners' cultural and linguistic heritage. English can be learned alongside the use of other native languages and might even be learned more

quickly bearing in mind CUP, BICS and CALP (Cummins 2000, 2001). Multiple cultural and linguistic identities are possible (Hoque 2015), however, they are rendered less desirable via the prevailing discourse. Social justice demands that BMLC learners' voices are heard and that the learners are able to live a happy, fulfilling and successful life without normalisation in the disguise of assimilation. The aim of this research is to raise awareness, first and foremost amongst BMLC learners and teaching staff, of multiple 'truths' and the power of their agency so that BMLC learners are able to make an informed decision if they wish to comply with or resist the normalisation process and how far they wish to take their compliance or resistance.

The research employed two compatible perspectives, Foucauldian thinking and phenomenography. The Foucauldian discursive analysis of governmental documentation and staff interviews provided an insight into how staff and BMLC learners are positioned via, and position themselves and others according to, the prevailing discourse. The four conceptions developed in the phenomenographic part of the study presented the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions. Due to the mapping of the findings, the reflection of the prevailing discourse could be identified in the variation of BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an EAL learner in the English secondary system.

Foucault does not claim to provide solutions, his aim is to raise awareness through deconstruction and questioning (Gillies 2013, Ball 2013a). Phenomenographers' aim is to improve teaching and learning by identifying the variation in perceptions via the development of conceptions (Marton and Booth 1997). By using Foucauldian analysis and phenomenography in harness via mapping of both sets of findings, one possible

reason for the conceptions – the prevailing discourse around EAL - is explained which phenomenography on its own cannot accomplish. At the same time, the use of phenomenography shows how the results from the Foucauldian part of the study can be used in practice to work with BMLC learners and staff. It adds the reconstruction that is claimed by critics to be missing from Foucauldian analysis (Fairclough 1992, Soper 1993 in Francis 1999, Gillies 2013). The Foucauldian poststructuralist element of the study provides the theoretical framework that some critics claim to be missing from phenomenography (Hallett 2014). Employing both perspectives in harness has led to new insights into normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary education, and to suggestions on how the findings of this study can be used in working with staff and BMLC learners.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Introduction

In the conclusion to this study I reflect on the journey my research has taken me and review the interdependency of my ontological self, my methodology and my ethics. In this context I revisit issues of validity. Finally, a summary of findings culminating in the discussion of how my research aims have been met; the study's contribution to existing bodies of knowledge; suggestions for practice; and recommendations for further research conclude this thesis.

6.2 The research journey

My interest in EAL is rooted in my experiences with languages as a learner, teacher and teacher educator. These experiences have shaped my beliefs and influence my actions. Before I engaged with sociological and educational research, I was unaware of my positioning in humanist thought believing in the existence of the rationally thinking subject and 'sovereign protagonist' (Weedon 1997:40). As a linguist, I always felt intrigued by the power of language and how it could be (ab-)used to influence humans' beliefs and actions which was in line with Fairclough's view of the 'active social agent' and language (1992:45). The turning point was marked by the start of my doctoral studies. Discovering the work of Foucault, I became aware of the constitution of discourses and their relation to the concept of power. More importantly, I became aware of the possibility of alternative discourses and resistance to the prevailing discourse. I started to question what role language plays in our lives, coming to see language as part of the wider discourse and subjection. Engaging with Foucault's

views on discourse, power/knowledge and ethics led to a personal and professional change. I started to reflect on my 'beliefs', actions and reasons for thinking and behaving in certain ways and seemed to understand others' in a way differing from pre-research held assumptions. I felt liberated by understanding positioning through discourse as it enabled me to make better sense of my personal and my professional world. I became aware of being positioned and positioning myself and others via discourses. Given my interest in EAL, it was the treatment of and provision for 'EAL learners' in schools, examined through the lens of Foucauldian discursive positioning, power/knowledge relations, governmentality and technologies of the self which I wished to research. In my doctoral studies I also encountered phenomenography and became captivated by its ontological, epistemological and methodological similarities and differences to Foucauldian poststructuralism. Employing the two, as I argue compatible perspectives, to explore the normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary education has been a fascinating and eye opening journey. I developed an understanding of ontology, epistemology, methodology and ethics and their interdependence which led to grappling with Foucauldian thinking and phenomenography and the recognition that this will be an ongoing battle rather than a straightforward research experience with a happy ending.

6.3 Reflections on the research design including ethics

Reflections on the research journey and 'honoring the location of the self' evokes 'new questions about the self and the subject … or even alter[s] one's sense of identity' (Richardson and St Pierre 2005:965). These words succinctly summarise my own experience of research. My own beliefs were under scrutiny and I became aware of my

ontological positioning in poststructuralist thought. Still, I believed phenomenography to offer useful insights for improving teaching and learning, which in the context of my study means awareness of positioning via discourse and developing and exercising agency. I recognised that, due to my ontological positioning, the employment of phenomenography in harness with poststructuralism would only be justifiable if their ontologies were compatible and their epistemologies at least intersecting. Their diverse methodology, first and foremost their pursuit of different aims, I argue, is the reason for combining them as they complement each other's research outcomes and provide new insights due to different angles of perspective.

Denzin (2011), considering issues of trust and ethics, lists characteristics of critical qualitative research. I agree with his comment that in qualitative research 'Our empirical materials can't be fudged, misrepresented, altered or distorted because they are life experiences. They are ethnodramas' (ibid:651) which 'join private troubles with public issues' (Denzin and Lincoln 2003b:265). A further characteristic of critical research is the need for the ethnographic researcher to be able to talk and listen to participants and to be familiar with the life of the researched community (Denzin and Lincoln 2003b). The interviews conducted for this research are 'ethnodramas' which are then analysed in different ways. They join the troubles of the individual with the prevailing discourse in governmental documentation and policy (ibid). Due to my own subjectivities from experiences with language use and language learning, and to some extent, sharing the emotional upheaval of moving to a foreign country without being fluent in its language, enabled me to build trusting relationships, especially with the pupil participants. Denzin and Lincoln's (2003b, 2011) characteristics of critical research link the issue of validity to ethics. In phenomenographic research,

communicative validity (Kvale and Brinkman 2009) via a defensible interpretation (Åkerlind 2012) is achieved by the outcome space corresponding to human experience (Trigwell 2006). Pragmatic validity (Kvale and Brinkman 2009) is accomplished through the extent of usefulness of the outcome space to the audience (Åkerlind 2012). The results of mapping the phenomenographic findings against the findings from the Foucauldian study demonstrate this usefulness, and as this thesis is a reflexive study, situated in my personal and professional experiences, it fulfils the criteria for ethical research and demonstrates validity through critical reflexivity (Pillow 2003).

6.4 Findings and research aims

The literature review aimed to provide an overview of the relevant literature in the field, define a gap in the literature and offer an insight into the emergence of the current dominant discourse. The theming of the literature review supports the establishment of a structured synchronic backdrop to the empirical exploration of the prevailing discourse and its constituting and positioning BMLC learners. Furthermore, the themed literature review, including references to media sources, provides a diachronic backdrop by exploring the influences which have contributed to the development of the current discourse. The findings emerging from the mapping of the two data sets against each other on the normalisation of BMLC learners successfully address the gap in the literature: the mapping of the two sets of findings from the Foucauldian and the phenomenographic study identifies how the positioning of BMLC learners via the prevailing discourse around EAL, is reflected in the variation of BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education. The four conceptions developed in the phenomenographic study (challenge,

adaptation, opportunities, life skills/personal growth) were mapped against the six areas emerging from the Foucauldian analysis of governmental documentation and echoed in staff interviews (*Terms chosen to refer to BMLC learners; EAL, ethnicity and 'race'; Conflation of EAL and SEND; EAL and assumptions of underachievement; EAL and 'economic potential; BMLC learners' academic and emotional needs).* The six areas were categorised under the three headings of 'Othering – diversity as 'issue'', 'Deficit model', and 'Contributions to society' for mapping against the four conceptions of perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in an English secondary school. The mapping reveals the normalisation process BMLC learners undergo from their perspective and the fundamental role English language plays in it. English and its status as the dominant language, English as the language that needs to be learned, its role in 'othering' and the term 'EAL learner', contribute to and are part of the prevailing discourse. Acceptance of English as the superior language and proficiency in English are being portrayed and perceived as the solution to all problems encountered. The findings from the poststructuralist analysis - that the prevailing discourse constitutes a homogenous image of 'the EAL learner' and neglects emotional needs, portrays bi- and multilingualism as deficit and positions BMLC learners as 'others' - are reflected in all four conceptions developed from interviews with BMLC learners. Subjection to this discourse perpetuates the learners' vulnerability and leads to normalisation being perceived as the only possible solution for survival and success. The watershed divides Conception 4 from the other conceptions as there are indications of BMLC learners being somewhat aware of positioning, resisting, and developing and using agency. Understanding the conceptions in the light of the prevailing discourse, their use, predominantly

Conception 4's, in working with BMLC learners will enable them to explore their positioning and resist or comply with the discourse leading to normalisation.

The research questions I set out to answer were:

1. How does the official discourse around EAL position BMLC learners and their needs?

2. What is the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in English secondary education?

3. How is the positioning of 'EAL learners' via the official discourse reflected in the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions?

The Foucauldian part of this thesis analysing governmental documentation and staff interviews addressed research question 1, the phenomenographic study answered research question 2. The mapping of the two sets of findings demonstrates that and how the positioning of BMLC learners is reflected in the variation of their perceptions and answers research question 3. Employing the two compatible perspectives to explore the role of English as an additional language as a vehicle for the constitution, positioning and normalisation of BMLC learners in English secondary education through a Foucauldian – phenomenographic study has led to the 'unmasking of power' for the use of those who suffer it' (Sheridan 1980:221) as mentioned previously (3.2.2). The implications of the study will be discussed within the context of contributions to knowledge.

6.5 Contributions to existing knowledge

Literature around EAL, how it should be taught, its provision and resulting issues of

inequality and injustice is extensive and so is literature on poststructuralism, Foucault and phenomenography. Literature on combining the two perspectives to investigate the normalisation of BMLC learners and the role of English in this process is practically non-existent.

This research contributes to existing bodies of knowledge at a methodological and a substantive level. Its innovative methodology of combining two ontologically congruent, epistemologically intersecting and methodologically diverse perspectives into a new approach, leads to new insights into the normalisation of BMLC learners at secondary level and suggestions for practice. The mapping of the findings from the two separate studies demonstrates how the normalisation of BMLC learners is achieved as the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions reflects the prevailing discourse.

The contribution via the Foucauldian part of the study is the findings of the investigation into how the prevailing discourse positions BMLC learners via the six identified areas of positioning. The findings from the analyses of the staff interviews support the argument of how the BMLC learners are positioned as the discursive positioning through the governmental documentation is reflected in staff's comments. By considering the historic background of issues around EAL linked to conceptions of and approaches to immigration from 1950 onwards, this research does not only explore what is communicated in writing and in speech, it also demonstrates 'how those statements are formed and made possible' (Ball 2015:311). The linking of EAL to issues around ethnicity and the construct of 'race' contributes to this under-researched area as it demonstrates beliefs and assumptions in prevailing discourses which

explicitly and intentionally, or implicitly and unintentionally, constitute the typical 'EAL learner' and sustain this positioning (Youdell 2006a).

The phenomenographic study contributes the development of four conceptions that highlight the variation in BMLC learners' perceptions of what it means to be an 'EAL learner' in the English secondary system. Exploring this inclusive and hierarchical outcome space in the light of the prevailing discourse clearly reflects constitution, positioning and normalisation of BMLC learners. Supporting staff and BMLC learners to understand and recognise positioning, and raising awareness of choices is an important contribution the study makes. The practical application of this understanding and recognition can enable BMLC learners and staff to have a voice in repositioning themselves via alternative discourses. The identification of the watershed between conceptions 3 and 4 plays a significant part in enabling BMLC learners to consider and engage intentionally in practices that might lead to change in perceptions, beliefs and behaviour (Youdell 2006b). The watershed demonstrates the move from responsiveness to proactivity, to creating opportunities from new situations in which BMLC learners find themselves. Staff and BMLC learners who are aware of these different approaches are much better equipped to recognise and acknowledge their discursive positioning but also their agency within a variety of discourses and take a somewhat active part in their re-positioning.

Without understanding the working of power/knowledge relations, governmentality, technologies of the self and normalisation, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend positioning via discourse. The phenomenographic part of the study provides concrete starting points to support BMLC learners in understanding

positioning via discourse and to enable some agency and choice within and between discourses. Borrowing from Ball's reference to the use of genealogy and ethnography, the main methodological contribution to existing knowledge made by my work can be described as generating a "transgressive 'method' of working" (2015:307) through the 'productive tensions' (ibid) between the congruent ontologies, intersecting epistemologies and diverse methodologies of phenomenography and Foucauldian poststructuralism.

The study also contributes practical suggestions for staff in school on working with BMLC learners based on the learners' needs voiced in the interviews. It highlights, for instance, the issue of allocating 'EAL learners' to lower sets purely based on language needs and disregarding pupils' cognitive development. Also, implicit assumptions such as ENL learners being held back in their academic development due to teachers having to cater for BMLC learners' needs are challenged. The suggestions for practice are included in the following section on recommendations.

6.6 Recommendations for further research and practice

Recommendations are made for further research on a substantive and a methodological level. On a substantive level, it is necessary to address the question of normalisation with different target groups, an extended number and variety of settings and a focus on under-researched ethnic groups. In addition, the findings from this study could be substantiated by research asking related yet different questions in interviews as suggested below. On a methodological level, the approach to using two diverse perspectives needs further attention. The established outcome spaces could be used for

further investigation into influential factors in BMLC learners' lives to provide reasons behind identification with conceptions. Section 6.6 concludes with suggestions for practice which are considered as equally important.

6.6.1 Recommendations for further research at a substantive level

Further research would be beneficial to substantiate this study's findings by expanding the research to a greater number and variety of schools and possibly interviewing school leaders and teaching staff, and certainly by involving BMLC school-refusers or pupils who attend school only sporadically. Parents' perceptions and experiences of what it means for their children to be 'EAL learners' in the English school system could provide additional insights, lead to new episteme and further alternative discourses. Conducting a phenomenographic study to establish the variation in BMLC learners' parents' perceptions would add a new dimension to the understanding of normalisation. The same applies if the question were asked what it means to be a parent of an 'EAL learner'. BMLC learners and their parents could be given opportunity to voice their ideas for improvement of provision for BMLC learners at secondary level via research. The same applies to BMLC learners and their parents at early years, primary, post-16, further and higher education level. Other target groups for further research on the normalisation process BMLC learners are subjected to, are their ENL peers and policy makers. Research across all ages and extending it from educational settings to the workplace could enable an understanding of when normalisation starts to feature in perceptions, how variations in perceptions according to age and setting might change and what the differences and similarities might be between young people and adults, as well as educational settings and the work place. The field would also

benefit from further research into specific under-researched ethnic groups such as East-European BMLC learners.

The recurring themes in the literature which were discussed in the literature review could be investigated further in connection with the areas of positioning established in this work with a focus on identity.

6.6.2 Recommendations for further research at a methodological level

On a methodological level, the innovative approach of combining Foucauldian concepts and tools with phenomenography needs to be tested in different contexts to establish the usefulness of the approach in producing new knowledge. Remaining within the context of EAL and normalisation, the approach could be applied to further research addressing the suggestions made above in terms of targets groups, settings and questions.

The methodology of combining two compatible perspectives could be extended further by analysing the interviews with BMLC learners through a Foucauldian lens and compare them to the findings from the phenomenographic study. This would provide answers to the question of why each individual identifies with a certain conception which could not be achieved within the scope of this study. Such a research project would explore another crucial issue on the basis of the compatibility of the two perspectives used in this study which is the emergence of the identified watershed – the reasons behind some BMLC learners identifying with Conception 4. The phenomenographic study only provides the conceptions based on all interviewees' answers and investigates neither the reasons behind their decisions nor can it align

individual learners to specific conceptions. Further research could take the established conceptions as stimulus into interviews with BMLC learners, and a Foucauldian analysis of such interview data could illuminate BMLC learners' reasons for identifying with a specific conception.

A fundamental question emerging from this research is where we are as a society in terms of assimilation, integration, multiculturalism, anti-racism and community cohesion. Referring to the similarities in discussions in, for instance, Derrick (1966), Tomlinson (1990) and Leung (2016), one has to wonder what, or how much or how little, has actually been achieved in all that time. Most importantly, we need to consider the future of our society in times of super-diversity and subjection to prevailing discourses leading to Islamophobia, a Brexit decision at least partly driven by fear of immigration, and general xenophobia. This study aimed to present research that does not 'stay on the surface of things' (Ball 2015:311), which explores discourse not in terms of simply language used as it cannot be reduced to that level. It examined the power-knowledge interrelations that enable discourses to emerge and to be sustained following Foucault's suggestions that "It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe" (Foucault 2002:54).

6.6.3 Suggestions for practice

The following are practical suggestions which schools and staff working with BMLC learners could follow to avoid perceiving BMLC learners as a homogenous group and neglecting their individual emotional needs, perceiving bi- and multilingualism and bi- and multiculturalism as deficit and falling prey to assumptions of BMLC learners' underachievement.

EAL departments could be renamed to reflect the bi- and multilingual and bi- and multicultural diversity of the BMLC pupil population in school. 'EAL learners' could be changed to BMLC learners or any other term which highlights the ability to speak one or more languages rather than the lack of proficiency in English. If the SENDCO is responsible for the provision for BMLC learners in school, the title could communicate this to all stake holders and not simply remain as SENDCO. In addition, the SENDCO would need to undergo specific training to work effectively with staff, BMLC learners and their parents and guardians to avoid conflation of language needs with learning needs. For all staff, staff development needs to be targeted specifically to working with BMLC learners and not conflated with (other) vulnerable and disadvantaged groups. It needs to challenge assumptions, clarify the construct of 'race' and provide access to alternative discourses around the issues of EAL, not purely address strategies to support the learning of English constituted via the prevailing discourse. Staff needs to be aware of their own subjectivities and how they position BMLC learners due to their own positioning. They need to be encouraged to reflect on the strong link between language, culture and identity.

Effective teaching strategies of making complex subject matter accessible to learners by breaking it down into smaller, manageable steps, explaining it in different contexts and allowing time for reflection and independent learning, need to be understood as not simply beneficial to BMLC learners but all learners.

On arrival BMLC learners could be encouraged to talk about their experiences in their mother tongue and, if possible, in English to make pupils feel welcome and at the same

time establish their spoken level of English. Detailed testing of English proficiency in all language skills areas, speaking, listening, reading and writing, could be undertaken once pupils are settled in school. To avoid conflation of language needs with learning needs and allocating BMLC learners to lower sets based on their level of English, subject specific knowledge could be tested in BMLC learners' mother tongues to allow a more accurate assessment of their ability in different subject areas as suggested by Ofsted (2014). This, of course, has resource implications. Bi- and multilingual/cultural parents, volunteers and pupils could play a vital part in this provision and the development of resources on a national level would be helpful. For written tests, a national resource bank could be developed for schools, as some local authorities already endeavour to do, with the support from EAL Nexus and the British Council. Genuine celebrations of diversity rather than tokenistic attempts (Youdell 2006c) and celebrations of Fundamental British Values, organised by BMLC pupils, parents and other bi- and multicultural community members could raise awareness of BMLC learners' funds of knowledge' (Gonzales et al 2005). Furthermore, ENL learners' understanding of the value of different cultures and languages needs to be developed.

6.7 Summary

Education needs to encourage independent thinking by providing the bigger picture to enable BMLC learners to develop criticality towards discursive normalisation through understanding how they are positioned, and how they are positioning themselves and others. As long as teaching and support staff, the young people themselves and their parents are not aware of alternative discourses, schools will most likely unintentionally, or intentionally, continue to subject BMLC learners to normalisation.

BMLC learners and their parents will also contribute to this process as they might not have the 'tools' to resist and hence the status quo, 'the reality', will be perpetuated.

BMLC learners' emotional and physical well-being and education that meets their academic needs are the responsibility of all stake holders in Education. Neither acceptance nor tolerance but appreciation of bi- and multiculturalism and bi-and multilingualism - honest and genuine celebration of cultural diversity – is a prerequisite for the achievement of a just, multi-ethnic society.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Interview questions (staff)

Introduction: (including checking all signatures on consent forms)
- introduce myself again
- mention the purpose of the project as explained in the information sheet
- reassure the interviewee re: anonymity and withdrawal rights

1. Could you please describe your role in working with learners with EAL in the school?

2. What languages do the learners you work with speak? Do you speak any of these languages?

3. Which language do your EAL learners speak at home?

4. Can you describe a typical day of working with learners with EAL?

5. What do your EAL pupils do during break and lunch times?

6. What does a successful session or day with EAL learners look like for you?
Could you provide an example?

7. If you have experienced a difficult situation with an EAL learner in a class room or the wider school context, could you please describe this experience?

8. If you could change anything the school provides for EAL learners, what would it be? Why would you change it or not change anything?

9. Do you have any advice for EAL learners?

Appendix 2

Interview questions (BMLC learners)

Introduction: (including checking all signatures on consent forms)
- introduce myself again, offer some water
- mention the purpose of the project as explained in the information sheet
- reassure the interviewee re: anonymity and withdrawal rights
- encourage the interviewee to ask me questions during the interview

1. First, could you please tell me a bit about yourself? For example, where you come from, when and why you came to England, and, maybe what you like about being here, or don't like.

2. What language(s) do you speak? Which language(s) do you speak with parents, siblings, friends outside school, in school?

3. Why did you start to learn English, do you like learning English? Did you want to learn it?

4. Can you tell me how you've learned English?

5. Can you describe a school day when you started school in England?

6. What does an enjoyable/successful school day look like for you?
Could you provide an example?

7. Considering what you've said so far. *(Use the respondent's words here as much as possible)* **If you could start your life in England all over again, would you do things differently? If there is anything you'd like to have been different, what is it?**

8. How do you feel now when you speak/write/work in English?

9. How do you know if you are working well in a subject?

10. If I asked you again about any thoughts, experiences, objects, things strategies to help you to be successful in your learning, what would you say now after you had more time to think about it? Is there anything you'd like to add?

Appendix 3

Outcome space 1: conceptions 1 – 4

Outcome space 1

Being a BMLC learner in England …	Inter-views	*Background*	*New Environment and Culture*	*Language Related Issues*	*Hopes, Interests, Aspirations; Responsibilities*	*Social Networks and Support Mechanisms*
1. …means having to face new and challenging situations	R1-18	Leaving home country/countries behind and with it family, friends, culture, language – 'loss' of identity. Emigration to England not out of choice.	Different laws, rules, procedures, expectations, cultural behaviours, traditions. Different way of living and environmental conditions.	Danger of losing own language(s) and at the same time not being able to speak English. Bullying/rejection due to lack of ability to communicate with others in English.	Not being able to pursue previous interests. Fulfilling parental expectations and being asked to provide support they might not be able to give.	Having to integrate into a new family if living with stepparent, half- and step siblings; Lack of friends at a crucial time of development (teenage age). Negative emotions and lack of support from school on arrival.
2. … requires adaptation and the development of coping strategies	R1-18	Accepting reasons for emigration and demonstrating trust in parents' decision. Not dwelling on situation, simply getting on with trying to adapt	Accepting different culture and working hard socially and academically to adapt. Asking for and accepting help from others.	Understanding importance of needing to be able to communicate in English for social and academic reasons. Finding own strategies to improve English outside school.	Wanting to be independent. Finding new interests and people to share these with. Helping parents and siblings if possible.	Finding safe spaces in school. Starting to make friends from same country or with a shared language. Staying in touch with old friends.
3. … offers opportunities which would otherwise not exist (external factors)	R1-18	Perception of having better opportunities in life compared to native countries.	Better learning environment and facilities. Enjoying improved standard of living.	Being able to learn English properly and proud of ability to communicate with others.	Embracing the opportunity to take up new types of sport and being able to develop new interests. Enjoying helping parents, siblings and friends.	Within and outside school being able to communicate with people and having friends from around the world.
4…. teaches life-skills and supports personal growth (reflection)	R1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17	Appreciation of being able to have a better future than parents due to better education and sacrifices parents might have made.	Developing awareness of and open-mindedness towards a new culture as multicultural environment seen as interesting and stimulating.	Developing resilience and patience in the process of language learning. Conscious persistence in trying to speak English overcoming apprehension and embarrassment.	Resolving tension between maintaining own culture and language(s) alongside settling into new home country, developing confi-dence. Taking responsibility for supporting others outside family and circle of friends.	Knowing how to employ social networks and support mechanisms effectively.

Appendix 4

Mapping four conceptions

against

six areas/three categories of positioning

Conception 1 (Challenge) R1-18	(A) 'Othering' - diversity as 'issue' *(1)Terms chosen to refer to BMLC pupils;* *(2) EAL, ethnicity and 'race'*	(B) Deficit model *(3) Conflation of EAL and SEND;* *(4) EAL and assumptions of under-achievement;*	(C) Contribution to society – focus on academic needs of BMLC learners *(5) EAL and 'economic power';* *(6) BMLC learners' academic and emotional needs*
R1		Struggling with Science because of English	No work in Greece for parents
R4			Problems in Portugal, needed to live with father
R6			Horrible, 'didn't know nothing'; confused with rooms and everything
R8			First day crazy – not talking anymore
R9		Embarrassed as not able to speak English	Bullied because of lack of English
R10			Alone, sad because of not understanding
R11		Tired due to focus on English all day	
R14	Different customs, e.g. attitude to stealing; tension/confusion linked to 'identity'/languages		Homesick, crying, no friends, missing dad
R15			Tests
R16			Parental expectations re: help with English
R17	No knowledge of British currency		Scared, tests
R18	Fighting in home country	Lots of different schools	Scared at arrival because of not understanding, people looking at her/him

Conception 2 (Adapting/ surviving) R1-18	(A) 'Othering' - diversity as 'issue' *(1)Terms chosen to refer to BMLC pupils; (2) EAL, ethnicity and 'race'*	(B) Deficit model *(3) Conflation of EAL and SEND; (4) EAL and assumptions of under- achievement;*	(C) Contribution to society – focus on academic needs of BMLC learners *(5) EAL and 'economic power'; (6) BMLC learners' academic and emotional needs*
R1	Friends but also hate. This is life, it's okay; bullied due to difference		Film club as a safe space;
R2	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study
R3	Use of technology for communication		Use of technology for communication
R5	Polish friend helps		Polish friend helps
R6			ECM as safe space
R7	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study	Not best anymore in Maths; Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study
R10	Watching TV in own language		Watching TV in own language
R11	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study	Need to learn English as quickly as possible; self-study
R12	I say in Swahili and I say in English (speaking with older relatives; Need English for independence		I say in Swahili and I say in English (speaking with older relatives; Need English for independence (shops)
R15	Staying in touch with friends from home		Football, sharing sports experience, meeting new people; in touch with friends from home
R16	Being with others from same country, sharing a language		Being with others from same country, sharing a language
R17			Explaining things in English helps with English
R18	Because if you live in this country you have to speak English	Because if you live in this country you have to speak English	Because if you live in this country you have to speak English

Conception 3 (Embracing opportunities) R1-18	(A) 'Othering' - diversity as 'issue' (1)Terms chosen to refer to BMLC pupils; (2) EAL, ethnicity and 'race'	(B) Deficit model (3) Conflation of EAL and SEND; (4) EAL and assumptions of under-achievement;	(C) Contribution to society – focus on academic needs of BMLC learners (5) EAL and 'economic power'; (6) BMLC learners' academic and emotional needs
R1			Travelling all over Europe – very good to have English
R3			Want to be a translator
R5			Lots of people asking questions as interested – nice to get attention
R7	Nice town		
R9	Behaviour different in other countries, better in England		Introducing school to new BMLC learners – telling them how great it is
R12	Like my garden		
R15			Technologies the school can offer
R17	English people nicer than expected		
R18	Park, swimming pool		

Conception 4 (Life skills/ personal growth) R1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17	(A) 'Othering' - diversity as 'issue' *(1)Terms chosen to refer to BMLC pupils;* *(2) EAL, ethnicity and 'race'*	(B) Deficit model *(3) Conflation of EAL and SEND;* *(4) EAL and assumptions of under-achievement;*	(C) Contribution to society – focus on academic needs of BMLC learners *(5) EAL and 'economic power';* *(6) BMLC learners' academic and emotional needs*
R1	Uprooted twice but likes new things – resilience		Uprooted twice but likes new things – resilience
R9	Not embarrassed any more but proud that she speaks good English – happy now/appreciation; at the same time proud of heritage – resilience; confidence		Education perfect here; able and confident to help herself and others; aware of positive life style – responsibility; Resilience, confidence
R14			In England for training to help parents later; already helping mother now – responsibility
R15	Knew I would learn English so wasn't sad – patience, resilience, persistence		Patience, resilience, persistence
R17	Loves meeting people from different cultures – open mindedness		