Getting in and getting on: Isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling in primary schools

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ABSTRACT

This interpretive, mixed methods study examines newly arrived, isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling in primary schools. Using a theoretical stance that draws on a sociocultural and socialization framework as a process of change, involving the complex interplay between identity, agency and power, the study explores the factors that contribute to bilingual children's experiences of schooling, how their experiences change over time, and how the children seek ways to strategically manage their situation. It also explores whether or not experiences of schooling differ between bilingual and monolingual pupils.

Questionnaires generating quantitative data were completed by 29 bilingual children from various ethnic backgrounds and 162 monolingual, White British children from 12 schools. Qualitative data were generated through questionnaires with the 29 bilingual pupils exclusively. The voice of the children is central, through interview based case studies involving the perspectives of five bilingual children, their parents, teachers and monolingual peers.

The findings reveal a complex picture because, although there is a sameness between bilingual and monolingual pupils, there is a distinctiveness about the bilingual group. However, a variety of experiences are noted between individuals within this group as factors interplay in complex ways. Therefore, bilingual pupils can not be considered to be a unitary group.

The socialization trajectories, which include transition into school, highlight that children's experiences vary and change over time, and are evidently affected by their relationships at school. By choosing strategic management approaches children are seen to shape their own socialization process.

The thesis concludes with a discussion of the implications for gaining greater insight into the schooling experiences of isolated bilingual learners through: categorisation of children, the unitary nature of bilingualism, difference and access. Recommendations are made including policy development, teacher development and further research focusing on the voice of the isolated bilingual child.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

The aim of this study is to gain an understanding of newly arrived, isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling in primary schools. My interest in these children is informed by my work with schools across the county. I currently lead the local authority team that supports minority ethnic children including those who are bilingual. In the past this was known as the English as an additional language (EAL) service. Before that I worked as a peripatetic EAL language support teacher working directly with pupils in primary and secondary schools throughout the county. The study takes place in a largely rural county in England which will be referred to throughout this thesis as Frasershire.

In this chapter, before describing the critical incident which informed the impetus for the study, I will explain my research journey and what is meant by bilingual children in the Frasershire context. Following this I will discuss the rationale for the study. I will then present the aims and significance of the study. Finally, I will describe the organisation of the thesis.

1.1 Research journey

It is necessary, at this point, for me to explain the nature of the long and rather complex research journey. In 1999 I was invited to undertake a scholarship at Fraser University and carry out research regarding the experiences of bilingual children in schools. This study was to be conducted within my role as Head of Service for English as an additional language in the local authority. Senior staff in the local authority were aware of this situation and supportive.

Following a pilot study, data for the main study, which involved interviews for three case studies in two schools, were generated between November 2001 and May 2002. However due to unforeseen circumstances, beyond my control, data collection was not completed until 2004, after which it was necessary to break from my studies. Subsequently, both supervisors that had been supporting my work retired from the University. I later re-commenced my studies and started working with new supervisors who brought fresh perspectives to the work. This situation has, at times, been challenging. Nonetheless, I now believe that the experience has also been positive in allowing me to look at my study in a much more meaningful way.

The study is not claiming to make bold statements but to find a deeper theoretical understanding of bilingual learners. This is achieved by re-theorising some existing notions that seem to oversimplify the position of bilingual learners.

1.2 Bilingual pupils in the Frasershire context

There are numerous definitions of the term 'bilingual' and Baker (2001) points out that the term itself is difficult to define, elusive to measure and evokes passions and prejudices. Perhaps these features help to explain the breadth of variations amongst those in education and causes for misinterpretation. Bilingualism is about language but it is a complex concept that is intimately connected to ethnicity and culture. Most bilingual children, who are learning English, are from minority ethnic groups: this refers to all groups other than the White British majority (Department for Education and Skills (DfES), 2006).

In this study the term bilingual is used to refer to those children who have access to more than one language at home and at school. It does not necessarily imply full fluency in both or all of their languages (DfES, 2006). Access refers to a point, along a continuum from a receptive understanding of a language, such as the initial situation when a non-English speaking child joins the English school system, to a child with a high level of fluency and literacy in several languages in different contexts. Consequently, pupils may experience gaps in their understanding and knowledge of the English language system which creates a 'language barrier'.

In Frasershire schools bilingual pupils represent a range of minority ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds with between 50-60 languages spoken by children at any time. Families come from around the world; however more recently, due to the enlargement of the European Union (EU), many families have arrived from Eastern Europe especially Poland. There are also families belonging to the more settled but small Sikh and Bangladeshi communities. Whilst many families are located in the urban areas the rest are scattered throughout the county.

Although Frasershire is considered to be a 'low incident area', as explained later, there has been a steady increase in the number of minority ethnic pupils to this county over recent years. This has been reflected in the decrease in the proportion of schools with very few (0-4%) or no minority ethnic pupils. Also a rise has been seen in the proportion of schools considered 'mainly white' (4%-6% minority ethnic pupils) and schools with over 6% minority ethnic pupils. With regard to the term a 'mainly white' school, Statham (1993: 9) argues that it is difficult to define these pupils, "in

terms of percentages of school population… as school sizes vary so much". She recommends that, "a rough guide might be up to 7% in a school". However, in the research carried out by Cline et al. (2002: 1), a 'mainly white school' was defined as a school in which 4%-6% of pupils were from minority ethnic backgrounds. Although the definition of a 'mainly white school' has been used by others (Statham, 1993; Cline et al., 2002; Gaine, 2005) and was adopted in this study, I acknowledge that it is problematic and no longer considered fit for purpose. This is due to the reference to groups of people identified as distinctive, primarily because of their skin colour. Consequently, in this context, rather than using the term a 'mainly white school', it would be more appropriate to describe a school as having a low minority ethnic settlement (Landon, 2003) or population.

With regard to bilingual pupils, whilst no institution would intentionally wish to isolate any group of pupils, Statham (1997: 18) indicated that, "there are degrees of isolation". More recently, Statham (2008: 2) has suggested that most people would consider 10% and under of minority ethnic children in a school setting as isolated. A feature of Frasershire schools is the isolated bilingual learner. A situation where there are few or even just one bilingual child in a class or school population. This is to be distinguished from the situation of pupils living in "isolated communities" in which families experience either "ethnic/cultural isolation" or "social isolation" (Cline et al., 2002: 11-12)

1.3 Rationale of the study

This section explains the rationale for this study. It comprises a critical incident leading to a series of professional development activities, subsequently, leading to a sociocultural understanding of learning providing a better understanding of the relationship between experience and learning.

1.3.1 *A critical incident*

A number of years ago whilst working as a language support teacher for the local authority in a Frasershire Secondary School I was aware of a pupil who had a particularly negative experience. I perceived that the pupil was treated inappropriately by school staff and denied access to equal opportunity. This is an account of the pupil's experience.

At lunch time pupils at the school exchanged a ticket, which had their name on it, for their food. A 'newly arrived' pupil from Asia handed in his ticket with his name on it

but the dinner staff refused to give him any food. There were a number of reasons for the problem. The name on the dinner ticket was correct. The pupil's name had been shortened and anglicised to make it easier to pronounce. The pupil's mother had remarried a local Frasershire man and the family was using his surname. However, school staff had wrongly assumed that the pupil could not possibly have a name such as this and that the pupil had obtained the ticket illicitly. Unfortunately, the pupil had only just arrived in Frasershire and was unable to communicate with staff to explain the situation. Consequently the pupil was not given any lunch. This went on for several days.

I felt that this situation was unbelievable. I had concerns about the pupil and his feelings. I also had concerns about the school ethos and inclusion process for pupils together with the lack of awareness, empathy and understanding of staff.

This experience had an impact on me. I wondered whether this was an isolated incident in a Frasershire school. To a certain extent it was. However, as I visited other schools throughout the county, through informal discussions with pupils as part of my work I found that bilingual pupils were encountering experiences to a greater or lesser extent that I and they perceived as negative. I became aware that some school staff were not always aware of the problems that bilingual pupils were experiencing. Also, in some cases, there seemed to be uncertainty amongst staff about how to tackle these problems if and when they arose. In other cases negative attitudes and behaviours seemed to be being condoned by staff. In addition, I felt that I understood a little of what some of the pupils experienced as I had previously lived and worked abroad. In Hong Kong I had experienced a very different language, culture and value system. I had been away from family and friends and I had also experienced the challenges that my 9 year old daughter faced when she joined a primary school in the heart of Hong Kong.

Guidelines were put into place following a review of research undertaken on behalf of the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills (Ofsted, 1996) which indicated that schools were consistently failing children from some minority ethnic groups (Gilbourne & Gipps, 1996). Subsequent research into the most effective ways of managing support and the characteristics of effective schools emerged (Blair, Bourne, Coffin, Creese & Kenner, 1998). It was highlighted that within effective schools there was provision of a culture and ethos within which everyone felt safe and valued. I felt strongly that, in line with the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 and Blair et al. (1998) that an appropriate school environment

was essential and the right of all bilingual pupils – as a prelude to ensuring effective learning. However, I was concerned that this was not necessarily happening for all bilingual pupils in Frasershire. Over a period of time it became clear to me that there were issues that needed to be addressed.

Significant progress has been seen in raising standards for children in primary schools over recent years. Whilst this has included many minority ethnic children including those for whom English is an additional language, it has not included all. 'Aiming High' was launched by the DfES as a strategy for raising the achievement of minority ethnic pupils and included a programme (2003) which focused on meeting the needs of advanced bilingual children.

> Our vision is simple: real equality of opportunity and the highest possible standards for all pupils in all schools. We have argued the case here for seeing the needs of minority ethnic pupils as an integral part of all mainstream policies and programmes, rather than simply an add-on. (DfES, 2003)

In spite of government policy, and support through the local authority, in general it has been an ongoing challenge to engage schools in adopting a whole school approach to identify and respond to the needs of bilingual pupils. Apart from a small number of schools in the county the majority have had few or no bilingual pupils. Consequently, it appeared that the inclusion and support for isolated bilingual pupils was not, until very recently (due to large increases in pupils from Poland), considered a high priority or an issue. Even though some isolated bilingual pupils told me they were experiencing problems it was perceived by the pupils that little if any action was being taken. The voice of the isolated bilingual children was not being heard and I felt that it was important to listen to their stories. It was also crucial to equip teachers with the necessary skills to support their isolated bilingual pupils.

1.3.2 *Professional development activities*

In the first instance, I initiated a collaborative project called 'Breaking Down Barriers' which was undertaken by staff from Frasershire local authority and Fraser University. It was based on a small-scale research project in which pupils were consulted and feedback gathered regarding their negative experiences at school. The secondary aged bilingual pupils described a number of issues. These included the use of inappropriate resources for their age and ability and teacher led class activities which presented the pupils as an exotic exhibit creating great embarrassment. Pupils described being unsupported and marginalised by their peers, which resulted in

loneliness and isolation. These experiences were developed into scenarios for an interactive training resource. This resource was used to raise teacher awareness of the issues identified by the bilingual pupils and to raise awareness of language and cultural diversity in schools. Drama and the use of video provide a focus for developing active strategies for staff development. Through my work in the county and participation in the Breaking Down Barriers project I became more aware of the challenges faced by bilingual learners and how teachers seemed unable to identify and respond to problems when they occurred.

Several years ago I participated in a research project (Rich & Davis, 2007) in Frasershire, which looked at the underlying factors that contributed to pupil inclusion and therefore learning and success. This study highlighted the ways that two bilingual boys managed the competing demands on their identity at home and within their infant classroom. Through undertaking this work I was amazed by the way the boys in the group were able to express their thoughts and feelings so openly and eloquently. This experience led me to decide to work, in confidence, with seeking out children's voices. Subsequently I decided to undertake the research reported here. Whilst the original focus had been the problems or negative aspects that bilingual pupils experienced, it was later considered beneficial to also consider positive aspects associated with pupils' school life. This is because there was a need to be aware of what was working well at school for these pupils. This would ensure that positive practice could be replicated in a way that is beneficial to other pupils and staff, and would actively challenge historical patterns of disempowerment (Cummins, 2001: ix) of bilingual pupils.

Once again through my contact with pupils, whilst I had been surprised that problems were being experienced by children in secondary school, I was even more surprised that this was the case in primary schools too. Consequently, as the majority of pupils supported by the EAL service were in primary schools, it felt appropriate to investigate the situation for primary aged children.

It was also recognised that transition into primary school, as a critical site of secondary socialization, is a significant stage in a child's education. If a child encounters a bad start at primary school this may lead to a negative socialization trajectory. I wanted to find out what was happening. In addition, from a previous study I had undertaken (Rich & Davis, 2007), I was aware of the stories young children had told me and of their ability and skills to recount their experiences. I

wanted to further explore the voice of young children in relation to their schooling experiences.

On a personal level, over the last five years I have lived through the socialization process and transition into school with my grandson. This has raised my awareness of this process.

1.4 The significance of experience on children's learning: a social account of the theoretical perspectives on learning

In my professional role, as described above, I met bilingual children who had encountered negative incidents within their schooling. This led me to consider the significance of events such as these on children's learning, which was a view in the literature. I, therefore, explored the theoretical perspective, which endorsed this viewpoint. Within a social account framework researchers used socialization as a way to understanding experiences of schooling.

The community of practice model (Lave & Wenger, 1998) helped to provide a way of explaining the socialization process with change taking place over time. Experience and learning are seen as an ongoing process as people move towards belonging to a community of practice.

I had been impressed by the way the pupils had talked about their experiences. Therefore, in my own study I wanted to ensure that I valued the voice of the children. Some experiences encountered by the newly arrived, isolated bilingual pupils had been shocking. I was concerned as to how these negative experiences were impacting on their learning. Believing that experience is highly significant to learning I therefore wanted to gain a better understanding of how the experiences of schooling might shape the learning of bilingual pupils. In particular I wanted to explore how pupils felt and engaged with their experience because this would seem to be of significance to their learning. It was important to look at aspects that were positive and those that were negative in their experience of schooling.

One can imagine the classroom setting that bilingual children might occupy in which they undergo an event or occurrence which leaves an impression. Within their social world the children would encounter many opportunities and many experiences. This would include the opportunity to interact with their peers and adults in their setting in a positive or negative way. Each child would interpret their context and respond in a

way of his or her own choice using different strategies, whilst making sense of his or her self.

Between the 1920s and 1930s Dewey (1938) criticised traditional approaches to education for being too concerned with delivering knowledge and not dealing sufficiently with understanding students' actual experiences. Consequently, Dewey (1938) argued that teachers should understand the nature of human experience. His theory proposes that experience arises from the interplay of two principles: continuity and interaction. Continuity refers to the notion that humans are sensitive to or affected by experience. Once born, rather than resembling other animals and relying on pre-wired instinct, humans are considered to be able to survive by learning from their experience. Dewey argued that we learn something from every experience, whether positive or negative. The concept of continuity suggests that each experience is stored and carried on into the future.

The concept of interaction refers to the situational influence on an individual's experience. In other words, interaction builds on the concept of continuity by explaining how past experience interacts with the present situation, to create an individual's present experience. It should be remembered that, within this concept, a positive experience for one individual may be a negative experience for another. The value of the experience can be measured by the effect that the experience has on the individual's present and future, as well as the extent to which the individual is able to contribute to society.

From a different perspective, within his theory of communities of practice, Wenger (1998: 214) discusses experience in relation to learning by identifying the close interaction of experience and competence as a fertile ground for learning. On the one hand, competence may drive experience. This is what happens to newcomers to a practice. "In order to achieve the competence defined by the community, they transform their experience until it fits within the regime" (Wenger, 1998: 138). On the other hand, experience may drive competence. This situation arises when newcomers have had some experience outside the regime of competence of a community to which they belong. As a way of asserting their membership, newcomers may try to change the community regime so that it includes their own experience. They may do this by inviting others to participate in their experience or they may need to engage with people in new ways and attempt to transform relations among people in order to be taken seriously.

The importance of the social context and the impact this has on learning is highlighted by Williams and Burden: "the immediate physical environment of the classroom and the nature of the personal interactions which occur within it will have a profound influence upon whether, what and how any individual learns (a language)" (Williams & Burden, 1997: 189).

A social account orientation helps our understanding of the significance of experience in shaping learning, because learning takes place in a social context and the interactions that take place play a key part in shaping an individual's learning (Berry & Williams, 2004). Also it focuses on the interrelatedness of the social, cultural and linguistic aspects of children's learning. This perspective helps to understand the individual child's social and cultural background and experience at school as well as the experience at home. It also helps our understanding of bilingual children's language and learning development within their new social environment with its different cultural rules and expectations (Drury, 2007: 50).

1.5 Research aims

In order to gain rich data an attempt has been made to describe the world of isolated bilingual children from the perspective of different participants. This has included isolated bilingual children, parents, teachers and monolingual peers.

The study has one main aim and four subsidiary aims:

The main aim is:

1. To gain an understanding of isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling within primary schools.

The subsidiary aims are:

(i) To explore whether experiences of schooling differ between isolated bilingual and monolingual pupils.

(ii) To explore the factors that contribute to isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling.

(iii) To explore how isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling change over time.

(iv) To explore how isolated bilingual children respond strategically to situations at school.

1.6 The significance of the study

I perceived that as well as being of interest to me personally this study would provide a valuable contribution to the field. Although other studies have looked at pupil experience from a particular perspective such as literacy, this study took a more open-ended approach to the general significance of experiences of schooling.

As Head of the EAL service and then the Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) team for the local authority, I have been ideally placed to undertake this research. It has been carried out in conjunction with my regular work with schools and is of immediate significance to me personally in this role. It is also of significance to the service by informing the work that is carried out to support bilingual children and their teachers in schools. Of value to staff will be both the theoretical knowledge in which the study is embedded as well as findings that are highlighted. It is important to gain an understanding of the problems experienced by bilingual children in order to take decisions about action. Gillborn and Gipps (1996) emphasise the negative result of taking no action. I suggest this includes a consideration of the experiences of minority ethnic pupils for whom English is an additional language because: "if ethnic diversity is ignored, if differences in educational achievement and experience are not examined, then considerable injustices will be sanctioned and enormous potential wasted" (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996: 7).

The local authority is supportive of this research and keen that the research findings provide a knowledge base for new policy development concerning school improvement.

The majority of research in the area of bilingualism in the United Kingdom (UK) context has been conducted in urban areas with high proportions of bilingual children. There is limited but growing literature focusing on bilingual pupils in mainly white schools located in 'low incident areas' (Statham, 1993; Witcher, 1996; Cline et al., 2002; Landon, 2003; Pagett, 2006; Berry & Williams, 2004; and Rich & Davis, 2007). As the presence in this county of 'isolated bilingual learners', has received little attention, this study contributes to the body of knowledge, through its broad-brush approach, regarding the experiences of isolated bilingual learners in a 'mainly white' low incidence area which is relevant to Frasershire and further afield.

However, it must be stressed that although this study is concerned with isolated bilingual learners in both urban and rural locations, some issues may have a resonance for colleagues working in settings which have much larger numbers of bilingual children.

This study contributes to the literature by listening to the voice of bilingual children. Through an interpretative approach the study provides methodological insight into how pupil voice was gained. In general, until recently (Toohey, 2000; Toohey & Norton, 2001; Conteh, 2003; Day, 2002; Pagett, 2006; Berry & Williams, 2004; Drury, 2007; Rich & Davis, 2007) studies have failed to listen to bilingual children and obtain their perspective. There is a lack of interpretative research in this area which may assist researchers in exploring the world of bilingual children at primary school. However, there is a growing recognition valuing children's voice to which this study contributes. Considering the underlying factors that contribute to pupil success at school is new in Frasershire. These aspects have not been looked at before: hence the potential value of this study.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

Chapter one provides an introduction to the study. It presents the context of the study, introduces the rationale and aims before concluding with the significance of the research.

Chapter two provides background information, which informs the study. It outlines relevant terminology and considers the national and local contexts regarding population, policy and provision.

Chapter three presents an overview of key theoretical perspectives and research studies underpinning this research and includes the conceptual framework.

Chapter four describes the methodology and presents the research aims and questions before considering the design. Research methods are discussed before focusing on the methods of enquiry used here. Issues raised in the study, its design and limitations are then addressed.

Chapters five and six report the findings and analysis of the data generated from the questionnaires and interview based case studies.

Finally, chapter seven presents a discussion of the findings followed by implications, recommendations and a conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

2.0   Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background information which informs my study. I begin by considering the terminology frequently associated with this field. I then consider the national and local contexts and look at the changing population, policy and provision. This includes consideration of pedagogy and practice for bilingual children.

2.1 Terminology

The terminology used to describe bilingual learners is complex and contestable. Here I will explain how the term bilingual is used in this study and the interface between this and other terms . In the discussion chapter (chapter 7), in light of the findings, I will critically reflect on the different terminology and the potential issues its deployment raises.

2.1.1 *Bilingual*

In the context of this study a helpful approach when defining the term bilingual is to consider the distinction between bilingual ability, which includes the skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing and, bilingual usage. This refers to the use made of languages by a child highlighting the importance of context. As a bilingual child moves from one context to another so may the language she/he uses change in terms of type, content and style. Children naturally switch and mix between languages when possible rather than keeping them separate (Conteh, 2006). This paints a picture of the way, for bilingual children, languages contribute to their whole experience and knowledge of the world. In this study, reflecting the terminology used in documentation released by the Primary National Strategy, through the Department for Education and Skills (DfES, 2006: 2), the term bilingual is the preferred term used to refer to, in a broad and inclusive way, "those children who have access to more than one language at home and at school. It does not necessarily imply full fluency in both or all of their languages" (DfES, 2006).

2.1.2 *Additive, subtractive bilingualism*

An additive bilingual situation is where the addition of a second language and culture is unlikely to replace or displace the first language and culture (Lambert, 1980). The 'value added' benefits may not only be linguistic and cultural, but social and

economic. Positive attitudes towards bilingualism may result. In contrast, the acquisition of a majority second language may negatively affect the minority first language and culture – a subtractive outcome. When the second language is prestigious and powerful, used in education and in the job market, and when the minority language is perceived as of low status and value, bilingualism may be threatened (Baker, 2001: 58).

2.1.3 *Minority ethnic group*

The term minority ethnic group is used in this study when referring to all groups other than the White British majority. Although children from these groups may well form the majority in some urban school contexts in England, they are still members of groups in a minority nationally and are therefore referred to as children from minority ethnic groups. Most bilingual children are from minority ethnic groups. School census data suggests that only a very small percentage of bilingual learners are white (DfES, 2006). However, in Frasershire this is not the case due to a high proportion of families from Poland.

2.1.4 *Ethnicity*

The concept of ethnicity can be used to describe bilingual learners and is relevant to be discussed here. The term ethnicity if left undefined may refer to culture or be a polite way to talk about race. In my mind culturally linked definitions make sense. They are preferable in that they differentiate ethnicity from national identity and race and associated with this is skin colour (Block, 2007: 28). Ethnicity is a cultural term and not biological. Confirming the desire to separate ethnicity and race Pilkington explains:

> Race and ethnicity both involve drawing boundaries between people. A conceptual distinction can, however, be made between race and ethnicity. While racial boundaries are drawn on the basis of physical markers, ethnic boundaries are drawn on the basis of cultural markers. (Pilkington, 2003: 27)

Ethnicity is not, in Modood's (1992: 48) terms, a mode of oppression; it is a mode of being. It is about how people choose to be and how they express themselves. Ethnicity is an essential part in how they construct their identity. It is relevant to people's lives and how people see themselves (Gaine, 2005: 24).

> An ethnic group is a group of people who share a history, key cultural features, such as religion and language, and a range of less definable

customs perhaps associated with marriage, food and the like. It may be that they are distinguished by some physical features (hair, eye or skin colour, height, facial features) but this need not be universal or excluding. (Gaine, 1995: 26)

2.1.5 *Mixed heritage*

Ways of looking at identity as socially constructed have challenged the view that those children that are of mixed heritage belong to a single category. Although the 2001 census in Britain formally introduced an individual's right to self-identity as 'mixed race', for example, both black and white, alternative approaches which focus on dual ethnic and cultural identifications would be preferable (Dewan, 2007). As possessors of two ethnicities and cultures, mixed heritage children may have access to two or more languages at home.

2.1.6 *English as an additional language (EAL)*

National Strategy documentation (DfES, 2006) uses the term English as an additional language as recognition of the fact that many children learning English in schools already know one or more other languages and are adding English to that repertoire. The following 'working definition' of EAL pupils is valuable in helping to understand the experiences of bilingual children in schools in this country:

> In England the term is currently used to refer to pupils who live in two languages, who have access to, or need to use, two or more languages at home and at school. It does not mean that they have fluency in both languages or that they are competent and literate in both languages. (Hall, Griffiths, Haslam & Wilkin, 2001: 5)

The way of thinking about bilingual learners as 'living in two or more languages' is helpful in understanding the links between language and identity (Conteh, 2006: 3).

Whilst the term mixed heritage is adopted in this study, it can be seen as problematic. From experience some families with a 'white' parent have preferred to register their child as 'white' in an attempt to ensure the child fits in with the majority group.

2.1.7 *Categories of bilingual learners*

Bilingual learners have been classified in different ways according to the amount of exposure they have, and have had, to English, for example as new arrivals or advanced EAL learners. Classification can also be dependent on the level of contact

that pupils have with other pupils from the same ethnic background. The following terms will now be explained: (i) new arrivals/advanced EAL learners, (ii) isolated bilingual learners.

New arrivals / advanced EAL learners

In recent years a distinction has been made between pupils who are considered 'new arrivals' to England and have limited competency in the English language but may be literate in their first or other languages and those who are advanced learners of EAL. Advanced learners of EAL is a term used by Ofsted to describe children who have had considerable exposure to English and are no longer in the early stage of English language acquisition. These children are often born in this country and seem to be competent with everyday conversation but need support in order to improve their language in order to achieve success in school (DfES, 2006).

Although it is recognised that these terms are arbitrary and lack specific time scales in their definition, they have proved extremely helpful with school staff when making a distinction between pupils.

Isolated bilingual learners

The term 'isolated' needs clarification because there are several dimensions. For example, on the one hand ethnic/cultural isolation is understood to be the extent that individuals are in contact with others from the same ethnic or cultural background and participating in aspects of social practice and traditions on a daily basis (Cline et al., 2002: 11). On the other hand social isolation is the extent that individuals maintain contact with neighbours or friends on a social basis where they live, irrespective of ethnicity or cultural background (Cline et al., 2002: 12).

Within a school or setting, as a guideline, Statham (2008:2) considers that isolated bilingual learners are those children in situations where there are fewer than 10% ethnic minority children. This definition will be adopted in this study. For nearly twenty years the concept of isolated bilingual learners has been a concern in many LEAs. However, it is not just a concern for schools in rural areas because there are isolated bilingual learners in cities (Conteh 2006), towns and suburbs (Statham, 2008). The isolation of these children stems principally from their inability to communicate readily in their first language with others at school. This is an even greater challenge for children who have newly arrived in the country with limited or no English, in respect of making friends and gaining access to the curriculum. As suggested by Landon

(2003), bilingual children in 'low-incidence' areas, such as the children in this study, may experience a greater sense of isolation in school with more pressure to assimilate and conform than those in 'high-incidence' areas. Nonetheless, it would appear that although pupils may be isolated in the school context they, and their families, may not be socially isolated.

2.1.8 *Circumstances for becoming bilingual*

According to Skutnabb-Kangas (1985) there are a number of societal circumstances under which children become bilingual. These include: elite bilinguals; children from bilingual families; and those from linguistic minority groups (Romaine, 1995: 25). In the first example – elite bilinguals – Skutnabb-Kangas (1985) discusses the situation of parents in Canada who can choose, without obligation, to send their children to a French immersion school. In most cases the parents of elite bilinguals choose for their children to be bilingual. Consequently, there may be few pressures from within the family or elsewhere for these children to become bilingual. In bilingual families living in a monolingual society, where the parents speak different languages, their children may learn each of these languages. However, if the parents' language(s) are different to the dominant language of the society their children may be under pressure to learn the dominant language. Children of linguistic minority groups may be under strong external pressure to acquire the dominant language outside the home. Whilst this account describes the circumstances relating to elite bilinguals (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1985) and generalises others, it would be misleading to assume that this categorisation is as simplistic as may appear. Within families, including those who speak the majority language, children may become bilingual due to various circumstances. Of relevance to this study is the variation seen between firstly, possible internal family pressure placed on children to learn the majority language and retain their home language(s) and, secondly, an account of how the children respond to this (referred to in the case studies in chapter 6).

2.2 The bilingual learners in this study

I will now describe the five bilingual children who were the subject of investigation here using the terminology outlined above. Within their school settings all five children were considered to be isolated. Based on the categories used at the time to describe ethnic background, Meena, Ria and Emily were identified as Asian, Harald was described as white, and Filip was described as Mixed. All five children were considered to be 'new arrivals' although, having been in the country longer, Harald

and Emily had had more exposure to English than the others. When each child had arrived, although they had been new to English, they could speak, and were literate, in their first language. All the children came from linguistic minority families where the dominant language outside the home and at school was English.

As seen from the account above, the term bilingual is a complex concept and can be misleading. Despite its possible limitations to accurately and precisely describe the situation of children in this study, I have chosen to adopt this term. The major reason is that the term bilingual is still widely applied in government and broader education circles including research studies. The terms described here will be referred to and adopted at various points in this thesis.

2.3 The national context – the changing composition of bilingual learners in the UK

Over the past fifty to sixty years England has seen a shift in the ethnic composition of the national population due to economic migration. This shift has impacted on the ethnic composition of schools – nationally and locally.

As early as 1996-1997, prior to this study, it was highlighted that there were only eight small LEAs in the country with very few or no schools which had a significant number of minority ethnic pupils (more than 4%) (Cline et al., 2002: 2).

At the time of the study, the 2001 census showed that, of the total population, there were 12.5% that did not describe themselves as White British (Gaine, 2005: 4). Although some were white they were not British but came from other parts of Europe or the world. The same source (2001 census) also showed that of the total number of compulsory school aged children, 15.1% were from a minority ethnic background (15.3% primary schools, 14.7% secondary schools).

Statistics partly based on the same data source (2001 census) suggest that bilingual pupils in English schools reached approximately 10% of the total population (Conteh, 2006: 3). Since the time of the study the trend has continued upwards largely as a result of the enlargement of the European Union over recent years. Many children are still arriving in schools with few or no bilingual pupils and are, therefore, isolated learners. Consequently, the issues that this study focuses on remain significant.

2.3.1 *The changing distribution*

Over the last ten to fifteen years it has also been seen that the distribution of minority ethnic families has changed. In the past, although most minority ethnic families lived within specific regions of major cities, this pattern has changed with families moving away from these areas. Consequently, whilst many minority ethnic pupils live in homogenous communities in urban areas, there are many that do not. These pupils attend schools with few minority ethnic pupils in rural areas or areas that are predominantly white urban/suburban catchment areas (Cline et al., 2002). This has had a significant impact because compared with the past many more teachers and schools have received and worked with minority ethnic pupils. These trends were highlighted by Cline et al. (2002: 8) who reported that:

> The great majority of teachers may now expect to work with minority ethnic pupils at some point in their career, and mainly white schools in almost all areas may expect to admit minority ethnic pupils more frequently than in the past (Cline et al., 2002: 8).

With regard to distribution, Gaine (2005: 6) has refined the concept of 'white-areas' by distinguishing between three types of areas where there is little visible diversity and degrees of separateness between families from minority or majority ethnic backgrounds. These areas are referred to as firstly, adjacent areas, which implies specific locations in multi-ethnic cities; secondly, peripheral areas, which refers to urban areas close to multi-ethnic cities and lastly, a third area known as isolated. In British cities such as London, adjacent areas refers to areas with very little visible diversity. These areas run parallel to areas that are much more diverse. Adjacent areas are, "those whose populations inhabit a largely white area but are part of a multi-ethnic city in most aspects of their lives" (Gaine, 2005: 6). In general there is easy access to religious and cultural aspects of life in the city for minority ethnic families living in these areas. On the periphery of most multi-ethnic cities are commuter belt areas. Residents in these areas may use the city for a range of amenities including work and entertainment. In peripheral areas there may be considerable division between "the whiteness of people's residential, social and school lives and their contact with black and Asian people in other spheres" (Gaine, 2005: 6). In these locations minority ethnic families can expect to have some access to other community members. 'Isolated' describes the third level of separateness. In this case, most of the population have little if any first hand contact with black and Asian people in their daily life. Minority ethnic families living in such areas may also be described as isolated. Others sharing the same language may be difficult to locate

and minority ethnic community groups are much less likely to exist. The term 'isolated' in general is appropriate for describing the context in Frasershire and will be adopted in this study.

Gaine's (2005) suggestion for describing the location of families from minority ethnic backgrounds lacks an account of variations that exist across these three categories. For example, reflecting the situation in Frasershire, this would include reference to newly arrived minority ethnic families from various parts of the world including Eastern Europe who settle around a particular source of employment. Although this may occur on a seasonal or temporary basis, the presence of minority ethnic families, often in rural locations, has an impact on the local community including local schools.

2.4 Educational provision for bilingual learners: changes in provision

Prior to the 1960s there was little public recognition of language diversity. However, from the 1960s, reflecting the exponential growth of the minority ethnic population, outlined above, a shift in provision was seen. Alongside primary pedagogy, a new discourse emerged within the education system that identified the needs of children described as 'immigrants', and more recently known as bilingual learners and pupils for whom English is an additional language. The needs of bilingual learners were considered different to their monolingual English peers, requiring different pedagogy, practices and 'specialist' teachers. This approach was influenced by the discourses about language learning requiring special techniques and materials. It led to separate classes in which bilingual learners learnt 'English only' prior to attending school with their peers. The emphasis was placed on 'English only' both in the class and playground settings. Although the distinction between the needs of bilingual learners and their peers was highlighted by the Plowden (1967) and Bullock (1975) reports the approach adopted to support bilingual learners was contrary to the predominant approach to primary school pedagogy adopted in England that favoured self-expression within a child centred approach.

Nevertheless, in response to the influx of immigrants, Section 11 Government grant funding was made available through specialised educational provision for bilingual learners. Whilst this provided bilingual learners with initial basic English language tuition there was nothing in place to support their cross curricular work within mainstream classes or to acknowledge language diversity within urban settings let alone rural settings in mainly white areas.

In the 1970s and 1980s, (Bourne, 2001:259), the changing nature of theoretical concepts of language learning and second language acquisition had a major impact on educational provision for bilingual learners by ensuring that they should be educated within the mainstream. The move away from language structured teaching by language specialists in withdrawal situations was seen as a key policy change of the 1980s (Bourne, 1989). In class, bilingual learners were informally allowed to use languages other than English. They were educated within unchallenged mainstream practices appropriate for their monolingual peers. Consequently, the integration of educational provision for bilingual pupils into the mainstream occurred without a change to primary pedagogy. The English primary pedagogy provided a context in which, "Children were to be active, discovering and problem solving. The teacher was to take a background role as the facilitator of their experiences" (Bourne, 2001: 260). In this context there was an expectation that children were free to express their 'own voice'. However, in primary progressive ideology, the fact that each child should express their own unique ideas created a major challenge, firstly, for monolingual staff working with bilingual learners new to English and, secondly, for bilingual staff seen as providing pupils with ideas in their own language. Although there were challenges for bilingual learners, mainstream classes seemed more appropriate as settings of positive learning environments (Statham, 2008: 5).

More recently Leung (2007) and Statham (2008: 6) have explained that in schools there is an expectation for: a focus on embedding the successful teaching and learning strategies for language development in the curriculum.

However, due to the reduction and lack of specialist staff in schools there has been a need for local authorities to build capacity in schools with all staff providing access and teaching and learning across the curriculum (Statham, 2008).

2.5 Pedagogy: bilingual children

Research over the past two decades regarding the language and learning of young bilingual children has led to the development of a number of theories and principles. This has resulted in a distinctive pedagogy for children learning English as an additional language. For these children the additional language being learned is also the medium of education. The research of Cummins (2000) and Thomas and Collier (1997) has been particularly influential in the development of this pedagogy.

Cummins distinguished between basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive and academic language proficiency (CALP). He argued that communicative

language develops in face-to-face, contextualised situations over two to three years but cognitive and academic language that promotes educational success takes five to seven years. Cummins also acknowledged the vital role of a child's first language for learning. Using his 'Common underlying proficiency model' he asserts that a well developed first language promotes the acquisition of other languages. Ability to use cognitive and academic language in the first language supports linguistic proficiency in all languages.

Clearly the benefits for children of opportunities to continue the development of their first language and English through cognitively demanding activities are enormous (Cummins, 2000). In situations where both languages continue to develop bilingualism can enhance intellectual progress. Children's attitudes towards their languages and the attitudes of their teachers are key (Cummins, 2000). The fact that children are isolated bilingual learners should make no difference. "Even where no peers or adults share a first language with a child it is important that the child knows his or her first language skills are recognised and valued" (DfES, 2006: Unit 1: 11).

In common with all learners those learning EAL will be affected by their ethnicity, culture, language, religion, and attitudes towards them in and out of the school. Learners' social and cultural experiences will impact on their progress in acquiring language and their cognitive and academic development (DfES, 2006). Anxiety levels need to be low and internal motivation and confidence high for optimal additional language development (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1985). For these conditions to apply, children need to feel accepted and have a 'sense of belonging'. This sense of belonging, which ensures pupils achieve what they are capable of, is enshrined in policy and is referred to in the following section.

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                        Language
                        development


                  Socio-
                  cultural

                      The
                    bilingual
                      child

                    Processes


    Cognitive                        Academic
    development                      development
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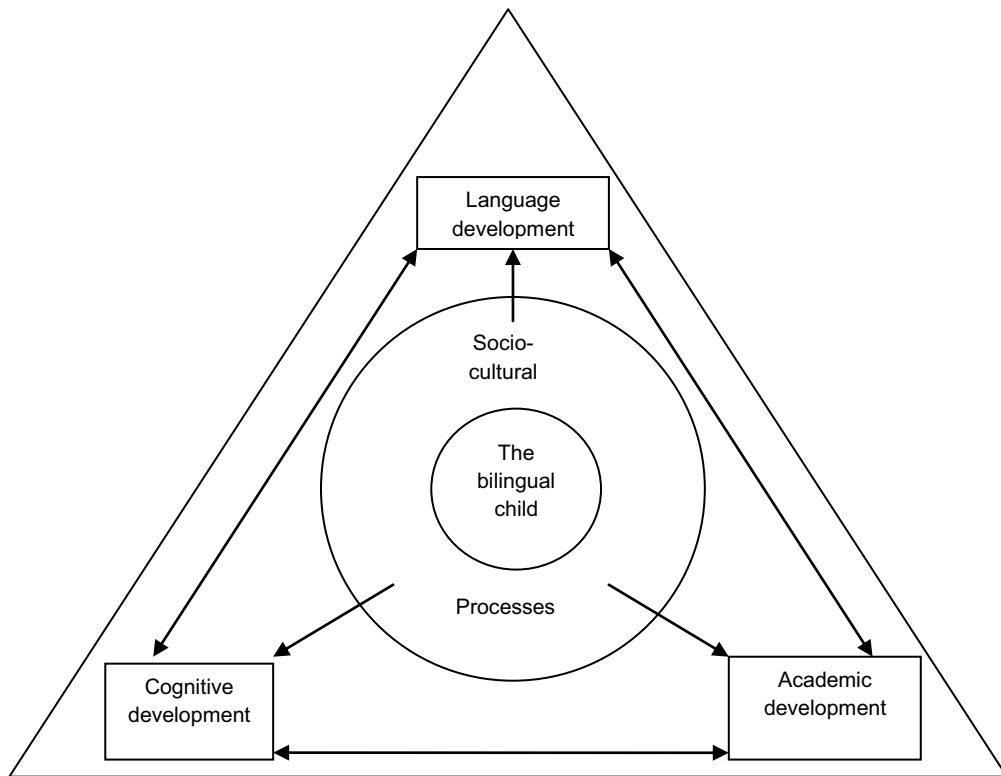
Figure 1: Acquiring EAL in the primary school context: adapted from Thomas and Collier (1997)

A diagram (figure 1) adapted from the work of Collier (Thomas & Collier, 1997) illustrates the interrelated factors that define the learning situation for children learning English as an additional language in the classroom setting. Of central importance is the bilingual child who is learning English and uses other languages together with his or her previous experience of learning and aptitude.

Attention to the conditions for learning is vital in allowing bilingual children to move beyond a basic level and to acquire the depth of language required to ensure that they achieve their potential.

2.6 Appropriate policy development

The school ethos plays a central role in the way children experience their schooling (DfES, 2006). Creating an ethos within which children feel safe and secure and in which classroom approaches promote additive bilingualism (Conteh, 2006) depends

on the quality of relationships within the school and the implementation of policies (DfES, 2006).

Ensuring appropriate learning conditions for bilingual children requires attention and specific additional action by schools. It is important that schools have policy guidelines for this action. Appendix 1 illustrates the framework that exists to help ensure appropriate learning conditions in schools.

Successful schools include isolated bilingual learners and include them in their holistic philosophy and practice of 'Every Child Matters – change for children' (DfES, 2004) and through an approach such as 'every bilingual child matters' (Statham, 2008: xv). The key is a whole school approach with equality of opportunity for all children including isolated bilingual learners.

Following the seminal report by Cline et al. (2002) which raised concerns about minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools, policy guidelines have been disseminated nationally through various government publications. As a result of the influx of families arriving from Eastern Europe, this county, as most of the UK, saw many more schools receiving bilingual children for the first time. As a response and, with a focus on promoting language development, support for bilingual pupils has been rolled out to schools on a national scale through the Primary National Strategy toolkit, 'Excellence and Enjoyment: learning and teaching for bilingual children in the primary years – professional development materials' (DfES, 2006). Reflecting demand, the New Arrivals Excellence Programme (Department for Children Schools and Families (DCSF), 2007) also provided guidance for schools with examples of inclusive schools responding to the needs of isolated bilingual learners, even though bilingual learners are not necessarily new arrivals. The focus on teaching and learning again is vital but in an isolated situation takes second place to a focus on access and integration (Statham, 2008: 4).

In an attempt to support their schools some local authorities have provided a policy which acts as a framework so that schools are empowered to promote a positive whole-school ethos and can develop their own whole-school policy promoting bilingualism underpinned by bilingual approaches in the classroom. Appendix 2 shows policy guidelines regarding the key principles for promoting bilingualism in schools.

With regard to policy and practice, research (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996: 80) has shown that failure to address ethnic diversity has proved counter-productive at the school

level. I would argue that this should include failure to address the needs of bilingual learners too. In situations where schools have adopted 'colour-blind' policies, inequalities of opportunity have been seen to continue. From a positive stance research findings can have a beneficial effect by informing future policy and practice (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996). Confirming this position Cummins (2001: 158-159) points out that, concerning the education of bilingual pupils, "the accumulation of research findings does have relevance for policy".

2.7 The local context: Frasershire

Frasershire has representatives from a rich diversity of cultures and backgrounds. Some pupils represent the third and fourth generations of the long established Chinese community. These pupils are UK born, although many of them are still developing users of English. Others are children from all over the world who have arrived more recently. Such families represent a range of backgrounds and circumstances, for example:

- Hotel, catering and retail businesses
- University students
- Hospital staff
- Various company employees
- Refugees from Afghanistan
- Migrants from Hong Kong and Eastern Europe

In some cases children come from families where just one parent speaks a language other than English.

In Frasershire there are clusters of minority ethnic children who are bilingual learners in the urban areas but many are scattered throughout the rural parts of the county. The 2001 census confirmed that with 72% of Frasershire's minority ethnic population living in rural districts diversity was not just restricted to urban areas. A feature of rural diversity in Frasershire is the absence of large co-ethnic, geographically localised communities, such as are found more typically in major urban areas. Research evidenced that with the dispersed nature of this population there was little to link people in common or catalyse networking among them. A key feature was isolation (Magne, 2003). In general, bilingual, multi ethnic learners represent a small proportion of the pupils within any one school; consequently there are many 'isolated bilingual learners'. The number of bilingual children from minority ethnic families in

Frasershire continues to show a steady increase with over 50 languages represented in the area's schools.

Comparison between the 1991 and 2001 census indicated that in England the minority ethnic population increased from 6% to 9% of the total population. However, in the same period the rural minority ethnic population in Frasershire increased by 100% (Magne, 2003). The most notable finding from the 2001 census statistics was the growth in numbers of mixed heritage families with the mixed heritage child population shown as the fastest growing of all the ethnic groups (Magne, 2003).

2.7.1 *The changing composition of schools*

In 2004 local statistics (Local Authority, Pupil level annual school census (PLASC): Summer Term) showed that 2.7% pupils of the total population were recorded as minority ethnic pupils. There were 731 (0.9%) pupils for whom English was an additional language, 474 (1%) in primary and 257 (0.7%) in secondary schools.

In comparison statistics from the DCSF school census data for the autumn term, 2009 indicated that there was an increase to 5.1% minority ethnic pupils, with 5.8% in primary schools and 4.3% in secondary schools. The number of EAL pupils had also increased: 1,640 pupils were recorded as learning English as an additional language (2% of the total population): 987(2.3%) in primary schools and 653(1.7%) in secondary schools. As indicated earlier in the text, a major factor in this growth has been the enlargement of the EU which has had a noticeable impact on Frasershire with the arrival of families from EU states, particularly Poland.

According to Cline (2002) a 'mainly white school' is defined as a school in which 4%-6% of the pupils are from minority ethnic backgrounds. Within the Frasershire context, data for 2004, regarding primary schools, (Local authority PLASC, Summer Term) highlighted that this equated to a total of 62 schools from a total of 322 schools. 72 schools were recorded as 'all white' with no minority ethnic pupils recorded. 31 schools of the total had 7% or more minority ethnic pupils. By 2009 schools data showed that (DCSF School Census, Autumn Term) the number of schools in Frasershire with no minority ethnic pupils had fallen to 41. As expected the number of mainly white schools increased to 80 and 77 schools now had 7% or more minority ethnic pupils.

2.7.2 *Schools/children in the study*

Children from a total of 12 schools with mixed populations participated in the study (Gaine, 1995: 8). Table 1 illustrates the percentage of minority ethnic pupils in the sample schools and a breakdown is provided for the 12 schools completing the questionnaires together with the 3 case study schools. Based on Cline's (2002) definition, four schools, in the sample group were considered to be 'mainly white' having 4%-6% minority ethnic pupils. Two of these schools were case study schools.

% minority ethnic pupils in schools	Questionnaires	Case studies
7% and over	4 schools	St George's
4%-6% (mainly white schools)	4 schools	Brunel School Manor School
0-3%	4 schools	Not applicable

Table 1 Percentage of minority ethnic pupils in the sample schools: highlighting mainly white schools (4%-6%)

Table 2 also illustrates the percentage of minority ethnic pupils in the sample schools. However, this table highlights schools with isolated bilingual learners. In line with Statham's (2008) definition, nine schools in the sample, including the three case study schools, were considered to have isolated bilingual learners because each school population had 10% or less of minority ethnic pupils (Statham, 2008: 2). However, it is noteworthy that even though some schools in the study had over 11% minority ethnic pupils, in no school was there any one predominant ethnic group or language spoken. As a result, in all schools, an individual bilingual child was likely to have been the only representative of a particular language or cultural background. This was certainly the situation for children in the case studies. Each of the five children was the only speaker of his/her language in the class. As explained by Statham, although the numbers of bilingual learners in the school may grow, the extreme isolation for each child may remain unchanged (Statham, 2008: xvi).

Consequently, I concluded that the bilingual pupils in this study were isolated learners.

% minority ethnic pupils in schools	Questionnaires	Case studies
10% and over	3 schools	Not applicable
0-10% (isolated bilingual learners)	9 schools	St George's Brunel School Manor School

Table 2 Percentage of minority ethnic pupils in the sample schools: highlighting schools with isolated bilingual learners – 10% and under (Statham, 2008)

2.7.3 *Policy and provision*

Policy

Within Frasershire, reflecting the national situation, increased numbers of bilingual pupils, many new to English, influenced local policy and provision of support in mainstream education. With regard to working with bilingual pupils, the overall objective of the local authority service has been:

- to support school improvement
- to build capacity in schools
- to identify and respond to the needs of bilingual learners
- to help secure full access to the national curriculum
- to raise achievement in mainstream classes by ensuring that pupils reach their full potential.

Reflecting national policy and the principles of the National Curriculum inclusion statement, inclusion is promoted rather than withdrawal situations when teaching bilingual learners. In addition, the emphasis on teaching English in schools is clearly seen as the responsibility of all teachers (School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA), 1996: 2). The basic principles for promoting learning for bilingual pupils in many respects has been considered the same as those for all pupils.

Consequently, the strong message, from the service promoting learning, is good practice for bilingual learners is good practice for all.

Provision

In 2004, the service was working with 65 schools across the county from a total of 359 (37 secondary, 322 primary) to support bilingual pupils: this included the 12 schools which took part in the research study. At that time, some direct pupil support was provided by approximately 60 teaching assistants who worked with the pupils at school. This system had the advantage that staff, although employed through the service, frequently already worked in the school, knew the systems and often the bilingual pupil too. It also had the advantage that support could be provided shortly after a pupil newly arrived, often speaking little or no English. Four Advisory Teachers were responsible for covering different geographical areas across the county. They had responsibility for ensuring that pupils were assessed and that, subsequently, appropriate support was provided through the teaching assistant and school. It was a tall order!

2.7.4 *The situation today*

Of significance is the fact that over a short period of time, not only has there been a steady increase in the number of bilingual pupils in Frasershire but also there has been a change in the pattern as reflected in the school population. This has been most evident in the arrival of families from Poland. There have also been clusters of families from India – speaking Malayalam – and overseas students and staff attending the University – speaking Arabic, Korean and a range of other languages. Significantly, Polish families have continued to arrive such that this group of children and young people is now recorded within the school population as the largest bilingual group in the county.

In providing a background to the study, note has been made of national changes in population that have been reflected locally. In addition, reference has been made to national policy development and initiatives relevant to bilingual learners. These government approaches have attempted to address concerns across the country and assist schools and their pupils locally in supporting the growing numbers of bilingual pupils. This has included, over recent years, acknowledgement, nationally, that some children are isolated bilingual learners.

2.8 Summary

This chapter presented a background to the study. Firstly, it described relevant terminology and through this the bilingual learners in the case studies. The chapter then provided an overview of the national context with reference to population changes and distribution. Following this, it described changes that have taken place concerning the educational provision for bilingual learners and then pedagogy for bilingual children. The chapter also considered Government initiatives and policies that relate to bilingual learners. The local context was then presented: this included the changing composition of schools and then details about the children in the study. This was followed by reference to local policy and provision, and, finally, the current situation in Frasershire.

The next chapter reviews relevant literature and studies underpinning this research, followed by a discussion of the conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 Introduction

This study explores the experiences of isolated bilingual children in school settings. As indicated in chapter 1, by adopting a social account of learning in this thesis I assume a strong relationship between children's experiences of schooling and their learning. It is relevant to use a social account to understand the significance of experience in shaping learning as learning is affected by experience. This is because learning takes place in a social context with various factors impinging on it. Learning here refers to social, cultural and linguistic aspects of children's learning development. As such, a sociocultural view of learning is one which assumes that learning is fundamentally a process of participation in and taking up membership of a social grouping. That is, that it entails a process of socialization. This thesis explores bilingual children's experiences of schooling from this perspective of socialization

This chapter is divided into three main parts. In the first part of the chapter I consider a number of different perspectives of learning as a process of socialization. I start by positioning this discussion of socialization in a view of learning as a social process. Then I consider socialization through the concept of community of practice developed by Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991: Wenger, 1998). Following on from this, I outline some of the limitations of this and alternative ways of extending 'community of practice' to explain socialization through the theoretical perspectives offered by post-structuralist critical theorists and the critical sociology of Bourdieu and the work of Bernstein and Bronfenbrenner. In the second part of the chapter, I will consider ways in which this understanding of learning and the experience of bilingual children is manifest in the literature and highlight some salient features of bilingual learners' experiences. Finally, I will pull the various insights provided by this review of the literature together into an account of the conceptual framework underpinning the study.

3.1 Learning as a social process

In this study acknowledgement is given to the concept that learning takes place as a social process. This makes it possible to be able to see learning as a process that occurs within social contexts (Kirshner & Whitson, 1997: vii). Socialization is at the heart of this study and the relationship between bilingual children's experiences of schooling and becoming members of a new school class community. It explores how bilingual pupils learn in their social world and how their experiences in this world,

through a process of change and socialization, impacts on the ways in which they 'get in' and 'get on' at school.

Central to a social theory of learning is the view that the social world and cognition should not be viewed separately. This is because the social context where cognitive activity occurs is seen as integral to the activity of meaning making and not simply providing the surrounding context (Resnick, Levine & Teasley, 1991: 4).

As Lave has argued, from this perspective learning is neither wholly subjective nor fully encompassed in social interaction, and it is not constituted separately from the social world (with its own structures and meanings) of which it is part" (Resnick et al., 1991: 64).

Although there is some considerable debate among those who subscribe to a social theory of learning as to what is an appropriate unit of analysis to conceptualise the relationship between mental functioning and sociocultural setting, broadly speaking Cole (1995:116) argues these are seen to converge around the following three central principles: an emphasis on the dialectal character of human relations; a focus on experience in the world; and a view of cognition as distributed that is, as 'stretched across mind, body, activity, and setting' (Day 2002: 14). These three aspects are key to this thesis.

Broadly speaking two different theoretical perspectives can be discerned which have led to the adoption of different units of analysis. The first approach focuses on 'structures and interrelations within activity systems'. This approach is supported by Vygotskian sociocultural theory and examines, amongst other things, individuals' appropriation of knowledge with the help of others in the zone of proximal development .The second approach, situated learning, supported by anthropology as well as socio-cultural theory (Lave, 1988), focuses more on learning as a process of joining a community (or socialization) and sees communities of practice as a unifocal unit of analysis. Since this is central to this study, I will now consider this in more depth.

3.2 Communities of practice

The communities of practice concept, developed over the last two decades, particularly through the research of Lave and Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) provides a model of socialization which starts with the assumption that learning is situated. Lave and Wenger (1991: 14) situate learning in particular

types of social co-participation and are concerned with investigating which types of social engagements provide the appropriate setting for learning to occur. They define a community of practice as, "a set of relations among persons, activity and world" (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 98). Wenger points out that "communities of practice can be thought of as shared histories of learning", which have been "created over time by the sustained pursuit of a shared enterprise" (Wenger, 1998: 45) as a context for mutual engagement, where knowledge is considered to be located in the community. Central to the community of practice model is Wenger's conception that people come together in groups to undertake activities as a part of everyday life.

Wenger emphasises that communities of practice form an integral part of our daily lives and exist everywhere – at home, work, and at school:

> ...in the classroom as well as on the playground, officially or in the cracks. And in spite of curriculum, discipline, and exhortation, the learning that is most personally transformative turns out to be the learning that involves membership in these communities of practice (Wenger, 1988: 6).

With regard to communities of practice in schools, Lave (1988) considers that they arise on their own for particular purposes. This includes formal communities of practice such as in the classroom as well as ad hoc communities mostly outside the classroom (Willis, 1977).

Characteristics of these groups include, firstly, that members interact in different ways with each other, which is referred to as mutual engagement. Secondly, members of a group have a common goal known as a joint enterprise. Thirdly, members have a shared repertoire, which includes common resources associated with language, styles and routines through which individuals develop their identity within the group. Within this framework, situated learning refers to engagement in a community of practice with participation seen as the process of learning (Barton & Tusting, 2005: 2). Wenger developed these ideas into a theory, associated with practice, meaning and identity, in which communities of practice provides concepts that view learning as a form of participation in activities. Learning is defined by Lave and Wenger as, "a process that takes place in a participation framework, not in an individual mind. This means, among other things, that it is mediated by the differences of perspective among the co-participants" (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 15). Using this definition, learning is considered to be "distributed among co-participants, not a one-person act".

According to Lave and Wenger (1991: 29) this view of learning has as its central characteristic a process entitled 'Legitimate Peripheral Participation'. Wenger (1998) uses the concept of legitimate peripheral participation to characterise learning and refers to this term as being used to characterise the process whereby newcomers become included into a community of practice (Wenger, 1998: 100). In fact, becoming a legitimate peripheral participant implies that increasing participation will lead to full membership within the community. Learning takes place through participation rather than by acquiring knowledge transcribed through instruction. (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 100). The curriculum emerges from the opportunities for engagement in practice rather than as a predesigned plan. Peripherality and legitimacy, which were viewed as achievements involving newcomers and a community are examples of modification, which allow participation to take place. Peripherality can be seen as an empowering position moving towards more intensive participation leading ultimately to full participation. Kirshner and Whitson (1997: 306) describe the "focused direction of movement from the periphery of the novices towards the center dominated by well established, competent masters or old timers". It is noted that the practice is considered stable and generally without change.

Learning implies becoming a full participant and, incidentally, being involved in new activities, carrying out new tasks and functions, and gaining knowledge. This experience involves other people and the construction of new identities. "We conceive of identities as long-term, living relations between persons and their place and participation in communities of practice" (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 53). In this view of social practice, membership, identity and knowing are intrinsically linked. The process of working towards full participation in practice includes being a member of the community. This involves the development of a sense of identity as a master practitioner or old timer. This also involves changes in cultural identity as well as social relations.

Wenger identities the process by which this learning takes place as the social production of meaning and introduces a number of concepts seen as central to this. Namely, negotiation of meaning, participation, reification and reproduction. These are considered in turn below

3.2.1 *The negotiation of meaning*

The concept of practice is understood by Wenger (1998: 52) to be a process by which we experience and engage in everyday life in a meaningful way. Meaning is

seated in a process called the 'negotiation of meaning' which involves the interaction of two constituent processes, participation and reification. The duality formed by participation and reification is essential to the human experience of meaning as well as the concept of practice. Living and engaging in everyday life involves the negotiation of meaning.

Wenger (1998: 286) confirms that practice is the context for negotiating meaning which is an active, productive process involving interpretation and action. "Meaning is not pre-existing, but neither is it simply made up. Negotiated meaning is at once both historical and dynamic, contextual and unique" (Wenger, 1998: 54). Negotiation of meaning changes the situations to which it gives meaning. This affects the participants involved and continually creates new contexts for further negotiation and meaning. In this way, "meaning is always the product of its negotiation… it exists in this process of negotiation. Meaning exists neither in us, nor in the world, but in the dynamic relation of living in the world" (Wenger, 1998: 54).

3.2.2 *Participation*

Participation is defined by Wenger (1998: 55-6) as:

> the social experience of living in the world in terms of membership in social communities and active involvement in social enterprises… It is a complex process that combines doing, talking, thinking, feeling and belonging. It involves our whole person, including our bodies, minds, emotions and social relations (Wenger, 1988: 55-6).

A key aspect of participation is what Wenger (1998: 56) refers to as mutual recognition. He explains that, when taking part in conversation, participants recognise something of themselves in others. What is recognised is the mutual ability to negotiate meaning. Through this experience of mutuality participants shape each other's experiences of meaning and participation is seen as a source of identity.

3.2.3 *Reification*

The concept of reification is used by Wenger (1998: 57) to describe "our engagement with the world as productive of meaning". He suggests that the process of reification provides a valuable shortcut to communication. However, "whereas in participation we recognise ourselves in each other, in reification we project ourselves onto the world". This highlights an important distinction between participation and reification.

Wenger (1998: 58) uses the concept of reification to: "refer to the process of giving form to our experience by producing objects that congeal this experience into

'thingness'. In doing so we create points of focus around which the negotiation of meaning becomes organised". It is through their various combinations that participation and reification create experiences of meaning. They complement each other rather than exist in isolation. The processes of reification and participation can be tightly interwoven in, for example, the use of language in a face-to-face interaction. Words can be used advantageously during interaction between speakers to provide shortcuts to communication. Wenger argues that, "the negotiation of meaning weaves participation and reification so seamlessly that meaning seems to have its own unitary, self-contained existence" (Wenger, 1998: 63).

The importance of the duality of participation and reification in relation to the concept of communities of practice is referred to by Wenger (1998: 65): "this duality is a fundamental aspect of the constitution of communities of practice, of their evolution over time, of the relations among practices, of the identities of participants, and of the broader organizations in which communities of practice exist".

3.2.4 *Reproduction*

Participation within the community is a central part of the learning process and is reproductive. Within a community of practice change is constant with participants leaving and new ones joining and new ideas and processes replaced by those that are no longer appropriate. Newcomers are inducted into communities and continue to acquire competence and status. However, it takes time for a newcomer to reach the same competence level as those who are most skilled. The arrival of newcomers to a community impacts on others. Consequently, participants that are relative newcomers move to become relative old-timers. Due to these changes participants work in different capacities and at the same time develop new (temporal) identities. Such changes can be positive and rewarding or negative with new demands placed on staff with, perhaps, an expectation of them having expert knowledge. As the generations of newcomers and old-timers interact and work together some of the history of the practice remains embedded in the community. In this manner past, present and future co-exist in the community (Wenger, 1998: 90). "Communities of practice reproduce their membership in the same way that they come about in the first place. They share their competence with new generations through a version of the same process by which they develop" (Wenger,1998: 102).

In this study, the model of socialization focuses on a community and the relationship between learning and the social context. In a community participation involves individuals actively involved and evolving through a process of movement and

change. As experience shapes learning and as experience changes and shifts over time learning changes too. This model allows a focus on the personal process of changing participation in practice.

Having considered aspects related to the community of practice it is now relevant to evaluate this model.

3.3 Evaluation of communities of practice

The concept of communities of practice developed by Lave and Wenger (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998) as a situated theory of learning has been considered of value within broad social theories of learning (Barton & Tusting, 2005: 1). This model, which highlights learning as a process by which new arrivals to an activity or setting gain the skills, knowledge and habits to become 'full participants', has been utilised by researchers working in a range of disciplines including education. Whilst some researchers have found this model of use others have identified limitations (Barton & Tusting, 2005; Haneda, 2006).

With regard to this study, the concept of community of practice, as formulated by Wenger, can be critiqued on two levels. Firstly, this model is not sufficiently developed when considering people within the community. This includes the lives people live and their experiences and is associated with issues around power, resistance and inequality (Barton & Tusting, 2005: 6). Secondly, the notion of community of practice appears to provide an incomplete view to explain how individuals live in and experience different worlds. For children this includes the communities of home and school and, in particular, how they experience and move between the two communities within their different worlds. I will consider these aspects in turn.

With regard to the first point of criticism, when considering the concept of a community of practice, there is a need to be able to focus on individuals within the community. This includes a consideration of individuals as more rounded people and what they bring to their community, "with particular dispositions shaped by their life trajectories – past, present and envisioned future" (Haneda 2006: 815).

Also, when considering the individual, there is a need to be able to critically examine the power relations within a class setting. This is necessary in order to examine how individuals take on a particular legitimate peripheral participation status and are assigned particular learner identities (Haneda, 2006: 815). Lave and Wenger

acknowledge the shortcomings of their model suggesting that "unequal relations of power must be included more systematically" (Lave & Wenger, 1991: 42) in their analysis. Relations of power within the community may cause conflict. For example, in order to be treated as potential members of a community newcomers must be allowed sufficient legitimacy otherwise rejection from a community may occur resulting in access to learning being denied (Wenger, 1998: 100). Lemke (cited in Kirshner & Whitson, 1997: 42) notes that some communities deny women and members of oppressed groups full membership of communities.

Language, especially talk, plays an important role in this notion of learning. Lave and Wenger hold the view that language is part of practice and that people learn through practice. Consequently, language provides access to practice and therefore learning. Jordan (1989 cited in Lave & Wenger, 1991: 105) argues that, "learning to become a legitimate participant in a community involves learning how to talk (and be silent) in the manner of full participants". Clearly this situation reflects relations of power within the community. However, as noted by Barton and Tusting, the concept of multiple levels of participation involved in membership within a community of practice fails to address issues of power regarding "who can assign certain roles and identities and thus control trajectories that lead (or not) to full participation (Haneda, 2006: 812). In addition, it is essential to be able to highlight the ways that newcomers might resist community norms, whilst maintaining full participation. It is also necessary to be able to identify varieties of practice undertaken by pupils so that learning that arises can be discussed (Haneda, 2006: 815).

With regard to the second criticism, this reflects concerns for the static and bounded nature of community put forward by Wenger as discussed by Engeström et al. (1999 as cited in Barton & Tusting, 2005) among others. Although a conceptualisation is provided regarding how individuals engage in learning and move in and out of a community. Little attention is given to the acknowledgement of the existence of other worlds. This includes a conceptualisation of different communities and how individuals live and move between different worlds. As seen by the children in this study, this includes their worlds of home and school. A child may be an insider in one world such as their home, at the same time as being an outsider in another world of school this creates challenges for some children who nonetheless adopt strategies in order to cope with their situation.

3.4 Beyond communities of practice

Having identified limitations of the community of practice model in the previous section, in what follows, I consider alternative perspectives on socialization, which can enhance and extend the socialization model put forward by Lave and Wenger (1991) and Wenger (1998) and address the criticisms outlined above.

In the following sections, firstly, I will focus on a number of theoretical perspectives informed by critical sociology and post-structuralist conceptualisations of individuals in relation to communities, which try to theorise the ways in which power impact on their learning experience. These will include an examination of Bourdieu's work on habitus, field and capital. This is followed by a post-structuralist understanding of identity and agency. I then consider Norton Pierce's concept of investment before exploring the post–structuralist adoption of positioning theory as developed by Harré and van Lagenhove. Following on from this I will then consider how insights from the work of Bernstein and Bronfenbrenner can provide a more comprehensive understanding of socialization by theorising how socialization is experienced by children within the different communities they live in and how this informs the ways in which they move from one site of socialization to another. The explanatory power of these perspectives, when applied to the data, provides a way of understanding, more fully, the schooling experiences of bilingual pupils.

3.5 The contribution of a Bourdieuian perspective to learning as socialization

In this study a Bourdieuian perspective has provided an opportunity to move beyond the communities of practice model. The work of Bourdieu focuses on the broader social forces and structures within which individuals and communities of practice are situated. Bourdieu's notion of habitus, like symbolic capital, helps to explain social and educational inequalities and the differing life opportunities available to individuals from different social and cultural backgrounds which are likely to impinge on their engagement with the norms and practices of a given community. It provides a tool for highlighting inclusion and exclusion and differences within a group between individuals and families (Brooker, 2002: 39) and, as such is helpful in extending the view of socialization promoted by a communities of practice perspective. I will now discuss the aspects of Bourdieu's theory which are pertinent to this study.

Influenced by a Marxist approach, the theory that informs Bourdieu's work is a general theory of practice. Central to Bourdieu's concept of social relations and social reproduction are 'habitus' and 'field'. According to Bourdieu habitus is a "system of

dispositions which acts as a mediation between structures and practice" (Bourdieu, 1977: 487) providing individuals with a sense of how to act and react in a particular way in their daily lives. Acquired from birth through a gradual process of inculcation in which early experiences within the home and community are important, dispositions form the foundation of practice, perceptions and attitudes. Reflecting the social setting within which they were acquired dispositions are durable and endure through the life history of an individual, providing a 'feel for the game', "it is because the body has become a repository of ingrained dispositions that certain actions, certain ways of behaving and responding, seem altogether natural" (Thompson cited in Bourdieu, 1991: 13).

Because individuals always act in specific social contexts or settings, practices or perceptions are produced from the relation between the habitus and the specific social context. Bourdieu refers to the specific social context as a field of action or sometimes as a market. In this context Bourdieu implies that a field "may be seen as a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'". Brooker (2002: 178) describes fields as locations and explains that, in such locations, capital is acquired and evaluated, and power is contested.

Practices should be considered as the outcome of the relation between a habitus and field which are more or less compatible with each other. However, with respect to the findings of this study, a lack of congruence may be experienced for newly arrived bilingual children who are placed within an educational system which is different from their previous educational experiences and possibly more elitist.

Bourdieu has made a significant contribution to social theory through his work on capital of which there are different forms: economic, symbolic, social and cultural and linguistic capital. He insists that ''It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognized by economic theory'' (Bourdieu 1997:46).

Economic capital refers to material wealth such as money or property and allows its possessors high privilege and status in society. Economic capital forms the foundation or underlying force which influences individuals and groups in the social world. Social, cultural and linguistic capital which are forms of symbolic capital overlap with economic capital in a complex fashion to confirm or transform life chances (Brooker, 2002: 24). According to Bourdieu each form of capital can be

converted into another form and be transposed across fields, with economic capital being the easiest to convert.

Cultural capital is acquired unconsciously through experiences in the home to provide cultural resources. These cultural resources or assets can be utilised to set an individual's position within a social field – allowing valuable social advantage to some but not others.

With regard to education Bourdieu suggests that children from privileged backgrounds hold more of the right kind of cultural capital to ensure success at school. This highlights Bourdieu's concern that children from disadvantaged groups do not compete from an equal starting point, in comparison to advantaged groups. Consequently, social stratification and inequalities are reproduced.

As mentioned above, a feature of fields is the ability to convert one form of capital into another. At the same time a field is always a 'site of struggle' because individuals attempt to retain or change the distribution of capital. In the case of schools, certain children struggle to achieve recognition and qualifications, which can be taken into other fields. Brooker (2002: 178) reminds us that:

> The child's earliest field is in the home or immediate locality, where s/he acquires and learns her/his position within that field. The capital acquired in this setting is then transferred to the new 'field of education', in which it may be evaluated as legitimate… or illegitimate… (Brooker, 2002: 178).

Language plays a significant role in Bourdieu's work in particular the role of linguistic capital in determining an individual's position in society and the part played by the education system in its acquisition and distribution. For language is considered an instrument of communication as well as an instrument of power. In his approach to language and linguistic exchange Bourdieu (1991) considers that the linguistic habitus is a sub-set of the dispositions gained through learning to speak in the home and at school. These dispositions affect how an individual speaks as well as the value that language receives in other fields such as education. It is of value for speakers to know how, and to be able, to produce highly valued language in terms of accent, grammar and vocabulary. These "are indices of the social positions of speakers and reflections of the quantities of linguistic capital (and other capital) which they possess" (Thompson cited in Bourdieu, 1991: 18).

However, different speakers possess different quantities of linguistic capital. Language varieties are given value and arranged hierarchically, with some varieties

having greater value than others. The level of capital available for an individual is dependent on the position of the language variety within the hierarchy. Bilingual children typically low in linguistic capital may well feel uncomfortable or inadequate in school settings which require high and unfamiliar levels of linguistic capital to succeed within the curriculum along with peers.

Within a market the authenticity, legitimacy and authority affect a speaker's social positioning and linguistic literacy. Bourdieu confirms that institutions, most noticeably in the field of education, control the process by which value is assigned to one language rather than another. Whilst this highlights inequality it is important to note that, "the more linguistic capital that speakers possess the more they are able to exploit the system of differences to their advantage" (Thompson cited in Bourdieu, 1991: 18)

A further important factor is for a speaker to have the right to speak. As Bourdieu argues, in a social field what is significant is whether an individual sees the interlocutor as 'a legitimate speaker' and as worthy to listen to or not. Both the fundamental 'right to speak' and the power to impose reception are important to the concept of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Bourdieu argues that when an individual speaks, the speaker wants to be understood as well as to be "believed, obeyed, respected, distinguished" (Bourdieu, 1977: 648). However, inequality is evident once again because a "speaker's ability to command the listener is unequally structured for different speakers because of the symbolic power relations between them" (Norton, 2000: 113).

Social capital is the label given to the resources acquired through participation within social groups. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) describe this notion as the way that people can exploit, through their relationships with others, the economic and symbolic capital held by these others. Linked to membership of a group, social capital gives members credential or access to the group-held capital. An individual's social capital is dependent on the extent of the network of connections held by an individual for social benefit. However, the concept of who you know may enhance an individual's cultural capital.

Cultural reproduction is an important part of Bourdieu's philosophy regarding the social world. The concept of cultural reproduction is associated with the way in which families create and perpetuate themselves and maintain the same social and cultural class structure. A negative impact of this phenomenon is the way that social power imposes social limitations on individuals or groups with insufficient cultural capital to

challenge the privileged social groups. As explained by Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) this process strengthens the existing unequal social order and class system. Cultural reproduction is also associated with educational institutions in particular schools which reproduce the values of the advantaged social classes (Bourdieu, 1977). Within schools the approval of cultural capital may take the form of valuing and accepting certain types of dress, speech or behaviour. This takes place through the pedagogical approach of the school via official discourse and classroom practice and promotes inequality between groups of pupils. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) consider that the way in which families create and perpetuate cultural reproduction strengthens the existing unequal social order and class system.

Bourdieu describes symbolic power as an 'invisible' power which is 'misrecognised' as such and thereby 'recognised' as legitimate. This implies that power exercised through symbolic exchanges requires the existence of shared beliefs. Bourdieu argues that those who benefit least from the exercise of power participate in their own subjection by recognising,

> the legitimacy of power, of the hierarchical relations of power in which they are embedded; and hence they fail to see that the hierarchy is, after all, an arbitrary social construction which serves the interests of some groups more than others (Thompson cited in Bourdieu, 1991: 23).

Symbolic domination presupposes active complicity on the part of those subjected to it, as well as requiring that the latter "believe in the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who wield it". In relation to education, as mentioned above, Bourdieu (1991) argues that schools reinforce the knowledge and values of the dominant group(s) and students unconsciously learn to accept these as the norm (Heller, 1995: 373; as cited in Day, 2002: 2). Consequently, schools can be seen as taking a significant role in perpetuating the cultural struggle and inequality between advantaged and disadvantaged groups.

> Indeed, it would seem that the action of the school, whose effect is unequal… among children from different social classes, and whose success varies considerably among those upon whom it has an effect, tends to reinforce and to consecrate by its sanctions the initial inequalities (Bourdieu, 1997: 493).

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power among speakers will help to understand the experiences of bilingual children and possible constraints experienced in the school setting. It will also help to understand the neglect and denial or use and celebration of children's cultural background and use of first language in the classroom. Bourdieu's explanations of different forms of capital will also make it possible to explain the

experiences of the children especially the equity of educational achievement of children from minority ethnic backgrounds.

In addition, with regard to social capital, Bourdieu conceives that all capital is transposable and transferable. However, in many cases, especially minority ethnic families, this does not happen because there are barriers to transposing and investing the capital they have worked to accumulate (Brooker, 2002: 29). This aspect will be explored in the current study.

Bourdieu provides an understanding that classroom practices cannot be appropriately studied in isolation from power relations and capital relations in social fields. This highlights that issues of power are omnipresent in communities such as schools and classrooms and reproduce some of the disadvantages and inequities found in wider society in ways which can disadvantage some of their members. Thus, an examination of bilingual children's experiences of schooling needs to be aware of this.

For Bourdieu power is a force that operates to structure experience in such a way that it may not be questioned or acknowledged by individuals in a community. However, alternative perspectives drawing upon post-modernist and post-structuralist understandings of the relationship between individuals and social structures have accentuated the ways in which individuals are active in processing their different life experiences and that their attempt to manage these generate   agentive acts which are significant to the ways in which they engage with a given community of practice. These different theoretical perspectives are discussed below.

3.6 Critical theory and identity construction

Bourdieu's sociology can be described as a critical sociology. It is informed by critical theory, in so far as it subscribes to the view that critical work should provide a tool for questioning the ethics and politics of what we do. It also provides an opportunity to focus on issues in which relations of power and inequality are seen in terms of social and structural inequality, e.g. access to education, and the cultural or ideological frameworks which support this inequity, such as discrimination, prejudice, and beliefs about what is normal or right. Taken from a critical theory standpoint, becoming socialized into the practices of a classroom setting would include 'learning one's place' within the socio-political organisation of the practices. In this example, using critical theory, researchers would argue for the need to explore relations of

power in order to gain greater knowledge and understanding about learning processes (Zuengler & Miller, 2006: 43).

However, critical theory has also informed the work of post-structuralists who are interested in the need to challenge essentialist understandings or universal laws of humanity and to respond to the post-modern condition which argues that it is no longer possible to see structure as defining or determining who individuals are (Block, 2007).   Thus, in this way critical theory also provides a tool for foregrounding discussions of identity and in particular the complex intersections among different forms of identity (Pennycook, 1999: 331) and the relationship between language and identity as highlighted by Norton (1995, 2000) and Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004). In other words how language is constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's identity.

Within this study it is important to emphasise that the construction of identity is considered with reference to language development and relations of power between the bilingual learners and their monolingual peers and others.

Lave and Wenger (1991: 81) describe identity as, "the way a person understands and views himself, and is viewed by others, a perception of self which is fairly consistent…" In their view identity develops over time through living relations between individuals, and their involvement in communities of practice. This ongoing process creates a close link between knowledge, social membership and identity. Wenger (1998) put forward a social theory of learning which emphasises learning as social participation. In this context social participation includes active engagement of participants in practices within social communities leading to the development of identities. Wenger defines identity as:

> A layering of events of participation and reification by which our experience and its social interpretation inform each other. As we encounter our effects on the world and develop our relations with others, these layers build upon each other to produce our identity as a very complex interweaving of participative experience and reificative projections. Bringing the two together through the negotiation of meaning, we construct who we are (Wenger, 1998: 151).

So that whereas meaning is found in its negotiation, identity is found in the ongoing task of negotiating the self. "It is in this interplay of participation and reification that our experience of life becomes one of identity" (Wenger, 1998: 151). As noted by McNamara (1997), and reinforcing the view of Lave and Wenger, within language classrooms the dynamics of relations involving pupils and teachers have a powerful

role in influencing what happens in the class setting. I suggest that this is also the case within classes containing bilingual pupils because bilingual pupils who have arrived from other countries experience a complex renegotiation of their social identity. This is a process which has a major impact on their learning of the majority language. Lave and Wenger (1991) see identity as a product of membership of a community. However, whilst they see identity as dynamic and transforming, this stance has limitations because it fails to acknowledge the process of identity as built by individuals drawing upon alternative identity positions in other communities. It should be stressed that Lave and Wenger's stance on identity does not link with Block's post-structuralist perspective that follows.

Block (2007: 2) states that a broadly post-structuralist view of identity has been the focus for increasing numbers of researchers studying second language learning. Links between second language learning and issues of identity, in particular minority language children in mainstream education have been a focus throughout the world (Cummins, 2000, 2001; Toohey, 2000; Mohan, Leung & Davison, 2001; Day, 2002; Miller, 2003; Kanno, 2003; Creese, 2005 & Hadi-Tabussum, 2006; as cited in Block, 2007: 7).

In addition, in recent years authors concerned with language learning, language socialization and multilingual language practices have adopted, to varying degrees, a post-structuralist view of identity (Norton , 2000; Hall, 2006; Miller,2003; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004)

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 13) describe their own theoretical approach as utilising the post-structuralist framework which focuses on the part played by power relations together with elements associated with the social constructionist focus on discursive construction of identities. They suggest that using a post-structuralist framework provides an appropriate way to study the negotiation of identities in multilingual settings. They acknowledge the link between language and identity and see identity as particularly salient in contexts involving multiple interpretations which result in a power struggle concerning whose interpretation prevails.

Tajfel's (1974, 1981), theory of identity as a way of highlighting the differences between a post-structuralist perspective on identity and structuralist positions. Tajfel defined social identity as: "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership (Tajfel, 1974: 69).

However, although Tajfel considers that social identity is dynamic he does not refer to multiple group memberships. This is problematic considering that the majority of individuals belong to several groups. For example, individuals may belong to different ethnic groups as defined by their language use (Hensen & Liu, 1997: 567): such that rather than deciding to be affiliated to just one group the individual may choose to identify with a particular group in a particular situation, for example, by using specific language in a specific context (Rich & Davis, 2007).

3.6.1 *Language and identity*

Norton Pierce (1995) discusses social identity from a post-structuralist point of view and has made an important contribution to understanding how language and agency need to be considered in discussions of identity construction in English as an additional language settings. Norton (2000: 5) uses the term identity to refer to "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future".

Frustrated by the shortcomings of existing SLA theory, in particular the lack of a theory of social identity integrating the language learner and the context of language learning (Norton Pierce, 1995: 12), Norton Pierce argues that SLA theorists have also failed to question the way in which relations of power affect the relationship between language learners and native language speakers. Consequently, drawing on her research, which investigated the relationship between learning and additional language and identity formation for immigrant women, she proposed a theory of social identity which highlights that "power relations play a crucial role in social interactions between language learners and target language speakers" (Norton Pierce, 1995: 12). Norton Pierce builds on Heller's (1987) notion of language and ethnicity and highlights the importance of language within the social interactions referred to above, "it is through language that learners gain or are denied access to social networks wherein opportunities for speaking are created and that language is the medium through which learners develop and negotiate their identity" (Hansen & Liu,1997: 470).

By taking this stance, Norton Pierce (1995) "foregrounded the role of language as constitutive of and constituted by a language learner's social identity". Language is seen as playing an essential role because through this medium an individual negotiates a sense of self in and across different contexts at different times. Also, it is through language that an individual gets access to – or is denied access to – social

groups which provide opportunity for learners to communicate with others (Norton Pierce, 1995: 13).

To examine the relationships of the language learners in her study Norton drew on Weedon's (1987) concept of social identity or subjectivity. Weedon's work proved useful in the way it linked individual experience and social power in a theory of subjectivity. Weedon defined subjectivity as "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (Weedon, 1987: 32).

Norton draws on Weedon's defining characteristics of subjectivity which include: the multiple nature of the subject; subjectivity as a site of struggle; and subjectivity as changing over time. Of relevance is Norton's belief that firstly, social identity is a site of struggle, multiple and contradictory. Secondly, that subjectivity is produced in a variety of social sites and structured by relations of power such that an individual takes up various different subject positions, as appropriate, such as mother, daughter and manager. However, it can be seen that some positions may be in conflict with others. The subject is considered as taking an active role but may be subject of and subject to relations of power within their social world. In addition, the subject is considered to have human agency. Consequently, the subject positions that a person takes up in a particular discourse are open to argument. "Although a person may be positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, the person might resist the subject position or even set up a counter-discourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than marginalized subject position" (Norton Pierce, 1995: 16)..

The focus of post-structuralist readings of identity (or subjectivity) see this as a project of individual meaning making across a number of communities and often, as in the case of Norton's work, therefore give greater prominence to the capacity to act (or agency) that is generated from this process of negotiation and to the ways in which 'actors' may elect to contest or resist community norms. In the next section, I consider this notion of agency in more depth.

3.7 Agency and identity construction

Although much of the discussion concerning agency draws on social theory and social psychology its origins are in philosophy and work linked to human freedom (Mele, 2003). Agency refers to action that has an effect on something (Reunamo, 2007). Biesta and Tedder (2006: 9) suggest a general definition of agency as "the

situation where individuals are able to exert control over and give direction to the course of their lives".

Discussion in sociology regarding the 'structure-agency debate' was highlighted around the 1970s and 1980s arising from increased emphasis on practice or action and power relations. More recently sociologists have overcome the structure-agency divide through the theory of structuration (Giddens, 1984) and the concept of habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990).

Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration, whilst examining the dialectical relationship between structure and agency examines the concept of 'action' as having a purpose and considers that individuals are knowledgeable agents able to understand their world and explain their actions to others and themselves (Byrd Clark, 2008: 4). Although Wenger does not directly address the theoretical issue of structure-action his work follows assumptions in harmony with those of Giddens. Wenger proposes taking a mid level perspective involving practice and identity where identity is considered a learned experience of agency within a community of practice.

Within Bourdieu's work the agent is socialized in a 'field', which is a social domain with evolving roles and relationships, where different forms of capital are evident. As the agent becomes accustomed to the roles and relationships in the context of the environment, he or she internalises relationships and expectations for working in that context. Over a period of time the internalised relationships together with the habitual expectations form the habitus. Bourdieu's work also attempts to reconcile structure and agency.

Miller (2003: 115), drawing on Giroux (1992) describes agency as,

> a social phenomenon which refers to ways in which some people are able to take a standpoint, to show initiative even where there may be an asymmetry of power relations, and to use discursive resources to represent themselves and to influence situations to their own advantage… (Miller, 2003: 115)

Miller (2003: 115-116) provides examples of how a bilingual pupil reveals her agency to achieve a positive outcome by using a competent level of language and getting her own way with her teachers. On the other hand, Brooker (2002: 92) cites an example where the outcome was less positive because in exercising her own agency the pupil was not accessing the whole curriculum and her own learning. These examples fit the view held by Hall (2006), Lantolf and Pavlenko (2001: 145) who state that a sociocultural/activity focus allows researchers to frame learners as individuals with

human agency who "actively engage in constructing the terms and conditions of their own learning" (cited in Block, 2003: 109).

Biesta and Tedder (2006: 18) suggest the following theoretical insights. Firstly, that agency should not be understood as an individual's capacity, but that it should always be understood in transactional terms, i.e. a quality of the engagement of individuals with temporal-relational contexts of action. In accordance with Dewey (1938) the transaction approach implies that individuals and environment are affected by the engagement. Biesta and Tedder (2006: 18) refer to this as an ecological understanding of agency. The second insight refers to agency being understood not as a possession of the individual, but as something that is achieved in and through the engagement with a particular temporal relational situation. The concept of achieving agency is useful in making it possible to explain why an individual can be agentic in one situation but not in another. It moves the explanation away from the individual and locates it firmly in the transaction, which implies that the achievement in one situation does not mean that it will be achieved in other situations as well. Thus making it possible to understand fluctuations in an individual's agency over time (Biesta & Tedder, 2006: 18).

It is suggested by Biesta and Tedder that agency is not something that people can have. Agency is something that people can achieve but only in transaction with a particular situation. This helps to understand situations in which the achievement of agency needs greater effort from an individual, which is linked to the availability of resources or different 'capitals'. In relation to this, Norton and Toohey (2001: 317) describe how two language learners exercised human agency to gain access to the social networks of their communities. Both learners made effective use of a variety of resources – intellectual and social – in order to gain access to their peer networks in spite of initial attempts to isolate them. In addition, Toohey's (1998) work highlights the limited extent to which her target bilingual children were able to exercise agency (Hanada, 2006: 812).

Still focusing on the individual within a community, the following section highlights how individuals invest in language learning.

3.8 Investment, identity and agency

Within the literature of second language acquisition, Norton Pierce (1995) challenges the concept of motivation. Her concern is that it fails to explain the complex relationship between relations of power, identity and language learning.

Consequently, drawing on her own study Norton Pierce suggests that the notion of investment is more appropriate because it "signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of the women (in the study) to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it" (Norton Pierce, 1995: 17). To help understand the notion of investment, Norton (2000) refers to Bourdieu (1977) and Passeron (1977) and the notion of cultural capital. When considering second language acquisition. Norton Pierce (1995) and Norton (2000) cited in Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004: 240) suggest that students invest in learning an additional language knowing that they will gain greater symbolic resources such as language, education and friendship as well as material resources such as money which adds to the value of their cultural capital. Language learners anticipate that they will succeed in gaining a good return on their investment which will provide access to previously unattainable resources. Consequently, the effort put into language learning equates to the outcome of the investment (Norton Pierce, 1995: 17).

The notion of investment is not the same as instrumental motivation because it attempts to retain the relationship of the language learner to the changing social world. There is an understanding that the language learner has a complex social identity with numerous desires. Through use of the target language learners interact with native speakers and reorganise a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Consequently, "an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space" (Norton, 2000: 11). This stance corresponds to the view of investment held by Ellis (1997: 140) and relates to the work of Wenger.

Wenger argues that in a community of practice, mutual relationships, a carefully understood enterprise, and a well-honed repertoire are investments that make sense with respect to each other. The participants have a stake in the investment because it becomes part of who they are. Consequently, practice can be considered an investment in learning (Wenger, 1998: 97).

Norton Pierce (1995) confirms that the bilingual women in her study felt uncomfortable talking to people in whom they had a particular symbolic or material investment. This suggests that a language learner's motivation to communicate in the target language is mediated by investments that may conflict with their wish to speak. Once again referring to her own study of bilingual learners Norton (2000: 142) concludes that, "unless learners believe that their investments in the target language are an integral and important part of the language curriculum", they may, as an act of

resistance, reject the teacher's pedagogy and drop out from the class thus removing themselves from a site of conflict (Norton, 2000: 141). Hansen and Liu (1997: 4) perceive that Norton Pierce's (1995) social identity theory, which focuses on the importance of the social context beyond the language classroom for language learners to invest in, has some merit. This concept is relevant to my study when considering the impact on bilingual pupils of circumstances and family relationships within the home setting whilst they are at school.

However, as pointed out by Angélil-Carter (1997: 267), Norton Pierce's interpretation of her own research data has been criticised for not moving beyond the unitary subject, which, unfortunately, undermines her theoretical stance.

The final section focuses on how language learners position themselves and are positioned by others depending on where and who they are with and what they are doing (Block, 2007: 2).

3.9 Positioning

A key aspect associated with the post-structuralism approach to identity includes 'positioning'. Positioning theory provides a way of explaining the on-going nature of the various subject positions taken up through the communication of individuals with others in day to day life. Harré and van Lagenhove (1999) suggest that identity positioning shows, as a result of negotiation, who others perceive us to be and who we believe ourselves to be and imagine we can be. Consequently, the position held by an individual at any time is a result of 'interactive positioning' (others attempt to position us) and 'reflective positioning' (our own attempts at self-representation). According to Harré and van Lagenhove identity positioning occurs each time an individual interacts with others in conversation (Rich & Davis, 2007).

Harré and Van Lagenhove (1999) use Austin's (1962) speech act framework suggesting that an individual can use the same words to express his ideas or thoughts about a topic, the illocutionary act, to two different audiences in different contexts. However, the effect of what has been said, the perlocutionary force, may be very different for each audience (Block, 2007: 19). Positioning can occur across a wide time scale. When this takes place in the present an individual's ongoing story line may concern events and experiences in the past, present or the future. With regard to the future, researchers (Murphey, Chen & Chen, 2005) have explored how language learners adopt 'imagined' subject positions in 'imagined' communities of speakers of the target language (Block, 2007: 19). The notion of subject positions set

in the future stems from Wenger's (1998) work which explains how imagination is an integral part of ongoing identity work. Imagination allows, "a certain playfulness by which the process of identification can include the ability to try things, take liberties, reflect… and position ourselves in a completely different context" (Wenger, 1998: 194).

Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) consider that identity positioning is influenced by a broader discourse beyond the local context suggested by Harré and Lagenhove. Wenger (1998) and others also refer to the conflict that arises from ongoing identity work:"the ongoing push and pull and give and take of discursive activity translates into the constant positioning and repositioning and the constant definition and redefinition of who one is" (Block, 2007: 20).

It is worth noting that Wenger acknowledges that belonging to a community of practice is just one aspect of our identity for an identity is more than a single trajectory and should be seen as a nexus of multimembership. He also argues that the maintenance of an identity across boundaries requires 'action' However, he fails to theorise how the memberships of different communities work together to impact on individuals learning experiences or what the nature of this 'action' might be, as Haneda (2006: 809) observes.

Dealing with boundaries can be challenging, for instance in situations where communities from one ethnic group define themselves in contrast to another. Consequently each group is defined by opposition to the other group and membership in one community implies marginalisation in the other. This point is illustrated by Morita (2004) who describes the construction of identity of Japanese students, as being active in one community and non participatory in another (Haneda, 2006: 811).

Relevant to this study is the work undertaken by Norton and Toohey (2001: 318) to understand good language learners, which highlighted the important part played by identity. They concluded that the learners in their study moved to a position where their identities were respected and their resources valued, providing opportunities for shared talk. "Eva, initially constructed as an ESL immigrant, sought to reposition herself as a multilingual resource with a desirable partner; Julie, initially constructed as an ESL learner, came to be seen as a nice little girl with allies" (Norton & Toohey, 2001: 318). It appears that their success at becoming good language learners was due to them achieving more powerful identities. The different ways individuals actively manage boundaries or borders between different social worlds, are intimately

connected to their sense of self or identity and highlight an important aspect of socialization. This theme of socialization as movement across different worlds has been picked up in the work of Bernstein and Bronfenbrenner in their theoretical accounts of socialization across home and school which are relevant for this study and are discussed below.

3.10 Moving between different worlds: socialization across the home and school worlds

Having looked at theoretical perspectives in order to develop a clearer understanding of individuals within a community of practice, it is now relevant to consider the part played by theoretical perspectives offered by Bernstein and Bronfenbrenner in extending the community of practice model. This is undertaken in respect of how children move between different worlds.

3.10.1 *A perspective offered by Bernstein*

When considering the process of socialization it is important to acknowledge that children live in different worlds and to consider and distinguish between different kinds of knowledge acquired by children at home prior to starting school. This knowledge will be of use to them either in their home setting because it enables them to become a member of their home culture or because it enables them to succeed within the school culture. Families can be differentiated from each other by the extent of overlap between their home and school knowledge or as discussed by Bernstein (1996) their 'local' and 'official' knowledge. However, this terminology rather than distinguishing what is learned at home from what is learned at school distinguishes what is valued at home from what is valued at school. On the one hand, 'official knowledge' can lead, through success in school, to power and status in society. Accordingly, children who have learned 'official knowledge' adapt smoothly to the classroom setting because they meet the same expectations as to what is important.

In Bourdieu's terminology this is the cultural capital of the 'field of education'. On the other hand 'local knowledge', although useful in the home or community context in which it is learned is not necessarily useful to the child in the wider society and specifically in the child's school setting.

In most families, children's early socialization into ways of behaving appropriately within their own culture occurs by means of apprenticeship. The child, in close proximity to other family members, observes, imitates and then takes over the

behaviours and activities of those in the social group (Rogoff, 1990). Consequently, the child acquires a 'practical mastery' of all the knowledge and skills required for belonging within the home even though the parents may be unaware of having passed these on (Brooker, 2002: 47). Although some aspects of early socialization may be explicit such as learning the rules about respectful ways of speaking to adults or eating meals, bedtimes, obedience and sanctions, much of this learning may be implicit to both child and parent.

As previously discussed, children's pre-school learning, includes the acquisition of both 'local knowledge' and 'official knowledge' and the experience of implicit and explicit teaching and learning. However, to become successful pupils must master both the regulative discourse which governs classroom behaviour, and instructional discourse which enables them to access the curriculum. Whereas children's primary socialization, together with the development of their primary habitus, takes place through apprenticeship into family behaviours and beliefs, secondary socialization involves children's first regular experience of institutional life and the internalisation of specific roles (Woods, Boyle & Hubbard, 1999: 117) and takes place rapidly through direct instruction.

In the home setting some children's early cognitive learning may have been accomplished through explicit teaching, whereas in the classroom setting such learning is often implicitly acquired. Consequently, some of a child's secondary socialization includes learning which ways of learning are utilised in school and approved by teachers (Brooker, 2002: 90). The role of the teacher is key because the concept of the 'good' or 'ideal' pupil is a "construction which is drawn primarily from the lifestyle and culture of the teacher concerned" (Wright, 1993: 28).

It is evident that in the move from one setting to another and the transition of becoming a pupil some children's 'system of dispositions' (Bourdieu, 1990: 53) or habitus has to radically be transformed requiring "a double process of learning" (Bourdieu, 1990). Figure 2 illustrates the development of primary habitus and secondary habitus as described by Bourdieu and how, through primary socialization, an individual learns to be a child in the family setting. This is followed by secondary socialization where the child learns to become a pupil at school.

FAMILY SETTING			SCHOOL SETTING	
Child $\longrightarrow$	Primary $\longrightarrow$ socialization	Primary $\longrightarrow$ habitus	Secondary $\rightarrow$ socialization	Secondary habitus
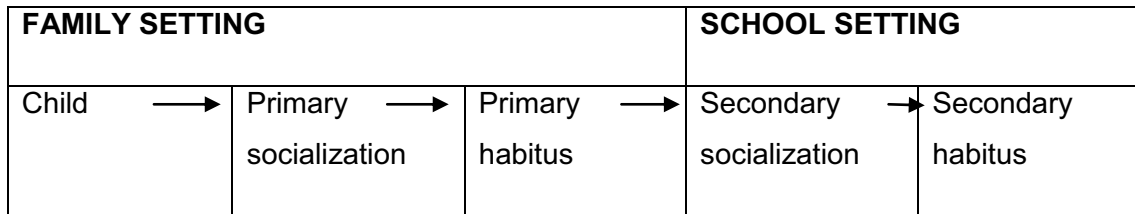
Figure 2: The development of primary and secondary habitus: adapted from Brooker (2002: 90)

Bernstein (1996) describing a similar transformation to Bourdieu argues that the process of adaptation involves children in acquiring the recognition and realisation rules of the school's pedagogic discourse. However, this approach may differ substantially from the pedagogic discourse of their home setting (Bernstein, 1996: 32). These rules are compared by Bernstein to learning to understand and then learning to speak a new foreign language, which subsequently allows pupils an opportunity to passively decipher what is going on in the classroom and then actively respond with appropriate behaviour. The rules are an essential part of the social and cultural capital held by a pupil (Brooker, 2002: 90).

Within both primary and secondary socialization implicit and explicit teaching and learning can be identified. This corresponds to the two main types of pedagogy identified by Bernstein (1971, 1975, 1990, 1996): the visible and invisible pedagogies. Bernstein's theorising about forms of pedagogy depends in turn on two key concepts which he developed, entitled classification and framing.

Within the school setting there are links between a range of named categories such as schools and homes, or teachers and pupils, or between groups of children in the class. Classification explains the strength of the boundaries between these categories. When classification is described as strong, this creates an image of a school with, for example, strict uniform rules, which maintains the boundary between school and home styles. Framing, however, regulates the communication and type of behaviour within and between the categories created through classification such that, when framing is strong, all aspects of school and working in classes, including behaviour and relationships, will be explicit and unambiguous. Consequently, strong classification and strong framing creates a formal model of schooling. In this case the pedagogy is fully explicit and described as visible. Conversely weak classification and framing creates a very informal type of schooling. The pedagogy is very implicit and said to be invisible.

Bernstein's concepts are valuable in permitting a description of an infinite range of 'modalities' formed through the combination of varying degrees of strength and weakness of classification and framing. Consequently, an analysis of the classification and the framing of a school setting provides a description of the pedagogy and therefore of the children's schooling experience. Rather than being restricted to educational settings, these concepts can be extended to all pedagogic settings, including homes. In Bernstein's view the concepts have significant consequences for the learning and therefore success of children from differing social backgrounds. Notably, Newson and Newson (1976) in their longitudinal study of English families identified small but "influential class differences in socialization" placing middle class children at an advantage when starting education. It is not surprising, therefore, that Corsaro (1997: 9-11) refers to Bernstein's work as a 'reproductive' model of socialization in which agencies of socialization function to reproduce social class differences within society.

3.10.2 *A perspective offered by Bronfenbrenner*

Related to socialization and the work of Bernstein, Bronfenbrenner (1979: 3) offers a theoretical perspective for looking at how children's experience of transition from one world or setting to another is shaped by factors which influence their continued progress (Brooker, 2002: 94). Bronfenbrenner's (1979) account of the ecological model of development, through enabling variables or theoretical 'propositions', provides an explanation for the variation in children's adaptation and development on starting school. Using the framework of the ecological environment, Bronfenbrenner (1979: 95) locates the school setting or microsystem as the new situation for the developing child within the mesosystem or network of settings within which the child participates. Bronfenbrenner emphasises the importance for the developing child of connective links of persons, with parents or carers within, and between, microsystems (Bronfenbrenner 1979: 7). Exemplifying this point, he explains, "a child's ability to learn to read in the primary grades may depend no less on how he is taught than on the existence and nature of ties between the school and the home" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 3). Identifying the developmental importance of ecological transitions, Bronfenbrenner's hypotheses relate to entry to school. For instance he suggests that "the developmental potential of a setting and a mesosystem is enhanced if the person's initial transition into that setting is not made alone" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 211). In this context the most favourable condition would be if the mother accompanied the child to school. Bronfenbrenner also highlights the impact on pupil development of a positive relationship between home and school

through information provided by the setting, as reflected in Hypothesis 42: "upon entering a new setting, the person's development is enhanced to the extent that valid information, advice and experience relevant to one setting are made available, on a continuing basis, to the other" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 217).

The achievement of the ideal situation occurs when there is two-way communication or information exchange between the school and home setting: for this can result in an accumulation of capital which has a long term positive outcome on the children in their homes.

In summary the macro-theories offered by Bernstein and Bronfenbrenner affirm the central role of children's early experiences in the home to their long term outcomes (Brooker, 2002: 121). On the one hand, in Bernstein's account, parents and their children may be excluded from full participation in the official education system. This is due to the linguistic, social and cultural barriers created by the pedagogic discourse. Invisible boundaries create the greatest challenge, because those they exclude may be unaware of the situation that exists regarding the 'rules' underpinning the pedagogic discourse.

On the other hand, Bronfenbrenner's account explains the crucial significance of multiple and bi-directional connections between microsystems (Brooker, 2002: 121) experienced by the developing child. It is considered to be of benefit to the child to be accompanied by parents to a new setting and for information exchange to take place. However, where there is lack of continuity between the activities and differing values held by settings, the children may suffer. As explained by Brooker, "the development of the child is likely to be slower than where links and continuities are strong" (Brooker, 2002: 121). Consequently, those children whose home and school experiences significantly overlap and whose parents engage and communicate continually with staff at school experience limited setbacks along their developmental path. However, in the case of children whose experience of home and school is very different and whose parents do not visit the classroom or actively engage with staff challenges may occur during their continuing development.

3.11 Language socialization

A final perspective on socialization worth mentioning is language socialization as it has a bearing on an account of socialization and bilingual learners. Language Socialization' refers to the process by which newcomers in a community gain communicative competence, membership and legitimacy in the group (Duff, 2006).

Mediated by language, it is a process which has as its goal the mastery of linguistic conventions, pragmatics, appropriate identities, and other behaviours and practices that are linked to the target group (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Research in this area acknowledges that language and literacy learning involve both explicit and implicit socialization. This occurs through linguistic and social interaction through communicative practices in order to gain access into particular communities, which have specific values and activities (Duff, 2006: 310). Language socialization is seen as a way to foreground and gain knowledge of a social, cultural and linguistic nature across different language learning situations at different stages of life (Duff, 2006).

Second language socialization highlights the additional complexity for individuals who already have a repertoire of linguistic and cultural traditions when faced with meeting new ones. As argued by Duff, those learning an additional language may not enjoy the same access or acceptance into a community as others do. Socialization is seen as a process of acquiring community practice but also of seeking to understand firstly, how different community practices might serve to disadvantage certain children and, secondly, how children's language practices can be seen as attempts to mark out their identity and to take up agency. This concept can be utilised as a way to evaluate how 'cohesion' can be carved out of different theoretical perspectives.

3.12   Research studies: the experiences of bilingual children in school settings

3.12.1 *Overview*

Over recent years a number of research studies have emerged, which have focused on bilingual children in mainstream primary school settings from around the world. These studies have been approached from different perspectives. Some, for example, have reported on the impact of the learning environment on bilingual learner experiences whilst others have referred to the EAL learner perspective. It is noteworthy that, in this study, sometimes it has been necessary to draw on the same or similar studies across two or more major sections. This is appropriate because researchers see children's experiences as socially constituted; consequently, the studies will frequently aim to reveal both the nature of practices and children's perception and engagement with these at the same time. The studies described in this section can be seen to draw upon the range of theoretical constructs referred to in the first part of the chapter.

Within the research studies reference has been made to classroom practice. In line with others (Toohey, 2000: 81) the term practice relates here to re-occurring actions and activities that take place with others in a social setting. The impact of these actions is of importance because they regulate the access of bilingual learners to resources in the classroom community. Lave and Wenger (1991: 100-1) explain:"To become a full member of a community of practice requires access to a wide range of ongoing activity, old-timers, and other members of the community; and to information, resources and opportunities to participate."

A number of studies (Martin & Stuart-Smith, 1998; Kenner, 2000, 2005; Flynn, 2007) have focused on critical literacy and identified issues regarding bilingual learners whose skill and learning needs have not been appropriately addressed in the approach to literacy within mainstream education. In addition, whilst focusing on literacy development for bilingual learners there are studies (Martin & Stuart-Smith, 1998; Walters 2007) that have acknowledged the relationship between literacy and language and the construction of identity; establishing that strategies used by pupils for learning English were linked to issues of identity, such as 'fitting in' with the majority group.

The notion of identity features throughout the studies. This is evident in (a) the coping strategies developed by young bilingual learners in negotiating identities (Hunter, 1997; Platt & Troudie, 1997) and, (b) in their management of the interface between home and school (Pagett, 2006; Rich & Davis, 2007); also (c) the significance of classroom practices and the subsequent relationships learners develop with their teachers and peers (Toohey, 1998, 2000; Day, 2002); (d) lastly, how children are positioned with some pupils given more power than others leading to marginalisation.

Other studies (Schiefflin & Ochs, 1986; Ochs, 1988; Willett, 1995; Hawkins, 2005) have used a socialization orientation to investigate the participation of bilingual learners within classroom contexts. Although accounts of socialization tend to assume that newcomers are assisted, such assistance is not always forthcoming to all learners.

Some studies (Toohey,1998, 2000; Day, 2002; Kanno, 2003) have used a community of practice model in which to explore the intricate relationship among bilingual learners within a community. Whilst it would seem appropriate for EAL learners to be integrated within a community of practice through the process of legitimate peripheral participation, research studies (Kanno, 2003) indicate that integration does not always occur. Although pupils' language development has,

traditionally, been linked to academic achievement, studies have shown that, having friends (Kanno, 1999), gaining respect and becoming a full member of the school community as well as negotiating identities has had a significant impact on students' learning (Day, 2002). These and other studies (Casanave, 1998; Day, 2002; Flowerdew, 2000; Ibrahim, 1999; Leki, 2001; Morita, 2004; Toohey, 1998, 2000) have explored the experiences of students in an educational learning community.

Research studies have illustrated the complexity of making friends, social and academic relationships, getting due respect and the critical part these factors play in the development and negotiation of identity together with the power that some students have over others. Also studies have shown how some students have been denied access to practices which have impacted negatively on their learning. I will now consider ways in which the experience of bilingual children is manifest in the literature.

3.12.2 *Salient features of bilingual learners experiences*

Following a review of research studies, a number of salient features have been identified. This is illustrated by the way in which access is featured throughout studies reported here. For example, access is relevant to policy and practice at a national and school level because some pupils may be disadvantaged. As a direct result of teacher beliefs, perceptions and attitudes, and practice and routines, access, for bilingual learners, may be promoted or denied. Linked to this, as reported in the literature, socialization, as a lens to understand pupils' experiences, highlights inequality of opportunities for some pupils.

Other features highlighted the way in which the schooling experiences encountered by bilingual pupils varied. Apart from the class context, seen as key in determining pupils' learning opportunities, an important factor was, firstly, the child and, secondly, the impact of 'significant others'. Within the framework of identity, agency and power, the dispositions and orientations that learners have and bring with them to the class influence the strategies children use when participating alongside their peers.

Another feature that emerged relates to the challenges and prejudice faced by bilingual learners at school. The incidence of racism has been considered challenging to research (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996) in mainstream contexts. Nonetheless, different types of racism have emerged, highlighting inferiorising, marginalisation and the exclusion of certain ethnic groups or othering (Rich & Troudie, 2006). Of particular relevance to the current study are the findings of others

concerning racism in locations with few minority ethnic pupils (Cline et al., 2002; Gaine & Lamley, 2003; Cole, 2008).

3.12.3 *Policy and practice: national and school level*

When considering the experiences of bilingual learners within a school context many aspects play an important role. These include the way in which significant others, including parents, teachers and peers, impact on learners both negatively and positively as well as those factors that a learner brings to the setting. It also includes how pupils 'manage' the interface between their home world and that of school because for some this may be challenging (Pagett, 2006; Rich & Davis, 2007). However, of great significance is the learning environment itself and practices employed and routines that impact on the learners. Of particular interest here is the way in which the school environment is seen to deny access to bilingual learners. In schools access may be denied through the approach undertaken by some class teachers in particular the impact of their beliefs on classroom practices to support bilingual pupils.

From a positive perspective, it is also important to discuss studies which highlight the positive impact of multilingual work in mainstream classrooms: this will be addressed later in the chapter.

Inappropriate approaches to address the needs of bilingual learners, through policy and practice.

Evidence, based on the reality reflecting multilingual English urban classrooms, is provided in a study by Leung, Harris & Rampton (1997: 553) to suggest that there are serious issues with the routine practices in the education of bilingual students. Although this study focuses on practices associated with advanced, secondary learners, there are other research studies which also relate to practices that either deny bilingual learners access to an appropriate education and therefore impede learning or practices and routines that promote learning and how this may be greatly influenced by the class teacher.

The influence of the teacher is evident in Ernst's (1994) ethnographic study which illustrates how 'circle time' a teacher led group activity to encourage talk and interaction in a United States (US) mainstream class with students aged 6-11 provided opportunities for bilingual pupils to practise English and interact with others in a purposeful way. Data analysis showed that student participation and use of

language were restricted or facilitated by the type of questions used by the teacher, feedback provided, organisation of turn taking, and who held control of the discussion topic. This emphasised how the teacher's role in situations such as this can be decisive in enhancing or constraining language use and learning.

In the following studies on children's classroom experiences, class routines and practices were seen to impact significantly on children's classroom experiences (Platt & Troudie, 1997; Toohey, 2000). Based on a first grade class in an international school in the U.S. Willett (1995) described how the sociocultural ecology of the class influenced the type of interaction that the children used in everyday events such as routines and therefore their language learning experience. The study highlighted that these language learning interactional routines and practices were, in fact, key locations for the construction of social relations, identity and ideology. The latter influenced the children's access to the language culture of the class setting.

Teacher beliefs: perceptions and attitudes concerning support for bilingual learners

In a number of studies it was noted that inappropriate practice was due to teacher beliefs or attitudes regarding support for bilingual learners. Access denied due to the impact of seating arrangements on children (Willett, 1995; Toohey, 2000) was also a feature of a case study (Platt &Troudi, 1997) looking at the U.S. classroom experiences of a 9 year old bilingual girl called Mary. The study focused on a number of aspects including the way in which Mary's teacher's beliefs reinforced practices and therefore learning opportunities for the student within the class setting. It was found that the teacher's actions reflected a view which considered, "language learning as acculturation, cognitive development as a natural process, and the power of cooperative learning" (Platt & Troudi, 1997: 44). However, it appeared that class practices promoted by the teacher did not adequately assist Mary's learning. Most noticeable was the teacher's belief in the value of natural processes through peer tutoring rather than direct teaching from herself to scaffold Mary's learning. Unfortunately the teacher was unaware of the intense frustration and sadness experienced by Mary as she struggled with a lack of understanding of her work and employed coping strategies to help negotiate her identity.

An earlier study (Willett, 1995: 481) identified a similar situation regarding inappropriate actions due to teachers' beliefs. In this case the practices of the teacher of room 17 were supported by the families of the bilingual children. This was because her class reflected the parents' expectations regarding what a 'good

practice' classroom should be like. Unfortunately the teacher believed that English would 'emerge naturally' for newcomers through participation within the class setting. Consequently, she believed there was no reason to provide specific support for these children who were new to English.

Through ethnographic research following EAL children in mainstream primary classes in Canada, Toohey (1998, 2000) and Day (2002) used a community of practice framework to explore the intricate relationship among bilingual learners. Whilst they deal with similar concerns, in that they show how children's learning trajectory emerge in the context of their relations with their peers, the focus of the two studies is different regarding the issue of access.

In relation to access, Toohey (1998, 2000) found that like others (Platt & Troudi, 1997; Willett, 1995) specific teacher practices including: firstly, pupil location and movement resulting from the arrangement of equipment, secondly, pupil responsibilities for their own equipment and, lastly, lack of collaborative working and self help, were denying some children access to essential material, linguistic and social resources. These pupils were described as 'deficient' and became "systematically excluded from just those practices in which they might otherwise appropriate identities and practices of growing competence and expertise" (Toohey, 1998: 61).

Research also suggests that mainstream teachers often possess misinformation about the cultures of bilingual students and expect less of students using non-standard English (Youngs & Youngs, 2001: 98). Consequently, there is reason to be concerned that significant numbers of mainstream teachers may find it difficult to create a truly welcoming atmosphere for bilingual students and that this may negatively affect pupil learning.

Positive teacher practice

Several studies have recorded the positive experience for bilingual children, their parents and monolingual peers when provided with an opportunity to make use of home literacy materials in the mainstream classroom, which promoted support for mother tongue development in a monolingual class. In an account (Chana, Edwards & Walker, 1998) of a school initiative to introduce an Urdu word-processing package into an urban UK primary school it was found that the bilingual children benefited from the development of literacy skills, self-confidence and confidence with using the computers. In addition, the project offered an opportunity for parents to use their

language and literacy skills in Urdu. Subsequently, they felt empowered to make a positive contribution to their children's learning at school. In addition, the support provided by the mothers, as the experts, had a beneficial impact on their children. With an awareness of the value of a strong foundation in the language of the home (Cummins, 2001), Chana et al. (1998) report that this changed perception is leading many teachers to seek opportunities for writing in other languages in the classroom in order to consolidate and extend children's competences. However, this has not been readily substantiated in later studies to date.

Kenner (2000, 2005) in line with Chana et al. (1998) describes how pupils were given the opportunity to make use of home literacy materials which also promoted support for mother tongue development. She also found that supported by parents, bilingual children and their monolingual peers incorporated their multilingual experience into their literacy learning. This was particularly noticeable for the child who was the focus of her study because she saw that the presence of the child's mother as an active writer in the setting encouraged the child to engage with the Gujarati script.

In general the bilingual teachers in the study undertaken by Conteh (2007: 463) who expressed their views on bilingualism, language choices and pedagogy in multilingual classrooms saw the use of different languages in the class as a beneficial strategy for children's learning. However, the teachers shared a common frustration that they lacked opportunities to use their bilingualism in positive ways in the class setting. The value of bilingualism was particularly valuable in terms of home-school liaison because parents readily identified with the teachers due to their bilingualism. An example of teacher-pupil interaction from a complementary classroom context (Conteh, 2007: 457) highlights the inseparability of language, culture and context and illustrates how code switching may assist in raising pupil achievement. The children's response to using Punjabi through this approach was very positive and they described wanting to do this in 'proper' school. These children were very aware, "of the social and cultural importance of their home languages, and also perceive that, on the whole, they are not recognised and valued in mainstream school" (Conteh, 2007: 469).

3.12.4 *Socialization: transition*

The process of becoming a pupil and membership of a class group is an important transition within the overall socialization process.

The theoretical explanation regarding transition most used by researchers is that of Bronfenbrenner. In his major study, The Ecology of Human Development (1979), Bronfenbrenner examined every stage of the human life cycle from mothers with babies in neo-natal units through to old people in care. Of relevance to this study was the stage: 'children starting school'. He described the individual as a participant within the interlocking 'systems', which impacted directly or indirectly on the individual's development. At each stage, he demonstrated the extent to which links between different systems enable the individual's transitions between the systems to be effective and positive, rather than detrimental and negative. Bronfenbrenner's definition suggests that a transition occurs when an individual's position within their ecological environment, "is altered as the result of a change in role, setting, or both" (Bronfenbrenner, 1979: 26). This implies that children, rather than being isolated, are situated in a social world. Any change in the settings experienced by a child will promote a change of role or identity, which may impact significantly on them.

The socialization process and transition to school has been reported in a number of studies. The Newsons' longitudinal study (1963,1976) of English families explored the relation of parents' beliefs to patterns of child rearing and the consequences of these patterns for children's behaviour and progress at school. The results highlighted many, small but influential class differences in socialization, which favoured middle-class children on entry to school. The disadvantages of these 'rules' for certain groups including minority ethnic children entering a majority educational setting have been demonstrated by Heath (1983). It can be seen that the culturally valued practices of the minority group can be in direct opposition to the majority culture in which children are educated.

Brooker's (2002) 'All Saints' ethnographic research used a multiple case study approach to follow the socialization process of a group of young children that included their transition into school (Brooker, 2008). The study investigated the learning experiences offered to a single reception classroom and in children's homes and experienced by 16 children in the class. The UK study involved classroom observation, interviews with children, parents and staff, daily parent diaries regarding an account of their child's previous day at home, and a questionnaire to generate general findings about the children. The findings showed variable experience and progress made by the children, which drew attention to the links between the micro effects of children's daily experiences and the macro effects of structural inequalities and cultural difference. It also showed how power in society influenced the distribution of opportunities to certain groups and individuals, and the agency of

children and families, which illustrated how opportunities were taken or left. The study highlighted that, within the socialization process, the children's experience of transition was shaped by factors which continued to influence their progress. An explanation for this variation in children's adaptation and development on starting school was offered by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) account of the enabling variables in developmental change.

Brooker described how, in her study, one mother took her son to school early, which enabled the mother to question the teacher about his learning ensuring he received individual teacher attention. The boy chatted about his news to the teacher and quickly established a friendly rapport. However, children who were less familiar with school took longer to settle. The child who experienced greatest challenges in becoming acquainted with other children wandered around the class almost silent, seemingly unable to infiltrate other children's activities or relationships.

Ryu (2004) investigated the academic development and social and emotional adjustment of three bilingual kindergarten pupils through observation and interviews with teachers, parents and children in Massachusetts. All three pupils were high achievers and spoke Korean and English although their levels of mastery of English differed. It was subsequently found that the children had different schooling experiences as a result of their level of English language proficiency. The findings highlighted that the children adjusted well to school, quickly learning English. It was also found that teachers and parents played a valuable role in supporting bilingual children's adjustment to new educational settings whilst maintaining their cultural identity. One child, unlike many Korean newcomers without English, showed confidence from his first day at school. His easy adjustment to a new educational environment was believed to be facilitated by his teacher who had learnt Korean as a way to better understand, communicate with and support the Korean children in her class. Perhaps her welcoming approach facilitated his transition into the classroom because he quickly understood school routines and participated in class activities in spite of limited English.

A small number of studies have been concerned with the identity work and language development of young English language learners. This aspect has led to the need to consider children's transition to school and becoming pupils. Willett's (1995) ethnographic, multiple case studies focused on four children acquiring English in a mainstream classroom in an international school on a US college campus. Data were generated through observation, use of field notes of events and critical incidents.

Three children were audio-taped whilst in the class. Interviews were conducted with the teacher and parents but not formally with the children. A socialization orientation showed that, through socially significant interactional routines, the children and significant others jointly constructed the bilingual children's identities, social relations and ideologies as well as their communicative competence. Over the year-long study the sociocultural ecology of the classroom community was seen to shape the micro-interactions that took place and, therefore, the nature of the children's language learning experience. Of relevance here, is how the three girls became successful learners in the class.

Hawkins' (2005) year-long ethnographic study explored the school lives of two kindergarten children through observation using field notes, video-taped classroom events and interactions, together with interviews with pupils and their parents. The focus of the study concerned the identity work and language development of young English language learners as they became students in a US school. Viewing language and literacy development as a socialization process and classrooms as complex ecological systems, the findings showed that the children's ability to engage successfully with academic work was distinct from their ability to engage in social interactions. In addition, their language and literacy development was not necessarily determined by economic and cultural capital or social status.

Following sociocultural approaches, Drury (2007), explored ethnographic methodologies to generate the multilingual voices of three, four year old bilingual children at home and within their multi ethnic school near London. Exploring young bilingual children's learning and participation in different communities, Drury's study revealed the learning that took place by the children. Although aspects of learning were invisible to the nursery educators they impacted negatively on the pupils' progress and happiness. She also identified strategies the children used for coping in their educational context and the way the children took control of their English learning.

As reported earlier, Bourne's (2001) detailed study of children at work in a primary classroom also illustrated the way in which pupil identities are jointly constructed through interaction. The research findings led Bourne to argue that, "children are not passive pawns in the socialization processes of the school, but active participants, taking up different positions within the alternatives open to them through both pedagogic and peer discursive practices (Bourne, 2001: 103).

A feature of the research studies that have explored socialization with bilingual pupils has been the way that data have been generated. Insight into children's lives at school has been gained by listening to the accounts of their experiences as ongoing processes. By taking a socialization lens and using children's stories or narratives, it has been possible to understand children's experiences at school.

3.12.5 *The bilingual child*

A focus of some studies which have considered the experiences of pupils for whom English is an additional language has been the EAL learners themselves and factors that the learners bring with them to a setting. This includes issues associated with a language barrier (Cameron, 2002; Berry & Williams, 2004), gender (Willett, 1995; Madsen, 2003) and cross cultural barriers (Hawkins, 1998; Willett, 1995; Berry & Williams, 2004) that impact on others. Studies which reflect these three areas will now be discussed in turn.

Language barrier

Several recent UK studies (Cameron, 2002; Berry & Williams, 2004) have considered the issue of English language competence for bilingual learners. Difficulties experienced by Hong Kong Chinese ESL learners in an Independent Secondary School in UK (Berry & Williams, 2004) were highlighted through 1:1 in depth interviews to gain a deep understanding of the students learning experiences. Although language was perceived as a problem for the pupils, social, cultural and affective aspects also caused problems. Often these factors were linked to each other and students' problems associated with language. It was shown that all pupils in the study experienced difficulties with language with listening and speaking being the most problematic areas (listening 37%, speaking 23%, writing 17%, vocabulary 17%, reading 8%) (Berry & Williams, 2004: 6). The affective problems associated with language directly impacted on the pupils and 75% reported experiencing distress when studying at the school. This linked to being unable to express themselves verbally in English.

Another UK study focusing on problems associated with language, (Cameron, 2002) trialled tests of vocabulary size in English as an additional language. The results showed that the lack of vocabulary perceived by teachers in a secondary school supported empirical evidence. The EAL students were found to be lagging behind their peers in that they experienced gaps in their knowledge of the most frequent words and more serious problems with less frequent words even though they had

received ten or eleven years of education through English. These results suggest that EAL vocabulary development is not achieving the level expected or needed by students for either exam purposes or to achieve full social participation (Cameron, 2002: 165). It was anticipated that the gaps may result from the nature of the learning environment for these students as well as the possible lack of appropriate support for the development of vocabulary within the learning context.

Gender

Aspects that relate to bilingual learners and gender have been highlighted in several studies. In one case (Willett, 1995: 495), the nature of the gender relations developed in the class setting through practices such as ensuring that boys sit next to girls to control the behaviour of the children, was considered to be part of the broader ongoing process of gender socialization. For many children in the study gender relations were less obvious within their own cultural backgrounds than was the case in the US. Consequently, gender relations and the background ideologies influenced the strategies used by the bilingual learners when interacting with others in the class context. For example, a boy called Xavier refused to ask the girls for help because he knew that the other boys in the class would make fun of boys who did this. Willett (1995: 499) concludes that in this context micropolitics of gender worked to position Xavier, the only bilingual boy in the class, as a problematic learner.

Toohey (2000) reports that, like many schoolgirls, those in her study were seen, in general, to be behaving appropriately by their teacher. Amy, although positioned as 'cute little girl', acted from a more powerful and assertive position when interacting with Cantonese speaking boys. There were, however, costs associated with the identity position Amy occupied with English classmates. "The possibility of her limitations to 'repressively stereotypic' norms of gender appropriateness" (Bryson & de Castell, 1997, cited in Toohey, 2000: 68) was always there. This links to another study (Madsen, 2003) that focused on the interactional dominance and power relations in conversations among Turkish-Danish school children. It was also found that different strategies were used by bilingual children as a way of negotiating power and identity with gender differences in the use of interactive dominance strategies and the way that conflict was addressed. The study also established that the traditional view of gender as fixed social categories did not fit the data. In another example (Cook-Gumperz, Szymanski, 2001) it was shown how students use gendered discourse practices in small peer group settings within an elementary bilingual class to accomplish school tasks. The teacher referred to the pupils as

'families'. Subsequently, a label emerged as a legitimising metaphor for the group's collective action. This study showed that Latino children interactionally oriented towards their peers as a gendered context. The girls in the 'family' adopted a brokering role which facilitated group co-operation much as they would in their own families. This indicated that gender differences for the bilingual children were seen in the cultural milieu around home-school interface and at the crossroads of language and ethnic identity. This example raises a key point regarding the way that gender interfaces with culture and difference in complex ways.

Cross-cultural differences

The negative impact of cross-cultural differences for bilingual pupils has been referred to in some studies. In this context, cross-cultural refers to differences between sociocultural norms and values between the United Kingdom and the countries of origin for the bilingual pupils, which may manifest in conceptions of educational practice. For example, Hawkins (1998) describes how critical thinking skills employed within the mainstream US classroom settings and communities are culturally learned behaviours through cultural apprenticeship by some but not all students. These behaviours enable learners to be able to join and participate adequately in educational communities. Consequently, students denied access to such skills are likely to be disadvantaged and not succeed.

With regard to cultural practices, Hawkins (1998: 132) reflects that because different cultures appear to value different approaches to thought, L2 learners need exposure to cultural thinking skills in order to gain access to mainstream classes. Hawkins (1998) identifies the need to design learning environments in which critical thinking is one of the crucial skills that make up the content and style of the learning in these environments. This would help to ensure that students can be apprenticed to this type of community and be able to use appropriate language and behaviour leading to participation and greater chance of success.

In another case in which Ryu (2004) investigated the academic development and social adjustment of three young high achieving Korean/English bilingual learners, cross-cultural issues, which impacted on friendship, were identified as a problem for pupils within their classroom settings. It was shown that pupils exhibited behaviour not understood by their teachers, such as frequent visits to the toilet, which were related to an acute awareness of the negative opinions of peers. In addition, although one child frequently touched other children, which was a cause for concern for his teacher, it was revealed that in Korean culture, adults tend to have frequent physical

contact with young children. The child in question appeared to be expressing his friendship with other children through the kinds of touching that his parents used with him. Over time this negative behaviour decreased as the child recognised that his expressions of intimacy were unacceptable in the school context.

Research by Berry and Williams (2004) concerning Chinese students from Hong Kong who had been 'dumped' by their parents into the English education system showed they felt distress and despair at not being able to cope with entering their new environment. The newly arrived pupils had limited knowledge about the school culture and had difficulty adjusting. As explained (Berry & Williams, 2004) the students from different cultural backgrounds held different values which caused prejudice and misunderstanding in the school community. Whilst the Chinese students saw their UK peers as childish and immature, manners and habits were a barrier for the Chinese students to being accepted into the host culture. The study reported the impact of English peer pressure on the Chinese students. Because the Chinese students had a different life style they found it difficult to be accepted by their peers. It was also found that the English students rejected individuals who were considered weak. Consequently, to avoid being bullied, Chinese students needed to show either how tough they were or proficient in sports or academic work. One individual who was talented in Maths and Sports gained respect and peer acceptance. It is noteworthy that in this study (Berry & Williams, 2004) less than half of the students used strategies to deal with their problems. This suggests that not all students may be aware of how to address these problems.

3.12.6 *The impact of significant others*

Studies have referred, within a context, to the effect on bilingual pupils of an individual interactant, perhaps a teacher, parent or a group of people, and the positive (Chana et al., 1998; Kenner, 2000, 2005) or negative impact (Lin, 1999; Ryu, 2004) this has had. The positive contribution made by parents on their children's learning at school has already been referred to (Chana et al., 1998; Kenner 2000, 2005).

Parents

In one of the focal schools of another study (Flynn, 2007) it was noted that EAL pupils who had been at the school since five were more likely to gain at least the average grade expected for an 11-year-old in national tests than their indigenous peers. This was because of parental influence. Families of the EAL pupils,

particularly refugees and asylum seekers, saw English as their passport to success and set great value by their children's school experience. However, this aspiration was not perhaps always reflected in the homes of monolingual pupils, who subsequently attained less than their bilingual peers. Other studies also describe the positive impact that parents had on their children's ability: for example, progress in children's second language learning was reported (Kenner, 2005) when parents supported their children through reading, spelling and talking.

Teachers

When considering the involvement of significant others, Williams and Burden (1997: 133) confirm the importance of the role played by teachers in the learning environment. They consider that learners are likely to be influenced by their personal feelings about their teachers and therefore the interactions between teachers and learners will impact on students, in particular on their motivation to learn. This is reflected in the following studies.

Again from a positive perspective Ryu's study (2004) shows how a pupil displayed confidence from his first day at school. His easy adjustment seems to have been facilitated by his teacher who had learnt some Korean believing that this would help her to better understand the Korean children in class. The welcoming efforts facilitated the pupil's inclusion into the setting illustrating the marked impact that individual teacher style has on students.

In an educational setting, the use, by a teacher, of mother tongue also appeared to have a positive impact on pupils. Through focusing on the range and quality of interactions within multilingual class settings of teachers, teaching assistants and their bilingual pupils (Conteh, 2007) it was possible to follow the complex processes of interaction which can support pupils' learning and lead to pupil success. Conteh describes a teacher's attitude to her personal school experiences. Having previously thought that speaking Panjabi was bad and nearly losing the facility to use the language the teacher subsequently believes she teaches more effectively bilingually than monolingually. Although there is no evidence of the positive impact of bilingual teaching on pupils' performance and achievements in mainstream school, positive feedback was received from pupils about using Punjabi in class.

The significance of interactants within contrasting contexts on the language development of bilingual learners was examined by Parke and Drury (2000). They substantiated claims made by Tarone and Liu (1995) that firstly, children produced

longer and more complex language in contexts where there was a lack of communicative pressure and children felt comfortable to explore their experience in a sympathetic setting. Secondly, the main interactant in the class setting, who is probably the class teacher, is a critical agent in the promotion of language. In addition, language performance was found to be more probable when an interactant is finely tuned to the child's language level.

An account of the experiences described by Chinese pupils (Lin, 1999) aged 12 to 15 in different ESOL classes in Hong Kong is of relevance here because it refers to problems experienced in the classroom by bilingual pupils as a result of the negative impact of staff. Lin (1999) describes how the Chinese pupils did not understand much of what a particular teacher said because she spoke only in English. Consequently the pupils chattered and played around during the lesson because they were bored. Also, pupils felt afraid of being asked questions by the teacher in case they were unable to answer the questions and would lose face. In another situation pupils recognised the importance of learning English, even though they did not like it. From this study, it emerged that what matters is not whether a teacher used the students' first language or English but rather how a teacher used language "to connect with students and help them to transform their attitudes, dispositions, skills and self-image – their habitus or social world". Lin (1999) states that the pupil-teacher relationship is crucial and it is the teacher's responsibility to use creative, discursive practices that are appropriate to the students.

Other pupils

Day's study (2002), along with others (Willett, 1995; Bourne, 2001; Brooker, 2002; Ryu, 2004), concentrates on the dynamics of classroom relationships and highlights the complexity and variability of peer relations and the vital role they play in the identities learners can negotiate. It also considers the kinds of access and level of participation available to the students (Day, 2002: 109). Using a sociocultural and critical/post-structural theoretical framework, Day's (2002) ethnographic study explored the language socialization experiences of a boy called Hari. Day showed how different social values with different class members influenced the way he related to individual children. It is noteworthy that he ceased using Panjabi in class and distanced himself from his Panjabi speaking identity, possibly as a result of implicit messages from his teacher concerning the relative value of his two languages. On some occasions, more powerful boys in the class placed Hari in a position that was considered weak and lower in status. Hari used strategies to resist

the positions he was offered. However, these strategies were not always effective because he lacked "the power to impose reception" even though his English language developed well (Day, 2002). It was noticeable that the friendship Hari developed with a newcomer to his class allowed him to negotiate identity and linguistic resources. Through this relationship it was seen that Hari was able to readily appropriate English language, and have a voice within the class. The relationship with his teacher was also positive showing power relations and unconscious emotional factors operating in the child-teacher relationship. Hari held a valued place with his teacher and played an active role in maintaining and enhancing this position, whilst confidently displaying his competence and creating opportunities for practice (Day, 2002).

It was argued (Bourne, 2001) that in the socialization processes of the school children were active participants, taking up different positions, offered both via pedagogic and peer discursive practices. However, it was noted that not all positions were equally open to all children. The discourses were masked by power relations in the class and the assumption that the official discourse of the teacher is what matters most in learning reflects power relations in the wider context. This relates to the difference between how the bilingual learners perceive their language and culture as part of the norm whereas the dominant culture perceives bilingualism as exotic.

Further research evidence regarding the negative way that bilingual pupils have been treated by their peers can be identified. These studies will be discussed in the sections which follow, entitled 'Marginalisation' and 'Racialised othering'.

3.12.7 *Outcomes*

In the previous sections, whilst a focus has been the EAL learner throughout, consideration has been given to the school environment which provides a formal educational setting and the ways in which access has been denied. The impact of significant others on EAL learners has been referred to as well as the complexity that can occur for some children as a result of the interface between the home and the school worlds. Finally, it is appropriate to look at the outcomes. This is achieved by discussing studies that have focused on aspects that have impacted on learners such as marginalisation, othering, identity, fitting in and friendship as well as emerging good practice for supporting EAL learners.

Marginalisation

A number of studies (Harklau, 1994; Kanno, 2003; McKay & Wong, 1996; Toohey, 1998) have described the marginalisation that EAL pupils have experienced in a learning community within an educational setting. Although it would appear that EAL students should be integrated into a community of practice through the process of legitimate peripheral participation it appears that this is not necessarily happening. Incidentally Kanno (1999) expressed strong reservations regarding the use of legitimate peripheral participation to describe the experiences of EAL pupils in the school community. She considered that by believing that the current peripheral participation of EAL pupils is legitimate, teachers may inappropriately sanction their students' marginal existence in school communities and never allow them an opportunity to become full participants.

Kanno (1999: 130) recalls that a school in her study not only systematically blocked pupil participation it also sent the message to EAL students that they were "not allowed in because they are not worthy enough". The same negative message has been identified in research by Harklau (1994: 259) which illustrated that ESL is both "stigmatised and remedial" and thought of as a "dummy programme" (McKay & Wong, 1996: 586). In other studies it has been shown that the knowledge and experiences EAL children bring to the classroom are constantly devalued. In another example Kanno (2003: 296) describes how Japanese students at one of her sample schools were being socialized into a society in which foreign immigrants are positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy and engaged in jobs that nobody else wants.

Using critical ethnography Ibrahim (1999) focused on the interaction between identity and learning through Francophone African youths and their narration of their experiences in a Canadian high school. The African students described peer pressure, especially in their early days in the school when "they were denigrated for not speaking English". A bilingual pupil describing his monolingual peers said, "they think that we are really stupid, that we are retarded, that we don't understand the language" (Ibrahim, 1999: 359). Teachers were also found to behave in a negative way towards bilingual pupils. One student reported a teacher's condescending manner of speech towards her.

Reiterating that access is problematic, Kanno (1999) confirms that learners are often blocked from the resource that is vital to their acquisition of the L2, namely opportunities to interact with native speakers. Kanno (1999: 129) relates this situation

to her own narrative study of bilingual students' identities by describing a student who recalled how her attempts to approach native English speaking peers and start to talk with them had been challenging and unsuccessful. The bilingual student's inability to understand her peers made them impatient and unwilling to converse. It is noteworthy that the student was convinced that real participation in an English speaking school was impossible unless students arrived before the end of the elementary school. She considered that if students like her arrived at secondary school then access was permanently blocked. Kanno (1999: 130) also reported that a student called Sawako felt angry about the marginalisation of ESL students in her school. However, unfortunately the student felt that it was pointless for minority ethnic pupils to stand up and fight. As pointed out (Morita, 2004; Day, 2002) some ESL students may be positioned as weak by more powerful peers and remain powerless and silent against the dominant majority.

Through an ethnographic study in four Japanese schools, which drew on the notion of community of practice, Kanno (2003) examined the relationship between the schools' visions for their students' future against current policies and practices and students' identities. Kanno established that schools have visions of the communities and societies that students follow and that the visions affect the schools' current policies and practice and influence the identities of the students either negatively or positively. For example, on the one hand, schools can play a role in social reproduction. As found in this study the least privileged bilingual children were being socialized into the most impoverished imagined communities. However, this school provides language minority pupils with an opportunity to focus on academic studies and promotes social inclusion unlike many minority students in Japanese public schools who are ostracised (Vaipol, 2001, cited in Kanno, 2003: 297). On the other hand, schools may counteract societal ideologies that oppress language minority students. Freeman's (1998) ethnographic study showed a school effective in helping low income Latino students succeed by recognising linguistic and cultural diversity as a resource and not a problem (cited in Kanno, 2003: 288).

Racialised othering

A number of studies (Leung et al., 1997; Ibrahim, 1999; Kubota, 2001; Rich & Troudie, 2006) that refer to the challenges and prejudice that students have experienced within educational settings are relevant to this study.

As pointed out by Rich and Troudie (2006) racialisation highlights a necessity to understand race and racism through a situated, socially constructed response to

sociocultural and other conditions. Racialisation also illustrates how categories associated with identity including culture, ethnicity, gender and religion are linked in subtle yet complex ways to race. This limited attention is considered by Kubota (2001) to indicate a reluctance by some to engage with problems associated with race and racism. The fact that there still appears to be a limited number of studies exploring the complex and hidden nature of 'race' and racism in UK schools is confirmed by Gillborn (1995). However, different types of cultural racism have evolved which perpetuate a colonial discourse of inferiorising, marginalising, and excluding certain ethnic groups with groups and individual members positioned as 'other'. These new forms of cultural racism have, however, been included in more recent research studies. Gillborn (1995: 41) again confirms that the issue of representation and the use of discourse to construct minority ethnic pupils as other is a concern. Arguing that the ideological core of racism is a belief in the superiority of one group over others, Gaine (1995: 26) describes how 'others' are currently defined by a mixture of essentialist qualities rooted in biology and culture, or colour, culture, language and religion. Colour remains a key determinant of the kind of treatment people receive with language, religion and culture all playing a key part in their being defined as 'the other' (Gaine, 1995: 26).

The incidence of racist bullying in schools has been considered challenging to research (Gillborn & Gipps, 1996) with the findings of quantitative and separate qualitative research studies proving to be different. This is illustrated by the results of a quantitative study (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989: 63), which found that of 18 multi-ethnic comprehensive schools there was little occurrence of overt racism, whereas, an ethnographic study undertaken in one of the schools highlighted that "racist attacks were a regular fact of life for most Asian pupils" (Gillborn, 1995: 78)

A study reflecting the reality of the complex nature of bilingual urban classes (Leung et al., 1997: 543) suggested that practice in the schooling sector in England assumed that EAL students were linguistic and social outsiders. The researchers call for a better understanding of some of the problems encountered by students within classroom contexts. They highlighted 'othering' as significant and suggest that it lies in the "racism and disdain for the peoples and languages emanating from former English colonies and third world countries" (Leung et al., 1997). Analysis of their data (Leung et al., 1997) drawn from voices from the classroom reflects the view of others (Hall, 1988) that minority ethnic groups do not inherit fixed identities, with ethnicities, cultures and languages. Subsequent studies have considered the contribution made to othering by race (Kubota, 2001, 2004; Rich & Troudie, 2006) on learners. In

conclusion, it is argued (Leung et al., 1997: 556) that there is a need to identify and address societal inequalities between ethnic and linguistic groups together with a pedagogy that appropriately considers learners' expertise and identities.

Troyna and Hatchers' (1992) study, based on extensive interviews with black and white children in mainly white primary schools, explored the factors associated with the racial attitudes of upper junior children by focusing on pupil interactions and racist incidents. Their study provided evidence of racialised children's culture but not systemic coherent racist attitudes of a widespread nature. The researchers concluded that "race and racism are significant features of the cultures of children in predominantly white schools" (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992: 195). With varying degrees of occurrence, racist name calling was found to be the most common expression of racism.

Some years later the situation of minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools was investigated through a questionnaire survey of over 34,000 pupils in 35 LAs and fourteen case study schools (Cline et al., 2002). Two of the eight key findings are of relevance here because: "a significant proportion of the minority ethnic pupils reported race-related name calling or verbal abuse at school or while travelling to and from school" (Cline et al., 2002: 1).

In addition, interviews with the children revealed that, whilst few had been physically harassed in racist incidents, over a third described experiences of hurtful name calling and verbal abuse (Cline et al., 2002: 4). From a positive perspective, examples of good practice in schools were highlighted with regard to reducing race-related bullying and name calling (Cline et al., 2002: 5). An aspect of the report concluded that many children 'play white' in an attempt to fit in with their classmates and many teachers minimise the significance and value of cultural and ethnic diversity (Cline et al., 2002: 7).

Cole's (2008) small scale study, some years later, aimed at eliciting pupils' experiences and views of racism in two mainly white secondary schools in Hampshire, to raise awareness and provide a targeted intervention, revealed similar findings to those of Troyna and Hatcher (1992) and Cline et al. (2002). Like others, she identified that racism, especially racist name calling was common in the two sample schools and more common than reflected in county data. Another finding reflected pupils' lack of power to take action against racist incidents and their desire for schools to be more proactive in addressing this issue. Suggested race equality interventions (Asare, 2009), for predominantly white schools, are available.

As a way of researching her own practice, as a white class teacher in a multi-ethnic primary school, Pearce (2005) kept a diary of incidents, events and conversations with colleagues and children over a five year period. Pearce's study revealed that issues concerning pupil identity were a result of her lack of understanding about racism and her own racial identity, rather than curriculum constraints.

As explained by Gaine (2005: 13) evidence from studies concerning rural racism show that experience is complex and varied and not easily reducible to generalisations. However, the concept of 'no problem here' is not appropriate when considering children's experiences both in and out of school (Gaine, 2005: 13).

Pertinent to this study is the research undertaken within South West England (Jay, 1992) aimed at identifying particular difficulties experienced by ethnic minority people as a result of their relative isolation or because of racial prejudice and discrimination. Findings highlighted overt racism in young people that also surfaced in the staff rooms of some schools. Of concern was the negative attitude of some school staff towards newly arrived bilingual children. It was as if a 'Pandora's box' of prejudice was opened (Jay, 1992: 21)… "the attitude of staff including the head teacher was that the children were not their responsibility until they could speak English".

Research undertaken in schools in white areas within shire counties across England (Gaine,1995: 5) also provides evidence of racial comments made by children. Such comments were considered misinformed and wrong rather than ignorant, with children using "patterned, learned, stereotyped beliefs" (Gaine,1995). It is Gaine's (1995) belief that education is to blame for this situation by failing to challenge the view the children hold.

An interview based qualitative study carried out in a mainly 'isolated' area but with a' peripheral' urban region (Gaine & Lamley, 2003) found that student participants experienced racism and felt varying degrees of marginalisation and exclusion. Visibility because of skin colour was often a key factor in explicit exclusion and "the darker the skin the worse it is" (Gaine & Lamley, 2003: 34). A comment from a bilingual student described the negative assumptions held by people because they spoke another language. The broader issues endured by the students and their families were summarised as: "being marginal, being marginalised, and being targeted… a common dilemma was being between belonging and being separate" (Gaine, 2005: 16). This reflects the findings of Cline et al. (2002) in which some parents reported that their children attempted to 'act English' at school because of the desire to fit in. Yet whilst at home they resisted their parents' attempts to

acculturate them into their home culture and learn their home language. Cultural traditions including special types of food were hidden from their white peers (Cline et al., 2002: 150).

Over ten years after the research carried out by Jay (1992) A Rural Outreach Project (Magne, 2003) provided further evidence that racism was still a problem locally. Noticeably the largest concern about education for participants was related to experiences of racist bullying at school allied to the poor preparedness of schools to tackle racism and cope with diversity (Magne, 2003: 22). Participants, parents and children described the presence of racism in their schools and the negative impact this had on individuals. Research participants expressed the strong belief that education could start children off with positive attitudes and bring about good race relations in future generations.

Rich and Troudi (2006) suggest from their study that students' descriptions of othering should be understood as constructed within a framework of their experiences of marginalisation and inferiorisation. Using an interpretative framework of research, Rich and Troudie (2006) explored, through an open-ended questionnaire and subsequent interviews, Arab students' experiences in a TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) class of racialisation and othering. Some of the findings in this study regarding mature learners are relevant here in that they mirror the findings of research on younger students; in particular, how practices within an educational setting may contribute to an experience by students of racialised othering, with the students perceiving these particular practices as racist. In addition, the need to be aware of subtle linguistic nuances when interacting with students was noted.

Identity, 'fitting in', friendship

Toohey's (2000) three year ethnographic study of six children in kindergarten in Canada involved diverse data collection including observation, video-taping, and teacher and family interviews. Her study, examining social practices of second language learning and teaching, drew on Vygotsky and a 'community of practice' framework. Focusing on the children engaged in classroom practice revealed the complexity of the classroom environment and the effects on the children and their learning. The impact of school practices on positioning children with regard to 'who could participate' and 'what they could do and therefore learn' highlighted how some were disadvantaged.

Similar, in some ways, to Toohey, Hawkins (2005) used a socialization orientation to explore the participation of bilingual children within specific classroom sites and sets of practices seen as ecologies. Focusing on identity and language development of young English language learners entering school also showed how identity negotiated in the kindergarten setting could afford or deny access to both language and school practices. The study showed that having high status did not automatically provide pupil access to languages and practices in the setting. However, conversely not having high school status did not prevent pupil access to academic literacies and languages.

Some studies (Martin & Stuart-Smith, 1998; Walters 2007), focusing on children's literacy development, have highlighted how "identity is constructed through the negotiated meaningfulness of language and literacy" (Martin & Stuart-Smith, 1998). In order to explore the educational experiences of a small group of bilingual Bangladeshi pupils that focused on learning to read, Walters (2007) undertook an ethnographic case study in three Year 3 classrooms in the UK over a year. Findings highlighted that the class context was key in determining the learning opportunities of the pupils because it was impossible to separate strategies for learning to read used by the pupils from their learning context. Also, pupils' strategies were not just strategies for learning to read or learning English but were linked to issues of identity and assimilation, such as 'fitting in' and being identified as 'good pupils' by teachers. Platt and Troudi (1997) also record that children's intense desire to fit-in and be seen as knowers can mean that they may attempt to sabotage their own learning. This may result in situations where EAL pupils are invisible. However, teachers may inappropriately assume these learners are only marginally competent and, therefore, they are "relegated to the ranks of those for whom expectations are low" (Platt & Troudie, 1997: 46) during their school life.

In a number of studies the importance of fitting-in with the peer group, linked to relationships with friends, has been highlighted. In Pagett's study (2006: 143) in which the dominant institutional language was English the focal children wanted to be accepted and 'like everyone else'. Consequently, in an attempt to become assimilated they used their mother tongue at home but actively chose to use English with their peers at school. One pupil gave as her reason for speaking English that she felt 'comfortable' and it helped her to make friends. Bourdieu suggests that friendship should be seen as a symbolic resource to which access is critical. This is also illustrated in the study by Berry and Williams (2004) concerning Chinese students in the UK. Chinese students who did not excel in either sport or academic

studies found it really hard, if not impossible, to make friends with English pupils at secondary school. A real disadvantage was that, as most Chinese students arrived after their English peers, over time strong peer groups had already been established and these were difficult to get into. In order to be accepted by their English peers, the Chinese students felt forced to 'fit-in' even though conforming was a stressful experience. The Chinese students also experienced pressure from their Chinese peers. Although some students mixed with English students in order to practise their English they did not wish to be rejected by their Chinese friends.

In another study, reflecting the findings of others (Willett, 1995: 496), it was shown how the seating arrangements decided by the class teacher had serious consequences for the children's social identities. It was found that sitting together in class cemented the friendship of the bilingual girls and meant that the majority of their school experiences were shared. Their visibly strong relationship enabled them to claim high status in the girls' social hierarchy within the class rather than having marginal status. However, Xavier, a Mexican-American who was placed between two English speaking girls did not talk with or get help from the girls or get out of his seat to get help from his bilingual friends because it was against classroom norms. Consequently, Xavier relied on adults more frequently than friends for help to complete work book tasks.

Working with older students and drawing on second language acquisition, discourse theory and identity theory as a theoretical framework, Miller's (2003) ethnographic study employed case studies of Asian and European immigrant students in Australia to explore identity and language learning in a social context. Highlighting both visible and audible difference as an issue for students, Miller argued that schools have a role to play in challenging discourses of difference.

Ibrahim (1999) reported that African youths at a Canadian school had few African-American friends and little contact with them. Consequently, the young people accessed Black cultural identities and language via Black popular culture such as rap and hip-hop music, TV and Black films. However, because rap was created as a way to express problems including human degradation, police brutality and everyday racism, becoming associated with rap was considered an act of resistance.

Drawing on experiences of 13 and 14 year old bilingual pupils in a London secondary school (Leung et al., 1997: 510, 549) it can be seen that some of these individuals also tried to be the same as others and 'fit-in'. This is illustrated by a boy who

developed a Cockney accent in order to fit in with the rest of his friends. In another example, a girl described a similar experience whilst in India.

> When I went to India I felt really awkward. There all the children all spoke in Hindi and I was the only one who spoke English and so with me being young I had to fit. I had felt so left out (Leung et al., 1997: 550).

This bilingual learner's experience reflects what is true for many in that she perceives herself as 'other', a linguistic and cultural outsider, not in fact in relation to the English language and Britain but in relation to the Hindi language and India.

3.12.8 *The interface between home and school*

For some bilingual children the interface between their world of home and school appears to be a challenge. Several recent studies (Pagett, 2006; Rich & Davis, 2007) have explored this issue and shown ways in which children have managed this challenge.

According to Pagett (2006), her study bears out and extends previous research suggesting that EAL children are involved in a struggle where they construct and reconstruct their identities according to the social situations they find themselves in.

Children's strategic management of competing demands

Through observation and semi-structured interviews with six EAL children in two UK primary schools, Pagett (2006) examined the repertoire of languages used and preferred by these children in relation to different social situations. She also (2006) highlighted the possible tension between schools' attempts to build on the children's use of first language at school and the reluctance by the children to do so, by preferring to fit in and be seen 'like everyone else'. Pagett (2006: 142) explains these findings, firstly, as the children's wish to distance themselves from their immigrant or migrant family whilst in the 'other' domain of school. Secondly, the children, existing in what can be described as 'multiple worlds' (Kenner, 2005), were involved in constructing and reconstructing their identities dependent on the social context they were in. And, thirdly, the children desperately want to 'fit in' to the school setting, so by speaking English they confirm their acceptance of the more powerful and dominant community. Even in the home setting with siblings the majority of the children preferred to speak in English rather than their home language.

The children in her study (Pagett, 2006: 143), perhaps similar to those described by Kanno, were trying to hide their home language although there were opportunities to

use it. In addition, Pagett (2006) points out that all teachers in her study confirmed that the bilingual children wanted to 'fit in 'and be seen 'like everyone else'. However, one wonders just how far staff in this study were actually promoting bilingualism within their school practice. Clearly this issue needs to be explored further in order to promote a whole school approach providing truly multilingual use of home language.

In another study Kanno (2003: 290-291) was struck by the students' reticence to produce English. Although no explanation is available it, nonetheless, was noted that this reticence to speak the target language seems to increase as the students grow older, a trend Tarone and Swain (1995) noticed in immersion students in North America. It appears that, for younger children, learning English is like a game. However, as they approach adolescence and become more self-conscious, the students grow less willing to speak imperfect English in front of others.

A small scale study (Rich & Davis, 2007) looked into the ways in which two bilingual pupils attempted to 'manage' the competing demands on their identity at home and within their UK infant school. The results showed that the boys seemed to consider home and school as mutually distinct and, therefore, tried to keep separate their world at home from that of school. A possible explanation for this behaviour lies in the fact that the boys were positioned such that they were forced to follow this strategy (Rich & Davis, 2007: 45). In this mainly white context it may have felt impossible for them to transfer values and practices from home to school, together with the pressure to conform to the identity positions of the majority group and 'fit in' and be seen 'like everyone else' (Pagett, 2006). Data from the study highlighted the way in which the boys employed three main strategies to negotiate contradictions between their worlds at home and at school. This situation proved challenging for the parents because their children had chosen to take on contradictory positions in the home setting with regard to the positions held by the families in society. It also proved challenging for school staff in their attempt to support home school liaison.

3.13   Conceptual Framework

This study explores the experience of schooling for isolated bilingual learners. A central interest is the voice of the bilingual children themselves as well as the perspective of others including their peers, teachers and parents. Socialization is at the heart of this study, which provides a snapshot of the way children's experience informs their learning and highlights the significance of experience to learners' learning. The conceptual framework of this study is shown in figure 3 and informs the

design of the current study including the development of relevant research questions and the selection of appropriate methods (Maxwell, 2005: 33).

The structure and overall coherence of the conceptual framework is built from relevant research studies and existing theory which adopts a social model of learning. The conceptual framework constructed here draws on sociocultural perspectives in which learning is considered a social process (Kirshner & Whitson, 1997) with the centrality of the social context paramount. The context plays a vital role in shaping the learning that takes place and the interactions that occur within the context play a key role in shaping an individual's learning (Berry & Williams, 2004: 3). It also draws together three different perspectives to account for bilingual learners experience of schooling. The concept of learning as a process of gaining membership of a community as presented by Lave and Wenger and Wenger, is helpful in highlighting the situated and social nature of meaning making and the significance of the community 'experts' in facilitating children's membership. However, drawing upon the critical sociology of Bourdieu (and related work undertaken by Bernstein and Bronfenbrener) and post-structuralism, it proposes a need to recognise the role that power plays in socialization. Firstly, in structuring the community and the relationship between communities (such as between the home and school worlds) and in the power (or agency) of individuals' own interpretations of their experiences which may lead them to adopt counter positions to those provided for them in the community.

The theory of socialization put forward here and illustrated in figure 3 below therefore includes primary socialization and the development of children's primary habitus in the home and secondary socialization into membership of a community of practice. In this study the community of practice is the mainstream classroom with its own practice and interactions within a school environment. It should be remembered that the home setting is another community, which is also part of a child's world. The transition from one community to another is a crucial aspect of the socialization process for the children.

Moreover figure 3 serves to highlight that school is a complex phenomenon with children interacting and negotiating with others and being actively involved in attempting to make sense of their world (Williams & Burden, 1997). In the class context learners have regular contact with others. This includes their teachers and peers, all of whom participate in the classroom practice and routines, and play a significant role in the development of an individual's learning. Within this context

teachers enforce processes and select activities that reflect their beliefs and values, impacting unwittingly on the children they teach.

A critical approach provides a tool for foregrounding identity as a lens to see how individual learners choose to negotiate their experiences in school and home and the way they manage the interplay between different worlds. In this way identity provides an important link between experience and learning and this is placed at the centre of figure 3 to emphasise that the sense making of individual children is a critical component of their socialization experience and to indicate their proactive role in this as Bourne (2001) has stressed. In the school context learners bring particular personal attributes to the classroom. This includes feelings, attitudes and views of themselves in the world as learners. Through the experience of social interaction with others, pupils' developing sense of self is affirmed and extended (Cummins, 2001: 2) resulting in learning. However, the classroom may reflect inequalities with some children disadvantaged by their language and cultural background. Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power is valuable in helping to understand children's experiences and possible constraints in the school setting.

A sense of who we are impacts on decisions made and agentive action taken. This highlights how power is held by some learners whilst others may be positioned as much less powerful. In this context it is valuable to look at how power is implicated in the ways in which learners experience and respond to opportunities. This response can range from apathy to acceptance through to resistance.

This study has been designed to understand the schooling experiences of bilingual children by enabling the voices of these children to be heard. A mixed method approach, using two different research methods (questionnaires and case studies) has been used in the current research because it fulfils the aims of the study and fits with my own assumptions and methodological preferences (Maxwell, 2005: 37). These methods will be explained in the following chapter.
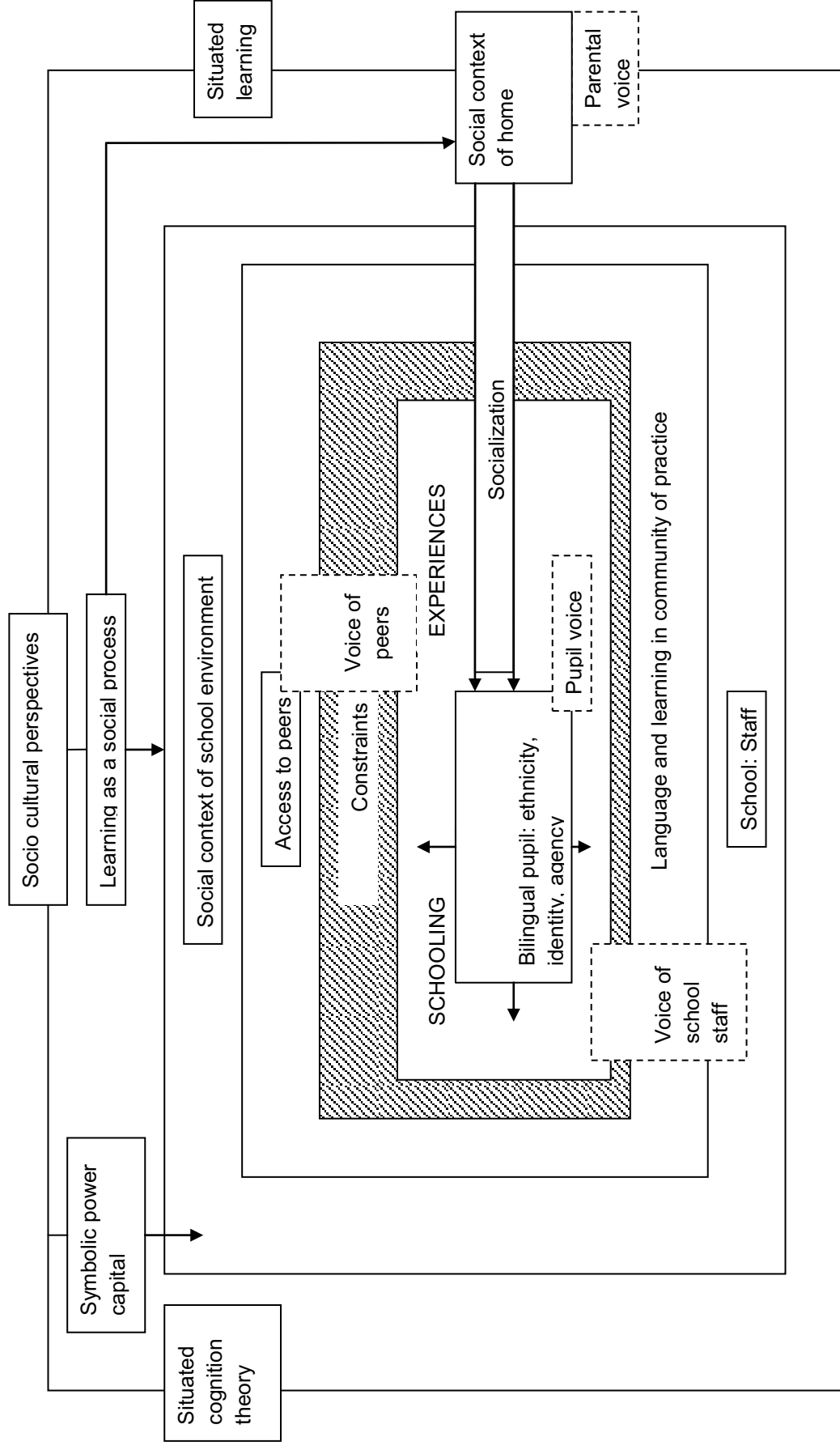
Figure 3: Conceptual framework of bilingual children's experience of schooling

3.14 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of key theoretical perspectives and research that underpins this study, followed by a discussion of the conceptual framework. Analysis of the literature highlights that a number of studies have used an interpretive, ethnographic stance, focusing on participant observation. This will form an important part of my own research strategy. Noticeably, very few studies, with the exception of Cline et al. (2002), attempted to create a broad brush approach to gain a general overview of a whole bilingual population in a particular region. My intention is to combine a more interpretive, qualitative approach with a questionnaire: in other words, to develop a mixed method approach to explore isolated bilingual children's experiences.

The next chapter focuses on the methodology underpinning this research.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter I will describe the methodology underpinning my study. First I will present the research aim and questions then I will consider my own position and the epistemological and theoretical perspective of the study before presenting the design of the main study and principles for working with children. Next I will discuss research methods before highlighting the methods of enquiry used in this research including activities used with the children and aspects that needed to be addressed. This is followed by an explanation of the data collection procedures. Finally, I will discuss issues raised in the design of the study through validity and reliability, followed by ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

4.1 Research aim and questions

My starting point for this study was bilingual children. The main aim was to explore the schooling experiences of newly arrived, isolated, bilingual children from the perspective of the children themselves, their parents, teachers and peers. I chose to use an interpretative stance within social life (Radnor, 2002: 16) of which I am a part. Engaging and interacting with participants was seen as an interpretative process leading to new understanding. The aim was to bring to light an underlying coherence or sense (Taylor 1995: 15) of what was going on for these pupils within their schools. The following research questions were subsequently formed:

1. What are isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling?

    (i)   Do experiences of schooling differ between isolated bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils?

    (ii) What factors contribute to isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling?

    (iii) How do isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling change over time?

    (iv) How do isolated bilingual children respond strategically?

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 *Introduction*

Education research which aims to generate new knowledge (Ernest, 1994) gains guidance from a research paradigm or overall theoretical research perspective. Crotty (2003: 35) refers to this as an overarching conceptual construct with a basic set of beliefs or assumptions. The major philosophical components of a paradigm or worldview (Creswell, 1998: 74) are the nature of the world (ontology) and how we can understand it (epistemology). Ontology concerned with the nature of existence, relates to the meaning of reality or 'being' within the world (Radnor, 2002; Crotty, 2003: 10). Epistemology deals with the nature of knowledge and provides a philosophical grounding for deciding what knowledge is available and appropriate. Three epistemological stances include objectivism which asserts that meaning exists in objects independently of any consciousness (Crotty 2003: 10), subjectivism and constructionism which is relevant to this study.

Whilst it is acknowledged that different epistemological perspectives will provide different expectations about how knowledge and understanding can be achieved there is no reason to believe that these epistemological and methodological issues demand separate and specific reappraisal when researching children (Greene & Hill, 2005: 18).

4.2.2 *My position*

Methodology is seen as: "the strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes" (Crotty, 1998: 3). When designing a research study it is essential for a researcher to consider their own ontological and epistemological position for this informs the choice of methodology and methods. Aspects to be considered are firstly, assumptions regarding a theoretical perspective and secondly an understanding of the theory of knowledge for this is embedded in the theoretical perspective (Crotty, 2003). I shall now discuss how I arrived at an informed choice of research strategy based on the research aims, my personal perspectives of the human world and social life and consideration of different research approaches.

When considering the nature of knowledge, in line with the constructionist stance I believe that meanings are constructed by humans as they engage with the world they are interpreting (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2003). I believe that in my role as a researcher, when I interact with children and others as partners, meaning will be generated. Through such interaction understanding will be reached regarding the experiences of bilingual children,

meanings constructed and interpreted. Accepting the role of intersubjectivity implies that I believe there is no objective truth waiting to be discovered (Radnor, 2002; Crotty, 1998). Instead, knowledge is being generated between people, negotiating meanings in an intersubjective way (Radnor, 2002). In accepting this view of knowledge, I understand that different individuals construct meaning in different ways, even in relation to the same phenomenon (Crotty, 1998: 9). In my belief multiple realities exist and everybody has an individual view regarding his or her perception of reality, which includes the realities of the researcher and those being researched. Hence the value of exploring the phenomenon of children's experiences from the perspective of the children themselves and others that interact with them in an attempt to gain as full an understanding as possible. Researchers such as me must find ways to access the realities of others through appropriate methods.

The ontological and epistemological issues that tend to emerge together inform the theoretical perspective (Crotty, 1998: 10) and enable researchers to talk about how they view the world. For example when talking about the construction of meaning, this implies talking about the construction of meaningful reality illustrating how realism in ontological terms and constructionism in epistemological terms work well together (Crotty, 2003). From a theoretical perspective the approach of interpretivists, "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world" (Crotty, 1998: 67). As a researcher I follow this stance and believe that in the social world, individuals exhibit intentionality, feelings and emotions which are affected by the social context itself as well as those living within the context (Radnor, 2002: 20). If meaning is constructed through social interaction then the importance of talk is evident. It provides a direct root to reality and therefore the experiences of others. Through sharing of a common language it is possible to talk and share experiences (Radnor, 2002). Within the study this implies a need to communicate, interact and talk with children and others who are able to contribute to an understanding of the phenomenon. In addition there is a need to understand how the culture of the institution may impact on the bilingual children themselves.

I am aware that these experiences and others impact on and influence my way of being in the world. However, having the confidence to interpret and talk about my own experiences empowers me to believe that others can do the same with me too (Radnor, 2002: 22). As a researcher, I have years of experience of working with bilingual children and their families and therefore bring a wealth of experience and knowledge to this study as informed in Chapter 1. I acknowledge my own subjectivity and biases (Ely, 1991) and the need to ensure as far as possible that these do not influence my understanding of the voice and perceptions of children and others. My aim is to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings held by

the children and others. In order to do this I needed to establish an appropriate method of enquiry and research tools.

My research focuses on the schooling experiences of bilingual children from the perspective of the children themselves, their parents, teachers and peers. I wanted to consider two strands of enquiry. This included establishing an overview of what schools were like, in particular what was happening for bilingual pupils within them, through asking children themselves. The overview provided a context within which to place the "lived experiences" of a small number of newly arrived, isolated, bilingual children (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006: 317) within specific school settings. Gaining a fuller understanding of children's experiences involves issues of interpretation. Therefore, it was essential to listen to the voice of bilingual children and significant others too: their attitudes, feelings and concerns (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). I needed an approach that would enable me to achieve my research aims and reflect my personal views of the social world. My approach also needed to be appropriate for studying children. Consequently a qualitative, interpretivist approach seemed most relevant for this study which used a mixed methods strategy of enquiry. This will be explained later.

4.2.3 *Epistemological and theoretical perspective of this study*

Interpretivism emerged in contradistinction to positivistic attempts to understand and explain human and social reality (Crotty, 2003: 67). Stemming from the work of Max Weber, it was argued that sociologists should attempt to get inside the heads of those being studied (Travers, 2001: 7) and use an interpretative approach through Verstehen or understanding rather than quantitative methods. Weber contrasted the interpretative approach needed in social science with an approach found in natural sciences which emphasised explanation.

The strengths of qualitative research are associated with its inductive approach and focus on specific situations or people, in particular the ability to understand the meaning for research participants of their experiences and actions. In a qualitative study the focus is not only on the activities and behaviour within a context but also how the participants make sense of these together with how their understanding influences their behaviour. It is the focus on meaning which is central to the 'interpretative' approach (Maxwell, 2005: 22).

The interpretive researcher works with her/his research participants, with respect and as an equal partner because the researcher's role is "to make sense of their world, to understand it, to see what meaning is imbued in that situation by the people who are part of it" (Radnor, 2001: 21). Central to this study is the collection of reality through participant voice and the interpretation of this through quotes and themes derived from participants' words to provide

evidence of multiple perspectives (Creswell, 1998: 76). This study acknowledges the epistemological position that knowledge is socially constructed and we are in a world of multiple constructed realities. In the constructionist view although there is no true or valid interpretation, meanings are constructed by humans as they engage with the world they are interpreting (Crotty, 1998: 9). This view also holds that there is no objective truth waiting to be discovered. (Radnor, 2002: 21). With constructionism mirroring intentionality this evokes an image of the interaction between subject and object and the way in which meaning is generated in and out of this interplay (Crotty, 1998: 44).

The distinction between constructionism and constructivism is important. According to Crotty (2003: 57), accounts of constructionism have a social dimension of meaning as a central focus whereas constructivism does not. Although terminology is inconsistent it is appropriate to use the term constructivism when the focus is "the meaning making activity of the individual mind" (Crotty, 2003: 58). Whilst contructionism is used where the focus includes "the collective generation [and transmission] of meaning" (Crotty, 2003: 58), constructivism emphasises the unique experience each individual has and suggests that each individual's approach is valid and worthy of respect (Crotty, 2003: 58).

4.3 Design of the main study: mixed methods approach

In this section I will first describe the context of the research setting before considering a mixed methods approach and the particular mixed methods design used in this study.

4.3.1 *Context: the research setting*

My research study took place over a period of time in a large, predominantly rural, county in Southern England. The children and staff who participated in the study attended twelve state primary schools within this region. At this time the ethnic minority population was small and widely scattered across the county. However, within an urban area there were larger numbers.

4.3.2 *Mixed methods approach*

When considering the research approach that would enable me to achieve my aims, answer the research questions and advance knowledge, not one single established method was appropriate for the task in hand. Therefore, it was appropriate to undertake mixed methods as a research design for data collection and analysis (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2006: 316). Utilising different methods provided an opportunity to assess various dimensions of the phenomenon (Collins & O'Cathain, 2009: 4) being studied. Table 3 illustrates the various elements of research in this study, including the range of methods that were employed.

Epistemology	Theoretical perspective	Strategy of inquiry (Creswell, 2003)	Methods
Constructionism/ Constructivism	Interpretivism	Mixed methods approach	• Questionnaires generating quantitative and qualitative data • Multiple case studies informed by interviews

Table 3: Elements of research in this study (Adapted from Crotty, 1998: 5)

A mixed methods research design can be defined at its simplest level as using both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis in a single study (Creswell, 2003: 15).

The mixed methods design used in this study

In this study a Concurrent Mixed Method design (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003: 688) was used, as seen in figure 4. Figure 4 also contains details of the participants in the study.

In general this type of design is identified by its parallel construction because the procedures used to answer the research questions are relatively independent. The procedures used in one method are not influenced by what emerges from the other. In this study, although one strand does not follow another, the two stands are not totally separate. Two lenses are used and both quantitative and qualitative data are generated. The questionnaire generating quantitative data enables me to describe the parameters of children's experiences. However, as this tool is unable to provide an in-depth perspective there is a need to use qualitative methods to provide an explanation of how children construe and negotiate their worlds (Greene & Hill, 2005: 13). This is achieved through a questionnaire and interview-based case studies. To fit my own research study I will adapt this design by giving priority or dominant status (Crotty, 2003) to the qualitative data collection and analysis and place less emphasis on triangulation. The results are brought together within the final discussion. The theoretical perspective that guides the entire design for the study is that of a qualitative, interpretivist perspective.

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                    │  Purpose/Question   │
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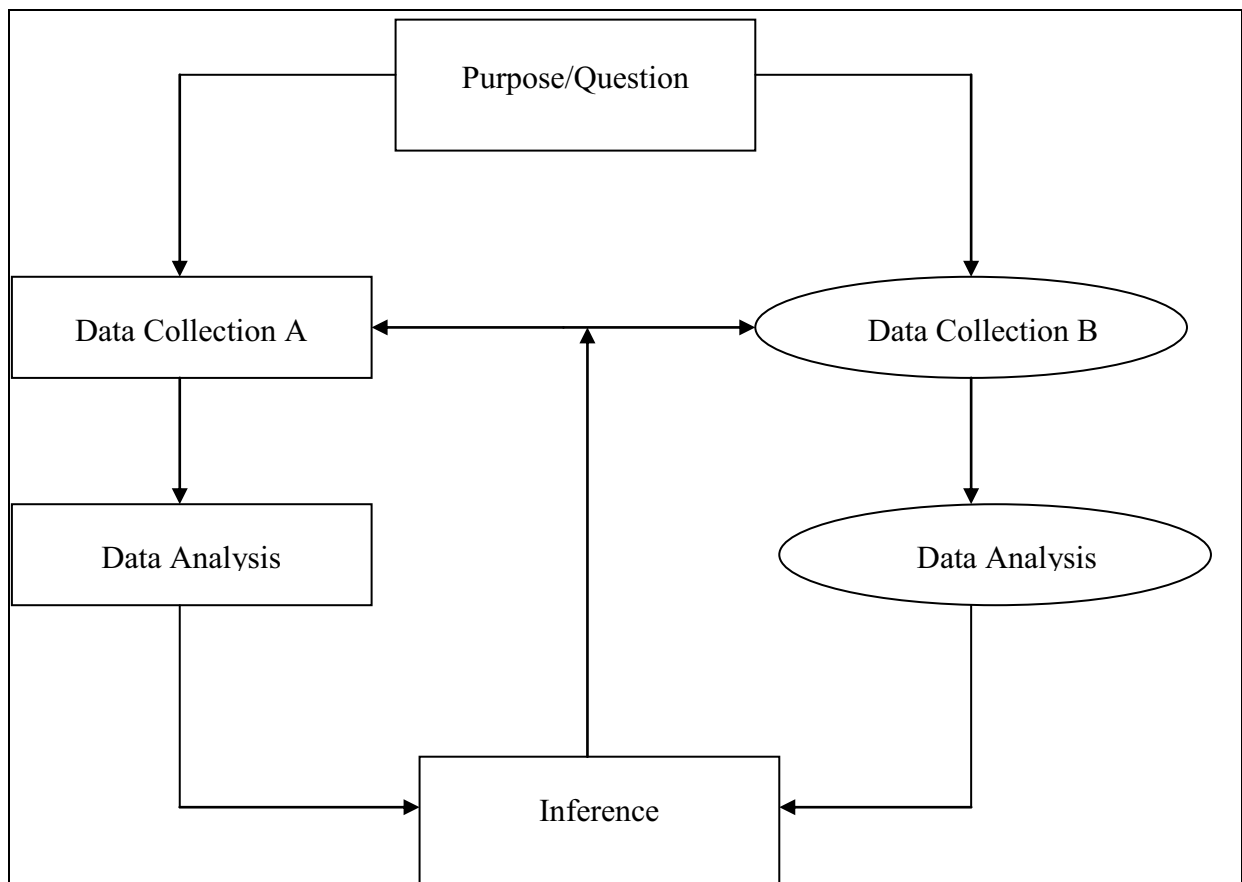
Participants in the study

Data Collection A

1. Questionnaire: 'It happened to me at school' (n= 191), 12 schools). 162 monolingual pupils and 29 bilingual pupils in 12 schools.

2. Questionnaire: 'What I think about school'. 29 bilingual pupils exclusively, in 12 schools.

Data Collection B

Interview based case studies in 3 schools: interviews with 5 isolated bilingual pupils, their parents (5), head teachers/deputy head teachers (3), class teachers (3), teaching assistants (3) and monolingual peers (8).

Further information regarding the sampling strategy is discussed in section 4.8.1 (below) and additional demographic details about the participants can be found in section 4.9.

Figure 4: Concurrent Mixed Method Design (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003: 688)

This design enabled me to gain a fuller understanding of the research problem (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006: 319) and phenomenon under study. The quantitative method was viewed as a way of embellishing a primarily qualitative study. The use of a survey questionnaire provided an opportunity to gain an overview of the broader school context which sets the scene. However, I needed another means to explore in detail the situation for a smaller number of bilingual children. Hence the decision was made to further generate qualitative data through a questionnaire and interview based case studies.

4.4 Principles for working with children

Until recently the view that children may make inadequate and unreliable research participants has provided a methodological challenge (Brooker, 2001: 164). However, the changing concept of childhood (James & Prout, 1997: 179) within the western world highlighting that children are:

- Fully formed, complete individuals with their own perspective

- Defined as autonomous subjects

- Recognised as having their own rights including the right to voice opinions

has influenced attitudes towards the acceptability of working with children as research participants.

Consequently, in recent years researchers have argued about the appropriateness of listening to the voices of children on issues that concern them, in particular the valuable insights gained regarding children's opinions and experiences about schooling (Brooker, 2001: 163).

A number of principles underpin this recent change in attitude: firstly, a belief in children's rights, in particular the right to be heard and to participate. Since 1989, in the United Kingdom, a Children's Act requires professionals working with children to take account of their 'ascertainable wishes and feelings' (Brooker, 2002). Secondly, a belief in children's competence which refers to children's ability to understand, reflect and respond appropriately. These beliefs highlight that it is ethical and logical to involve children and ask them what they think (Brooker, 2001). Further aspects relating to ethical considerations are dealt with in section 4.14.

4.4.1 *Research methods – working with children*

The richness of an individual's life is very often not to be found in the surface of life but in how it is lived, in the person's experiences and reactions to the world (Greene & Hill, 2005:

4). During the twentieth century research has highlighted different methods for studying children's experiences of their worlds (Greene & Hill, 2005:12).

Whilst the choice of method should hold a clear rationale and rest on its appropriateness for achieving the outcomes of the research, using more than one method may be advantageous. In fact, in an attempt to attain valuable accounts of experience some (Garbarino & Stott, 1992) suggest the value of trying any approach to gain appropriate information from a child.

As an adult researcher and stranger, to attempt to understand the experience of children is considered challenging. In any case when accessing and understanding children's experience of their worlds our understanding will only be partial (Greene & Hill, 2005: 18). It is the researcher's task to listen to children in ways that represent their views and their experiences of life. This includes acknowledging that the child is socialized into a way of relating to her/himself and others that is very specific to his or her culture (Greene & Hill, 2005: 5).

Contact over a period of time is advantageous in providing opportunity for children to feel at ease with the researcher and trust enough to disclose thoughts, feelings and concerns (Greene & Hill, 2005: 17).

4.4.2 *Differences in working with children and adults*

Whilst there are dangers of overemphasising differences between researching adults and children some do exist. The main differences relate to ability and power (Hill, 2005). An obvious difference is children's capacity to express and understand abstract ideas compared with adults. When working with children it is crucial, therefore, for researchers to use language that is adapted appropriately to children's linguistic understanding. With regard to power, adults are ascribed authority over children. This may create challenges because children might be unused to being asked their views or may find it difficult to disagree or say things considered unacceptable (Hill, 2005).) to the researcher. As a result the style of the researcher and research setting should aim to reduce children's inhibitions and desire to please. Otherwise this may limit the amount, value and validity of what has been said by the children (Hill, 2005). Yet the task of learning from children is important because for too long adults have assumed that children have nothing to say about their lives and aspects that affect them. Adults have wrongly assumed they know better than children themselves what is important (Greene & Hogan, 2005).

4.5 Research methods

Through using a mixed methods approach there is an assumption that collecting diverse types of data provides the best understanding of the research topic (Creswell, 2003: 21). This has been achieved in this study through the use of questionnaires, generating quantitative and qualitative data, and case studies informed by interviews. I will now discuss each of these methods in turn. With regard to the first of these I will initially provide a brief overview to survey questionnaires, then discuss their value to research before referring to the particular tools used in this study.

4.5.1 *Questionnaires*

Questionnaires are a valuable and widely used research tool for generating both quantitative and qualitative data. Typically gathering data at a particular point in time, a survey questionnaire generates quantitative data. Its purpose is to describe numerically the nature of existing conditions such as trends, attitudes or opinions of a population by studying a sample of that population (Creswell, 2003: 153). Characteristics of a survey, which illustrate its contribution to research, highlight that it can be used to scan a wide field of issues as a means of measuring or describing features (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000: 171).

When considering methods suited to researching children's experiences, quantitative methods can be informative (Greene & Hill, 2005: 13). Indeed there is a place for measurement or statistics when studying children's experience (Alanen, 2003). In fact, there are those (Qvortrup, 2000) who believe that large scale statistical surveys are valuable when working with children as a means to capture their everyday experiences and the diversity of childhood. Numerical data therefore provides a way to summarise essential aspects of experience, as related to single individuals or groups.

Questionnaires can also be used when less structured, more open and word-based as a means for generating qualitative data (Cohen et al., 2000: 248). Between the structured and unstructured questionnaire which allows participants to write 'what one wants' (Cohen et al., 2000) is the semi-structured questionnaire. This is a valuable tool within research because, whilst it provides a defined structure, order and focus, it provides an opportunity for participants to express their own opinion.

Open questions, however, provide opportunity for researchers to probe by providing participants freedom and spontaneity in what is written together with opportunity to explain and qualify their responses, even though they are more demanding for participants with freedom. (Oppenheim, 1992: 115; Cohen et al., 2000: 248).

4.5.2 *Questionnaires used in this study*

Two questionnaires were employed to generate quantitative and qualitative data. The questions and subsequent questionnaires addressed aspects from the conceptual framework and were informed by the research questions of my study and prior knowledge established from academic reading. I also drew on my experience of working with bilingual learners in schools. I will now discuss each questionnaire in turn. However, first it should be pointed out that when undertaking a study researchers face a dilemma regarding whether to construct an instrument or use an existing one (Punch, 2005: 93). Having located an instrument that already existed (Cline et al., 2000), I decided that it was appropriate to use and modify this tool rather than develop a completely new measure (Punch, 2005: 94). An advantage was that the existing survey had already been used in a study involving minority ethnic pupils (Cline et al., 2002) which was of relevance to the present study. I also considered that the construction of the instrument had involved considerable developmental work (Punch, 2005: 94) which was advantageous. In addition as pointed out (Punch, 2005: 93) research findings from different studies are considered easier to compare, integrate and synthesise when using the same measuring instrument for a central variable.

Questionnaire generating quantitative data: 'It happened to me at school'.

Both bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils completed this questionnaire (see appendix 3). This enabled me to explore in a broad sense how all pupils viewed their situation at school and what was going on for them within their learning environment and the range of experiences they encountered. It also allowed me to see whether the perceptions and experiences of school life differed between bilingual pupils and their monolingual pupils.

The self completion questionnaire (Oppenheim, 1992: 59) I used (see appendix 3), had closed questions and was considered a quantitative tool. The main section of the questionnaire covered five aspects: bullying and aggression, name calling and social exclusion, racism, social exclusion and practical support. There were a total of 28 questions with each question relating to one of the 5 aspects or indices. Table 4 provides examples of the items in each index and appendix 4 illustrates the individual items categorised within each index.

In this part of the questionnaire the choices of response referred to the frequency of occurrence for each of the 28 items. These categories were discrete to ensure there was no overlap (Cohen et al., 2000: 251). Written guidance was provided to help ensure that participants ticked only one response from the multiple choice of responses provided. It was advantageous that the questionnaire could be administered to a group of pupils yet provide

anonymity. Also, it was straightforward for pupils to complete in that writing was not required. It is important to note that some (Cohen et al., 2000: 251) consider that multiple choice seldom provides more than a crude statistic because of ambiguity in the wording. The concern is that participants may interpret the statements differently depending on their own experience making the data ambiguous. However, in this study, this tool was considered useful in providing a general background (Cohen et al., 2000: 252).

It happened to me at school	
Index	Example item
Bullying and aggression (7 items)	Tried to hit me
Name calling and social exclusion (5 items)	Turned my friends against me
Racism (3 items)	Was rude about the colour of my skin
Social inclusion (9 items)	Played a game with me
Practical support (4 items)	Lent me something

Table 4: Separate indices with examples of the items in each index (Cline et al., 2002: 25)

Questionnaire generating qualitative data: 'What I think about school'

The focus of the second questionnaire (appendix 5) that I used was bilingual pupils exclusively using principally open-ended questions. This questionnaire, generating qualitative data, was designed to explore what was happening for bilingual pupils within the school environment by providing opportunity for children to express their personal thoughts and opinions about their experiences. The questionnaire entitled, 'What I think about school', explored children's' positive and negative perceptions of school using open-ended questions. Appendix 5 illustrates how, in the main section of the questionnaire, participants were asked to complete 5 sentences which referred to positive aspects and another 5 sentences which referred to negative aspects.

I anticipated that the use of these sentence completion items would be valuable in my research as a way of generating pupil comments. I hoped that the pupil responses might contain the 'gems' of information and provide opportunity to shed light on what was going on that ticking boxes would not achieve. I hoped to catch the authenticity, richness, depth of response, honesty and candour which are the hallmarks of qualitative data (Cohen et al.,

2000: 255). In using this questionnaire I made the assumption that the pupils would be sufficiently capable of articulating their thoughts (Cohen et al., 2000) and responding either directly through a written response or with the aid of a scribe.

With regard to the positive aspects:

Question 1: asked pupils to record three things they liked about school and to provide reasons why;

Question 2: was seeking to identify what aspects of school life enabled the participants to feel happy within the school context. Related to this

Question 3: aimed to explore what impact, feeling happy, had on pupils, especially with regard to their school work.

Question 4: aimed to explore the situation or conditions under which children felt able to work to the best of their ability at school and to reach their potential.

Question 5: I wanted to find out more about the positive impact of the class teacher from the pupils' perception. I anticipated that responses might include reference to specific activities or practices within the classroom.

The questions referring to negative perceptions of school mirrored the previous section.

Question 1: asked pupils to record three things they disliked about school and to explain why.

Question 2: aimed to explore situations and conditions when pupils felt unhappy at school. This question once again was related to

Question 3 in that it recorded the negative impact that feeling unhappy had on pupils' own individual work.

Question 4: aimed to explore what aspects of their school life prevented pupils from doing their best work at school and, from their perception, achieving their full potential.

Question 5: aimed to explore what children wanted or perhaps expected from their teachers within the school context. I envisaged that this would include aspects relating to support or help that children felt would be valuable to them.

Whilst the first question for the sections: 'Three things I like about school and why'; had been utilized previously (Cline et al., 2002) the other four questions were devised by myself from my professional reading and experience of working with bilingual pupils.

Generating background information

When using the questionnaires a front sheet (see appendices 3 and 5) was used which generated background information by asking pupils to record the name of their school and class. A second sheet (see appendices 3 and 5) which generated background information of a personal nature regarding age and gender through the use of closed questions was also used. A final question (see appendices 3 and 5) generating personal background information regarding ethnic background was also included. However, this question was placed at the very end of the questionnaire due to its potential sensitivity. I did not envisage that the participants would be overtly familiar with discussing their ethnicity in this manner at school so it was important not to put children off by placing this question at an earlier stage of the questionnaire.

In this study I used a quantitative approach with the children, which enabled meaning and content to be accessed by means of a questionnaire. In order to gain an in-depth perspective, qualitative data were generated through another questionnaire and interview based case studies. I will discuss the use of case studies informed by interviews in the following section.

4.6 Case Studies

Case study research can be defined as the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system such as a particular setting (Creswell, 2007: 73). In line with qualitative research the aim is to understand the case in depth, in its natural setting whilst recognizing its complexity and its context (Punch, 2005: 144). Whilst there are those who consider case study research to be a strategy of inquiry, a methodology, or a research strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003; Punch, 2005) others consider that it represents a method used to gather and analyse data (Crotty, 2005; Stake, 2005; Creswell, 2007: 73).

One of the strengths of case studies for research purposes is that they are 'strong in reality' (Cohen et al., 2000: 184) providing a unique example of real people in real situations. Within specific contexts they observe effects and recognize how the context itself plays a powerful role in both causes and effects. As contexts are unique and dynamic, case studies are valuable in allowing researchers opportunities to explore and report the complex dynamics and unfolding interactions of events, human relationships and other factors in a unique instance (Cohen et al., 2000: 181). This approach allows the complexity and 'embeddedness' of social truths to be identified as seen from the perspective of different participants. A common criticism of the case study concerns its lack of ability to generalize

based on one or few cases (Punch, 2005: 146). However, this was not an issue for this study as there was no intention to generalize but rather to understand the cases in their complexity, entirety and context (Punch, 2005). Case studies tend to use certain data collection methods (Cohen et al., 2000: 189) including observation and interviews. I will now discuss each of these methods in turn.

The qualitative approach to observation views, and perhaps focuses on, non-verbal or ongoing behaviour (Cohen et al., 2000:188) as, 'the stream of actions and events as they naturally unfold' (Punch, 2005: 179). In this study the children were the informants on their own lives (Greene &Hill, 2005: 12). Emphasis was placed on verbal response and listening to the voice of children reporting directly on his or her experience also to the perception of significant others. Although observation was not undertaken, when I visited the school I did spend time with the children in their classes and got a sense of what was going on. I believe that, over time, I was able to develop an intimate and informal relationship with them (Cohen et al., 2000: 188). As reminded by Patton we interview others to gain an understanding about what life is like from perspectives other than our own (Patton, 1990). I will now discuss different types of interviews and their value to research before considering the choice of interviews for this study.

4.7 Interviews

Within qualitative research the interview is a valuable tool for researchers and widely used because it is one of the most powerful ways of understanding others; this extends to its use for researching children's experience (Greene & Hogan, 2005). Its strength lies in its ability to access people's perceptions, meanings, and definitions of situations and constructions of reality (Punch, 2005: 168). Three main types of interview can be distinguished when carrying out individual or group interviews including structured, semi-structured and unstructured (Fontana & Frey, 1994; Esterberg, 2002).

As a suggested guideline, when private issues are to be explored then individual pupil contact is preferable. There may be a reluctance to share sensitive issues unless a specific problem is shared by other members too within the same group. However, some children may prefer a group situation because it provides peer support. Certainly the advantages of group interviews include the stimulation and interaction of others with differing opinions for generating data (Hood, Kelley & Mayall, 1996). As suggested (Greene & Hill, 2005: 14) when working with children within the interview setting there is opportunity to include tasks or creative methods as a means to generate rich and varied data.

In addition, when conducting face-to-face interviews with children the research should not be on them but rather conducted for and with the children.

Children can provide information which, particularly in combination with other evidence, enables researchers to see and discover aspects of their lives which no other research method can give (Brooker, 2001).

4.7.1 *Individual and group interviews*

Interviews can be arranged in different formats including joint or paired interviews as well as focus groups. Paired interviews involve a researcher talking with two individuals simultaneously about the same phenomenon and can generate differing or corroborating perspectives. Considered to be a useful strategy, interviewing children in pairs (D'Amoto, 1986; Baturka & Walsh, 1991 cited in Graue & Walsh, 1998) allows children to be relaxed, help each other with answers and keep one another on track and truthful. However, the researcher's role is important in helping to ensure that interviewees stay focused without one participant dominating the interview.

Focus groups with between 6 and 20 or more participants can be a time saving way of bringing together individuals with varied views that stimulates people in making explicit their views and perceptions (Punch, 2005: 171). Group interviews also have the advantage of more or less guaranteeing a response (Gray, 2006: 230). However, it should be noted that group interviews require considerable cooperation from participants with the role of the researcher moving away from being an interviewer and towards becoming a facilitator (Punch, 2005: 171). Also, with a group, the social nature of responding may influence the outcome of the interview. Nonetheless, through group interviews "the explicit use of the group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group" (Morgan, 1988: 12) makes an important contribution to research.

4.7.2 *Interviews used in this study*

Within my own study I used a range of interview formats including individual interviews with the bilingual children and adults and paired interviews and a group interview with four monolingual children.

When considering the most appropriate interview format for the children I was aware of differing opinions within the literature. Some authors favoured group interviews (Cohen et al., 2000; Lewis, 1992; Mayall, 2000; Watts & Ebbutt, 1987) but also warned of the potential limitations. In addition, Watts and Ebbutt (1987) explain that group interviews are of little

value in allowing personal matters to emerge, or in situations in which there is a need for the researcher to follow-up questions with a particular group member because the dynamic of the group denies access to this type of data (Cohen et al., 2000: 288). Consequently, I decided to use individual interviews with the bilingual children in the case studies because I believed that there might be a need for them to discuss personal or sensitive issues relating to their own experiences which would be more comfortable without their peers present. I used paired interviews (Graue & Walsh, 1998: 114) at St George's and Brunel School but a larger group of four children at Manor School. On reflection and on the advice of the class teacher I considered this would prove more advantageous at Manor School. Paired or group interviews are appropriate with the monolingual peers rather than individual interviews because these children are talking about the situation and experiences of others rather than their own sensitive, personal issues. This approach enables details missed by one participant to be added by the other.

In an attempt to allow participants to express their points of view in their own words (Esterberg, 2002: 87) with richness and spontaneity (Oppenheim, 1992: 81) I used semi-structured or in-depth interviews (Esterberg, 2002: 87) with the participants. An interview of this nature is interactive and likened to a type of conversation (Lofland & Lofland, 1984) with a purpose. It reproduces a process by which knowledge about the social world is constructed in everyday human interaction.

When working with the children I wanted the interview to more closely resemble an informal conversation, but nonetheless include specific aspects that I introduced. This approach would be valuable because I would introduce questions related to a topic at an appropriate point and worded in an appropriate way that was acceptable to each individual child (Brooker, 2001: 165). I also felt that direct questioning would not be appropriate for the children or for my research purposes (Graue & Walsh, 1998: 112).

4.7.3 *Using an interview guide*

During the semi-structured interviews, although there was flexibility, structure was provided too. This was achieved through using an interview guide approach (Patton, 2002). When creating an interview guide it is helpful to consider topic areas from which questions are constructed (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006: 126) to 'get at' information. This process is important in clarifying key issues and considering the kinds of questions to ask.

In this study, the topics of the interview guide and the questions that were subsequently identified were selected because they linked to the relevant academic literature, the conceptual framework and the main aim of my research, which was to explore the

experiences of isolated bilingual children in school. The questions were also informed by my experience of working with bilingual children and families.

Appendix 6 shows the interview guides for all groups of participants with suggested questions and prompts. It was envisaged that during interviews the guide would not be followed rigidly. For in an attempt to follow the interviewees, lead questions would be adapted by changing the phrasing and order during the course of the interview (Esterberg: 2002: 94). Although the guides would act as a framework I was aware that there would be sufficient flexibility for other spontaneous questions. This would enable me to probe and explore responses in further depth to gain explanatory evidence (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003).

In qualitative research a good interview question, according to Patton (2002: 353) should be open-ended, neutral and clear, permitting the participant to use whatever words they wish to describe their feelings, thoughts and experiences (Patton, 2002: 354). I intended to adopt this approach in my own study. I planned easier, less threatening questions for the beginning of the interview session and left sensitive questions till after I had developed some rapport and established some trust (Esterberg, 2002: 96). With the children I used activities to ensure that the process was 'child friendly', enabling them to express themselves as fully as possible. I will discuss these in the following session.

4.7.4 *Activities used in the interviews with the children*

"Much early childhood research has relied on props, prompts and stimuli to engage children's interest, foster thought and reflection, and soften the effects of the high-control, adult-dominant, question and answer format" (Brooker, 2002: 166). In my study, I took the same approach. This enabled the bilingual children, especially, to understand the content of discussion; engage and express themselves fully whilst having fun. I used simple props and techniques such as simulation (Patton, 2002).

Simulation questions provide a context by asking the interviewee to imagine him or herself in a particular situation of relevance to the interviewer. They invite the interviewee to be an observer by visualising the situation being discussed (Patton, 2002: 368).

1 Using the children's own drawings

Activity 1: Draw a picture of something that is important in class, at school.

Children are then asked to discuss the picture and consider aspects of importance to them, in class and in the playground.

Seen as an effective and respectful way of initiating discussion (Ross, 1996; Morrow & Richards, 1996), this activity enables children to express themselves by drawing an image that they may have difficulty expressing verbally (Brooker, 2001: 166). It also provides a pointer to refer back to when talking. As a key visual reminder it is particularly supportive for bilingual children. An extract of the interview with Filip, discussing his own drawing of something that is important to him, can be seen in appendix 7. Appendix 8 illustrates Emily's drawing of something that is important to her in class.

2 Using simulation questions and realia

Activity 2: Using a box of different buttons

Children are asked to select a button to represent different individuals. This includes him/herself, two bilingual pupils (boy and girl), two monolingual peers (boy and girl), and the class teacher (hence each individual is represented by a different button). Questions are then asked that relate to, firstly, the reasons for the choice of buttons and, secondly, the relationships at school between the individuals chosen. Questions are also asked that touch on identity by asking the participants to consider how they see themselves in this context.

3 Using children's drawings and simulation questions

Activity 3: Draw a picture and build up a profile of a bilingual pupil to include name, age, country of origin, language level.

Explain that this imaginary pupil is newly arrived at school with limited English. Use the information created by the children to provided a context to explore what the problems might be for the new 'child' at your school and possible action that might be taken. The activity engages children in actively choosing the details of the 'made up' bilingual child before using simulation questions to consider possible issues. It aims to help monolingual children feel closer to the issue, and for bilingual pupils to relate to the situation without feeling forced to discuss specific children in their own position… unless they choose to. Appendix 9 shows an extract of the interview with Harald's monolingual peers using their drawing of an imaginary bilingual pupil.

4 Simulation questions and photographs

Activity 4: Show photographs of children from different ethnic backgrounds. Explain they are newly arrived at school with limited English.

Ask the following questions:

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- What might the problems be for the bilingual children at school, if any?

- What can be done to help?

Similar to the previous activity, this also enables bilingual children to relate to the issues without feeling forced to discuss their own position. However, it was seen as a less time-consuming activity than drawing and compiling the profile of a bilingual pupil and better suited to older pupils. An extract of the interview with Filip, using photographs of minority ethnic children and simulation questions, can be seen in appendix 10.

5 Using realia

Activity 5: Show dual language books then discuss.

In this activity the dual language books provide an opportunity for bilingual children to see their own language and that of other children from different ethnic backgrounds. It acts as a starting point to talking about the value of a child's first language, the evidence of language and cultural diversity in the class situation and the school ethos.

Whilst wanting to provide a comfortable interview environment for all the children, I was mindful of the need to adapt and include some activities specifically for the younger children, for example, activity 2… "most researchers agree that the younger the child, the greater the need for special preparation and provision" (Brooker, 2001: 166).

The earlier sessions were designed for me to get to know the children and build a rapport, whilst still gathering data. It was essential to build trust before introducing topics that I believed might be sensitive and personal. I also tried to make sure that the activities were stimulating and fun so that they would want to come to the sessions.

4.7.5 Recording the interview

Researchers can voice-record interviews, take notes or do both. Unless participants are very nervous about being recorded, which may impact on the interview, this is the most appropriate method for recording interviews such as those in my study. The reasons for this are that audio recording captures the exact words spoken by participants whilst ensuring accuracy and allowing the interviewee to focus on the content and flow of the interview. Voice recording also allows the researcher to listen to the data as often as needed; this is valuable when carrying out analysis.

Whilst not note taking per se it can be helpful, during an interview, to record brief notes regarding relevant details or thoughts arising from the interview (Esterberg, 2002: 106).

4.8 Data collection procedures

In this section I will consider various aspects that are necessary when undertaking data collection. This includes the selection of participants for the study and how I gained access to them and tested the methods that were used. I also consider data generation and analysis.

4.8.1 *Sampling: selection of participants for the study*

In order to gain the greatest understanding of the phenomena the pupils and schools were carefully selected. At the time of the study the numbers of bilingual children in Frasershire schools was even smaller than today. The focus of this study was pupils within primary schools Years 3-6. At this time the majority of bilingual pupils that attended school were located in this age group. Reflecting other studies (Cline et al., 2002) and my own research (Rich & Davis, 2007), it was believed that pupils within this age range would be appropriate research participants. The sample size was too small to adopt random selection and I looked for variety and opportunities through a non-probability or purposive sample. (Cohen et al., 2000: 99).

When selecting a sampling strategy the generation of rich, relevant information adequate to address the research aims and questions is essential. In addition, decisions need to be made regarding the size and scope of the sample to ensure the representiveness of the field in its diversity and the degree of depth of analysis required to answer the research questions. Thus in my study, sampling was informed by the desire to seek the views of a large enough number of pupils to illustrate, "the distribution of ways of seeing or experiencing certain things" (Flick, 2006: 132) on the one hand, and to afford the depth of analysis of a smaller number of cases via semi-structured interviews.

I undertook the questionnaires in schools that had newly arrived, isolated, bilingual pupils. These schools were known to the English as an additional language service because referrals had been previously made. In addition, schools were selected, which were accessible to me as a part of my full-time job.

In contrasting random sampling with purposive sampling, Patton (2002) suggests the possibility, with the latter, to aim at the maximal variation in the sample. This is achieved using a small number of cases but including different cases in order to highlight the range of variation and differentiation in the field (Flick, 2006: 130). This sampling strategy was particularly evident when selecting the cases for my study.

When selecting a "good informant", Morse (1998: 73 cited in Flick, 2006) suggests that interviewees "should have the necessary knowledge and experience of the issue or object at their disposal for answering the questions". In my research this included isolated bilingual pupils who were the focus of the investigation and significant others who knew these pupils well; this included their parents, teachers and monolingual pupils, who were chosen from their class. Morse also suggests that "good informants" should be willing and ready to participate in a study and have the capability to reflect and express their views clearly (Flick, 2006: 131).

For my study, in order to select "good informants", as suggested by Morse, I talked with senior school staff and class teachers about my requirements. Subsequently, the primary selection (Morse, 1998 cited in Flick, 2006) of appropriate research participants was guided by the advice and suggestions of school staff.

In both stages of the study I deliberately selected a particular group of pupils and from the accessible population knowing that it was not representative of the wider population (Cohen et al., 2000). I am aware that this process was selective and biased and may affect the reliability of the data and might, therefore, skew the findings as discussed further in the section dealing with the limitations of the study. However, it enabled me to build up a sample, using people with the specific perspectives they had that was suitable to my needs in answering the research questions (Esterberg, 2002: 93): for example, the sampling process adopted allowed me to choose two isolated bilingual children in the same school and class as well as two siblings who were pupils at the same school. Each of these situations were of specific interest to me as a researcher.

4.8.2 *Access to settings and participants*

Access to schools, staff, pupils and their parents was achieved initially directly through head teachers. I was aware of the need to target schools that had newly arrived, isolated, bilingual learners. I contacted the head teachers of the schools with a request to involve pupils, staff as well as parents in the study. This was done through my role within the local authority and in full knowledge of the Director of Education. Even so I was extremely grateful for the access I was allowed and the privilege of working with staff in busy schools. The head teacher or Deputy and other relevant staff were briefed regarding the purpose of the study and what it would entail for different participants. This was supportive because it meant that the letter of pupil consent could be returned directly to class teachers prior to undertaking any work with the children.

In this research all participants were volunteers and were informed, including the children, about the purpose of the study, the nature of their involvement and its significant value. The consent of pupils completing the survey questionnaire was secured directly through their schools. However, for all interviewees and the bilingual children who completed the qualitative questionnaire, written consent was obtained. This was achieved either directly with the adult participants or through parents and carers in the case of the children (see Appendices 11 and 12 for examples of the consent letters). All letters contained details of the purpose of the study, together with participants' anonymity and confidentiality and ability to withdraw from the study at any time.

4.8.3 *Questionnaires*

One questionnaire in the study generated quantitative data, the other qualitative data. I will now describe the sampling strategy adopted for each.

Quantitative data

When planning the use of the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school', it was essential that the level of English competency of the bilingual children was of a high enough standard to be able to understand and respond appropriately to the questionnaire. Consequently, having shown the questionnaires to staff in the selected schools, I took their advice about the selection of the most appropriate class and pupils to undertake the questionnaire 'It happened to me at school'. Children in Years 3-6 participated in this questionnaire survey as explained in section 4.8.1. Although I had anticipated that this would be whole classes, in reality some head teachers felt it was more appropriate to use a smaller group of children. Tables 5-7 provide demographic information about the participants who completed the questionnaire 'It happened to me at school'. Table 5 also shows the breakdown by gender of the participants. Table 6 illustrates the age of the participants by gender. Finally details regarding the ethnic background of these pupils can be seen in table 7. The categories used in this table are those employed at the time of the data collection.

Gender	
Boys	96
Girls	95
Total	191

Table 5: Pupils who participated in the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' by gender (n=191)

Age in years	Boys	Girls	Boys and Girls
7	8	5	13
8	6	8	14
9	6	11	17
10	35	38	73
11	41	33	74
		Total	191

Table 6: Pupils who participated in the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' by age (n=191)

Ethnic background (categories used at the time of data collection)	
White	168
Mixed	1
Asian or Asian British	9
Black or Black British	1
Chinese	3
Other ethnic background	9
Total	191

Table 7: Pupils who participated in the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school': by ethnicity (n=191)

Qualitative data

In addition 29 isolated bilingual pupils who had completed the first questionnaire also participated in another questionnaire entitled 'What I think about school'. This questionnaire was undertaken on an individual basis at the pupils' school. Tables 8-11 provide demographic details regarding the 29 isolated bilingual pupils who completed the questionnaire 'What I think about school'. Table 8 shows the breakdown by gender of the

participants and table 9 provides details of the age of these pupils by gender. Table 10 illustrates details of the ethnic background of the bilingual pupils. Table 11 provides details of the first language of each participant.

Gender	
Boys	11
Girls	18
Total	29

Table 8: Bilingual pupils who participated in the questionnaire 'It happened to me at school' and 'What I think about school', by gender (n=29)

Age in yrs	Boys	Girls	Total
7	3	1	4
8	2	3	5
9	1	3	4
10	1	9	10
11	4	2	6
		Total	29

Table 9 Bilingual pupils who participated in the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' and 'What I think about school': by age (n=29)

Ethnic background (categories used at the time of data collection)	
White	6
Mixed	1
Asian or Asian British	9
Black or Black British	1
Chinese	3
Other ethnic background	9
Total	29

Table 10: Bilingual pupils who participated in the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' and ' What I think about school': by ethnicity (n=29)

First language	Number of pupils	First language	Number of pupils
Arabic	1	Malay	1
Bengali	4	Malayalam	1
Bulgarian	2	Mandarin	1
Cantonese	2	Punjabi	4
Dari	1	Setswana	1
Farsi	2	Spanish	1
Finnish	1	Swedish	1
French	1	Thai	1
Italian	1	Ukrainian	1
Korean	2		

Table 11: First language of bilingual pupils (n=29) who participated in the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' and 'What I think about school'.

Although it had been expected that 30 children would complete this questionnaire only 29 actually participated. At one school staff had identified two pupils who were considered to be appropriate to participate in the study. However, one child was reluctant to take part. It became apparent that his level of English was lower than first believed. In addition, there were other issues too. There were concerns about the family and the mother had been reported to have mental health issues at that time. Therefore, it was considered inappropriate to put any further pressure on the child by setting up another session involving an interpreter or his mother.

It had been expected that the sample size of children completing the questionnaire would be 30. In line with guidelines, a sample of 30 was considered to be the smallest sample that could be considered appropriate and significant. This was an important consideration in light of the small, potential sample group in Frasershire at the time of the study.

4.9 Multiple Case Studies

Pupils were selected from St. George's School, Brunel School and the Manor School to participate in the case studies. Table 12 provides demographic details, including the ethnic background and the first language spoken by the 5 isolated bilingual pupils who were selected for the case studies. This information highlights that in two cases two pupils attended the same schools.

School	Pupil name	Ethnic background	First language
St George's School	Filip (male: age 11)	Mixed	Thai
St George's School	Harald (male: age 11)	White	Danish
Brunel School	Emily (female: age 8)	Asian	Korean
Manor School	Meena (female: age 10)	Asian	Punjabi
Manor School	Ria (female: age 8)	Asian	Punjabi

Table 12: Pupils selected for the case studies

An advantage of selecting pupils in these three schools was that through my work in the local authority I was already familiar with the schools and access was readily available. My

selection of the cases was based on my academic reading of relevant literature and research as discussed in Chapter 3 and my experience of working with bilingual learners in schools. I also took advice from school staff. I selected information-rich cases for intensive study to examine meanings, interpretations and processes that offered some typicality but also from which I could learn most. (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). I was interested in exploring the situation of two bilingual children from different backgrounds in the same class. I was provided with this opportunity at St. George's where Filip and Harald were the only bilingual pupils in their class. When I worked with Harald his oral competence was good and, having been at the school for some time, he could talk readily about his past experiences as a newly arrived bilingual child. Filip had recently arrived in Frasershire. Although his English, especially his pronunciation, was poor I felt that this was not a barrier to enabling me to live through his experiences too. It was also interesting that St. George's had a very small number of bilingual children within the school.

I was keen to select a child from a class with a larger number of bilingual children. Added to this I also wanted to try to get the voice of a young bilingual learner. This need took me in the direction of Brunel School. From talking with the head teacher and a class teacher, it was decided that the most appropriate pupil for me to work with was Emily.

Meena and Ria were selected at a later stage. Through working with Filip and Harald I had become aware that bilingual children from the same family who were attending the same school had different experiences of schooling. Sibling experiences have been described by Drury (1997) and Gregory (2001). The opportunity to work with two sisters at the same school where there were few bilingual learners attracted my attention and I was eager to take the opportunity to explore this case. I was aware that their situation was complex and in some ways atypical.

I was also aware of the diversity of opinion regarding the selection of cases such as this with some authorities (Stake, 1995; Punch, 2005) considering it appropriate to learn about the typical by studying the atypical, whilst others not (Gliner & Morgan, 2000). Nonetheless having taken this into account and considering the losses and gains I decided to work with Meena and Ria.

Within each of the 5 case studies different participants were interviewed in order to obtain multiple viewpoints on the same subject of interest as seen in Tables 13-17.

Case 1 Filip	Number of interviews
Filip	5
Filip's mother	1
Monolingual peers	3
Teaching assistant	1
Class teacher	1
Head teacher	1

Table 13: Participants involved in the case study: Filip

Case 2 Harald	Number of interviews
Harald	3
Harald's mother	1
Monolingual peers	3
Teaching assistant	1
Class teacher	1
Head teacher	1

Table 14: Participants involved in the case study: Harald

Case 3 Emily	Number of interviews
Emily	6
Emily's parents	1
Monolingual peers	6
Teaching assistant	1
Class teacher	1
Head teacher	1

Table 15: Participants involved in the case study: Emily

Case 4 Meena	Number of interviews
Meena	1
Meena's mother	1
Meena's sister	1
Monolingual peers	1
Teaching assistant	1
Class teacher	1
Deputy head teacher	1

Table 16: Participants involved in the case study: Meena

Case 5 Ria	Number of interviews
Ria	1
Ria's mother	1
Ria's sister	1
Monolingual peers	1
Teaching assistant	1
Class teacher	1
Deputy head teacher	1

Table 17: Participants involved in the case study: Ria

These significant others included the Class Teacher and Teaching Assistant who worked with the bilingual children as well as the head teacher or deputy head Also a parent or parents of the bilingual child together with the monolingual peers who were in the same class as the bilingual children. It was anticipated that the participants selected would provide a range of responses which would give a richness and diversity that would reveal an insight into the Frasershire situation from different perspectives. This would allow the objectives of the study to be fulfilled and answers provided to key questions.

Tables 13-17 illustrate the range of participants interviewed for each case study, starting with case 1 – Filip (table 13). It can be seen that there was a similar range of participants for each case even though there was some variation in the number of interviews. Table 14 highlights the participants involved in case study 2 – a boy called Harald, who attended the same school as Filip. Table 15 notes the participants interviewed for case study 3 – Emily. Emily's parents were interviewed together. Tables 16 and 17 show the participants and number of interviews for Meena and Ria who were siblings at the same school.

4.9.1 *Addressing the culture and language of participants*

The data from interviews are words (Patton, 2002: 392) but words may have special meanings in other cultures leading to potential misunderstandings for an interviewer working with participants from different ethnic backgrounds. As Patton explains, "it is tricky enough to be sure what a person means when using a common language, but words can take on a different meaning in other cultures". Clearly this can be problematic for researchers. In addition, a lack of English language competence skills in interviewees may create a language barrier and therefore a lack of understanding between the interviewee and interviewer.

As a result of working with bilingual participants from different ethnic backgrounds it was essential to address issues of culture and language. I did not foresee that this was a major difficulty because I was able to draw on my skills and experience in communicating with bilingual children and their parents. Nonetheless, from pre-interview planning and preparation I made every attempt to ensure that the topics of discussion would not be offensive for participants and that interview questions would make sense and be phrased in appropriate language (Esterberg, 2002: 98) to avoid misunderstandings.

In addition, it was essential that participants competency in English language would enable them to participate fully in an interview situation. To ensure that this was the case I took advice from head teachers and class teachers regarding the selection of linguistically appropriate pupils and parents for the case study interviews.

If language difficulties were encountered, the use of interpreters was an option. However, I was aware especially with children how the use of an interpreter might influence the interactions within the interview situation and, therefore, negatively influence the outcome of the interview. This is confirmed by others:

> Interpreters often want to be helpful by summarizing and explaining responses. This contaminates the interviewee's actual response with interpreter's explanation to such

an extent that you can no longer be sure whose perceptions you have – the interpreter's or the interviewees' (Patton, 2002: 392).

As discussed earlier, during the interviews I chose to use activities with the children which were very visual. I perceived that the use of such material would assist the children in understanding more readily the context and content of the interviews without needing to rely so heavily on understanding verbal language. During the interview sessions, to overcome barriers in their language dual language, dictionaries were also available if needed. Also papers and crayons provided an opportunity for participants to explain visually aspects that might be difficult to express verbally.

4.9.2 *Gaining trust and building rapport*

As an interviewer gaining trust and developing rapport with the person I interview must be established (Esterberg, 2002: 92). This means respecting those I interview and considering their response to be of value (Patton, 2002: 365). It also means that I believe their knowledge, experiences, attitudes and feelings are important.

Although feminist researchers have stressed that being similar in crucial ways to interviewers is important in gaining access to them and developing rapport (Esterberg, 2002: 91), on the other hand, evidence from literature suggests that such close similarity may not be essential (Pagett, 2006; Rich & Davis, 2007). What is essential, however, is the willingness of interviewers to risk disclosing personal information and developing real relationships with their research participants (Esterberg, 2002: 91). Nonetheless, it has been shown that sharing experiences with participants can impact positively on research (Oakley, 1981: 48). If participants do not trust the interviewer or feel comfortable they may be unwilling to talk honestly or discuss personal details. "This is especially true in attempts to research those who are different from you or those from stigmatized groups" (Esterberg. 2002: 91).

In my study I perceive interviewing as a personal relationship between myself and participants developed through my own interpersonal skills. Identifying similarities where they exist is valuable in helping to develop rapport between participants and myself. However, of greater importance is my own willingness to share information about these similarities and my own experiences, as appropriate, with the interviewees both adults and children. How can I expect others to reveal personal insights if I am unwilling to reciprocate?

4.10 Pre-testing the research tools

The two following sections indicate the way that the research tools were trialled, prior to undertaking the main study.

4.10.1 *Piloting the pupil questionnaire*

Prior to using the final questionnaires small-scale piloting was undertaken with bilingual children who attended one of the sample schools. Following feedback from the pupils re-drafting was made. Final adjustments were carried out before the questionnaire was ready for use. Of particular note was the need to omit an additional section to the, 'It happened to me at school' questionnaire that I had included whereby pupils were also asked to report on the experiences they had encountered at some time in the past. I had initially considered using this additional section in this study because pupils previously had reported that although bullying and name calling had not taken place recently, it had occurred when the pupils had first arrived at school. I had felt it would be valuable to explore the extent to which this was the case for other bilingual pupils. However, analysis of the pilot pupil questionnaire did not indicate a marked difference between pupils' reports of experiences encountered during the previous week compared to those at some time in the past. Of greater importance was the fact that experiences that had occurred during the previous week were easy to recall, had been understood by the pupils and was therefore appropriate. On the other hand it was much more difficult for pupils to remember whether an experience had occurred 'at some time in the past'. The question was rather vague and much more abstract and raised an issue of reliability. Consequently, it was decided that for this study data relating to 'It happened to me at school' would focus on experiences during the previous week exclusively.

In addition following analysis of a number of questionnaires it was found that some pupils had not completed their questionnaires as fully as expected. Consequently I decided to administer the second part of the questionnaire with bilingual pupils on a one to one face-to-face basis. This ensured that pupils were offered an opportunity of assistance with the task. However, I was aware that anonymity would not exist.

4.10.2 *Interviews: initial use*

Wolcott (1994: 400) makes the point that instead of 'practising' qualitative research, the way to begin research is to begin research. However, with regards to interviews it is valuable to test the effectiveness of the interview guide (Weiss, 1994) and review whether it constrains what participants want to say in relation to the research questions (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003:135). Therefore, during initial 'pilot' interviews (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003), I tried out the use of an interview guide and my interviewing skills.

Feedback from these interviews highlighted several points. With the bilingual pupils I felt firstly that I needed to refine my own interview techniques. This included setting the scene

better and making the purpose of the interview very clear which I subsequently did. Also, I felt that it was appropriate not to rush the children, especially the younger ones, and therefore I organised a flexible number of sessions as seemed appropriate.

An issue was raised which concerned first and second language competence within the interview situation. Prior to the interviews I had anticipated that the interviews might involve areas of discussion which would prove too challenging for the bilingual pupils' level of English. In selecting a particular pupil with guidance from the head teacher I made an assumption that the child would be more able to express herself adequately in her first language rather than in English. It was surprising to find that this was not the case. It was not possible to carry out the interview in Arabic because the child's oral competence was too limited. As a result it was anticipated that future interviews would be carried out in English. However, for some children it was appropriate to offer an opportunity to speak in their first language. This facility was available through the rich resource of PhD colleagues willing to act as interpreters.

4.11 Data Collection

The data for the current study was collected concurrently, although there was a time lag. The questionnaires were undertaken in two parts during 2004. The first questionnaire 'It happened to me at school', was used with class groups from 12 schools and included bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers. The second questionnaire 'What I think about school' was undertaken by the bilingual pupils exclusively who also attended the twelve schools and had completed the first questionnaire. More intensive work using multiple case studies informed by interviewing children and others was also undertaken in 2004 between February and May, although some data had been collected previously over a seven month period.

4.11.1 *Administering the questionnaires*

With the first pupil questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' an appropriate time was negotiated with school staff for the questionnaire to be administered. This was done as part of a whole class or group session which helped to standardise the conditions in which pupils read and responded to the questionnaire.

At the beginning of the session with the children I explained that the purpose of the study was firstly, to learn what pupils think about their experiences at school and secondly, to help those responsible for education in Frasershire to ensure that every child had the best possible opportunity at school. It was made clear that the questionnaires were not to be

seen by school staff. In addition the children were asked not to write their name on the questionnaire to ensure anonymity. It was also emphasised that each pupil was to give the answer which best suited his or her own personal situation. Then, having provided an example question as a model of what was expected each question was read aloud to the class and pupils completed their questionnaire. Although the pupils were not permitted to talk during the session they were supported if help was requested. This was done by the class teacher, teaching assistant if present or myself.

The second questionnaire, 'What I think about school', was administered on a face-to-face situation basis (Gliner & Morgan, 2000: 339) with 29 bilingual pupils exclusively. The time and location were negotiated with school staff. This approach proved very successful because it provided a focus for discussion which enabled pupils to talk about their own situation, if they wished. My offer to act as scribe was accepted by some pupils. As with the previous questionnaire an explanation regarding the purpose of the questionnaire was provided. Although the responses were not anonymous, assurance was once again given regarding confidentiality. Also steps were taken to ensure that school staff would not see the completed scripts.

4.11.2 *Interviews*

At each school interviews were undertaken individually with specific participants including the bilingual pupils, their class teacher and the teaching assistant who supported bilingual children. The interviews were also held with the head teacher or deputy head teacher of the school and either one or both parents of the target bilingual children. In addition, paired peer interviews were set up, in two schools and a group interview in another. These interviews contained the monolingual peers of the target pupils. At the beginning of the interview I provided an explanation about the purpose of the study and explained about confidentiality and anonymity. Prior to the interviews, written consent had been obtained from the parents of participants or participants themselves (see appendices 11 and 12 for examples).

With the interviews a semi-structured format was used which helped to ensure consistency of approach. With the bilingual pupils a number of interviews were arranged. However, this varied with individual children. More sessions were needed with the younger children. This helped to ensure that I could focus on different aspects during each session without rushing or putting pressure on the pupils. As observed by Piaget in his clinical interviews the trick was to, 'let the child talk freely' (cited in Brooker, 2001: 165). In addition on a couple of occasions it provided an opportunity for me to clarify something that had been said in a previous session. This approach felt comfortable for me as the researcher and I think for the children too. The same approach was adopted with the peer group. However, having said

this, with Meena and Ria and their school peer group only one interview each took place. This was because less time was available at this late stage of the research process. Nonetheless knowing that this was so I still considered the cases were worthy of study.

4.12 Data analysis

In the following section I will discuss analysis of the questionnaires and interview data

4.12.1 *Questionnaire data*

Firstly, all returned 'It happened to me at school' questionnaires were checked for completion. However, there was a small number that had not been completed appropriately which were discarded from the results. This was considered a quantitative tool, this study was predominantly qualitative, and therefore, having inputted the survey data into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, I carried out simple statistical analysis using the same software. As a multiple response procedure was used to define the frequency of occurrence of each item in the questionnaire, comparison could then be made between groups of children.

The 'What I think about school' questionnaire was a tool which generated qualitative data. As I had been present when they were filled in, I could ensure that pupils had completed as much as they felt able. Data from the sentence completion tasks were again inputted into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. In order to reduce rater subjectivity 'content analysis' was employed (Dörnyei, 2003 : 117) so that responses were reduced to categories in a way that was as reliable as possible. Data were firstly coded by labelling distinct elements or statements. Secondly, categories were defined into which the statements naturally fell (Silverman, 1993). This approach had the advantage that it allowed categories to emerge from the data. At this stage, care was needed to avoid over-interpretation. This included making sure I did not read things into the data that were not there. It was useful to have my supervisor to work with me on occasions to check this. Finally the responses from items in each section were collated, summarised and analysed. The categories that were highlighted allowed for comparison with other responses (Dörnyei, 2003:117).

Responses from the closed questions in this questionnaire were dealt with numerically so that frequency of occurrence could be compared. The data were described graphically using percentages for a descriptive comparison. Using the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school', for each separate index and individual questions within each index, comparison was made between the bilingual and monolingual pupil groups. Similarly using the questionnaire, 'What I think about school', descriptive comparison was made regarding the responses for

each question, between children in the bilingual pupil group exclusively. The graphs were compiled from tables developed from raw data.

4.12.2 *Interview data*

In this study data that had been generated through interviews were systematically analysed. The coding process was informed by the work developed by Strauss and Corbin (1998).

There were a number of stages to the coding process, however, initially the interviews were listened to and transcribed. Care was taken to keep the textual format as close to the original interview as possible. Hence non-verbal actions, pauses, silence and laughter that provided deeper understanding were noted on the tape scripts. Having read the transcripts I went through each one to break down the data and code it into small, discrete aspects that had some significant meaning.

An example of the first stage of analysis called open coding can be seen in appendix 14. These aspects were given a name which was recorded in the margin of each transcript. The name was suggested from the context or sometimes from the specific meaning it evoked for me personally or from the actual words spoken by the interviewees, known as 'in vivo codes' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). I was aware that these labels were arbitrary and that other researchers might prefer different labels. However, if our imagery differs from the norm and we see happenings in new ways then novel explanations can be created (Strauss and Corbin, 1998: 105). Whilst I had intended to use line by line coding analysis for all interviews this proved difficult with data from some interviews especially those of the children. Unlike the adults, their responses were brief and at times moved rapidly between topics. Consequently, coding was undertaken either line by line or by sentence or paragraph as appropriate. This provided a more meaningful approach.

I took themes that emerged from open coding and identified shared features. This enabled me to group themes together under a more abstract explanatory term or category. Then connections between categories were identified. These categories stood for phenomena such as a problem, an issue or an event which helped to explain what was going on for the research participants. Again it is noted that the categories were named to reflect phenomena in the context of this study from my own perspective. This part of the process called axial coding started to put together data that were broken up during the previous process of open coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

At this stage there were still many categories and a need to constantly revisit the data to refine the groupings within the categories. From the categories that had already been

identified, through the axial coding process, a number of core categories started to emerge. During this third stage called 'selective coding' (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), I identified the three core categories. This included 'Background Information', 'Transition into school', and 'Fitting in at school'. The other categories fell within these major categories (see appendix 14). Appendix 15 illustrates a breakdown of one of the core categories, called 'background information'.

When writing about the five cases, my own style of writing reflects the principles used when writing up educational ethnographies (Conteh, Gregory, Kearney & Mor-Sommerfeld, 2005). Reflecting ethnographic writing principles, the aim was to produce 'trustworthy' evidence which was achieved by describing the social world in which events take place whilst accepting that the reader and researcher share a joint responsibility in interpreting events (Conteh et al., 2005: xxi) involving real people.

4.13 Issues in the design of the study: validity and reliability

In this section I describe how issues raised through validity and reliability have been addressed. This includes theoretical and conceptual rigour, methodological rigour and interpretative rigour. Reference is also made to triangulation and reflexivity. Initially, I consider subjectivity.

I was aware that the close distance between researcher and participants posed implications for the axiological issue (Creswell, 1998) regarding ethics and the role of values in the study. Consequently, I acknowledged that the research I had undertaken was value laden, with the existence of biases and explicitly referred to this in the study. This included my own interpretation together with that of the research participants. I accepted my subjectivity as a strength on which to build because this makes me who I am and influenced all stages of the research process (Glesne and Peshkin 1992). I was also aware of the need to be reflexive.

In any research study rigour refers to issues raised through validity and reliability. These concepts are important in qualitative research however, they need to be conceptualised in a different way to quantitative research. Techniques for ensuring rigour in qualitative research (Liamputtong and Ezzy, 2005: 38) provide a framework when considering research quality in general and specifically for this study. These include

1. Theoretical and conceptual rigour undertaken through sound reasoning and argument behind the choice of appropriate methodology and data collection techniques to answer the research question.

2. Methodological or procedural rigour established by clear documentation of methodological and analytic decisions.

3. Interpretative rigour highlighting concerns associated with interpreting data.

4. Ethical issues.

4.13.1 *Theoretical and conceptual rigour*

The following section refers specifically to quality in this study. Theoretical and conceptual rigour was established by ensuring that the theory underpinning the study, through the selection of an appropriate research strategy and methods to assist data collection, would allow the aims of the study to be fulfilled. Within this qualatitive study the use of purposive sampling provided access to appropriate research participants. The small number of interview-based case studies enabled me to explore with the bilingual children their experiences of schooling and related aspects, in depth.

4.13.2 *Methodological rigour*

Before and during the main study I attempted to increase reliability in a number of ways. Firstly, using questionnaires and in the interviews all research participants as relevant, received the same questions of enquiry to ensure a 'consistent' approach. Secondly, I received training on procedures and approaches for conducting interviews prior to working with the research participants. In addition, on a number of occasions I shared the role of interviewer of bilingual children in a school situation with my supervisor. Consequently interview techniques had been modelled and I had had an opportunity to discuss the process and findings. This included evaluating my own role.

Following the pilot study I received further training from my second supervisor regarding ways of working with children. It was from these discussions that I decided to use a flexible number of sessions when interviewing the children. I believe that the training and ongoing opportunity for reflection with my supervisors whilst undertaking the interviews increased procedural reliability.

To enhance credibility I have provided a detailed account of the research process to help ensure that data and procedures are transparent. This has included an attempt to ensure that within the data the boundary between participant voice and my own interpretations are clear through the use of participant quotes within the thesis. However, it is not expected that repeated data collection would necessarily achieve the same data or findings (Flick, 2006)

because the purpose of the study was to explore the specific experiences of particular participants.

4.13.3 *Interpretative rigour*

It was my intention to ensure that the study accurately represented the understandings of events and actions within the worldview of the research participants. Consequently, to establish credibility checks of coding consistency or as explained by Silverman (2000: 188) "the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers," were carried out by myself with others. This included my supervisors and Linda Pagett a researcher familiar with this area of study. Using transcripts we compared our identification and clarification of selected units of data. Some disagreement did occur however, following discussion a final choice was made.

In addition in the thesis every attempt has been made to demonstrate the way in which the interpretation was achieved by making explicit use of direct quotes from the interviews and questionnaires. Thus providing readers with an understanding of the evidence on which the analysis is based.

4.13.4 *Verification*

Multiple perspectives exist regarding the position of verification in qualitative research (Creswell, 1998: 197). Some writers (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) suggest the need to establish 'the trustworthiness' of a study using alternative terms such as credibility and transferability. Others (Wolcott, 1994) suggest that validity neither guides nor informs qualitative research and is better replaced by understanding. Creswell (1998: 201) views verification as an appropriate term and a strength of qualitative research. Verification procedures help researchers to operationalise these terms. Creswell (1998: 203) explains that writing with rich, thick description allows the reader to make decisions regarding transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998) because the writer describes in detail the participants or setting under study. Through detailed description a deeper understanding is gained and the researcher enables readers to transfer information to other settings and to determine whether the findings can be transferred. Triangulation, another verification procedure Creswell (1998: 202) helps to establish credibility. This process involves corroborating evidence from different sources to shed light on a theme or perspective (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 1998; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 1980, 1990).

Triangulation

As a way of gaining confirmation, increase credence in interpretation and identify commonality of an assertion (Stake, 1995) researchers can adopt certain procedures within their research. In this study, drawing on protocols associated with triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) has been relevant. Within the concept of methodological triangulation the use of a mixed methods research design may be seen to increase confidence in interpretation of the same topic from different perspectives. Nonetheless, even though there are those (Richards, 2005: 21) who consider that simply juxtaposing different data sources or types is unlikely to provide comparable data. This approach provides a way to develop a complex picture of the phenomenon being studied (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005: 41). Within a single study use of two methods can make this position possible. However, triangulation has also been evident within the single method of multiple case studies. For example, within each case a range of participants were interviewed. The data collected provided triangulation perspectives from the research participants in each case.

In this study data source triangulation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) provided an opportunity to identify if the phenomenon stayed the same when conditions were altered. For example the bilingual pupils discussed their experiences within the main classroom and outside the class in a one to one withdrawal situation. Exploration of different cases in different school settings also provided opportunity to see whether the phenomenon remained the same under different circumstances.

On a number of occasions I presented my observations and interpretations to my supervisor and also to experts at conference proceedings. Investigator triangulation provided a valuable opportunity to discuss the data and alternative interpretations, because there were some, in a supportive framework with other researchers.

4.13.5 *Reflexivity*

I was aware of the need for qualitative research to be reflexive. Also, I was aware of my actions and role within the research process. Consequently, I acknowledged my role in the study as the instrument of research by use of the term I.

4.14 Ethical considerations

In any research study issues are raised regarding ethical considerations. This is of particular note in qualitative research due to its depth, unstructured nature and the fact that unanticipated issues may be raised (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 66; Silverman, 2005: 257).

To act ethically is to act the way one acts towards people whom one respects (Graue and Walsh, 1998: 55). In relation to ethics there are similarities between researching adults and children. these aspects are considered in the following section together with ethical issues pertinent to working with children.

4.14.1 *Research approval*

In line with the Fraser University guidelines a Student Ethical Research Approval form was completed and submitted to the School of Education and Lifelong Learning Ethics Committee. Information in this document confirmed that in my research study I anticipated that:

- None of the planned procedures involved risk of harm, detriment, or unreasonable stress to participants.

- Informed consent would be sought from participants and/or parents/guardians as appropriate.

- All data would be kept confidential throughout and individuals and institutions would not be identifiable.

- No further ethical problems or concerns would be raised by the planned research.

4.14.2 *Informed consent*

Informed consent in any educational research refers to participants being informed of the significance of their role and choosing whether to participate or not (Cohen & Manion, 1994).

Both adults and children have the right to be informed about the nature and purpose of any research in which they are participating. In addition, as entering other people's lives is intrusive it requires permission. Therefore, both adults and children should have the opportunity to give or refuse informed consent and to be able to withdraw from the research at any stage.

The ethical guidelines of the British Education Research Association (BERA) stipulate that, when working with children and young people under school leaving age, permission should be obtained from their school, acting in loco parentis, and if they suggest, the parents (Radnor, 2002: 35; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003: 67).

4.14.3 *Anonymity and confidentiality*

Whilst anonymity can be defined as 'the identity of those taking part not being known outside the research team', confidentiality refers to 'avoiding the attribution of comments, in reports or presentations, to identified participants' (Ritchie &Lewis, 2003: 67). This implies the need

to ensure that direct or indirect comments cannot be linked to and therefore identify individuals. In this study, it was particularly important for me to 'protect participants' and ensure anonymity because of the small numbers of bilingual children in schools and the ease therefore by which pupils may be identified. Consequently, I ensured that indirect identification would be avoided (Ritchie &Lewis, 2003). This was undertaken by allocating participants with different names from the real ones and deleting details which might lead to respondent identification (Radnor, 2002: 35).

4.14.4 Protecting participants from harm

It was anticipated that none of the planned procedures involved risk or harm or unreasonable stress to participants. However I did anticipate that some children may become uncomfortable or upset during or after an interview or individual questionnaire completion. Consequently, I established beforehand, and informed the children of named staff they could talk to if necessary.

4.14.5 Ethical concerns that emerge during research

During research studies unanticipated issues of ethical concern may emerge. I encountered this situation during an interview when a bilingual child disclosed his personal experiences of bullying and racial harassment at school. Although confidentiality had been assumed there were issues that I felt needed to be addressed. Consequently, in discussion with my supervisor it was felt necessary to mention the matter to appropriate staff at Frasershire County Council. This I did but retained pupil confidentiality. In addition, I felt ill at ease as the interviewer. I subsequently realised that addressing one's biases is one of the most difficult and thought-provoking aspects of being a qualitative researcher. However, this is an aspect that I feel I addressed appropriately.

4.14.6 Working with children

Ethical guidelines (Brooker, 2001) for treating children respectfully when conducting interviews that I adhered to included the following:

- Plan appropriate and acceptable questioning in light of the children's emotional and social maturity.

- Consider their family and cultural background (Dwivedi, 1996)

- Stop any session which is felt to be causing a child distress.

Graue and Walsh (1998) recommend that a researcher who is humble and respects children as smart, sensible and wanting to have a good life will uphold an ethical relationship.

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However, holding attitudes such as those may be challenging and require a relationship that is different to that when interviewing adults.

4.14.7 Cultural issues

I am aware that some researchers particularly during the nineteenth century treated minority groups inappropriately as curiosities (Escamilla & Coady, 2001: 69). However, every attempt was taken in this study to ensure that individuals were treated as subjects rather than objects to be researched. I am also aware that misunderstanding both by the researcher and the research participant may occur due to cultural differences or understandings of language.

In addition, the researcher may unintentionally offend individuals through their lack of understanding of different cultural norms within families. In this study consideration was given to the use of interpreters: however, it was felt to be unnecessary at the time. Needless to say, it is easy yet dangerous to fail to consider the concerns of research participants whose situation is far from that experienced by the researcher.

4.15 Limitations of the study

In this study an interpretative approach was employed and while I feel this was an important strategy to adopt it does inevitably pose a number of limitations for the study. Thus ,whilst this approach provides an in depth insight into people and their situations, questions arise concerning the degree of subjectivity of this form of inquiry and the subsequent findings. It should also be noted that because my role in the local authority (LA) was known by school staff, I perceived that at times things were said to me because of this relationship. I therefore acknowledge that validity threats or the way that I might be mistaken about what is going on are unavoidable. It should be noted, however, that subjectivity is viewed as a necessary part of interview research rather than a weakness. Kvale (1996) believes that when the researcher ensures that his/her perspectives are made explicit a range of interpretations will emerge. "Several interpretations of the same text will not be a weakness, but a richness and a strength of interview research" (Kvale, 1996: 287). In addition, rather than being factual interview results are biased. For example, the expectancies of both researcher and interviewees may quite unintentionally influence the interview results. Whilst the interpretation is trustworthy, it should be acknowledged that it cannot be objective. Kvale (1996: 286) states, "unacknowledged bias may entirely invalidate the results of an interview inquiry". Consequently, it was necessary for recognised bias to be made explicit and transparent. This was achieved by me writing a subjective statement concerning the research and keeping a reflective log which provided an audit trail.

A second potential limitation of the study was the process of sample selection and how this might impact on the validity of the data generated. This issue concerned the involvement of school staff in guiding the selection of research participants. On the one hand, it was valuable that staff knew their pupils well and were able to provide advice concerning which individuals would be good research informants. On the other hand, it is also the case that the teachers may have inadvertently chosen 'good pupils' and these pupils may have provided a perspective which may have been particularly positive and perhaps supportive of the views and approaches of their teacher. Additionally, the monolingual pupils selected from the classes of Filip, Harald and Emily appeared to be within the same friendship group as the bilingual pupils which may also have influenced the comments they offered in the interviews. This was not, however, as evident with the monolingual pupils who talked about Meena and Ria.

I acknowledge that the perspectives of the participants in this study may be biased and might not replicate the views of other pupils who were not selected in this sample. As already indicated, this may affect the reliability of the data and skew the findings. However, I also acknowledge that, although my approach to sampling was not ideal, there are always issues with sampling. In this study, given the time constraints and issues around access, I did not have the opportunity to undertake extensive observations to help select these participants myself.

Another area of concern involved the use of bilingual pupils and parents as participants. In consultation with staff at each school it was established that all pupils in the sample group were expected to be able to participate actively with the interviewer and/or questionnaire in English. This was considered the same for their parents too. However, as previously mentioned it was found advantageous to administer the questionnaire – 'What I think about school' - on a 1:1 basis with the bilingual pupils. It was envisaged that all interviews would be conducted in English. However, for some participants as English was not their first language it may have been challenging to undertake the questionnaire or in depth interview in English. Although participants may have appeared competent with oral English they may have been unable to understand the subtle nature of some questions or to express their thoughts and opinions at an appropriate and adequate level of competency in English.

Ambiguity and question bias were possible limitations of the questionnaires used in the study in particular with younger pupils. This concern was not restricted to bilingual children exclusively. Data collection using the questionnaires was static with opinions and perceptions given as more concrete and fixed. Unlike interviews there was less chance for the unexpected. However, the inclusion of open questions in the questionnaire for bilingual

pupils provided an opportunity for participants to write what they chose concerning these areas.

It is necessary to remind the reader that the data collection took place some time ago. However, over recent years there has continued to be a steady increase in the number of bilingual pupils in the county. Many of these pupils attend schools that have not had bilingual children before: consequently, these recently arrived bilingual children are isolated learners. The multiple case studies exploring the schooling experience of specific bilingual children provide a basis for drawing inferences about the phenomena of bilingual pupils' experiences in school. However, of greater importance, is the use that others may make of them as a direct and satisfying way of improving understanding (Stake, 2005). I would argue, therefore, that the findings in this study retain relevance and value today.

4.16 Summary

This chapter presented the research methodology used in the current study. The aim of the research, my own position and the epistemological and theoretical perspective of this study that influenced decisions regarding the methodology were explained. This was followed by the rationale for using a mixed methods approach and an explanation of the mixed methods design used in this study. The principles for working with children followed. Next different research methods were discussed and the specific methods of enquiry used in this study were explained. This included a section describing the activities of children. The data collection procedures used in the study were then presented. Finally, I discussed issues raised in the design of the study through validity and reliability, followed by ethical considerations. The chapter ends with a presentation of the limitations of the study. The next two chapters present the findings from the study.

Chapter five presents the results generated by the questionnaire.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS: QUESTIONNAIRES

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the questionnaires and is arranged in two parts. Throughout the chapter data have been described graphically for a descriptive comparison. In part one for each separate index of the questionnaire 'It happened to me at school' and individual questions within each index a comparison has been made between the bilingual and monolingual pupil groups. The graphs have been compiled from tables previously developed, which are presented in appendices 16 to 21. Appendix 16 provides an overall summary of pupil responses to the questionnaire. In part two, using the questionnaire 'What I think about school', comparison has been made regarding the response for each question between children within the bilingual pupil group exclusively. It should be pointed out that in these results I am reporting what the children said their experiences had been.

The first part of the chapter reports the results of the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school' which provides a snapshot of how pupils viewed their situation at school through looking at the five aspects: Racism, Name calling and social exclusion, Bullying and Aggression, Practical Support and Social Inclusion according to the headings formulated by Cline et al. (2002). It aims to answer the research question: 'Do experiences of schooling differ between isolated bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils?" The second part of the chapter reports on the results of the qualitative data generated by the questionnaire, 'What I think about school'. This questionnaire explores in greater depth pupils' positive and negative perceptions of school, through the use of open-ended questions. It aims to answer the research question: 'What are isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling?'

In part one, first an overview of the findings from the indices will be presented. This will be followed by the results of individual questions within each index. This questionnaire was designed to be used with all pupils within a school setting and therefore reflects responses from bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers.

In part two the results of the 'What I think about school' questionnaire will be presented. Firstly, I will present the results of five open-ended questions which aimed to explore pupils' positive perceptions about school. Then I will present the results of five additional open-ended questions aimed at highlighting pupils' negative perceptions about school. This questionnaire was designed to be used with bilingual pupils and therefore reflects their responses exclusively.

5.1 Part one: It happened to me at school - overview of the findings from the indices

In this section I will present the results for the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school'.

5.1.1 *Introduction*

The questionnaire 'It happened to me at school' looked at how bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers viewed their situation at school and the experiences they encountered. The questionnaire was made up of the following indices:

(i)   Racism
(ii)   Name calling and social exclusion
(iii) Bullying and aggression
(iv)   Practical support
(v)   Social inclusion

The first three indices focused on negative aspects associated with school life whilst the last two indices highlighted aspects which were positive. The questions associated with each index can be seen in appendix 4.

5.1.2 *The overall results*

A summary of the overall results for the indices of the questionnaire 'It happened to me at school' can be seen in figure 5 within this section and appendix 16 in which the comparison of bilingual and monolingual pupils' reports concerning various experiences are highlighted. These results focus on what happened for a group of children recently, whilst at school. The results showed that over the past week these children encountered a range of experiences revealing a surprising picture.

There are several striking features of the findings in this section of the study. Firstly, as shown in figure 5 and appendix 16, racism was experienced by approaching a quarter (22%) of the bilingual pupils during the 'previous week'. Secondly, 25% of the bilingual pupils' responses reported experiencing name calling and social exclusion and 19% reported bullying and aggression. In addition, racism was also reported by a number of monolingual children whose ethnicity was categorised as 'White British'. Thirdly, a surprisingly high number of monolingual pupils reported name calling, social exclusion and bullying and aggression in Frasershire schools. In fact this level was higher than the level recorded by bilingual pupils. Lastly, in comparison, over half of the bilingual pupils and slightly more monolingual pupils experienced practical support at school whilst three quarters of both groups reported experiencing social inclusion

Figure 5: A summary of overall results, It happened to me at school. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences during the previous week (n=191(29 bilingual, 162 monolingual))
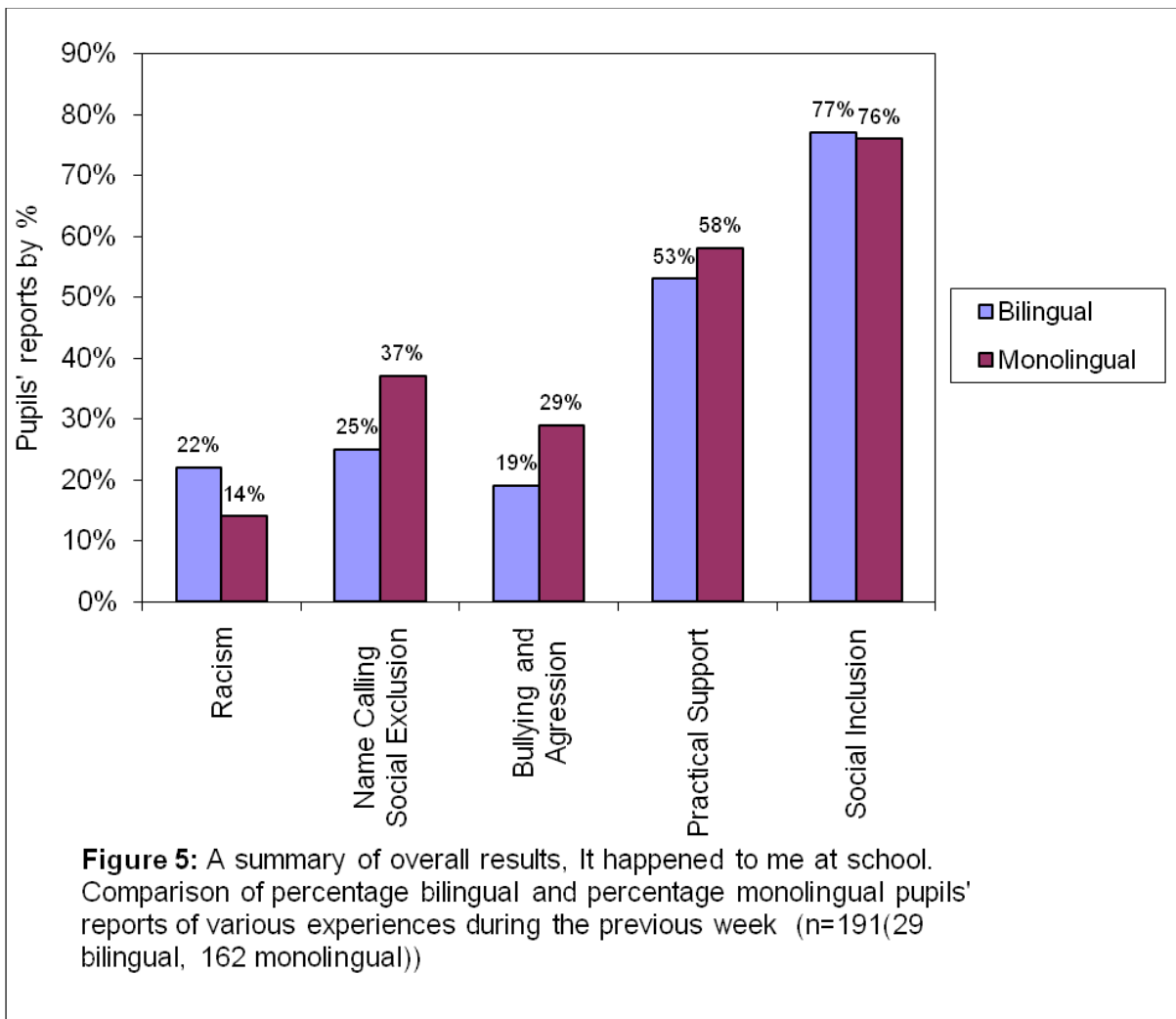
In this study, with regard to negative aspects associated with schooling, again as shown in figure 5 and appendix 16, approaching a quarter of the responses made by bilingual pupils in Frasershire schools (22%) indicated that during the previous week they had experienced racism in the form of unkindness or rudeness because they were different because of their accent or because of the colour of their skin. In addition, 14% of the responses of the monolingual pupils also indicated experiences of racism.

In addition, figure 5 and appendix 16 show how name calling and social exclusion accounted for a quarter of the bilingual pupils' responses and 37% of the monolingual pupils' responses.

The results, from this sample and as seen in figure 5 and appendix 16, indicated that bullying and aggression as experienced through a range of seven situations accounted for 19% of the bilingual pupils' responses and 29% for their monolingual peers, indicating a lower occurrence of bullying reported by bilingual pupils than their peers.

The bilingual pupils' reports of various positive experiences during the previous week, as seen in figure 5 and appendix 16, recorded highest scores on the Social Inclusion index; 77% of the pupils' responses reported experiencing social inclusion, which was based on nine situations. This index was also scored highest by the monolingual pupils (76%). Although approximately three quarters of the bilingual pupils' responses (77%) reported experiences relating to social inclusion, it was surprising that only just over half of the pupils' responses - (bilingual 53%) and (monolingual 58%) indicated that practical support had been received from their peers.

5.2　It happened to me at school: findings from individual questions within each index

5.2.1　*Introduction*

The results of bilingual and monolingual pupils' experiences, concerning each index during the previous week, will now be presented.

5.2.2　*Racism*

The situations included in this index were: during the previous week someone…

(i)　　was rude about the colour of my skin

(ii)　　was unkind because I am different

(iii)　　made fun of me because of my accent

A summary of these findings, illustrating the comparison of bilingual and monolingual pupils' reports of experiences of racism, can be seen in figure 6 within this section and appendix 17.

Racism

Using the categories employed in earlier research (Cline et al., 2002) racism was identified through three situations: 'someone was rude about the colour of my skin' as seen in figure 6, 'was unkind because I am different' and 'made fun of me because of my accent'. However, on reflection these categories raise problems. In this study racism is acknowledged to be a complex concept related more to an experience for bilingual minority ethnic children than those who are monolingual, White British. Therefore, if a White British, monolingual child makes claims about racism a question is raised as to whether this would be considered a racist incident or an issue of difference. However, it is clear, as reported elsewhere, that racism is not just about colour. "Not all targets of racist abuse are distinguishable by colour – and indeed some Muslims would say that colour is not what marks them out" (Gaine, 2005: 102).

As indicated in the previous section and illustrated through the overall results in figure 5, section 5.1.2, a striking finding from this study is that approaching a quarter of the bilingual pupils (22%) reported that during the previous week they had experienced situations perceived to be racist. Racism was also recorded by a number of monolingual children whose ethnicity was categorised as White British.

Figure 6: Racism. Comparison of percentage bilingual and monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of racism during the previous week. (n=191 (29 bilingual, 162 monolingual))
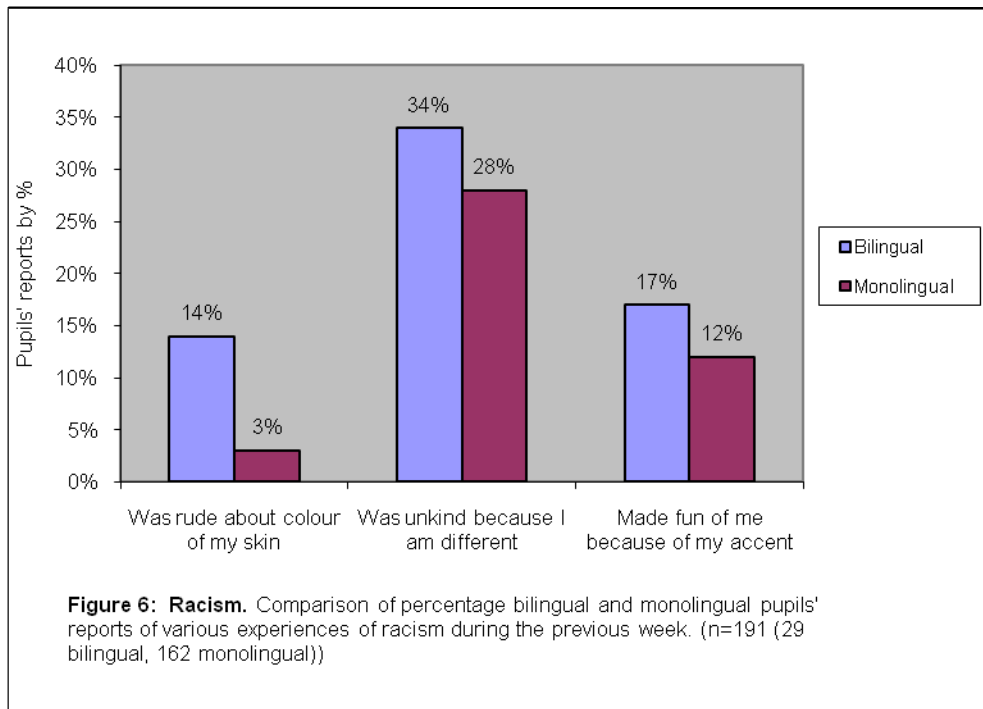
On first examination it seemed unexpected that monolingual White British pupils would experience racism. However, a breakdown of the three situations within the Racism index (see figure 6 and appendix 17) highlighted that White British pupils had reported experiencing unkindness or rudeness because they were considered different, because of their accent and their skin colour.

In addition, as shown in figure 6 and appendix 17, 34% of the bilingual pupils' responses indicated that unkindness had been experienced because they were perceived to be different. Unkindness due to a perception by peers of being different was also noted in 28% of the monolingual pupils' responses. This seemed surprising.

Finally, 17% of the bilingual pupils' responses showed that during the previous week this group had experienced being made fun of because of their accent. The majority of pupils reported that this had been experienced on more than one occasion. This position was also encountered, albeit to a lesser extent, by the monolingual pupils.

In each of the three situations more negative responses were recorded by bilingual pupils than their monolingual peers.

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5.2.3 *Name calling and social exclusion*

The situations included in this index were: during the previous week someone…

    (i)   turned my friends against me

    (ii)   laughed at me horribly

    (iii)   called me a name that upset me

    (iv)   was nasty about my family

    (v)   said things that hurt me

A summary of these findings, illustrating the comparison of bilingual and monolingual pupils' reports of experiences of name calling and social exclusion, can be seen in figure 7 and appendix 18.

Figure 7: Name Calling and Social Exclusion. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of name calling and social exclusion during the previous week (n=191 (29 bilingual, 162 monolingua))
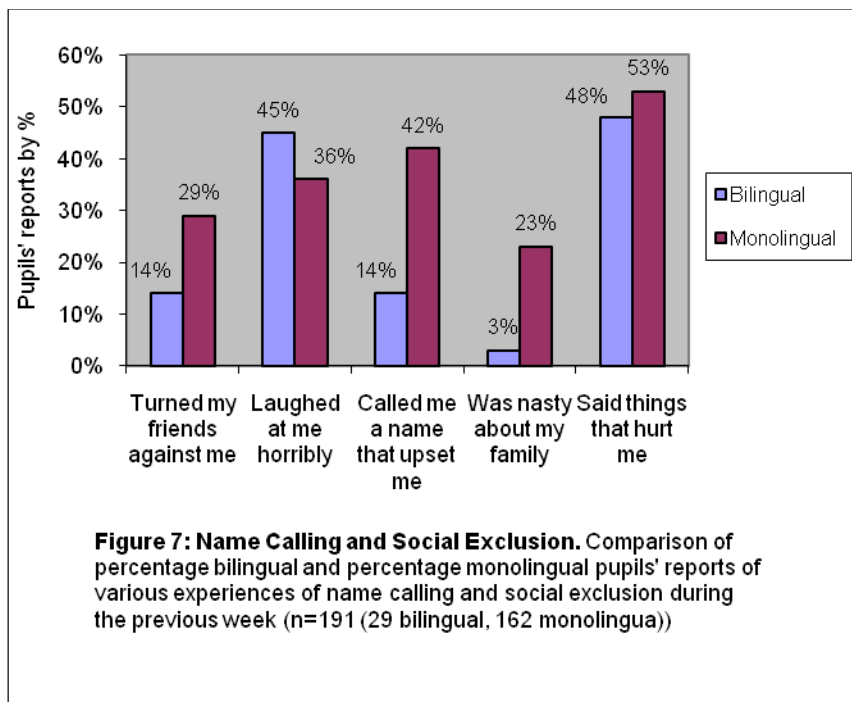
Name calling and social exclusion

Regarding the bilingual pupils a key point highlighted from the results of this index, as illustrated in figure 7 and appendix 18, was that approaching half of the responses reported that, during the previous week, someone 'laughed at me horribly' and 'said things that hurt me'. It is possible that bilingual pupils were aware of the overt negative behaviour of being 'laughed at' and having hurtful things said to them more readily than the other three categories in this index. It was noted that being laughed at horribly was reported by more bilingual pupils (45%) than monolingual pupils (36%). The category 'Said things that hurt me'

highlighted a slightly higher response rate by the monolingual pupils (53%) than those that were bilingual (48%).

Figure 7 and appendix 18 show that in the four categories – 'called me a name that upset me', 'said things that hurt me', 'turned my friends against me' and 'was nasty about my family' – the bilingual pupils' comments recorded experiencing these situations less frequently than their monolingual peers. For example, 14% of the bilingual pupils' responses reported that someone 'called me a name that upset me' compared to three times the number of responses made by the monolingual pupils (42%).

Only 14% of the bilingual pupils' responses indicated that someone had 'turned my friends against me'. This compared to 29% of the responses reported by monolingual pupils

Findings from another category in this index showed that 3% of the bilingual pupils' responses indicated that someone 'was nasty about my family'. This compared to 23% of the response tabs for their monolingual peers.

5.2.4 *Bullying and aggression*

The situations included in this index were: during the previous week someone…

    (i)   tried to kick me
    (ii)   tried to hit me
    (iii)   said they'd beat me up
    (iv)   tried to make me give them money
    (v)   got a gang on me
    (vi)   tried to break something of mine
    (vii)   tried to hurt me

A summary of these findings, illustrating the comparison of bilingual and monolingual pupils' reports of experiences of bullying and aggression, can be seen in figure 8 and appendix 19.

Figure 8: Bullying and Aggression: Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of bullying and aggression during the previous week (n=191 (29 bilingual, 162 monolingual)
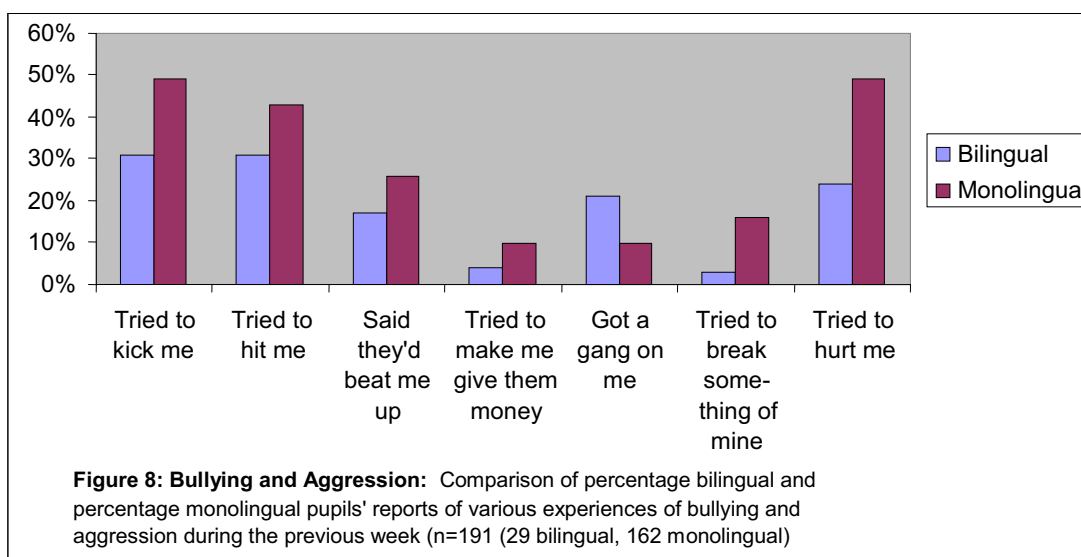
Bullying and aggression: results and discussion

As seen in figure 8 and appendix 19, it is noticeable that nearly a third of the bilingual pupils' responses indicated that 'someone tried to kick me' (31%) and 'tried to hit me' (31%) during the previous week. In addition nearly a quarter (24%) of the pupils' responses indicated that someone had tried to hurt them. It is noteworthy that in each of these three categories the level of responses was even greater for the monolingual pupils. This was most marked in the category 'someone tried to hurt me' where 49% of the monolingual pupils' responses compared to 24% of the bilingual pupils' responses indicated that this had taken place.

In addition, 17% of the bilingual pupils' responses indicated that someone 'said they'd beat me up'. Far fewer pupils ticked that someone 'tried to make me give them money' (4%) or 'break something of mine' (3%). This index has highlighted experience of personal physical aggression for the bilingual pupils at school and, to an even greater extent, for that of their peers.

5.2.5 *Practical support*

The situations included in this index were, 'during the previous week someone…

(i) lent me something

(ii) helped me to carry something

(iii) gave me some money

(iv) helped me with my classwork

A summary of these findings can be seen in figure 9 and appendix 20.

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Practical support

The highest level of practical support recorded for responses made by bilingual pupils (76%) was the situation in which someone helped them with their classwork. 69% of the bilingual pupils' responses and 73% of their peers reported that someone had lent them something. In addition, 59% reported that someone 'helped me to carry something'. In both cases over a quarter of the bilingual pupils indicated that they were not loaned things or helped to carry things.

Although 90% of the bilingual pupils reported not being given money by their peers, it is difficult to establish how far this form of practical support would be relevant or appropriate to bilingual children in the sample. This might account for the fact that only 10% reported that another pupil had given them money. It is noteworthy that for the same situation the White British pupils reported a much higher level of support (35%).

Figure 9: Practical Support. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of practical support during the previous week (n=191 (29 bilingual, 162 monolingual))
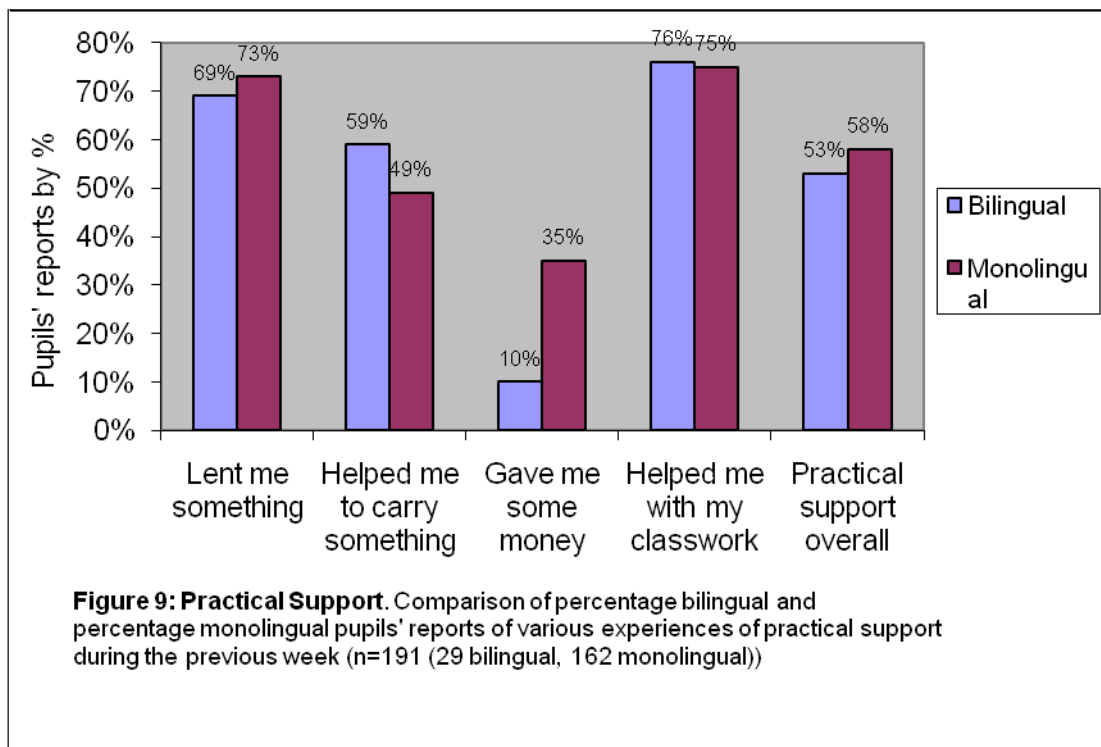
5.2.6 Social inclusion

The situations included in this index were: during the previous week someone…

   (i)   played a game with me
   (ii)   said something nice to me
   (iii)   was really nice to me

(iv)   gave me a present

(v)   told me a joke

(vi)   smiled at me

(vii)   shared something with me

(viii) talked about clothes with me

(ix)   talked about TV with me

A summary of these findings can be seen in figure 10 and appendix 21.

Social inclusion

All bilingual pupils reported that someone had been nice to them. However, this situation had not been experienced quite as frequently by their peers (91%).

Whilst 79% of the bilingual pupils reported that someone 'talked about TV with me', fewer pupils from both groups said that someone 'talked about clothes with me'.

Figure 10: Social Inclusion. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of social inclusion during the previous week (n=191 (29 bilingual, 162 monolingual))
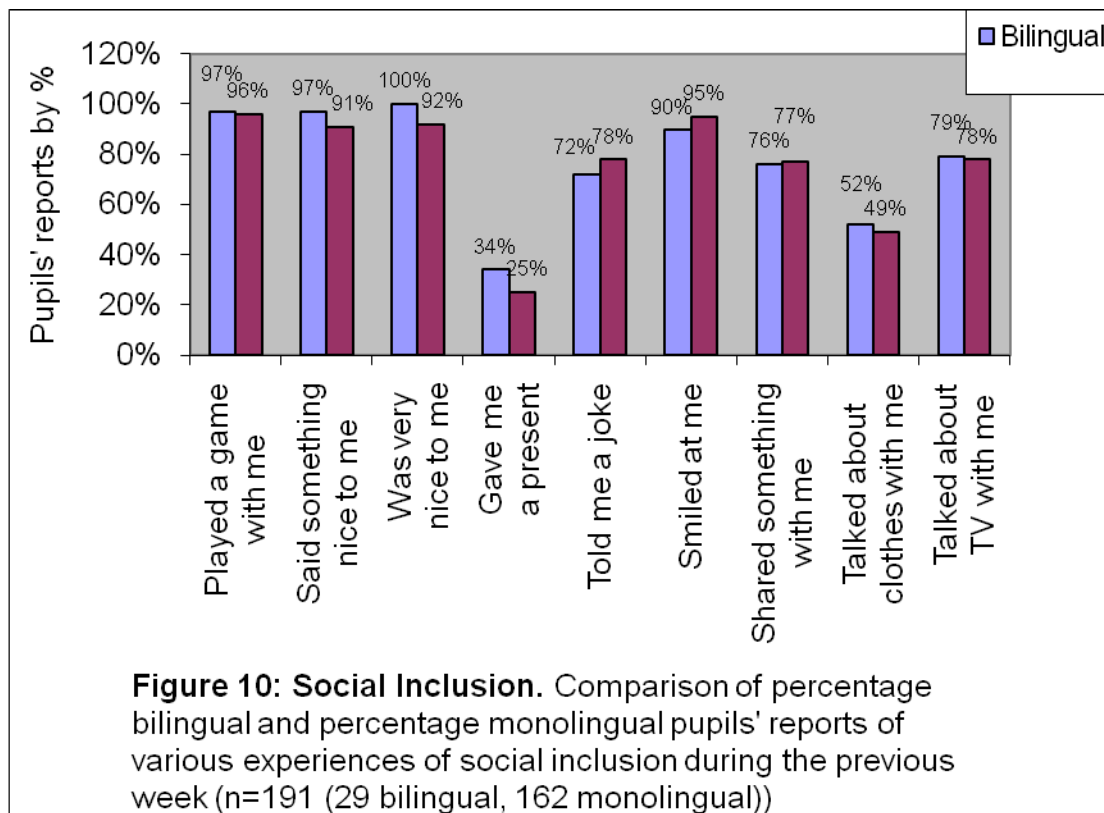
76% of the bilingual pupils experienced someone sharing something with them whilst only 34% of this group received a present from another child. The latter category is the lowest recorded within the section of social inclusion. Even so receiving a present was experienced more by the bilingual pupils (34%) than their peers (25%). In general, apart from the latter situation, the response rate for both the bilingual pupils and their peers was similar.

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5.3 Part two: What I think about school - positive perceptions

In this section, I will present the results for the qualitative questionnaire, 'What I think about school ?' I will first present the questions that focus on positive perceptions; then those that relate to negative perceptions. This aims to answer the research question: What are bilingual children's experiences of schooling?

The five questions in this section of the questionnaire focus on pupils positive perceptions about school. The section includes questions exploring children's reasons for liking school and feeling happy there and the impact this has on their school work. It also explores the situations in which pupils perceive they produce their best work and what children say they like their teachers to do at school

Question 1 : Things I like about school and why ...

The aim of this question was to explore the aspects that bilingual children liked about schooling. There were a total of seventy seven responses. Using content analysis, this generated seven aspects that children said they liked about school, some of which had subcategories. Figure 11 shows the main categories, which I will now discuss in turn.

Friends

The most frequently given reason for pupils' liking school was associated with friends and friendship. Comments linked to these aspects were grouped in the category, 'Friends'. The eighteen responses in this category were then divided into four sub-categories which included 'Having friends', 'Playing with friends', 'Support given' and 'Pleasurable experience'.
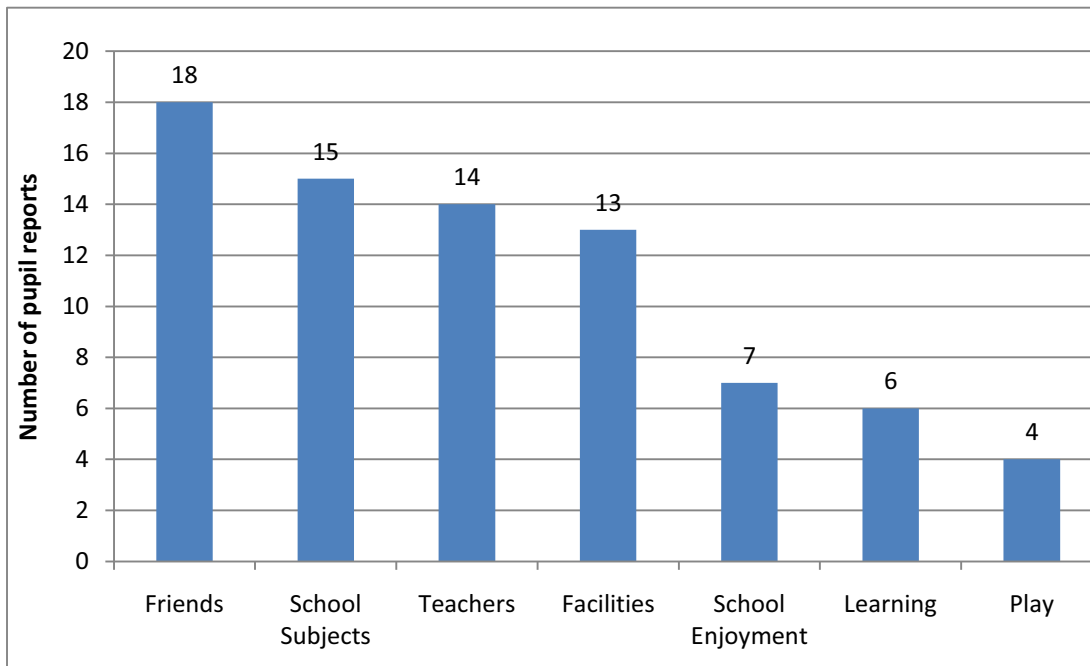
Figure 11: Bilingual children's reports of aspects they liked about school

A number of children reported that they liked school because of the friend or friends that they had or had made at school. This generated the sub-category 'Having Friends'. Within this group, one child explained that his friends included children in classes other than his own. He said "I like school because I have good friends in another class". At a different school, another child explained liking the opportunity to "make new friends".

In another instance, a pupil revealed that his school provided the contact with friends that was not so readily accessible outside of school. He explained that he liked school because: "I don't get to see my friends most of the time".

In another sub-category entitled 'Playing with friends' responses specifically referred to the opportunity that school provided for children to interact socially with their friends. This was seen in the comment by a child who said an aspect he liked about school was that "I have friends to play with" (pupil 180). A comment from another child (169) indicated that the play activity took place outside the classroom by explaining, "I like playing with my friends at play time".

It was revealing that apart from providing an opportunity of someone to play with, friends were also mentioned as a source of support and assistance, which led to another sub-category entitled 'Support given'. This was the situation for a girl who said she liked school due to: "my friends, because they help me". In this case, help may have been provided with

school work; however, as cited in another example, support was given to a bilingual pupil who had experienced bullying. Consequently, she explained that she liked school because, her friends supported and stood by her in difficult situations. She said: "when I get bullied, they stick up for me" (pupil 170).

The relationship between the bilingual children and their friends was reported as enjoyable, positive and fun, which led to a sub-category called 'Pleasurable Experience'. For example, one pupil explained: "my friend always makes me laugh" (pupil 175). Another pupil said, that he liked school due to his friends because: "I like them".

School Subjects

The pupils' liking of specific school subjects led to the generation of another category labelled 'School Subjects'. The topics that pupils said they liked included Mathematics, Literacy, Numeracy, ICT, Design, Technology, R.E, Art and Mapwork. It is noteworthy that a pupil referred to liking literacy, in particular the use of worksheets, because this helped her with writing. She explained what she liked "literacy because I like writing, I like working on worksheets 'cos I find it a bit difficult'" (pupil 177). This links to the comment made by another pupil who did not appear to find writing enjoyable. In this case, the pupil described liking Art, "because you get to draw and colour and not write" (pupil 191). Another pupil also made reference to liking subjects which may be perceived as involving limited writing opportunities: "I like DT, and Art and PE because they are my favourite subjects for school work" (pupil 185). Sports activities such as P.E, hockey and football were also mentioned positively.

The opportunity to study new school subjects that had not been available for pupils in their previous education system was also noted. Although there may have been a lack of familiarity with the subject content having new subjects was viewed as a positive opportunity. For instance, a pupil who had come from Malaysia said that she liked having : "many different subjects such as science, history and more".

Some school subjects and aspects of work were perceived to be enjoyable. This included sport activities : "I like football, it's fun (pupil 175) and "hockey, because it's fun" (pupil 174). Another pupil referred to liking a specific type of work. He explained that he liked "some of the tasks because some of them are quite fun, e.g. Mapwork" (pupil 178).

Teachers

Another category labelled 'Teachers' contained fourteen responses regarding teaching staff in schools. Themes emerged from responses which were subdivided into three categories.

The first sub-category called, 'Teacher Behaviour', had responses associated with the positive way that teachers acted and behaved towards pupils. The second sub-category called, 'Teacher Support', contained responses which linked to the ways that teachers were perceived to assist and support pupils. The last sub-category included references to staff described as 'Good Teachers'.

In the sub-category, 'Teacher Behaviour', several children provided the response, "I like my teacher", as their reason for liking school. Other responses mentioned that pupils liked teachers "because they are nice". This was further explained by one pupil (171) who said she liked: "having a nice teacher because you've got somebody to talk to". It is noteworthy that in the same school another child (pupil 170) provided the explanation that teachers, "listen to your problems".

The sub-category, 'Teacher support' provided examples of responses in which children said they liked school because their teacher provided help in some way. A number of responses specifically referred to liking assistance from teachers with school work. This is evident in the following comment: "when I find something difficult, the teachers help me with work" (pupil 189). The sub-category, 'Good teachers', had three responses, in each case children liked school because they perceived their teacher was good as reflected in the following comments, "I have good teachers" (pupil 176) and I like, "my teacher because he's a good teacher" (pupil 180).

Facilities

Some pupils liked specific aspects about their school or the amenities which were available within the school. This led to a category called, 'Facilities'. Responses related to this tended to fall into a number of sub-categories including 'The playground', 'Availability of books' and 'School food'.

In the sub-category, 'The playground', children spoke about liking their playground when it seemed large and provided plenty of opportunities for them to play with their friends. For example, a pupil said she liked her school playground because, "the playground is very big" (pupil 189) and "in the playground there is a lot of space" (pupil 188) or, "because in the playground, there are activities to do e.g.: "we can play swirls" (pupil 187). It is of note that the three pupils came from different schools.

Some responses mentioned the availability of books as the reason given for pupils liking their school. In the sub-category 'availability of books', a pupil said she liked, "the library books, because they are nice and not boring". Another pupil also reflected this view by

explaining that she liked the library because, " I can find lots of good books" (pupil 183). In another instance, a pupil said, he liked "book fairs because you can buy good books" (pupil 174).

Some pupils referred to liking the food that was available at their school, for example one pupil who was content with the food said that she liked: "school dinners because it's delicious". This opinion was shared with another pupil at the same school who said, "food for school dinners is good and very nutritious" (pupil 190).

School enjoyment

Some pupils liking of specific activities and ways of working at school, led to the generation of a category called 'School enjoyment'. A number of responses reflected the pupils' enjoyment about the work and what they did at school. This included comments such as, "I like working at school because it's fun" and "we get some fun activities". Other comments in this category indicated that children liked their school because of being able to, "do stuff I like" and the fact as one child said: "I am not bored". Another pupil mentioned that she liked school, "when my teacher tells stories". In this case, the pupil had not encountered this particular teaching approach in her previous school. It was a new experience for her which she enjoyed and liked. One pupil specifically liked doing project work. The reason she gave for liking this type of activity was because, "my teacher helps me".

Learning

Some comments referred to pupils liking school which was linked specifically to their own learning. This led to the generation of a category called 'Learning'. For some pupils this was associated with liking specific subjects or aspects of work related to a subject. For instance, one pupil said she liked, "ICT, because I like learning about computers" (pupil 177). Another pupil said she liked, "history, because I like learning about famous people". For other pupils, it seemed there was an intrinsic desire to take the learning opportunities that school provided. For example, one pupil said that when he was at school, he liked, "having many things to learn because I like to learn" (pupil 180).

A comment of note was made by a ten year old pupil who referred to the value of education at school by saying: "I get to learn things because it makes life easy" (pupil 184). This might connect to what she perceives as gaining access to academic qualifications, then work and a career or as Cline et al. (2002) explains, "preparation for later life". In the two previous examples the comments made by the children would seem to link to the attitudes and value system held by their parents and broader family.

Play

The category 'Play' contained responses by pupils who made comments suggesting that they enjoyed playing at school, such as, "I like to play" (pupil 188), and I like "getting extra play" (pupil 172). However, another pupil provided an insightful reason for liking playtime by explaining "it's easier than lessons" (pupil 181).

<u>Question 2: At school I feel happy when ...</u>

This question aimed to identify aspects at school which made bilingual children feel happy. The six categories which were generated can be seen in figure 12.

Playing with friends

The majority of responses related to play opportunities with friends and fell into the category entitled 'Playing with friends'. This included situations in which bilingual pupils felt able to join other children who were already playing. For example, a pupil said she liked school because, "people let me play with them" (pupil 169). It also included situations in which other pupils asked to "join in" and play with the bilingual pupil. As an example a pupil said he felt happy at school when, someone says, "can I play with you ?" (pupil 179).

Some pupils referred to playing at specific times and locations outside of the classroom whilst at school. This is seen in comments such as, I feel happy when, "my friends play with me at lunchtime" (pupil 178), and "we're playing outside" (pupil 180).
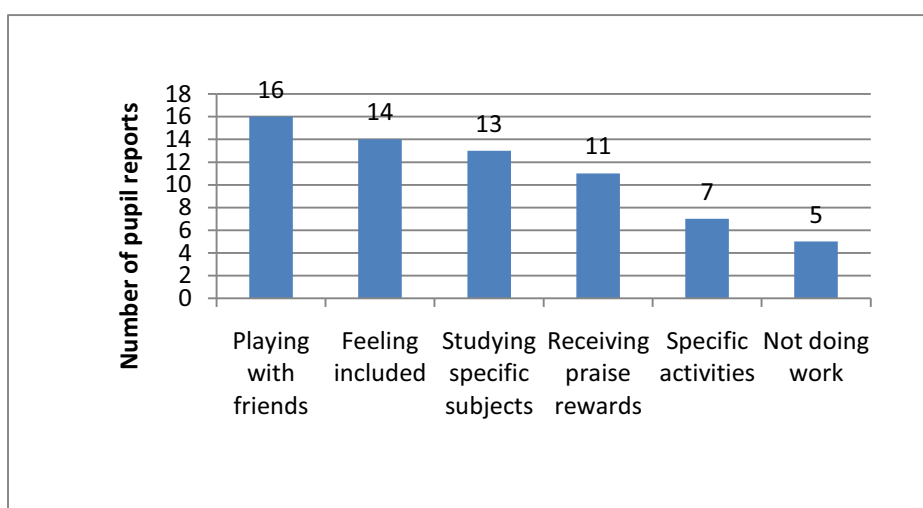
Figure 12: Bilingual children's reports of aspects that made them feel happy at school

In other examples, pupils also described the type of interaction they enjoyed with others such as: "we go out and play and I talk to my friends" (pupil 182) as well as playing games with friends at playtime.

Feeling included

In the category, 'Feeling included', there were three sub-categories which linked to specific aspects of school life which made pupils feel included. These situations were firstly 'With friends' and secondly, 'Work related' situations and thirdly, 'Receiving and giving gifts'.

In the sub-category 'With friends', pupils described feeling happy at school when they shared jokes with their friends. This was explained by a pupil who said he was happy when, "a friend tells me jokes" (pupil 176). Other pupils referred to feeling happy when "people are nice to me" (pupil 172) and when, "people say nice things to me" (pupil 187). Other responses included a pupil (176) feeling happy when, "friends tell me about TV programmes".   The final example possibly describes a situation following a disagreement when, "my friends made up and were friends" (pupil 191).

'Receiving and giving gifts' within the school setting was another sub-category of feeling included. The sharing of sweets and other things helped to make some pupils feel included. This was the case for a girl who said she was happy when, "I get sweets" (pupil 173). Similarly, another pupil felt happy when, "people bring in sweets for the class to share" (pupil 187). With regard to Christmas traditions, giving out and receiving Christmas cards was also considered enjoyable. A pupil described feeling happy when, "people give me lots of Christmas cards because they care about me" (pupil 188). In another example, a pupil enjoyed and was happy about giving out cards to others which he had made himself. He explained, "today I gave Christmas cards to my friends, I made them" (pupil 189). The same pupil also referred to enjoying Christmas dinner at school and feeling happy when, "the staff gave me Christmas crackers".

The sub-category, 'Work related situations' highlighted the enjoyment from working with friends in the classroom setting. The benefit of group work was referred to by a pupil who said she was happy when, "I work in groups with friends I know" (pupil 177). In this example the pupil possibly enjoyed the opportunity group work offered for collaboration on work tasks and therefore support with work from other pupils in the class. Linked to this situation, another pupil said she was happy when "I get to work with a group I like" (pupil 169).

Studying specific subjects

Some children said they were happy at school when working on specific subjects and curricular areas. This formed the basis of the category labelled, 'Studying specific subjects'. The subjects mentioned included PE and Games, Art and Maths and, as explained by a student, also included "when I get to go on the computer" (pupil 172). It is noteworthy that the subjects recorded here are perhaps more practical than some and involve less need for the use of English Literacy skills than subjects such as literacy or history. In some cases, the school subjects selected were considered by pupils to be ones in which they achieved good results. This is reflected in the following comments: Firstly a pupil (182) explained she was happy, "when I do Maths cos I'm really good at it", whilst another pupil said: "Art, because it's my best subject" (pupil 184). The enjoyment and fun element of work was also noted. This is seen in the comment of a student saying, "we do drawing or pictures because it's fun".

Receiving praise, rewards

Within the category 'Receiving praise, rewards', responses reflected pupil happiness when producing work of a good standard and receiving praise or a reward for what had been achieved. A level of self awareness was evident in the responses of one pupil who reported feeling happy, "when my work is good". In another instance, getting positive teacher feedback was also valued as shown by a student who recorded feeling happy, "when a teacher says, I'm good at something" (pupil 182). Feeling happy about receiving good marks from the teacher was recorded in several responses such as, "when I have a good mark on my work" (pupil 171) and when, "I get good marks in the Maths test" (pupil 189). Linked to this were pupil comments associated with achieving what students perceived to be good academic work and a subsequent reward. A student said, "I feel happy when I do really good work and get a house point" (pupil 185). This reflected the views of other children who were happy when, "I work hard and get something e.g. A merit" (pupil 187) or "rewards" (pupil 173). One pupil enjoyed gaining a reward from another source. In this case, he referred to being happy when "I win something like a competition e.g.; Who's been at school the most? In this case the reward acted as a positive incentive.

Specific activities

There were a total of seven responses describing specific activities that made pupils happy at school. The comments fell into two groups which led to the subcategories of 'Activities inside the classroom'" and 'Activities outside the classroom'. In the first subcategory, activities that made children happy at school, in the classroom setting, were related to ways of working set up or arranged by teachers. It included a response from a child who enjoyed

opportunities to work in a noise-free environment when: "there is quiet reading time because I can read English books without any interruptions such as children talking" (pupil 190). Other comments included, "the teachers are teaching me" and "I am learning new things".

In the second sub-category, the activities took place out of the class and in the first example this was out of school. In this case, a Korean pupil described how he was enjoying his journey to school. The child explained that he was happy because, "my parents take me to school and meet me because usually parents don't take children to school in Korea" (pupil 190). Other situations outside the class that made pupils happy included when, "I am in assembly" (pupil 183) and when, "you have a disco" (pupil 188).

Not doing work

The last category called 'Not doing work' contained responses referring in some way to pupils having finished their work, such as "I have done all my work", (pupil 181) or times during the school day when pupils were not working. Examples which illustrate the last point include, "when I go to break" (pupil 177), "playtime starts" (pupil 181) and "when school ends" (pupil 181). It is noteworthy that three comments in this category were made by one pupil.

Question 3: *At school when I feel happy my work...*

Question three concerned the impact on bilingual children's work when feeling happy at school. Analysis of forty three responses generated four categories which can be seen in figure 13. The majority of these responses fell into two categories, 'Work improved' and 'Produced good work'.
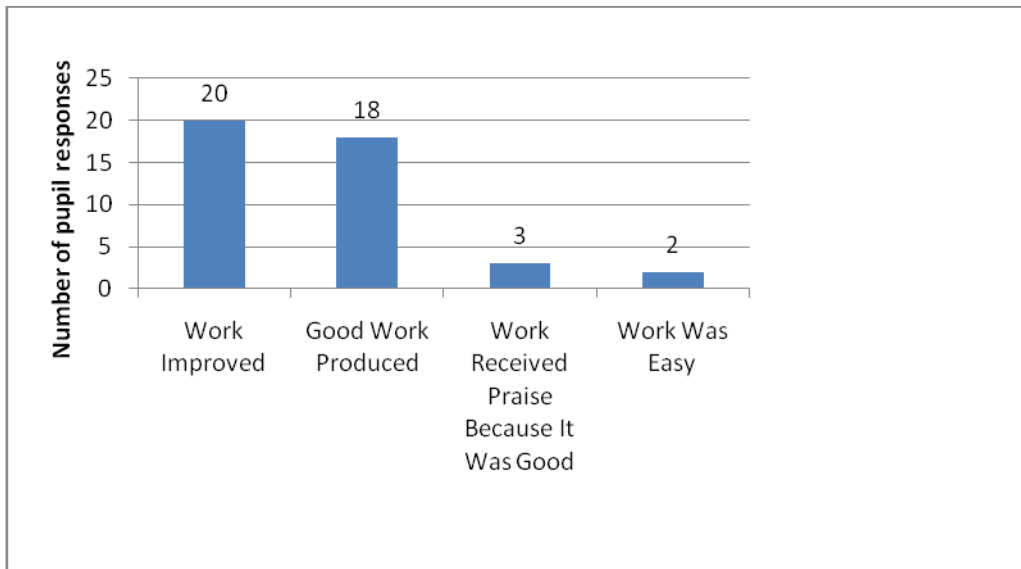
Figure 13: Bilingual children's reports of the impact on their work when felling happy at school

Work improved

Many responses referred to children's perception that their work improved when they felt happy at school. The responses in this category included comments such as when I feel happy, "my work improves" and "it's better because when I'm happy I work better". Similarly, another pupil (172) described her work as, "done better than before". Some pupils reported an improvement in the quality and quantity of their work, for example: "my work is neater with more writing" (pupil 179). Within this category, feeling happy was also recorded as contributing to boosting children's confidence and concentration with the task in hand. In one case, a pupil said, "I feel more confident" (pupil 182). Whilst another girl said, "it makes me concentrate and try to think and go over my answers" (pupil 185). The final comment "my English gets better" (pupil 183) reflects a perception that there is an improvement in the child's English language ability when happy.

Good work produced

Within the category, 'Good work produced', comments referred to both the positive quality of content and the physical appearance of children's work. One pupil (180) described his work as, "looking good", whilst another (pupil 169) referred to her work as, "good", as well as "tidy and the right level". The perception made by the pupil was that her work had reached a satisfactory standard. In one case a girl (pupil 187) considered her work was, "presented very neatly".

The implication for some children of being happy meant gaining a sense of achievement because their work was, "successful" (pupil 183), "interesting" (pupil 173) and as another pupil confidently said, "fantastic".

Work received praise

In the category 'Work received praise', responses showed that in general, when they felt happy at school, the pupils produced work of a high standard and subsequently received positive feedback and praise. One pupil explained that her work received, "a good report" (pupil 173) from her teacher, whilst another pupil said that, "someone says "perfect" Zaib" (pupil 179).

Work was easy

For two children, the impact of feeling happy made their work seem "easy" (pupil 181) which led to the final category 'Work is easy'. In the final pupil comment, when happy, as well as finding work easy, the pupil appears relaxed and to be enjoying school work. One pupil said, my work, "is easy, like you feel more comfortable, it's fun".

Question 4: I do my very best work at school when...

This question aimed to investigate factors which allowed bilingual children to do their best work at school. The six categories that were generated can be seen in figure 14.

The most frequently recorded responses fell between three categories, 'Physical and emotional factors', 'Specific school work' and, 'Teachers'.

Physical and emotional factors

The category entitled, 'Physical and emotional factors', reflected the positive impact on work associated with pupils' physical state as well as their feelings and mood. This category was divided into two sub-categories, firstly 'Physical factors' and secondly 'Emotional factors'.
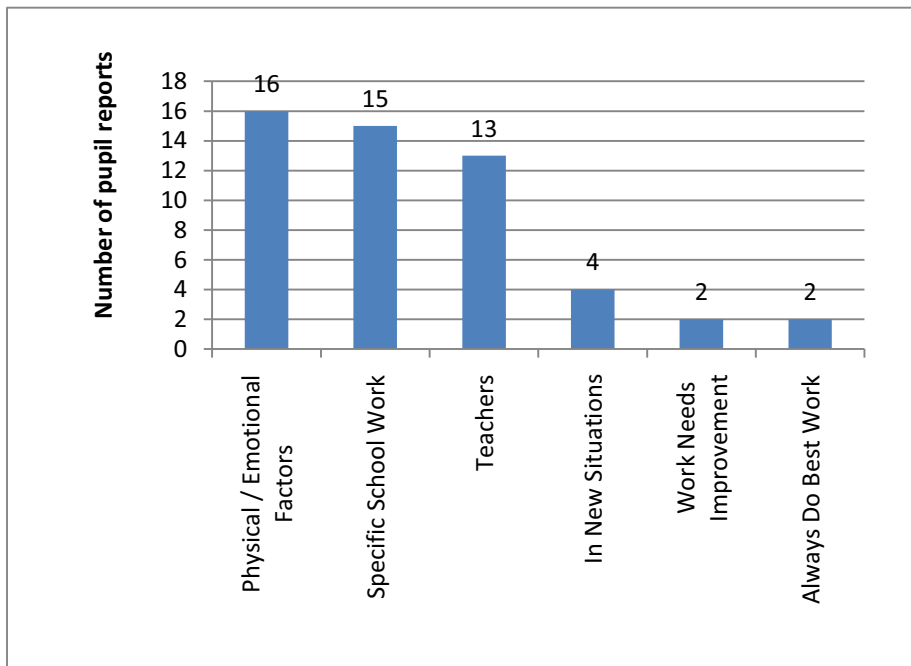
Figure 14: Bilingual children's reports of aspects that allowed them to do their best work at school

Within the subcategory 'Physical factors', pupils described being refreshed and ready to produce their best work when, "I'm not tired" (pupil 182). For other pupils, the ability to produce their best work occurred at the start of the day and after break. For example, a pupil (186) explained that she did her best work at school when, "it's morning because I've woken up and in the afternoon I'm tired". In another example, a pupil (187) did her best work when, "I have had a good play time and lunch time". The need for an even longer break was suggested by a pupil (184) who did her best work when, "I come back from a holiday". Finally, a perceptive pupil (173) noted that she did her very best work when, "I listen" presumably to the teacher.

Within the sub-category 'Emotional factors', noticeably, eight children from different schools responded in a similar manner by saying that they did their very best work when they felt happy at school. This is exemplified by pupil (185) who said, "I do my very best work at school when, I feel really happy". Within the same category, other responses included pupils saying that they did their very best work when "I'm in a good mood" (pupil 175) as well as when, "I'm confident" (pupil 182).

Specific school work

In the category, 'Specific school work', pupils associated doing their very best work with undertaking specific school subjects or work activities at school. There were two

subcategories within this category. Responses linked to working with subjects such as Science, English, Literacy and Maths were entitled 'Academic Work'. Whereas other responses associated with more practical aspects of work were called 'Practical work'. With regard to the first sub-category, several responses mentioned pupils enjoying a subject that they felt proficient at. Accounting for when he did his best work, one pupil said it was when, "I'm studying Science, I'm good at studying Science. I don't know how I'm good at Science. I like it". Several pupils described doing their best work in Maths even though it was challenging. In the opinion of one boy, "Maths is quite hard, but I get through it" (pupil 178). In the opinion of another boy, he also did his best work in Maths and "more challenging tasks because easy things are not interesting" (pupil 189).

One pupil was very specific and explained that he did his best work on a particular day. It seemed that the work he did and the positive reward he gained was an enjoyable experience. He said, "I do my very best work at school when it's Fridays , because we get to do spellings. I like spelling cos when you get it done you get merits".

Responses in the sub-category 'Practical work' included references to subjects and aspects of work that could be perceived as being more practical and involving less use of English literacy. The responses included comments such as I do my very best work at school when, "I'm doing projects", also, when, "I have Art" and when, "drawing and making some things". The final comment suggested activities outside the classroom because a pupil referred to doing his best when "I play sports".

Teachers

The category 'Teachers' included responses highlighting different things that teachers did in their classrooms which enabled bilingual children to do their very best work at school. The responses fell into two sub-categories. This was associated with firstly 'Teacher practice' and secondly, 'Teacher behaviour'. The majority of responses were linked to teacher practice. Related to this, pupils considered that they did their very best work at school and learnt more when they understood what they had to do and when they perceived that their work was easy. Comments in the first sub-category which referred to pupils producing their best work included : "I know what I must do", and "I feel that it's easy". The motivation for one pupil to produce good work appeared to be "you get merits" (pupil 191) from the teacher when work is completed.

Pupils acknowledged that they produced their best school work when provided with help to do so. Comments referred to support from teaching staff such as when "my teacher helps me" (pupil 180) and it also included comments such as, when "I'm working with a friend"

(pupil 180) and when "I hear Mrs D. Say you will work with a partner" (pupil 172). In these last two examples, help with work provided by other classmates in the classroom assisted the bilingual pupils.

Pupil disruption together with the noise level in the class proved challenging to a boy because he said he produced his best work in a classroom environment in which, "the class is quiet with nobody being silly" (pupil 179). Related to this yet in the sub-category of, 'Teacher behaviour', is a response which refers to a pupil (171) who said that she worked best when, "I'm not told off" by the teacher.

In new situations

Four responses were grouped together in a category called, 'New situations'. This category included responses which referred to bilingual children doing their best work when faced with a new situation of some sort whilst at school. The responses included experiences such as, firstly "when I have got something new" (pupil 187) such as a new topic or a change of subject and, secondly, to a very specific situation which was "when I get a new book" (169). It also involved a situation in which a pupil explained that she tried "to welcome new people in the class" (pupil 173). Reflecting a positive attitude towards social inclusion, this response may have referred to the arrival of children to school from overseas countries.

Work Needs Improvement

In this category, there were responses from two pupils who did their best work at school when they perceived that their school work needed to improve. In these examples, the first pupil said he did his best work when, "I've to improve my work". The other pupil explained that she did her best work at school, "when the last piece of work wasn't too good".

Always do best work

Two children responded that they always worked to the best of their ability under any circumstances at school. Their responses were put in a category entitled, "always do best work". Within this category, one pupil (170) stated: "I do my best always. I try my best. When I'm stuck on work, I try my best to answer the questions".

<u>*Question 5: I like it when my teacher...*</u>

Question five aimed to highlight aspects that pupils liked their teacher to do within their routine task of being a teacher and organising and running a class.

Responses were grouped around five categories, 'Teacher behaviour', 'Gives praise, rewards', 'Specific activities', 'Gives help', 'Teaching style'. These categories can be seen in figure 15. I will now discuss each category in turn.
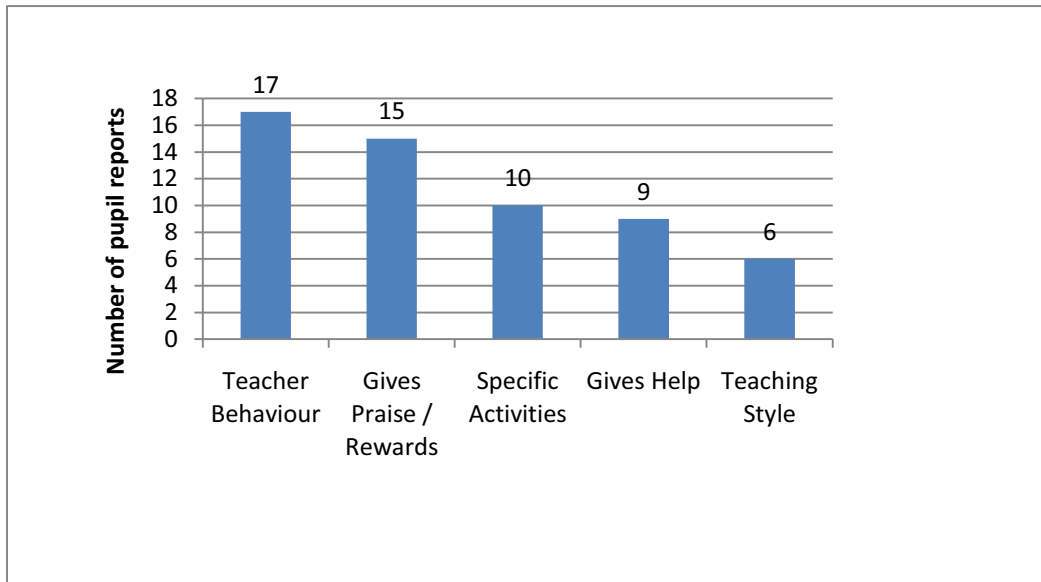
Figure 15: Bilingual children's reports of the actions that they liked their teacher to do at school

Teacher behaviour

This category contained reference to how teachers behaved with their pupils in the classroom situation. Pupils liked it when their teachers were perceived as being nice and kind. As explained by the pupils, this included things that teachers did and said as well as the way they said it. Pupils liked it when their teacher "says something nice to me" (pupil 182), "is really kind" (pupil 179) and "says kind words". This linked to another comment about when a teacher "talks nicely and explains it nicely as well" (pupil 187). Another pupil liked it when her teacher was nice because "she gives us extra break (time)" (pupil 172). However, the implication here is that there was less time for work.

One pupil (169) was very specific in saying, she liked it when her teacher "is kind to me when I've been bullied". This indicates a high level of understanding and empathy by the teacher which is essential in a situation like this.

Other responses referred to children liking it when their teacher "is happy" (pupil 180) and "tells me jokes" (pupil 176). Linked to this, several children also mentioned liking it when their teacher "smiles at me" (pupil 189). An explanation for this was given by a pupil who said, "because when he smiles he forgives students for doing something wrong" (pupil 190).

Related to this, but from a different perspective, another pupil (175) described liking it when his teacher "doesn't tell me off".

It is worth noting that several comments indicated how pupils valued the responsibility that was given to them by their teacher. Illustrating this point a pupil (177) said she liked it when the teacher "sends me round with messages because I feel I am trusted". The confidence of this pupil was readily evident and possibly gained through carrying out tasks such as this within the school. In another case, the high aspirations held by the teacher were reflected in a pupils comment in which she said that she liked it when her teacher "persuades people to work harder" (pupil 171).

Gives praise and rewards

Positive teacher comments and action following work perceived to be well done was liked by bilingual pupils and fell into the category 'Gives praise and rewards'. Within the category there were two sub groups. Firstly, responses that referred to pupils receiving praise from their teacher leading to the sub-category 'Praise'. Secondly those comments referring to getting rewards from teachers which led to the second group 'Rewards'.

It was evident from the responses that pupils liked it when they were praised by their teacher. This was reflected in comments such as I like it, "when the teacher gives praise" (pupil 190). Linked to this was a comment from a pupil (182) who liked it when her teacher "says, when I'm good at something". This was similar to comments from another pupil who said she liked it when her teacher "says good things about me, that my work is the best in the class".

Other comments referred to pupils knowing that their teachers were both pleased and proud of their work. This included responses such as, I like it, "when she is pleased with me" (pupil 169) and I like it when my teacher is "proud of me, I know she's proud of me when she smiles at me" (pupil 193). Lastly, a pupil (173) liked it when her teacher "gives me a good report".

The responses highlighted that teachers had different ways of giving rewards to their pupils. This included giving, "good marks for my work" (pupil 184) or "a house point" (pupil 182). Nonetheless, pupils liked it when their teacher "gives me stickers" (pupil 170) or gives out "merits for my work" (pupil 169). A pupil (173) also liked being given a special title as a reward such as, "when I am person of the week". Several pupils also enjoyed their teachers, "giving out sweets, like marshmallows" (pupil 187).

Specific activities

The category 'Specific activities' included a range of classroom activities that pupils enjoyed their teachers doing or letting them do. A number of comments mentioned pupils enjoying their teacher letting them play fun activities in the class and also when teachers played games with their pupils. This approach was reflected in comments such as, I like it when my teacher "lets us play games in the class" (pupil 178) and when my teacher "plays games with us like Maths games, and does Maths work because I like it". The comments in this category also included comments such as when the teacher "does experiments" (pupil 174), "reads a story" (pupil 180), "does drawing because it's fun" and "lets me go on the computer" (pupil 172). In addition, one pupil liked it when he was able to work perhaps less than normal. He explained that he liked it when his teacher let him "do just a little work" (pupil 174). Related to this attitude, another pupil (191) liked it when his teacher "tells me to do easy things like – copy the board".

Gives help

Working in an additional language can, at times, be challenging for most bilingual pupils. It is therefore not surprising that students in this sample referred to liking help from their teachers. Responses such as this were placed in a category entitled, 'Gives help'. This category included comments such as I like it when the teacher "helps me with a difficult task in the class" (pupil 190). When teacher support was provided, it made a positive difference to pupils. This can be seen by the comment of a pupil who said about receiving teacher support, "it makes me do more work". In another case, a pupil was specific about the help received and liked. He said his teacher "helps me do my studying". Children in my class say, "Miss I need your help", and miss helps them. When I said I can't write this down, Miss said, "let me write it for you" (pupil 194). The support provided by the teacher made the pupil feel really good. In another case, a pupil (170) explained that her teacher "helps me with work, sometimes". However, it was noteworthy that the pupil particularly liked it, "when they listen to my problems".

Teaching style

Responses that referred to how teachers worked in their classroom and their approaches with their pupils were entitled, 'Teaching style'. Several responses highlighted that pupils enjoyed working with their teacher such as, "when they teach you". Other comments mentioned pupils liking how their teachers clarified the work for them. This can be seen in the following comment in which the pupil said, I like it when my teacher "explains it because she makes me understand it" (pupil 186).

171

5.4 Part two: What I think about school - negative perceptions.

In this section I will present the results for the qualitative questionnaire, 'What I think about school' which focuses on children's negative perceptions.

The five questions in this section of the questionnaire focus on pupils negative perceptions about school. The section includes questions exploring children's reasons for disliking school and feeling unhappy there and the impact this has on their work. It also explores the aspects which prevent pupils from achieving their potential and finally what children say they would like their teachers to do at school. This probably includes aspects which are not currently happening.

Question 1: Things I dislike about school and why...

The aim of question one was to explore aspects of schooling that bilingual children disliked. A total of forty responses were gathered which generated eight categories, some of which had sub-categories. Figure 16 shows the categories which were generated. I will now discuss these in turn.
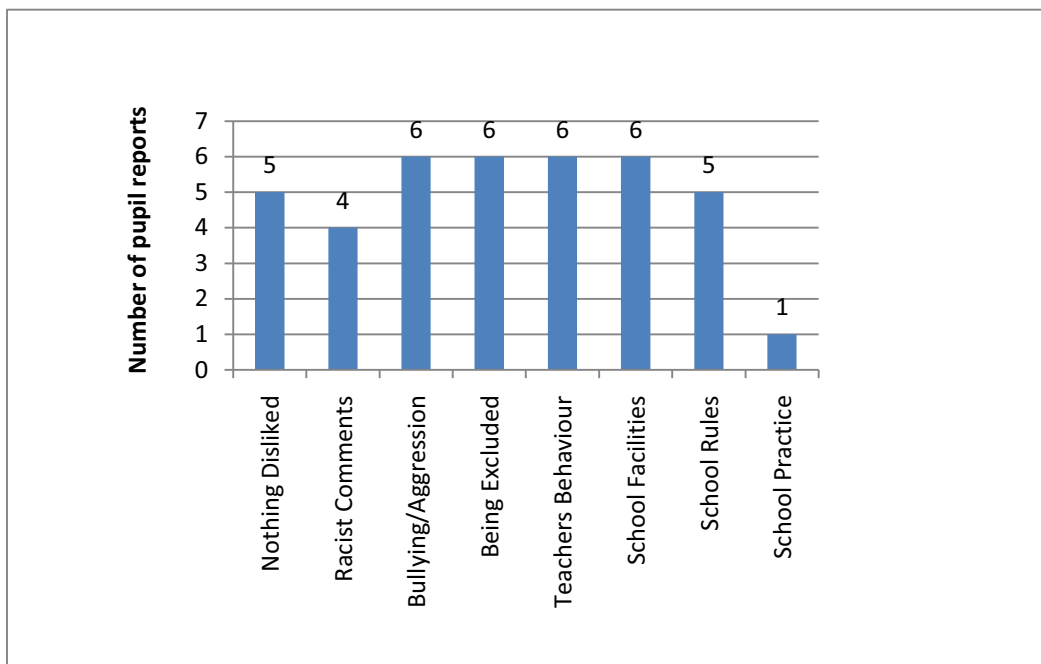
Figure 16: Bilingual children's reports of aspects they disliked about school

Nothing disliked

Responses from children in five schools indicated that they liked everything about school. This positive stance was exemplified by a pupil (186) who said: "there's nothing I dislike about school". Although some bilingual children were clearly very positive about their

experiences at school, this was not the case for all because there were a number of responses which referred to negative peer behaviour as seen in the following category.

Racist comments

'Racist comments' was the title of the category which illustrated inappropriate comments to the bilingual pupils of a racist nature, from their peers. Comments from two children showed that their reasons for disliking the same school was due to racism. In the first case when considering her experiences at school, the pupil said she disliked, "pupils bullying me because I'm a different religion, because I feel hurt" (pupil 171). The other child (pupil 170) from a Chinese background, mentioned disliking school also due to bullies who in this case talked negatively about her appearance. The child explained: "because they sometimes make fun of what I look like". This pupil also reported that it made her feel: "sad and left out because I look different from the others".

A child's name is an important part of his or her cultural identity. It can be upsetting therefore for bilingual children when peers highlight and ridicule name differences by making fun of them. The first example in a different school is provided by an eloquent eight year old Chinese girl (pupil 177) who referred to other children making fun of her name. She said she disliked school: "when people make fun of my name because I feel they are teasing me really badly and I don't like it". A pupil (179) from a different class within the same school also mentioned disliking his school because, "some people take the mic out of my name".

Bullying and aggression

A number of bilingual children referred to disliking bullies and children who were aggressive towards them at school. This led to the category of 'Bullying and aggression'. As an example, one pupil (179) said that he disliked his school, "because there are some bullies". This was similar to another pupil (180) who said he disliked, "someone being a bully to me because it's nasty". In a different school a pupil similarly explained that she disliked it, "when people bully me". In the same school, a different pupil (191) who had experienced aggressive behaviour from his peers said he disliked school because of "DP who kicks and punches me – he picks on me". The comment of another pupil possibly sums up the feeling of most because she explains that she dislikes, "bullies and unwell behaved children because it's not very nice".

Being excluded

Some comments referred to children being mean, unfriendly and acting in an unkind way towards their bilingual classmates. Comments of this nature fell into the category entitled,

'Being excluded'. Examples illustrating this category include comments from a number of pupils. In one case, a pupil (181) said he disliked school, "when people say bad things about me". In a different school, another pupil (188) said that she disliked how her peers, "talk mean about me. It makes me feel bad e.g. A girl says I look pretty and another girl says, that's not true".

Some examples in this category were associated with negative experiences involving friends. This is seen in a response from a pupil (182) who said she disliked school, "when people turn my friends against me, I feel angry". In another case a pupil said she disliked school, "when nobody wants to be with me in break time or lunch time". Perhaps related to this situation is a comment from another pupil who says she disliked, "doing nothing because you've got nothing to do". The final example in this category highlights how a bilingual pupil (182) was treated differently and inappropriately by her peers possibly through a lack of their awareness. What she says she dislikes about school is "when people talk to me slowly and think I don't understand them". It would seem that her peers perceived she lacked ability rather than English language at this stage.

Teacher behaviour

Another category recording aspects that bilingual children disliked about school linked to the way that teachers behaved and was entitled, 'Teacher behaviour'. This included situations in which children perceived that their teachers were perhaps angry at what was happening in the class, shouted or told children off. Sometimes this behaviour was directed at the bilingual children, sometimes their peers. The following examples highlighting this behaviour includes a pupil who described disliking school, "when the teacher is cross because I don't like to hear the shouting". Similarly another child (191) in the same class disliked "teachers shouting at me". In a different school another child also said that she disliked, "being shouted at and told off".

In one instance the comment, "when we have to read and not go out to play" (pupil 172) was provided as an example of an aspect of school that a pupil disliked. Perhaps this situation describes a form of punishment that has been enforced on pupils by a teacher. The final example in this category relates to the teacher's behaviour being considered unfair by a pupil. The pupil concerned explains that a particular aspect she disliked about school was, "when my teacher asked me to go out of the classroom, thinking that I was sleeping, when I was not. He was thinking I wasn't concentrating. The whole class were aware, it was humiliating".

Facilities

For some children there were particular aspects regarding the facilities at their school which they disliked. This led to another category entitled, 'Facilities'. Within this category there were two sub-categories called firstly, 'School dinners' and secondly, 'The play area'. In the first sub-category, comments referred to children in general disliking 'School dinners' probably because food at school was not the same type of food that children were accustomed to at home. A pupil (183) who disliked school dinners provided a solution to the problem: "The food is different. At first I had school dinner, but I didn't like it, now I bring packed lunch".

Within the sub-category, 'The play area', there were comments relating to a school football pitch and the nearby vicinity. One child (187) in particular disliked several aspects related to this. She explained that she disliked "the size of our football pitch and year three, four square ball is very near to the pitch". She was also concerned that, "our fence is getting broken by the year six, four square ball". Another pupil (190) also made reference to disliking the fence and explained the problem: "the fence is partly broken so the ball goes outside and is difficult to get back".

School rules

Within every school setting there are guidelines and rules that pupils are expected to follow. However, as seen in the responses in the category called, 'School rules', some pupils disliked having to follow rules and regulations related to school. Noticeably some comments mentioned having to do homework. One pupil (172) said she disliked it, "when they give us homework every day". Another pupil (169), agreeing with this, gave her reason for disliking homework by explaining, "we work in school and when we go home it's supposed to be a resting time but we have to do homework".

Other comments mentioned preferential treatment towards certain groups of children, for example, the younger pupils having opportunities to play on the grass. From the comments of a number of pupils this seemed to be seen as unfair. One pupil revealed her dislike, "that the little children have more time in the field because we have less time in the field". Another pupil at the same school, similarly disliked this arrangement and explained the reason why: "Reception to Year Two can play on the grass, but from Year Three, pupils can't play on the grass. It hurts if you fall over on the playground".

School practice

There was only one response in the category called 'School practice'. The comment is of note in that it seems to reflect the monolingual environment of a school and the lack of opportunity that a bilingual pupil has to use his first language. It is easy to imagine the frustration that an isolated bilingual learner may feel in this situation and therefore the reason he gives for disliking school as; "having to speak English" (pupil 181).

Question 2: *At school I feel unhappy when...*

This question aimed to identify aspects which made bilingual pupils feel unhappy at school. Eight categories were generated which can be seen in figure 17.
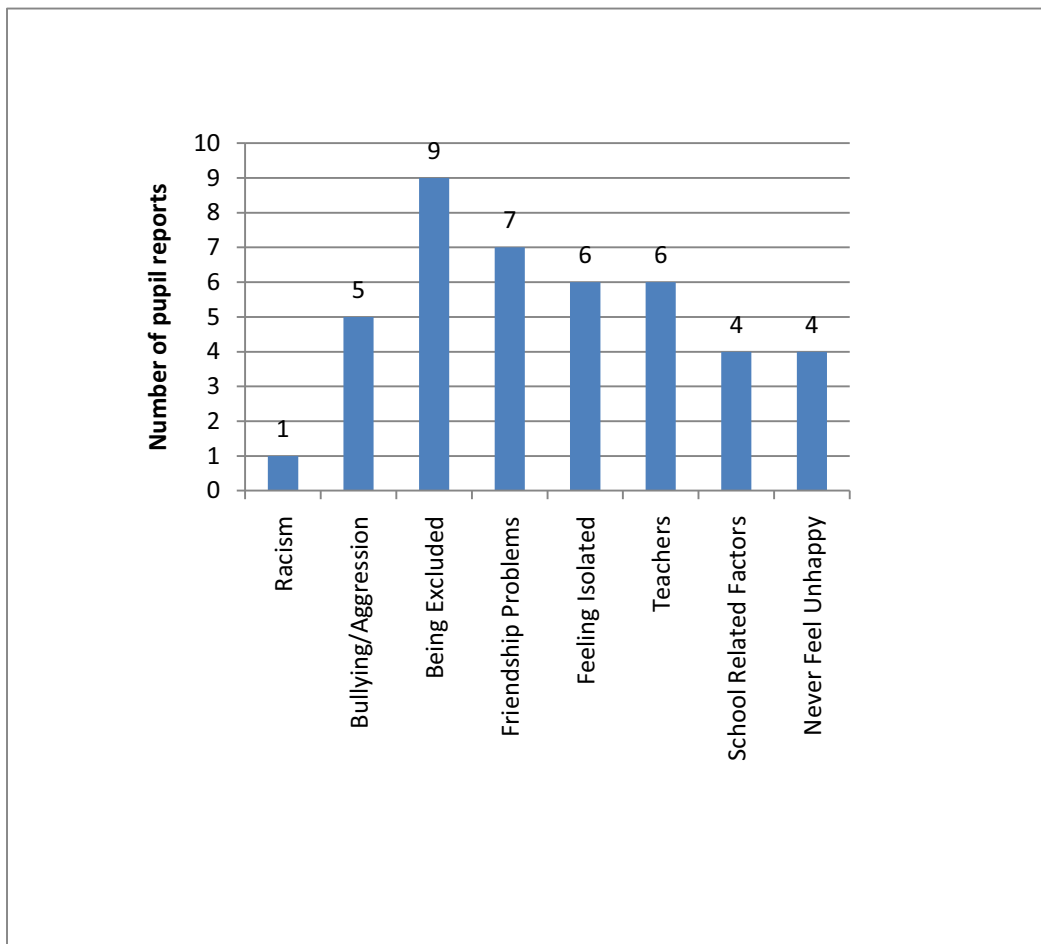
Figure 17: Bilingual children's reports of aspects that made them feel unhappy at school

Racism

In response to question two which focused on aspects which made bilingual pupils unhappy at school, there was one comment which referred to racist behaviour against a bilingual pupil. The comment was placed in a category called 'Racism'. The pupil concerned said that at school, she felt unhappy when, "my friends make fun of my accent" (pupil 183).

Bullying and aggression

The knowledge that there were either some children at school who were bullies or others who were aggressive towards them, made bilingual pupils feel unhappy. Comments that related to this were placed in a category called 'Bullying and aggression'. The comments fell naturally under either the sub-category 'Bullying' or 'Aggression'. In the first sub-category – Bullying - children described feeling unhappy when, "bullies bully me" (pupil 170) and when, "someone bullies me, because I don't like them" (pupil 184). In another instance a pupil described a situation in which peers were influencing the negative behaviour of her friends and inciting them to bully others she said, "people make my friends bad – like they teach them to bully people". Within the sub-category, 'Aggression', there were examples of aggressive physical behaviour and threats against pupils. This included a comment from a pupil who said she felt unhappy: "when people fight me, like arguing and saying, "shall I beat you up" (pupil 171). A different pupil said she felt unhappy, "when my work gets destroyed by bad people, because they want their writing to be like mine".

Being excluded

Comments within this category linked to pupils being mean and unkind or making unpleasant verbal comments either directly to or about bilingual pupils. This included inappropriate accusations. The majority of the responses were linked to verbal comments. When providing examples of what made them feel unhappy at school, the bilingual pupils' comments included: "people say horrible stuff to me", (pupil 182); "when people say nasty things about me, like they say that I have done something" (pupil 172). A pupil provided an example of what happened to make him feel unhappy at school by explaining: "I accidently ran into somebody, they said I did it on purpose" (pupil 178).

In one instance a pupil (169) said she felt unhappy, "when everyone's against me" whilst another pupil (182) felt unhappy, "when people tease me".

Friendship problems: no one to play with

The responses in the category 'Friendship problems' illustrated the negative impact on the bilingual children when there were difficulties associated with relationships with friends at school. Reference was made in one example to the likely traumatic situation when a relationship with a friend dissolved. Illustrating this point a pupil (191) recorded his unhappiness at school when, "my friends break up with me" and in another example, "when my friend goes with another friend" (pupil 171). Other examples highlighted a link between friends and play, especially the negative impact on bilingual children not having anyone to play with. It is understandable that a child was unhappy when "my friend doesn't play with me. It makes me feel bad because I don't have anyone to play with" (pupil 188). Similarly it was challenging when a pupil was no longer able to play for some reason. With reference to the last point, a pupil spoke about feeling unhappy when, "somebody leaves (from school) that's my best friend". This seemed to lead to a strong sense of loss for her.

Feeling isolated

Without friends to play with, bilingual children described: "being left out" and said, "I am lonely" and "feel sad and unhappy", which expressed negative feelings. Also there was a perception of having "nothing to do at break times" and with that came a sense of isolation. Comments referring to these aspects were entitled, 'Feeling isolated'.

One child sadly described her situation at school, "I feel unhappy when I am alone. I'm alone all the time. I feel unhappy when no one wants to let me be their partner".

Teachers

A number of responses highlighted that children felt unhappy at school as a result of aspects which were related to their teachers. This led to a category entitled, 'Teachers' which had two sub-categories. The first sub-category featured aspects associated with how the teacher behaved in class and was called 'Teacher behaviour'. The second sub-category had just one response which referred to the teacher's classroom practice. In the first sub-category pupils from four schools described feeling unhappy when they were reprimanded by their teacher. In a number of cases, pupils said they felt unhappy when "the teacher tells me off". Other comments referred to pupils dislike of, "being shouted at" (pupil 173). In one case, a pupil perceived that there was an element of unfairness on the part of the teacher. The pupil said she felt unhappy when, "I get shouted at and I didn't do anything, e.g. other people did it not me". The final example is from the sub-category, 'Teacher practice'. It explains how a child felt unhappy when he had to do physical education even though this

was his favourite lesson at school. The boy (189) explained. "I don't want to do P.E. because I can't understand what the teacher says about the rules. I like P.E. best, but find it difficult to understand what to do – the instructions". In this case, unfortunately, lack of ability to understand the teacher's instructions was a barrier to the pupil being able to participate in the activity.

School related factors

The responses in the category 'School related factors' again fell into two sub-categories. Firstly, responses which were linked to pupils feeling unhappy about school in a general sense were entitled, 'Attending school'. An example from this sub-category is reflected in a comment made by a pupil (181) who said he felt unhappy about school when, "it starts".

The other sub-category, 'Academic work', although related to school aspects is different because it relates to pupils feeling unhappy about specific aspects related to academic work at school. These responses included, feeling unhappy when, "I don't do a very good piece of work" (pupil 169) and when "I read a book that's not so good" (pupil 180).

Never feel unhappy

It is important to note that some responses for question two were positive because pupils said that they liked school and there was nothing that made them unhappy. These responses were placed in the category, 'Never feel unhappy'. Illustrating this point a pupil described enjoying the curricular content together with classroom activities. She said : "I never feel unhappy because, like we do fun stuff and I like what we do".

Question 3: At school when I feel unhappy...

This question aimed to highlight the impact on bilingual children's work when they felt unhappy at school. The twenty six responses generated five categories which can be seen in figure 18. The responses identified that when they were unhappy at school, pupils' work deteriorated in some way as reflected in the following categories.

Work is not good

The category, 'Work is not good", contained the highest number of responses. Within this category, the responses highlighted that pupils perceived that they produced work of a lower standard than usual. One pupil (173) explained that when she felt unhappy her work, "is not good". Other comments included, "my work is very horrible" (pupil 187) and "my work is NOT successful" (pupil 183).
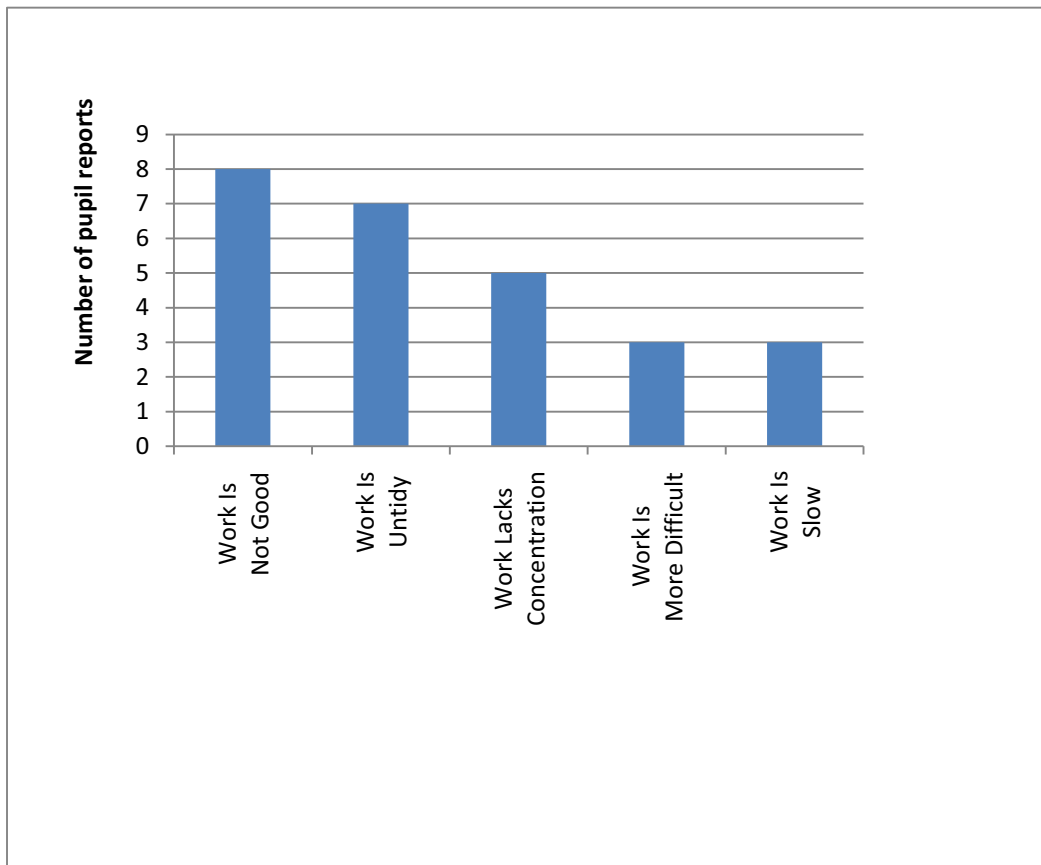
Figure 18: Bilingual children's reports of the impact on their work when feeling unhappy at school

Work is untidy

The responses from some children indicated that when they were unhappy, their work was not neat and "looks bad" (pupil 180). This led to a category called 'Work is untidy'. Frequently used descriptions suggested that pupil work, "is not good, scruffy" and with "messy hand writing".

Work lacks concentration

Some children recorded that when feeling unhappy at school it was difficult to focus on their work. This led to a category entitled, 'Work lacks concentration'. This situation was explained by one pupil who said, "my concentration drops". In one case a pupil said, "I can't concentrate on my work" (pupil 171) while in another case a pupil said that her work, "has not got my best attention". Another pupil (172) noted "I am not listening" whilst at school.

Work is more difficult

Several responses specified that pupils found their work more challenging to do when they felt unhappy at school. These responses were entitled, 'Work is more difficult". Within this category, this included the comment," I can't like do my work" (pupil 188). In another case, a pupil (184) felt unable to produce the usual quality and quantity of work. She explained this by saying, "my work isn't very much because it's very hard when I'm sad".

Work is slow

For some children feeling unhappy affected the speed with which they worked, by slowing them down and making them, "a bit slow". This led to the generation of the final category entitled, "work is slow".

Question 4: What stops you doing your very best work at this school ?

The aim of this question was to investigate aspects that prevented bilingual children from doing their very best work at school and reaching their full potential. The results generated six categories for this question which can be seen in figure 19.
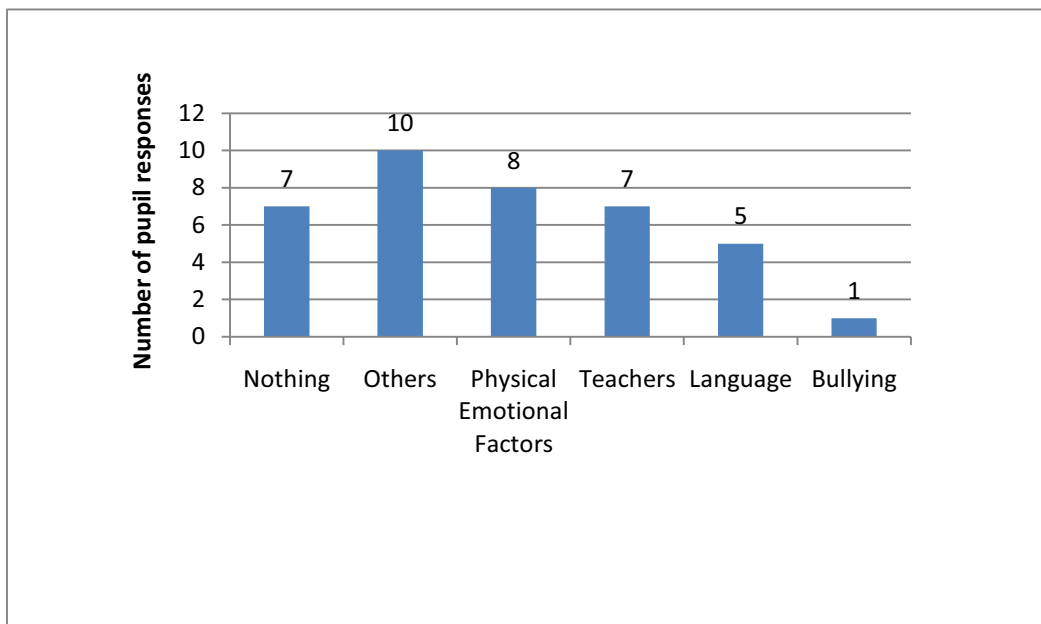
Figure 19: Bilingual children's reports of aspects that stopped them from doing their best work at school

Nothing

It is noteworthy that some pupils responded that they always worked to the best of their ability at school with, "nothing" (pupils 174, 177, 180, 186) getting in their way. It was also

evident from a confident pupil who said nothing stopped her from doing her best work at school because, "my work is nice and wonderful".

Others

Another category which contained the largest number of responses was labelled, 'Other children'. Responses in this category referred to the negative impact that interactions with other children, sometimes friends, sometimes had on bilingual pupils' work whilst at school.

One pupil set the scene by explaining that it was difficult to work, "when someone keeps interrupting me". Several pupils explained the distractions caused in class such as: "copying your work" or because, "my friends – they make me laugh". In line with this comment another pupil added that, "people laughing and talking" (pupil 187) affected her work negatively. The distraction caused by classmates chatting or talking was noted by a number of children such as one pupil (184) who said it was difficult, "when people keep talking to me because I can't work".

Another pupil explained that her difficulty arose due to, "people making me stop doing my work well when I'm writing. They call my name and stop me working". She further explained how the teacher dealt with this situation by saying, "and they got told off for stopping me working". A very different response was seen by another pupil (178) who explained that it was difficult for him to do good work, "when my friends have been hurt".

Physical / emotional factors

The pupils' descriptions of physical and emotional feelings that stopped them from doing their best work at school led to the generation of another category labelled, 'Physical / emotional factors'. There were two sub-categories: firstly, 'Physical factors' and secondly 'Emotional factors'. In the sub-category 'Physical factors', feeling sleepy was seen to negatively affect pupils' work. In the next example the pupil (190) explained the challenge, "when I try my best, the thing that stops me is feeling sleepy and tired because there are so many things to do in the classroom. I need more sleep – I am tired". The negative impact on work following physical activity was also mentioned together with readiness to start work after playtime. It was suggested by a pupil (169) that her work suffered, "when I'm hot and sweating from running and I come back from a good play and I'm not prepared to do any work".

As a result of emotional factors, responses highlighted that pupils were not listening or concentrating on work at the appropriate time within the classroom setting. As an example, a student (182) explained she was distracted : "when I'm excited about something, I'm not

concentrating". Other aspects that stopped students doing their best work occurred then they felt upset and "when I feel unwell" (pupil 188).

Teachers

It seemed unlikely that pupils would refer to their teachers as a reason for stopping them from doing good work at school. Nonetheless, this was the case and it led to the generation of a category entitled 'Teachers'. Within this category there were three sub-categories. In several responses it appeared difficult for bilingual children to understand what their teacher was saying to them which led to a barrier. This led to a sub-category entitled, 'Not understand the teacher'. Related to this and within this sub-category is an example whereby a pupil (190) reported forgetting what the teacher said during classwork, especially instructions. This hindered the pupils work: "I try my best but forget instructions and what the teacher says".

It was also evident that the manner in which some teachers interacted with pupils in the classroom impacted negatively on the work of some bilingual learners. This led to the generation of the sub-category, 'Teacher behaviour'. In one case, a pupil (173) described finding work difficult when, "being shouted at" by her teacher. In another example the pupil was also affected negatively by becoming involved when the teacher was cross with a classmate. The pupil (171) explained : "when the teacher tells someone off... I hear it and I start getting into the problem".

The final sub-category was entitled 'Teacher practice'. There was one response which highlights a complex situation. In this instance, although acknowledging that in Frasershire she found, "the subjects... harder and more complicated" the pupil seemed to blame her teacher for preventing her from achieving her best work saying that, "the teacher doesn't teach me". The bilingual pupil continued by making her position clear: "it's very boring here, there is no challenge, there is no competition. The system is different in my country, much more challenging, exams every month, it's a different style of learning system".

Language

Another category in this section was language. Although some pupils did refer to lack of English language (pupil 181, 183, 172) as a reason for stopping them working to their best ability within the class, it was anticipated that even more pupils might have highlighted this aspect as a barrier. Within this category "spellings" (pupil 191) was singled out as an issue.

Bullying

There was just one comment in the category of 'Bullying'. In response to the question, what stops you from doing your very best work at this school ? The pupil (169) responded: "bullying".

Question 5: *I would like my teacher to...*

This question aimed to find out what bilingual pupils would like their teacher to do within the school setting and provided a way of establishing what teachers were not currently doing. The bilingual children provided many suggestions of what they would like their teachers to do. A total of thirty three responses generated four categories which can be seen in figure 20.
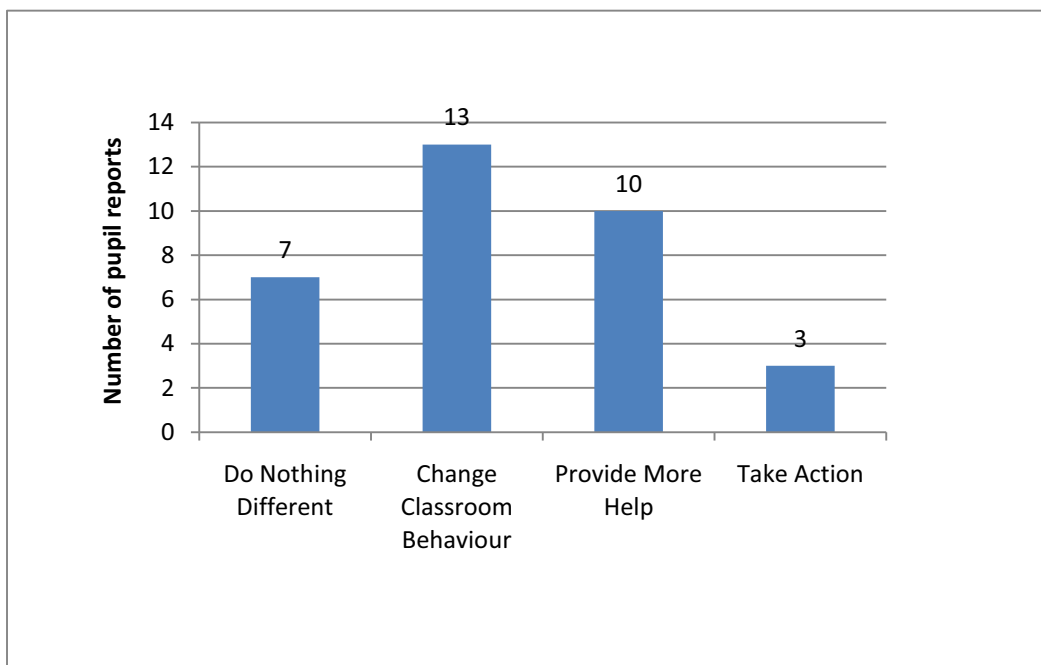
Figure 20: Bilingual children's reports of the actions that they would like their teacher to take at school

Do nothing different

It is noteworthy that a number of children were very happy with everything that their teachers were doing. There was a strong message that no change was needed. As explained by one pupil: "Do nothing different. Teachers here are the same as in Venezuela. But we used to get more homework". This led to the generation of the category 'Do nothing different'. Another pupil (186) simply said, "I can't think of anything" in relation to what more she would like her teacher to do. Further positive comments were made by two pupils at the same

school. In the first example, the pupil (189) said :" my teacher does everything for me, there is nothing more my teacher can do. I like my teacher". The other pupil (190) explained: "My teacher is the best. She always helps me, couldn't want anything more". A further two comments also signalled firstly, that every attempt was being made by the teacher to support the pupil:"My teacher does the best for me. I mean my teacher is trying to help me". In the second response, the pupil also perceived that her teacher was doing all that she wanted her to do in a way that was fair to all her classmates. "No, I think she's fine, cos she gives everyone a chance to take messages around the school. Not just me".

Change classroom behaviour

There were however pupils who had reasons for wanting their teachers to do things in a different way. This included making changes to teachers' behaviour with pupils in the classroom setting, which led to a category called, 'Change classroom behaviour'. This category included responses suggesting that teachers should change existing negative behaviour associated with their mood such as; "stop being angry", "stop shouting", "not to shout too much", and "stop telling us off". One pupil provided a reason for wanting the teacher to, "stop shouting across the classroom, because it gives me a headache". The responses to this question such as, I would like my teacher to; "be less strict" (pupil 187) ; "be very kind to me" (pupil 191) and " be more funny" (pupil 182) implied that this behaviour was currently lacking in some teachers. Hence the reason pupils suggested it. As an addition, another pupil (173) suggested her teacher should; "do more fun activities, give stickers out and more sweets". In another example, a pupil (172) said she would like her teacher to; "know if I was hurt, know if I feel sick, know if I am not safe in school or I don't feel safe at school" which suggests the possible need for a greater level of teacher awareness.

Provide more help

The category "provide more help" concerned the provision of help to pupils, by their teacher. At times, in the classroom, all children may need assistance with their work. For bilingual children this may be more apparent especially when surrounded by English speakers, they may be unable to understand well. This situation helps to explain why a pupil (181) from Finland who was the only speaker of his language in the class wanted his teacher to, "speak Finnish". In other examples, pupils clearly wanted additional support with their work, even if they were already being supported. This is true of a pupil (183) who said she wanted her teacher to, "be more helpful". This was in spite of having, in my opinion, a good class teacher who was able to identify and address the needs of bilingual pupils and additional EAL support from a teaching assistant. As this example shows, it is important not to

underestimate the help and support that bilingual pupils want and need. Bilingual children who have previously been educated in their home country may experience differences in the subject content between the two different education systems. In the following example, the work content is new to the pupil (188) who therefore wants her teacher to, "help me with my work, because I can't understand what my teacher teaches me because I don't do this work at my old school". The frustration and anger felt by children when they encounter a different curriculum content and need help is seen again in another pupil's comment. This pupil wrote that she would like her teacher to, "absolutely help me to do my work... I got three out of ten, I felt so ashamed when I don't know something, I need help e.g.; angles in Maths". She added, "teach me like in Malaysia, like they helped me more".

Take action

Within the school setting there may be situations or experiences for bilingual children, which seem unfair or wrong in their opinion. It may be difficult or impossible for children to resolve the problems themselves; therefore, they rely on their teachers to take appropriate action, on their behalf. A number of responses relating to this issue generated the category, 'Take action'. For example, a pupil (178) would like his teacher to, "sort things out when something goes wrong, if she could sort it out". Other participants were more specific about the difficulty or problem. In one school there was a request for the teacher to improve the facilities: "Cloakrooms and toilets are a mess. I'd like them to be tidy" (pupil 169).

It is noteworthy that in the same class, a different pupil (170) who had experienced bullying said that she would like her teacher to, "do more about bullies and make them say, sorry".

5.5 Summary of the chapter

This chapter has reported on the results of the two questionnaires and was arranged in two parts. In part one, results of the quantitative data generated by the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school', provided a snapshot of how bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers viewed their situation at school from a positive and negative perspective by looking at five aspects. These aspects included: Racism, Name Calling and Social Exclusion, Bullying and Aggression, Practical Support and Social Inclusion. For each index of the questionnaire and individual questions within each index a comparison was made between the bilingual and monolingual pupil groups.

In part two, results of the qualitative data generated by the questionnaire, 'What I think about school' was presented. This questionnaire, completed by bilingual pupils exclusively,

highlighted their positive and negative perceptions about school. Comparison was made regarding the response for each question between children within the bilingual pupil group.

The following chapter presents the results of the interview based case studies.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS OF DATA ANALYSIS: INTERVIEWS

6.0 Introduction

Analysis of data generated from the interviews with five isolated bilingual children and significant others from three schools are presented in this chapter. The bilingual children included Filip, Harald, Meena, Ria and Emily: Filip and Harald attended the same school and at the time of the study were in the same class. Meena and Ria were sisters who attended the same school, but were in different year groups. Lastly, was Emily who attended a different school to the other children. All children were 'new arrivals'.

Themes were generated through the data analysis process and then grouped into three main categories. These categories: background information, transition into school, fitting in at school, have been utilised here as a way to explain each child's narrative account in this chapter. Whilst the three main categories remain the same for the five children, their stories vary because they reflect the unique experiences of each child. However, in some cases two children's experiences may be shared, although seen from different perspectives. This is evident where children are members of the same class or the same family.

The categories and themes generated from the data reflect the review of the literature in Chapter 3, namely that experience is something that changes over time and reflects the constraints and affordances of the school setting. Also, reflected here are the agentive responses or strategies that children develop to manage the interface between home and school which is born out of their ongoing identity construction.

Consequently, in order to set the scene and explain the context for each child, background information about their family circumstances and move to Frasershire is provided. This is followed by a description of their school setting. Then, in each case, through the ongoing socialization process, a story unfolds. The starting point is the pre-transition phase when the children and their families still lived in their home country prior to coming to the UK. This is then followed by an account of each child's transition into school. This includes a picture of what the child was like and an account of significant experiences, in particular aspects that impinged on or affected his or her transition and how the child attempted to ensure successful transition. Finally there is an account of how each child attempted to fit into their school and the strategic approaches that they used to cope with their situation.

Within this account the voice of the bilingual pupils themselves is central to develop each case. I will also draw upon the accounts of others, including each child's parents or parent,

the head teacher or deputy head teacher at school, non-bilingual class teachers, teaching assistants (including one bilingual teaching assistant), and monolingual peers.

It should be noted that when attempting to organise the children's accounts in this chapter, the complexity of trying to present their experiences in a clear orderly manner has been challenging. Their lives and the experiences within them were complex and ongoing and far from linear as these accounts, written for the sake of the reader, try to present.

6.1 Case 1 – Filip

6.1.1 *Background information*

At the age of eleven Filip, who was of mixed heritage, came to Frasershire from Thailand with his mother Kate who was White British and his younger brother Josef. The boys' father, who was Thai, remained living in Thailand. Although born in England, Filip had spent the majority of his life in Thailand and Thai was considered the first language for both boys. In addition, both had been exposed to Arabic and were aware of and knew a few phrases associated with the Koran. Filip had been at St George's school for three months before I interviewed him. Before this time he had been living in Thailand. For the previous two years this had included periods away from his parents, who ran a tourist attraction near the sea, to enable him to attend formal schooling. During this time away from his parents he had lived with his Grandmother and his extended Thai family. Before this, Filip had received some 'home schooling' from his mother who explained, "I had done lots of maths with him. I had done English with him when he was younger. I don't think you have to be hysterical about writing. Let him have his own pictures, and their own fantasy world" (Filip's mother).

With regards to Thai schooling, Filip's mother considered the whole system was really different to that in England. Both Filip and his mother referred to the strong sense of national identity that the pupils experienced. Every morning at school, the national flag was raised and the pupils sang the national anthem. Whilst in class there was an emphasis on learning Thai script, which the students copied from the board. Consequently, Filip could read and write in Thai. During the course of the study Filip's mother gave birth to another son in Frasershire.

The school setting in Frasershire

St George's, a slightly below average sized primary school, was close to a market town in a rural part of Frasershire. The school was set within a spacious site, covered in part by a nature area and a grass field edged by trees and shrubs. Pupils were drawn from the local surrounding area from different types of housing, but mostly the local estate. The head

teacher was supported by five full-time teachers and six part-time staff. There were above the national average of pupils with special needs and those known to be eligible for school meals. There were 199 children on the school roll aged four to eleven with an average of 28 pupils per class. Of the total school population, 15 pupils were recorded as not White British and of these six were learning English as an additional language and therefore were bilingual. Within the particular Year Five class used in the study teaching was shared by two teachers, one male the other female and all pupils were White British except two. This was Filip and a boy called Harald from Denmark who spoke Danish as his first language. Like Filip, Harald was also the focus of an in-depth study. An account of Harald is reported in the following section.

There were seven classes in the school and the class used by Filip was a rather cramped poorly ventilated mobile classroom with associated storage facilities, cloakroom and toilet areas. It was situated across the playground from the main school building. The teacher's desk was at the front and pupils' desks were arranged in rows and at the back of the class where there was a row of computers.

With regard to the small numbers of bilingual pupils in the school, the head teacher considered that they presented a special case. She expanded on this by highlighting their difference to the white majority.

> In a school where you've got just one or two, they're special people because they are so different, and people tend – well in our school – people tend to take them under their wing and kind of, they're the chosen pupils, because they're so different (head teacher).

An Ofsted inspection report released close to the time of the study, highlighted that this was a good, very effective school. The quality of teaching was good with positive effects on learning in which, "the school successfully encourages pupils' positive attitudes, behaviour and very good relationships. Moral and social provision is very good and contributes to pupils' good personal development" (Ofsted, 2002).

With regards to provision for pupils with English as an additional language, support was considered to be effective in helping pupils to be fully included in school life and to make good progress.

6.1.2 Transition into school

On a number of occasions, Filip said that he was shy or described being in situations that had made him feel shy especially in the transition stage. This view was mirrored by both Filip's mother and the Teaching Assistant who supported him. With regards to ethnicity,

although Filip was a bilingual pupil from a mixed heritage family, there was no direct reference to how he perceived himself. His mother considered that his ethnic background had not been a problem to him. In fact in Thailand it had been far from a problem, because it had given him additional status. She explained that, "if you're mixed, you're something of value... it's just what the fashion is at the moment, rather than being anything looked down upon". (Filip's mother) Filip's mother considered that Filip saw himself as Thai. His mother said: "but he does, he does see himself as Thai... because I think the culture you live with when you are young, is your home one" (Filip's mother).

The comments made by his class teacher also suggested that he was happy to be "half Thai, half English". Likewise she did not consider he perceived his ethnic background to be a problem, in particular his own skin colour. She pointed out: "he doesn't seem, to worry about the colour of his skin, which is obviously different. Umm, and the fact that Mum's, white and things, and he's not, doesn't seem to be, an issue" (class teacher).

Within the school context, his teacher explained that identity including skin colour was not the sort of topic that was covered in class. She considered that Filip would be too young to be able to understand the issues. The head teacher confirmed that no action was being taken to help pupils, like Filip, explore this aspect of their lives. In her opinion, the challenge was too great…"actually that's not our place, that's actually something to do with parents... (pause)...and you actually want to open a can of worms?" (head teacher)

Moving from his school in Thailand to St George's was not an easy transition for Filip. There were a number of aspects which impinged, some negatively, on his transition. This included the emotions he felt, the great sense of loss he experienced as he started school, and the expectations of schooling he held which were largely imposed by his mother. These aspects will be described in turn.

Filip talked about his mother on a number of occasions, which was unsolicited. He referred to a particular aspect including a degree of conflict and, in his opinion, unfairness. This issue involved coming to England and what his mother had said about this. Filip explained that his mother had let him believe that they would be coming for just a short visit, a holiday. He explained that there had been no mention about moving to England and remaining here. In addition, having been in England for five months, Filip had expected to return to Thailand for a holiday over the Christmas break. However, this never happened. It was evident that Filip felt his mother had deceived him. He believed:

> My Mum, before my Mum lie to me because my Mum knew like I... come to the school in England. That's why my Mum lies to me. My Mum let me come for one month or

something like that, to here, to England, to holiday and like... my Mum make me come to stay in England for good. (Filip: extract from interview)

It was also evident that Filip was aware and anxious that he was unable to return to his home country. He referred to an empty feeling; perhaps this was a feeling of helplessness because, as a child, there was nothing that he could do about his situation. He explained this by saying: "and I can't go back, I can't go back because I not got a passport because my Mum already got it" (Filip: extract from interview).

When Filip started school the emotions he felt impacted on him negatively and lasted many months. He said he felt, "Sad because I, I didn't. Scared I can't go back to Thailand anymore. I sad for a long time. I think, I think, my Mum not gonna let I go back to Thailand..." (Filip: extract from interview)

A sense of loss

Consequently, starting school was quite a traumatic experience for Filip, because he did not want to be there. This was illustrated by the sense of loss that he experienced. This sense of loss was much more than missing his previous school in Thailand and the friends that he did not want to leave. It was associated with his father's absence and broader issues concerning language and cultural identity which will be explained in turn. Filip's relationship with his father seemed different to the relationship he had with his mother. When Filip first mentioned his father he thought that he was going to be returning to Thailand over the Christmas break. He expressed happiness that his father would be there and described how close his father lived to the sea and the sort of water activities, such as diving, that he, his father and younger brother would undertake. Filip talked with confidence about his own diving ability and in my perception, his love of the sea. "Sometimes when I go to dive I see the dolphin and I see the shark sometime, but the shark like the type of shark where it not bite" (Filip: extract from interview).

Filip experienced a sense of loss for his father's absence and a loss of a different way of life that was for Filip associated with being close to the sea which he loved. The Teaching Assistant that worked with Filip also confirmed that he missed Thailand. "He does miss it, he talks about Thailand quite a lot... it must be a bit of a culture shock" (teaching assistant). During his transition into school Filip also experienced loss of another kind associated with his language and cultural identity. This was unsettling for him and a cause of tension.

From his arrival at school Filip was immersed in English language and being eager to learn, picked up spoken English although it was a frustrating struggle at times. Apart from his brother, Filip had no one to communicate with in Thai. Although his mother was keen that

Filip retained his first language she took no direct, personal action to support him even though she was aware that some language loss was occurring.

> I don't speak Thai with them no. I do speak Thai but I'm not using it. And I will when we've settled. I will try and find someone to have Thai conversation with, to keep that language alive. I know they're struggling sometimes, to find their words in Thai now. (Filip's mother)

Related to this, the class teacher described Filip as being, "obviously very protective of his heritage" (class teacher). She cited an example about Filip's dismay that his mother wanted to exchange her Thai family name to her maiden name and for the baby's name to be the same as hers. This again was a challenging situation for Filip as mentioned by the Teaching Assistant, "...he was very very upset...because he's got his you know Thai name he wanted them all to have you know the Thai surname, and he wasn't happy about it" (teaching assistant). Filip's mother provided the context by explaining that Thai people "have a real strong sense of national identity... all of them are proud to be Thai", which helps to understand Filip's attitude.

Securing a successful transition

Filip could be described as intrinsically motivated and always worked hard and to the best of his ability. He certainly seemed to match his teacher's expectation of being a 'good pupil'. The fact that he was eager to learn was mentioned by others. His mother said, "he is one of those kids that wants to learn". From a positive perspective, when asked, "what do you think is important about school?" He responded that, school is for learning. In relation to the classroom he referred to the importance for himself of learning more English as well as having friends: "I think, umm, I think it learning important in England [English]" (Filip: extract from interview).

Filip's gradual ability to better understand his teachers made a positive difference to him. He said, "Before I not really understand what they say (teachers). Umm, umm like before I not really understand and like it hard. I do something I got to ask twice or something" (Filip: extract from interview).

It is noteworthy that even though Filip missed his previous school in Thailand he believed that St George's School was a better school in which to learn. Reflecting the view of his mother, Filip considered that learning English through attending school and experiencing English education would provide him with better work opportunities later on in life. However, it was his mother who led him to believe that school is for learning, especially English

language and the social and cultural capital that will result from this. This was reflected in what Filip said:

> I think the school in England is better because, like, my Mum keep saying the English school is better... I really think it better but I like umm, I miss the school in Thailand. My Mum says when I grow up and I got like a good job because I learn England [English]. (Filip: extract from interview)

6.1.3 *Fitting in at school*

Having looked at Filip's transition into schooling, this section focuses, firstly, on how he made friends and played with peers in spite of limited English. It then looks at how others saw Filip before considering constraints and affordances within the school culture.

Managing relationships

There were many people that Filip came into contact with in the school setting. Perhaps the most important significant others were his peers. Friendship was considered by Filip to be an important aspect of school life in Frasershire. With regard to the class setting, he said: "I think it is important for me to have some friends" (Filip, appendix, 7). In spite of the fact that Filip had limited English and at times was unable to make himself understood, he tried to make friends with children in his class and was successful in managing these early friendships.

Initially it seemed that interactions involving limited or no oral exchange were preferred. For example playing football was ideal because there wasn't much need to talk. Over time, improved language skills made a huge difference to Filip because he was able to use appropriate language to negotiate joining in with games. Filip described the difference that this had made from the previous time that I had seen him. "I got more friends. I can play with them sometimes, like play with them and I just want to play. I just got to ask them, 'Can I play?' and they let me play and they my friends" (Filip: extract from interview).

When discussing the problems experienced by bilingual pupils at school, Filip described newly arrived bilingual pupils as being positioned as 'shy', within the classroom context. When discussing how bilingual pupils 'fit in' and become part of their class, he talked about the need to not be shy. Filip also described the need for them to learn English language through social interaction which is exactly what happened to him: "I think they, if they can stop being shy and thing. If they stop shying. If they like go with a friend a bit and maybe they get pick up with umm, English" (Filip: extract from discussion using photographs of ethnic minority children and simulation questions).

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At school, Filip had been subjected to ridicule for the way that he spoke. Evidence of this was provided, firstly, by his peers who described: "the horrible children trying to make fun of him with his poor English" (peers: extract from paired interview) , as well as his class teacher,

> I know he's had the problems, he's had children laugh, finding (his name) funny   and all the rest of it. But it seemed to be the register which was umm, which was causing the biggest problem because all he's got to say was, 'Good morning Mrs P', and, and, you, you, I hated getting down to his name, cos you could, you could sense that there was going to be this ripple... one child in particular, who's not a nice piece of work. And that happened, and started it off, and then a couple of others would follow suit, and then there would be tittering (class teacher).

In providing a reason why Filip had encountered a reduction in 'taking the micky' from his peers, the class teacher explained that the children were not so bothered about 'taking the micky', because "he's settled in, and he's fit in, and that's a credit to him". She considered that the, "horrible children", now wanted to be friends with Filip because apart from being eager to understand, they had realised that, "he wasn't an alien from outer space". She concluded that Filip was a mature boy, "so he fits in" with other mature boys in the class. From the perspective of the class teacher, Filip was accepted by the class because he had tried to fit in, "because, he wants to be like one of them. He wants to be the same... not different from the others" (class teacher).

Using simulation questions, I asked Filip how newly arrived bilingual children might feel being unable to speak their first language at school. Filip referred to a situation in which their monolingual peers might respond negatively to difference by laughing inappropriately. This response may well have reflected what was happening to Filip at school. Although it was never something he mentioned directly, others did. The peer group explained that one of the roles undertaken by his friends was to challenge social exclusion. "The nice children can stop the horrible children trying to make fun of him [Filip] with his poor English" (peers: extract from paired interview).

It appeared that in general terms racism was not mentioned or recorded as an overt issue in the school. The head teacher explained, "I don't think there's any, in my mind, any specific racial bullying, or anything of that description". And likewise, specifically referring to Filip, a monolingual pupil said, "about Filip, I haven't heard any people saying "Oh! Look at that brown face', no not with Filip, no" (peers: extract from paired interview).

However, as described by staff and their pupils, racist behaviour did exist at school and was evident due to 'differences' portrayed by a bilingual pupil's appearance, name , language use and accent. According to Filip's peers, children said nasty things to Filip and the other

bilingual pupils, "because they're different, just different" (peers: extract from interview). The class teacher said:

> As far as racism is concerned, I think Filip has suffered more because children found Filip funny... Filip's sing-songy voice, which is so strange to us, umm was quite funny. Umm, and obviously he's got different coloured skin, which I don't think most children could really care less about to be honest, fortunately. But I think initially, you know, there's this child who is very different, and we'll laugh at him, and unfortunately I've got some really horrible mean characters in my class. I've got some lovely ones, but I have got a few children who were ready to take the micky (class teacher)

Highlighting his difference, she included herself as one who laughed at Filip and I perceived, therefore, condoned the actions of others rather than stopping them. Also, when discussing negative peer reaction towards Filip, the class teacher positioned him at the periphery of the majority class group. "As I say, I've got some cruel children, in my class that can be horrible to, outsiders" (class teacher).

The constraints and affordances of the norms and values of the school culture

Filip was acutely aware of the challenges he faced at school. The inability of some pupils to easily understand Filip, arising from his poor pronunciation frustrated him immensely. He made a direct link between his limited English language skills and the direct impact this had on his learning. For Filip the greatest challenge was his lack of understanding of what teachers were saying and therefore lack of access to knowledge within the class setting. He described the problem saying: "I think it learning. Sometimes when teachers tell me something, tell everyone, teaching everyone something, sometime I not know what it means. I not get it" (Filip: extract from interview).

As Filip's language competence improved, he was able to communicate more with his peers in class. However, this appeared to be restricted at certain times by the classroom practice of his teacher. Although the exact nature of this restriction was unclear, it seemed the teacher prohibited children from talking while they were working. This proved detrimental to Filip because he was unable to communicate freely with others of his choice, perhaps for help or support with work. His peers explained, "we do our work by ourselves but we are allowed to talk about it sometimes with other people sitting next to you" (peers: extract from paired interview). They also referred to the class seating arrangement which did not appear to promote collaborative working practice or open access to talk about work. In addition, friends were not allowed to sit together. The teacher explained, "they sit boy, girl, boy, girl". This situation was explained further by Filip's classmates: "so then the people that mess around a lot they don't tend to mess about as much, as with a friend sitting next to them. They don't mess about so much" (peers: extract from paired interview). On reflection, Filip's

peers considered that their teacher's approach, which was probably a 'pupil behaviour strategy', could have been more supportive for Filip. "I think it would be good to have some friends sitting next to him, to help him get on with his work" (peers: extract from paired interview). However, the teacher considered that all was well, Filip was receiving support, "Alice is a lovely busy-body, she loves to help people out, and if he doesn't understand something, she's 'I'll just explain it to Filip' The kids will help him" (class teacher).

Filip took any opportunity to talk about his home country and previous experiences there. He wanted to tell his story. It seemed however, that he instigated this rather than opportunities being provided by school staff, which was confirmed by his class teacher. When considering the ideal classroom environment for minority ethnic pupils, Filip considered that pupils "might be happy" to have culturally relevant resources, such as a map, in their class. However, with regard to his own classroom setting, from his perspective it reflected a monocultural, monolingual environment. He explained this situation in the following dialogue.

> **Interviewer**:   Is there anything in your classroom? [Representing your country}
>
> **Filip**:   Not really, not really from my country but from someone else's country, see a lot.
>
> **Interviewer**:   Which country?
>
> **Filip**:   England. (Extract from discussion using dual language story books).

From Filip's experience within the dominant White British school culture to which he did not belong, his cultural and linguistic background was different from the dominant group and not reflected adequately within the school setting. The class teacher said that to inform other children and to make bilingual children feel happier her approach was to teach something about their culture and religion. Although this was done with Harald it was not done with Filip. She explained:

> I know we've done quite a bit about Denmark and that because of Harald, to try and make him feel more happy. And to inform the other children. We haven't actually, I was going to say, we haven't sort of done that with Filip so much... it hasn't arisen really with Filip. (class teacher)

There appeared to be an underlying tendency reflected in comments from school staff to attempt to fit Filip and the other bilingual pupils into the 'existing norm' of the dominant school culture. I believed it to be a subtle, possibly subconscious, attitude. Firstly a comment from the class teacher: "He wants to be like one of them [white peers]. He wants to be the same" (class teacher). It was almost as if the class teacher wanted the bilingual pupils to fit in and therefore the pupils complied. "They [the pupils] want to do the right thing. And that's

lovely, that we haven't made them like that, umm, it's made our lives easier, because they've wanted to so they haven't caused, they haven't created any problems" (class teacher).

The same attitude was reflected by the head teacher. In addition, her comments described fitting in as a two way process involving both, "the willingness of the child to integrate, but umm, and the other is, of course, the other children, willing to allow him to be in the peer group" (head teacher). Unwittingly, what the head teacher described was how experiences encountered by Filip related to how he took up position at school. In other words how fitting in at school meant occupying the space made available to pupils such as Filip with English as an additional language, as well as how this worked at a personal level for him.

6.2 Case 2 – Harald

6.2.1 *Background information*

Harald, aged 11, was Danish, born in Denmark and spoke Danish as his first language. His ethnic background was described as White. He arrived in Frasershire with his parents who were professional workers and younger brother Poul. In Frasershire his father worked as a dentist in a local dental practice. Over time, his mother who was a qualified teacher in Denmark worked in a voluntary capacity at the same school as her sons. Unlike his brother who had never received formal education, Harald had attended school in Denmark for three years prior to coming to Frasershire. It was noteworthy that the attitude of Harald's parents about moving to Frasershire and staying here emphasised that they were prepared to embrace the opportunities the move offered but also take appropriate action if the venture was not successful. Harald's mother explained: "we have decided that if they didn't like it here, we'll go back home, because, it was not their decision to move here" (Harald's mother).

Harald had been at St George's School for 18 months when I started working with him and had a very good command of English language, in oral skills and literacy. However, Harald's mother confirmed that when they started at St George's, the boys did not speak a word of English and felt marginalised as though they "were among aliens" (Harald's mother). Harald attended the same school as Filip which has been described above. They were also in the same class. When Filip arrived, Harald had already been in this class for twelve months having arrived the previous year.

6.2.2 *Transition into school*

Harald was a mature boy for his age who seemed used to spending time with, and talking to, his parents about serious academic issues, as well as travelling, playing sports and having

fun. Perhaps this helped to explain Harald's ability to be reflective, and have opinions that provided a good sense of how he saw himself. Two aspects demonstrated his own self awareness. This related firstly to his cultural identity and, secondly, to his own academic ability.

Harald was proud of being Danish which reflected the value placed on cultural identity by his family and indeed Harald himself. This was illustrated in the way that Harald, supported by his mother, felt comfortable and enjoyed taking an active part in sharing Danish songs and traditions through the Christmas production at school. This experience made Harald feel valued at school. In addition, the class teacher believed that this opportunity made Harald happy and supported his inclusion within the class.

In relation to his academic ability, Harald was confident and accurate when it came to assessing the standard of his own work. When I worked with Harald, he saw himself as a good student. This was how his teachers perceived him to be at the time too. In fact his teacher described him as, "the brightest boy I've got. He's so intelligent" (class teacher).

Harald acknowledged that initially, although communicating adequately in English was challenging, the same barrier did not exist for him with number work. In fact he perceived that in Maths, once he began to speak a little English he could see that he was "much more experienced" (Harald) than his peers and even better than them too. He explained, "in Maths, of course not in English because I couldn't speak the language, in Maths and stuff, actually I was the best in the class" (Harald: extract from interview).

So although fairly quickly positioned as the best in Maths, this was not the case for English. For Harald, feeling that he was, quite low in English was a new experience because in Denmark he was used to being top of the class in all subjects. He described this uncomfortable situation as, "weird, really weird because I was one of the best children in Denmark…I felt weird" (Harald: extract from interview)

His peers confirmed that Harald was seen as a good student in Maths. As a consequence, because he was positioned as good academically, they considered he was valuable to have as a friend. In fact his peers seemed impressed that although he had limited English language he was eager to learn and able to participate in the lesson. Confirming Harald's assessment of himself his peers explained: "when he did put his hand up and answer complicated questions, it might have taken a long time for him to answer it, but, in the end of the first week, everybody thought, oh yeah, he knows a lot" (peers: extract from paired interview).

However, the situation had not always been so positive. Harald described how when he first started school he had found it difficult to understand or communicate adequately in English and lacked confidence. As a result he reacted to situations inappropriately within the class situation. His challenging behaviour and the consequences were described by his teacher, who said:

> He'd lash out with his fists, he got into lots of, lots of trouble, fights, things, but he would, if he didn't understand, his answer was to hit somebody, and he was very, quite aggressive, and quite rough, initially, because he couldn't understand (class teacher).

Although his initial behaviour was inappropriate, his teacher reflected that it had not hindered him unduly. In her view, fortunately Harald had moved forward because he was willing to learn and as he mastered the language his confidence had grown.

With regard to language, it was evident that Harald chose when and where to use English or Danish. At home the family spoke Danish together. However, within the school setting as Harald and his brother were the only Danish speakers they spoke Danish together or with their mother if alone, but used English in front of the children. Consequently, there was virtually no opportunity for Harald to speak Danish at school. As a result, when using Danish with his family out of school he referred to being unable to remember certain words and needing to use the English equivalent instead. His mother agreed that, as more English language was being used, a lot of Danish words were being forgotten and Harald and his brother experienced a loss of language.

6.2.3 *Having a voice in the class*

Unlike the majority of bilingual pupils newly arrived in Frasershire schools, Harald's mother initially accompanied Harald and his brother to their different classes at school. This was a positive experience for Harald because his mother acted as translator, by answering the teacher's questions on his behalf in the classroom. This process, which enabled Harald to have a voice in the class worked particularly well in the Maths sessions enabling Harald to participate actively in the lesson and learn English language at the same time.

> Yeah it was really weird because I didn't understand anything. The only thing I understand was, was when he [the class teacher] written Maths down on the board. I said it to Mum in Danish and she said it in English and then I could put my hand up and say it. (Harald: extract from interview)

Harald's mother perceived that working in this way was beneficial because she knew exactly what Harald was doing in class and could follow it up out of school. Looking back, however, she perceived that she had put quite a lot of pressure on him, during those early days, by expecting him to do extra follow-up work at home.

Harald was perhaps unaware that his active participation in class impacted on his peers, because from what they saw the class established very early on that even though Harald had limited English he was eager to join in and importantly, "he knows a lot" and was accepted. Consequently, although supported by his mother in and out of school, this approach enabled Harald to have a voice which together with his enthusiasm and willingness to participate helped to ensure a successful transition from an early stage in spite of some challenges.

6.2.4 *Fitting in at school*

From describing Harald's transition into school, this section looks at how Harald managed relations with peers and how others saw him. It then focuses on strategies he used to fit into the class and gain capital.

Managing relationships

Harald considered that the most important aspect about school was, "getting to know people, getting friends and like meeting teachers and stuff" (Harald: extract from interview). Accepting that he was isolated from other Danish speakers Harald realised that he needed to learn English in order to communicate with his peers. When he started at St George's, Harald sat between classmates Charlie and George, who were currently his best friends. Harald remembered that although communication was difficult Charlie was helpful because, "he was keen to explain things. The boys just seemed to get on well together" (Harald: extract from interview). Harald's mother likened the boys to an "old married couple" who were soul mates that would remain friends forever.

George remembered that the teacher had asked him to sit next to Harald, "to help him with his work" (peers: extract from paired interview). He said there had been a mutual liking for each other from when they first met. This relationship had continued to flourish. From the perspective of his teacher, George had befriended and helped Harald. At a later stage Harald befriended Filip the bilingual pupil previously discussed. In the view of the class teacher Harald was directly responsible for supporting Filip when he first arrived. It was believed by school staff that Harald and Filip liked each other because they both came from abroad and had been through similar experiences. Also, because Harald understood some of the challenges that Filip experienced he showed great empathy. Harald was extremely happy at St George's attributing this to good teachers and friends. His mother said; "He is so happy here. He's never been that happy before" (Harald's mother).

How others saw Harald

Harald described a situation when another student responded negatively towards him which he perceived was because he was different. Harald described how the boy had laughed at him inappropriately because he was unable to do much work, at that time. Being new, Harald was cross about the attitude of the other boy because "he's been in England all his life". Harald described how he coped with being laughed at on this occasion by walking away from the situation. He said, "I just walk away, I like do nothing... to get out of trouble" (Harald: extract from interview).

Harald's peers explained that in general, certainly initially, bilingual children, such as Harald, were perceived to be academically less able than their peers because they had limited English. This provoked negative comments from some children,

> Just because they can't do a simple sum or something, they can't put a full stop at the end of a sentence; they just think they're not very clever at all. They say things like 'you'd better go to hospital and get your brain changed' or something (peers: extract from discussion using pupil's own drawing of an imaginary bilingual child and made up background details, see appendix 9).

It was considered by the peer group that even with limited English, bilingual pupils would be aware of hurtful comments that were directed at them with negative consequences. This would make the bilingual pupils feel, "really bad, really bad about being in the school...like they'd rather go somewhere else" (peers: extract from discussion using pupil's own drawing of an imaginary bilingual child and made up background details).

Harald denied having directly experienced any other problems at school associated with racism. His mother confirmed that neither of her sons had encountered direct racism at school. Her response, however, was revealing in that she associated the lack of racism to be linked to the colour of their skin and therefore a similarity to their peers. Her comment was, "they're white, and they're looking exactly like the other kids, they're eating the same things" (Harald's mother).

Harald's peers perceived that Harald had fitted well into school. Also pointing out similarities between them in the way he spoke they considered that he was one of them. "If anyone knew Harald now, they wouldn't know he came from Denmark... and most people would think he's English... he speaks like an English child" (peers: extract from paired interview).

It is noteworthy that when considering positive steps that would support negative action or behaviour against Harald or other bilingual pupils, his peers recommended that their teachers should take action to support the bilingual pupil to fit in... "do anything that can

make them feel a bit more as if he's part of the school" (peers: extract from discussion using pupil's own drawing of an imaginary bilingual child and made up background details, see appendix 9). It was apparent that this recommendation modelled the action taken by class teachers following cases of name calling. "Umm, mostly they just come along and say to people that do that, 'don't be unkind', to whoever it is and just help them feel like they're part of the school" (peers: extract from discussion using pupil's own drawing of an imaginary bilingual child and made up background details).

What he did to fit in

In the class situation because it had taken quite a long time before Harald was able to respond to his teacher's questions and express himself adequately, this made him feel 'left out in some ways', and possibly marginalised. However, Harald described positive coping strategies he used particularly during Maths lessons to help himself join in and actually engage with the rest of the class.

> Umm, I listened to the others and tried to get it, to try to understand it so I could work, so I could speak myself... they said something and I listened to them and he [the teacher] written [the numbers] on the board and I could see what he was saying (Harald: extract from interview).

It was highlighted by the class teacher that Harald didn't want to be different from his friends which explained his approach during the Maths session. She said, referring to Harald and also Filip, "they want to do the right thing" (class teacher). By attempting to 'fit in' and try to be the same as their classmates, it appeared that the class teacher was pleased with the boys. They had not created any problems; in fact their behaviour had made life easier for school staff.

From the perception of his mother, Harald became part of the class community immediately. She associated this inclusion to his academic ability and the way the class teacher accurately assessed his skills and then dealt with her son appropriately in class. "He couldn't speak English, but he was very good at Maths, so, I think it's much easier to fit in, if you're bright. If you came, and got some problems in the school, it's not very [easy]" (Harald's mother). She also considered that Harald's attitude had helped in that it had been, in her view, "stimulating" for the teacher to have a pupil like Harald, who was interested in and took pride in everything he did.

Gaining capital

Throughout his schooling at St George's, Harald's mother took an active part in school life by taking on different roles. Although always present, over time her presence in the school

became more substantial. Initially, when newly arrived she joined Harald and his brother in their classes. For Harald this provided support and access to learning which otherwise would not have been so readily available. Then she supported Harald in sharing their Danish language and culture at a school event. At a later stage she brought her own professional skills and expertise into the school by working with classes of pupils as a music teacher.

His mother's attitude towards ensuring that the family shared their cultural background at school illustrated her determination at getting what she wanted, "I'm here man. I'm using my elbows and my sons are too, so we wanted to come and tell them and everything and we did that" (Harald's mother). What she wanted seemed to include taking opportunities to ensure that Harald would be supported, accepted within the school and be successful. Through her actions she gained access to the wider school community as well as to teaching staff which included a social basis. This involvement at school gave her credibility and the social and cultural capital she gained no doubt was of benefit to Harald too. At times, Harald's mother who had high aspirations for her son, appeared to have a strong influence on his schooling. Her values and beliefs were reflected in Harald's own.

6.3 Case 3 - Emily

6.3.1 *Background information*

Emily joined Brunel School during the autumn term of year one when she was seven years old. At the same time and in the same school, her older brother started in year three. Emily was Korean and her parents had come from Korea with their children so that their father could study at the university. When I started working with Emily she was in year three. She had been in the Frasershire education system for two years. Both children were able to read and write in Korean, which was their first language. At home, the family spoke Korean, however Emily explained that her father was bemused at the way she chose to use English rather than Korean when they, "play fought" together at home. Emily was described by her class teacher, Miss E, as very confident, "caring towards everybody" and "bright and quick to catch on". I was aware of Emily's inquisitiveness and ability to articulately reflect on and analyse her experiences of schooling. She now spoke English competently and her father mentioned that people said that her English was comparable to that of an English child. However, Emily admitted that when starting Brunel School, "I didn't know any English". The class teacher revealed that Emily came from a supportive family with her parents "very, very respectful of me as a teacher... yeh... they held me in very high regard" (class teacher).

Brunel School was larger than average and housed in 1940s' buildings which, with various additions, provided accommodation for ten classes with approximately thirty children in each class. Although located near the city centre the school had good outdoor facilities including playgrounds and an attractive grassed area with gardens that were looked after and used by the children especially in summer. This school drew pupils from a wide variety of backgrounds and was one of the most diverse in the city with both local children and those from all over the world learning together. The number of children at the school learning English as an additional language was considered to be above average with pupils often in the very first stages of learning English. The number of pupils on the special educational needs register was in line with the national average as was the number of pupils eligible for free school meals.

Emily's classroom felt spacious and light. The teacher's desk was positioned to one side of the room and the children worked in groups around their desks in the class. The room had a carpeted area where children sat for different activities during the day. There were classroom displays that covered the walls and children's work was hung below the ceiling across the room.

Provision for pupils with English as an additional language was highlighted as 'very good' by an Ofsted inspection report from around the time of the study. It was also noted that good support from school staff (eleven full-time and three part-time teachers) and outside agencies ensured that inclusion in all activities and good progress took place for bilingual pupils. This, in part, came from two Asian bilingual teaching assistants who were employed by the English as an additional language service to work and support pupils in the school. Although both assistants supported the inclusion process of all bilingual children, Shafana had been directly involved in working with Emily.

It is noteworthy that most pupils were considered to be articulate and to contribute well for their ages to discussions showing confidence and an awareness of others, mirroring the findings of this study.

6.3.2 *Transition into school*

As a child who, according to her teacher, got on well with everybody, Emily liked herself and appeared happy and content with who she was. She was aware that she was different from her English monolingual peers in that she came from a different country, spoke a different language and physically looked different. She had been struck by the range of hair colour

that her female classmates had and wanted to change the colour of her own hair so that she looked like them.

> English childrens got different hair... They got brown, yellow and in Korea they just have black... I asked my mum, 'can you make my hair be like English children?' but she couldn't... because I wanted my hair to be a different colour... 'cos I could have my hair like the other children's (Emily: extract from discussion using a box of different buttons and simulation questions).

Within her class, the bilingual children came from different ethnic backgrounds and their appearance, in particular their skin colour varied considerably. Within this context, whilst Emily saw herself belonging to this group she identified differences between herself and others due to country of origin and skin colour. She described herself as having "a brown face" and brown coloured skin and seemed really comfortable about this. She said: "cos, if I have brown skin, I don't care, and when people go, 'you've got brown skin', I say 'so!' and it doesn't matter " (Emily: extract from interview).

Barriers caused by routine class practice

There were aspects of Emily's early schooling, whilst her command of English was limited, that Emily found difficult to comprehend and therefore challenging with both classmates and teachers. She described situations when she felt that she had done something wrong and that others were cross with her. Emily perceived that her classmates were unhappy with her and 'told her off', because she came from a different country. Whilst very new at school, she described an upsetting situation involving her classmates. In her classroom whilst copying what the other children were doing, such as getting or reading books or trying to talk to another child, a number of children kept saying to her, 'No'. The tone of their voices varied but to her some children were shouting at her horribly.

> And when I touched books and read books they were like, 'No, No' and they were doing 'No, No' everywhere and I don't know why they did that... I only knew 'No' and 'Yes' and L shouted at me 'No' and called my name again, 'No, Emily'... 'cos I came from a different country and I was crying and I told my mum all about it and... and the next day she did it and the next day everyone kept doing it and I told my mum and all my friends saw L shouting at me and they were thinking that I had done something wrong and they were all around me, watching like this and I was like really shy and I didn't want to come to this school and I just wanted to move my school (Emily: extract from interview).

A level of confusion and feeling of being 'told off' as illustrated here was also associated with the way in which teachers worked with her in routine class activities. For example, at times she was taken out of the mainstream classroom for withdrawal sessions to help support her English language development. On the one hand she described finding this work enjoyable

because she worked with an assistant she liked. Yet on the other hand, she described the withdrawal sessions as not so pleasurable because she did not understand the reason for her withdrawal from the classroom, "because I thought I was getting told off" (Emily: extract from interview). In addition, Emily wanted to be in the highest ability group within the class. However, having been placed initially in what she believed was the lowest group for English, she felt very unhappy. Finding the English work too easy was no consolation either because she wanted work that was of an appropriate level. She wanted to take action but at this time, as a child, there was little she could do. "I just wanted to ask Miss E, 'Can I change my group, right now?'" (Emily: extract from interview). Her perception had been that her placement in the lowest group was because she came from a different country and could not speak English. The fact that she was in the highest group for Maths simply confused her.

On one occasion she struggled to understand why she had been left out and not asked to undertake work like everyone else. She believed that the teacher had forgotten her, or, as she could not speak English, she had perhaps done something wrong and therefore was expected to sit on her own on the carpet. Upset, Emily coped with this situation by removing herself from the class by asking to go to the toilet. Here she felt able to cry and express her anger by shouting in Korean. On another occasion, Emily found herself with a group of children sat around a table with a teacher. The teacher passed a big stone around the group and each child was expected to say something in turn.

> But I don't know that you had to say something. I don't remember it now 'cos I couldn't speak English then and they had to tell something and they talked and they talked and they talked. When I got the stone I couldn't tell anything because I didn't know what to tell about and I was holding the stone. Then Miss came to me and she wasn't my teacher, she just came to me, and grabbed my hand and took me out to the garden and I thought I was getting told off, but I wasn't. (Emily: extract from interview).

Sense of loss

Initially, not being able to play with her peers created a sense of loss for Emily. She explained that, as a result of being unable to communicate with her peers no one played with her and she felt really lonely. What she wanted more than anything was to be able to play with children as she had previously done in Korea.

Through her language, family background and upbringing, Emily had strong cultural links to identify her as a Korean child. She had anticipated that her teachers at Brunel school would expect her to continue to use her first language in the classroom and say to her, "write this in Korean language; never forget your language" (Emily: extract from interview). Although this was never said by any of her teachers the approach was used by the bilingual Teaching

Assistant. At times, Shafana asked Emily to use her first language in class and with homework. Finding this approach useful, Emily said she would have liked more opportunities to use Korean because she used her first language to do the initial planning for her English work.

> I think in Korean first how my story's going to be, in my head in Korean first , then I remember the one sentence for the first bit then I will think... in Korean. I remember the one sentence, then I change that to English, then I write it (Emily: extract from interview).

However, Emily was aware that since she had been at Brunel school without the need to practice she had started to forget spoken Korean and her Korean writing had deteriorated badly too, "I was really getting like rubbish, but I was trying to write really little and I couldn't". Referring to Emily's experience of language loss, her peers also discussed the importance and value of children such as Emily continuing to learn their own language whilst in Frasershire.

> Cos then when they go back or when they grow up and get a good job and when they go back they will have a lot of money, they will still remember their language, 'cos like if they come here for five years they're probably speaking so much English they forget their own language because Emily is forgetting hers a bit (peers: extract from paired interview).

Expectations of schooling

According to Emily's father the adjustment to Frasershire during the first six months was difficult for the whole family. With regard to his daughter he described how she was initially withdrawn, subdued and tearful, in comparison to the current situation where she was happy, outgoing and confident with her work. Her Father said, "she was shrinking from the classroom, and playground. Now she has spread her mind" (Emily's father).

Emily spoke of her need to learn English at school and requested lots of homework from her teachers so she could practise her English at home. It was understandable how her parents' attitude led Emily to say and act the way she did because they instilled in her the value and importance of learning English. Certainly, in her father's view, "she came here to learn English". Also, her mother had explained that there was no need for English people to learn Korean; however, because English was spoken in America and England, it was necessary for Emily to learn English. In addition Emily described how people from England and America were liked and valued highly in her family and within her country too.

Shafana referred to families such as this as ambitious and eager to learn English because the benefits, especially to the children, were great. "Those children themselves feel and their

parents feel that if they learn English in the two or three years that they're here when they go back they'll be better than their peers there, you know. Knowing another language" (teaching assistant).

It would seem that the influence of the attitudes and expectations of Emily's parents led to her intrinsic desire to learn English which helped to ensure a successful transition.

6.3.3 *Fitting in at school*

Having looked at Emily's transition into school the following section looks at how she managed relationships with her peers and how others saw her. It then looks at the strategies Emily used in the class to deal with her situation at school. Finally, it considers how Emily and others cope with difference.

Managing relationships

Emily was proactive in initiating and developing friendships because having friends, especially "best friends", as confirmed by her teacher, was important to her. "She's the sort of girl who likes one or two really close friends" (class teacher). Managing friendships appeared complex because the relationships she was part of were forever changing. She provided accounts of bickering and nastiness as well as social exclusion involving friends "falling out" and being taken away from her and leaving her upset because she had no one to play with. Added to this was the "making up" process which at times received pressure from her peers.

The class teacher mentioned that Emily had recently experienced friendship problems. These problems related specifically to two of her close friends no longer wanting to be a part of a group of three. Emily referred to this problem by first explaining the challenge she had had of joining the class when friendships amongst the girls had seemingly already been established. In Emily's view a difficulty was the apparent need during PE and dinner time for the children to be in pairs rather than a group of three which meant that one child was 'left out'.

Although Emily considered that Gerry was her best friend in year one, she confided in another girl at this time regarding negative peer behaviour she was experiencing. Sally provided physical reassurance and used simple language that Emily understood. This relationship enabled Emily to have access to play and relationships with others which she enjoyed.

> So I couldn't do anything and I talked about that to Sally and Sally helped me... So Sally looked after me... she like sat on the bench and she rubbed me and said, 'let's

go' and 'Go, go', like that and used some of the easy words so then I could understand her and I think she said to the boys, 'chase me and Emily' so that's why I think Simon chased me...I liked that (Emily: extract from interview).

Emily described situations when girls had tried to manipulate friendships and take friends away from her. It seemed that she was proactive in taking positive action to ensure that others were with friends, as well as herself.

Um 'cos one day when I was in year two I was... I was really upset because no-one played with me and J took L away from me and L used to play with G but when C came in, C wanted to play with L, but L just didn't care about her and she just played with G. So I saw C really lonely eating her apple on the bench and she was walking and crying. I think she was wondering who I shall play with today. So I came to her and said, 'Do you want to play with me?' 'cos I was quite lonely too. So we got...she asked me 'Do you want to be my best friend?' so I said 'Yeah' and like we were best friends..." (Emily: extract from interview).

Emily's peers acknowledged how difficult it was for Emily and others like her and explained the role they played. "It mustn't be very nice to have no friends and we usually look after them sort of thing and play with them and tell them what to do with things and tell them where things are" (peers: extract from paired interview).

How others saw Emily

When discussing the attitude of her classmates towards those that were bilingual, Emily said that children like her, when newly arrived and unable to speak English, were not liked, "because they can't do anything with them" (Emily: extract from discussion using a box of different buttons and simulation questions). This dislike of bilingual pupils extended to the playground because the new arrivals would not be familiar with the games being played, "if they can't speak English they won't like to play with them because they won't understand what it is" (Emily: extract from discussion using a box of different buttons and simulation questions).

It was noteworthy that Emily's comments mirrored those of her peers in that the new arrivals were seen as very inadequate. Loren, one of her peers, added that these pupils were usually very quiet "because they can't speak English...They don't really do anything." Loren and Ben, who participated in the paired interviews, likened not speaking English to having a disability and therefore the need to have a 'special' teacher.

Emily's classmates, although familiar with children from different ethnic backgrounds, perceived that because of her skin colour she was different from others in this group. Their

curiosity was reflected in the questions that she was asked. Although the questioning made her feel shy and perhaps uncomfortable and rather embarrassed her response was mature.

> And Gina says, 'why have you got brown skin?' and 'why have people got darker skin than you?' and I didn't say anything, I just said, 'I don't know.' She kept saying 'why have you got light brown skin and they've got dark brown skin?' So I said, 'because Hari's come from Bangladesh and Hal's come from Africa and I come from Korea (Emily: extract from discussion using a box of different buttons and simulation questions).

Emily's peers sometimes responded negatively towards her; she perceived that it was because she was different. Her peers acknowledged that their classmates were aware of differences with children such as Emily, "well, they're not different as in humans, but... I think they would see them as different 'cos they're from different countries...Yeah, because they're total strangers" (peers: extract from discussion using pupil's own drawing of an imaginary bilingual child and made up background details).

A pupil called Betty, who Emily described as "being really nasty" made fun of Emily and other bilingual children, by pointing out differences and whispering behind her hand to other children. Emily recalled what had happened to another friend who was from a mixed heritage background,

> Lily's got like really swirly hair, she said when she was born her hair was already like that and Betty kept making fun of her like... Betty's making fun of Lily like she's got her hair and skin and her eyes and she kept whispering about Lily and they just ignored Betty because Betty spoke about everyone like me, Gina, Lily and Carly (Emily: extract from discussion using a box of different buttons and simulation questions).

Having started in year two this negative behaviour was recurring.

Loren confirmed that there were some "horrible people" in the class, children who picked on Emily and persistently asked questions such as, "why do you come from a different country" (peers: extract from paired interview). Emily's class teacher made an interesting observation about her classmates by saying, "I think they can be jealous. I think, some children will say things like, oh Emily, is really clever" (class teacher). She believed that knowing she was bilingual, the children often attributed her ability to the fact that she came from another country.

From a more positive angle Loren revealed that Emily was also seen as a special person. In fact her presence in the class was considered beneficial for everyone.

> Emily is pretty special to us because we never knew that someone could come from all that way from Korea... I think it's very helpful because it helps us learn too... [to learn]

different languages and um it's special for the people that come from different countries too – it's like special to everyone's education (peers: extract from paired interview).

The reason Emily gave for the children stopping their negative behaviour was her improved ability to speak English. However, another factor that was perhaps of greater value to her was the coping strategies she adopted which enabled her to fit in at school.

Coping strategies adopted by Emily

Shafana, the bilingual Teaching Assistant, believed that bilingual children knew that "tackling difference" and "fitting in" had to be dealt with so they found ways of dealing with it. This happened with Emily who managed these situations, as described previously, by developing coping strategies which enabled her to be accepted by her peers at school. For example, initially she copied Sally and followed her around in the playground which was advantageous because she had someone to run around with and was no longer left on her own. Also, whilst sitting next to different children in the classroom Emily described how she drew little pictures and then gave them as gifts to each child. She did this under the premise that in return for sharing things, the children would be really kind and want to make friends with her. Also, she used to her advantage the way in which her peers were intrigued by the Korean script she wrote by showing them how to write and say Korean words. In addition Emily taught her friends typical Korean games she was familiar with. Both Loren and Ben talked with pride about the Korean words and games that Emily had taught them. Her father considered that it was beneficial that ideas were shared and exchanged between the pupils in this way and that, "children learn Korean language through my daughter" (Emily's father).

An extension to this approach was the way in which she took to school 'special' Korean artefacts. These artefacts were new and exciting for her peers who would gather round her. She described how the children wanted to play with her so that they could see the objects at close hand and play with them. Aiming to interest her classmates because she wanted, "everyone to play with her" she said openly that this approach did not always work. When it was not successful, rather than give up she persisted by thinking about something else that she could take to show the children that would interest them.

Confirming that Emily loved the opportunity to talk about anything to do with Korea, Emily's class teacher said how much pleasure it gave her classmates to see traditional outfits and curios and how it generated interest and curiosity. Loren's response to Emily's approach was also very positive. Highlighting the benefits Loren said: "I think it's good for us because then we got to learn about what other people do in the world... what people do if they speak a different language or what they do in their religion" (peers: extract from paired interview).

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An important sequel to these classroom activities took place out of school in the form of invitations for children to play at her home. It was anticipated by Emily that as a way of saying thank you, the invitation would be reciprocated and she would be invited back, with the ultimate aim of the children becoming really good friends. Later, children were invited to participate in social activities such as going to McDonalds and on day trips to local adventure parks.

Her father considered that it was essential for her to find friends so this approach was actively supported "cos children can easily access information and language, and their learning through friends, because it's interesting" (Emily's father). In his view, this approach was successful because his daughter had been accepted by her peers. "Emily I think, is well adjusted here, every student in the class invites her to their birthday party... That's unusual" (Emily's father). He also considered it was necessary for his family to become familiar with the English way of life and cultural background and to join in and undertake activities alongside other English families in the area. "It is essential for children to learn English and how to learn with English pupils" (Emily's father)

Coping with difference within the institutional culture

The Teaching Assistant, Shafana, confirmed that in her opinion Emily and others like her definitely knew they were different. Although she considered this did not create a problem with regards to their learning, she talked about the children not wishing to discuss their differences such as religion, language or food eaten at home but instead trying to keep them in 'separate compartments'. She referred to a young child in Early Years not wishing her mother to use a specific language at school because it would identify her as different from the norm.

> Maybe they feel that all these people here don't know our language, you know, so... no-one would understand it, you know. That's our own sort of thing that we keep at home... um, I suppose, however, much you do they would still feel it because they are sort of five in a class of thirty so it would still, you know... I think... make a difference however, much cultural things we do or whatever we do. (Teaching Assistant)

6.4 Case 4 – Meena

6.4.1 *Background information*

From an Indian family that had been living in Malaysia, Meena, aged 9, arrived in Frasershire with her mother, Kurti, and younger sister Ria, aged 8. Although English was not their first language, both sisters had previously learnt English at school and according to their mother were able to use English well and preferred to speak English at home. Kurti

was studying for a Masters degree at Fraser University. Although the girls' father and Kurti's husband had been killed in an accident, a year earlier, Kurti had decided to still come to Frasershire and bring the girls with her. However, it was apparent that Meena would have preferred to remain in Malaysia, especially as she had just gained new responsibilities at school. In Malaysia, Meena was used to being in a school environment that had many minority ethnic pupils, whereas at Manor School, which she and her sister attended, there were very few minority ethnic pupils.

Their initial accommodation in Frasershire, which according to the deputy head teacher was 'awful' contrasted sharply to their Malaysian home. The class teacher explained that in Malaysia with support from Grandma and a maid, Kurti was not expected to do a lot of the day to day looking after of the children, cooking and cleaning. Consequently, Kurti's role was very different in Frasershire. She was a student but also needed to take full responsibility for looking after her daughters. It was a big change and it was challenging for a number of reasons;

> Meena didn't want to come out of her school environment with all her friends and she'd just become a prefect which she was very proud of and to be suddenly put into a different place, a different school, Mum struggling because she's now got the two girls by herself in a place that's not particularly wonderful…the whole thing is really difficult (class teacher).

During her first term at school in Frasershire Meena had an accident and broke her leg whilst at school. This incident had a major impact not only on Meena but also on her family and school staff.

The school setting in Frasershire

Manor school, housed in Victorian buildings, was a large school situated in an urban district near Fraser city centre. Although the playground area surrounding the school was quite extensive there was limited opportunity for the children to play on grassed areas. Most pupils came from the immediate vicinity of the school which included a mixture of private and local authority housing. The number of pupils with special educational needs was similar to the national average as was the number of pupils eligible for free school meals. At the time of the study the majority of pupils (in total 458) were White British with just a very small number coming from other ethnic backgrounds. Only eight pupils spoke a language other than English as their first language which included Meena and Ria. Each girl was the only bilingual pupil in her class. Findings from an Ofsted inspection closest to this study did not refer in any detail to the support of pupils for whom English was an additional language. However, it was noted that within the school, as a result of an ethos of care and respect,

pupils' personal development and well-being were good. This included their spiritual, moral, social and cultural development. It was also noted that pupils understood abstract ideas such as friendship with positive attitudes assisting learning. Pupils who were questioned felt very safe in the school. The report commented that there was little bullying.

6.4.2 Transition into school

By the time that I met Meena, she had been at the school for over a term. As explained by the deputy head teacher, "she had found the adjustment to school quite difficult". Meena was the only minority ethnic pupil in her class and she perceived she was seen as different and did not fit into the white majority group within her class and school. In addition, friendship groups had already become well established within the class by the time she had arrived, making it difficult for her to make friends.

Meena considered that within the class setting her peers showed little if any interest in her, and chose not to interact with her. In fact she felt ignored by her peers. She explained: "It seems like I'm invisible you know. They don't say 'Hi' to me when I pass them. It's just, they're playing along like that" (Meena: extract from interview). Consequently, she saw herself as isolated, lonely and marginalised and without friends to play with at school.

Also, she acknowledged that at her new school her work was of a lower standard than when she was in Malaysia. Consequently, she was no longer positioned as a 'good student' because, "actually, my work wasn't that good" (Meena: extract from interview).

Meena's accident

During her first term at Manor School Meena had an accident and broke her leg. This was a traumatic experience that had a major impact on Meena and those around her, particularly her mother. According to Meena's class teacher and the deputy head teacher, Meena was angry about coming to England and indirectly blamed her mother for all that had gone wrong including the accident. The class teacher explained, "there was a very tense relationship between her and her mother, blaming her for this, that and the other" (class teacher).

The circumstances surrounding the accident were complex. Meena explained that at the time of the accident pupils had been calling her names which made her very unhappy. She recalled that the accident had occurred, "because people call names and I feel upset, so I fall down like that" (Meena: extract from interview). With regard to Meena's accident the Deputy saw this as challenging for school staff too. At school Meena's mother explained the unhappiness her daughter had experienced and perceived that her injury had been the cause of some kind of racial incident that perhaps the school was covering up. However, the

Deputy believed that this idea was put into Kurti's head from a neighbour and from her perception there was "a race card being played where we felt there wasn't one" (deputy head teacher). School staff felt that racism was not an issue. Nothing had been reported by Meena or others in her class to suggest anything inappropriate had happened. As explained by the teacher apart from one event when, "somebody had said something a bit hurtful", and during the first few weeks when there were, "one or two comments that were said in the playground…that seemed to be very small minor points, minor things" (class teacher). There was certainly nothing considered to be serious.

Experiencing loss

In Malaysia as well as having plenty of friends because, "there were more people of different colours there…like Indian and Chinese" (Meena: extract from interview), Meena also achieved good academic results. In Meena's opinion achieving good results made a pupil more attractive to his or her peers. However, this was not the case at Manor School for she had neither good grades nor friends. Consequently, because she had been well established and successful in her previous school she missed this and found it difficult to adapt to the new situation and to focus on her current work. The Deputy referred not only to the loss of all that had been positive in her previous school but also to the loss experienced through the relatively recent death of her father. In addition by coming to Frasershire Meena was encountering a new culture and language use which was different to what she was familiar with and expecting. Once again she experienced a sense of loss. Recognising the loss that Meena experienced, the Deputy said:

> I'm not an expert but I wonder whether some of the…, perhaps being a bit older and being more aware of what you've lost when you're…both in terms of losing your father and also in terms of losing your security if you've been very successful at school and things… In Malaysia, she'd been a prefect and had a much bigger status in the class and now she's one of 120 here so it's culturally quite different and English not being her first language she was going to struggle anyway (deputy head teacher).

Unlike the other cases in which the children found the transition into school problematic and challenging yet discovered ways to try to ensure its success this was different with Meena. Meena's situation was complex yet at times it was as if she did not want to be at school in England. In spite of help and support from her mother and others with the transition, Meena was unhappy at school and almost seemed defeated and willing to give up.

6.4.3 *Fitting in at school*

Having looked at Meena's transition into school this section focuses on how Meena attempted to manage relationships with her peers and how those peers saw her. It then

looks at the coping strategies Meena adopted when trying to fit into the class before finally considering the family's attempt to fit into the institutional culture of the school.

Managing relationships: failing to find acceptance

Making friends at school according to Meena was challenging. Although she wanted to be friends with her peers, this was not always reciprocated. When she first arrived, peers in her class, directed by her class teacher, acted as 'buddies' to help support her. However, this support appeared to be short-lived and no long-term friendship or positive relationships developed. Children in the peer focus group were aware of Meena's experience.

From the perception of all school staff Meena had been well supported by her peers who "were brilliant with her" (class teacher) and had mothered her. As further explained by the class teacher:

> They'd make an effort, new girl in the class, somebody different and all, exciting and so on. But then, when they didn't have an instant response back from her, positive, chatty and soon, they found it hard work and I think then it dropped off after the initial couple of weeks when it was all very exciting (class teacher).

School staff agreed that it was difficult for Meena to make friends. On the one hand, her class teacher acknowledging that Meena had a difficult transition into school explained that Meena's response was to speak very quietly to everybody. Unfortunately this had a negative impact because children had difficulty understanding her, so it was difficult for her to build friendships. On the other hand, the deputy head teacher perceived that rather than cultural difference it was Meena's personality that had made it difficult for her to get close to her peers, because, "sometimes children feel that they've upset her or offended her and they don't quite know why" (deputy head teacher).

It was noteworthy that staff noticed that Meena's accident, although challenging in many ways, actually helped her to develop friendships which raised her self esteem. From their perspective she had a lot of friends wanting to stay with her during lunch and break time. However, the children in the peer group were cynical regarding the attitude of 'friends' towards her before and after the accident. Questions were raised about the genuineness and purpose of these friendships by the group:

> When she came she was all crowded around and then as Sam said, she was left on her own. But when she broke her leg everybody was saying, 'oh are you alright?' and then she was getting all the attention so I don't think they were actually proper friends. They just wanted to be friends when something bad has happened or when something good has happened and not just when she's like a normal girl (Bella: extract from peer group interview).

Reaction at the time of the accident highlighted that lots of pupils wanted to stay in at playtimes with her. However, the consensus was that these children were perhaps more interested in not going out to play rather than spending time with Meena. Bella summarised the group feeling by saying: "they didn't actually want to be in the classroom looking after her did they? They just wanted to stay in…" (Bella: extract from peer group interview).

How others saw Meena

From Meena's perspective, in general her peers responded negatively towards her and excluded her socially. It seemed they did not wish to play or spend time with her or make friends with her. They appeared to marginalise and isolate her. Meena referred to her peers at school as seeing her as different from them, the white majority group. This was particularly noticeable because of the very small numbers of minority ethnic pupils within the school. Meena's reasons for her peers' negative behaviour were linked to racial connotations. She perceived that her country of origin, religion and skin colour had a negative impact that identified her as different. She said, "I always think it's because I'm from a different country or colour of my skin or something like that" (Meena: extract from interview). The issue of visible difference through skin colour and the subsequent negative peer response was also referred to in the pupil group. This seemed to link closely to the school being a 'nearly white school'.

> In assemblies it's like quite hard to look away from the black people I find and some people say that because like you have several black people in the school, they're like scattered around and it sometimes makes you feel a bit sorry for them because they stand out a lot. And they'll probably get teased like…, like once or twice every day (Stella: extract from peer group interview).

Also related to difference, when Meena first arrived, her classmates perceived that she did not understand what they were saying and that she lacked ability, although this was not the case. "But they keep saying that I don't understand them. But I do understand. They think I'm not very clever; I'm not a good…, just because I'm from a different country" (Meena: extract from interview).

Unfortunately Meena was positioned such that in her opinion it was difficult to discuss this situation with her peers or class teacher. Within the classroom setting because Meena's class teacher saw her as "shy and a bit nervous and she doesn't fit in well", she decided not to do an "awful lot" about promoting her cultural background within the class:

> I felt a lot of time that, that was possibly going to put pressure on her as being singled out as being different and when she was trying to fit in and being a bit shy and so on that it possibly wasn't the right way to do things (class teacher).

Coping strategies Meena used

When discussing the acceptance of Meena by her peers, Kurti believed that Meena was reluctant to change in order to fit in. Meena agreed that she did not wish to fit in by imitating the way that her peers spoke English. She wondered whether, if she did that, "would they actually accept me?" (Meena: extract from interview). Meena confessed that what she really wanted was to be herself, to speak the way she did and to be accepted for who she was. Her mother considered that the challenge for Meena to be herself and to be accepted at Manor School was hard. Nonetheless to a certain extent Meena tried to fit in using a number of strategies. For example, although friendship patterns had already been established she tried to negotiate entry into some groups. However, this did prove difficult because she lacked the skills and confidence to negotiate entry into these groups. She also tried following and copying what others were doing in her class. She copied the class practice of joke telling because she could see that telling jokes made others laugh. However, this was not successful because unfortunately her attempts were not well received. "They laughed at me because they thought I was being foolish or something like that" (Meena: extract from interview). Also, on occasions Meena copied her peers by retaliating when they were being unkind to her.

> sometimes I speak like them, trying to become like them, trying to become like that when they…become like…, when they show bad faces and they want to fight with me I…, when they say a bad word to me I try to say it back to them and sometimes and feel really nice when I say it but sometimes they fight back again. Because I just want people to think that I'm also like them, I'm not like different people (Meena: extract from interview).

From a different perspective Meena's class teacher perceived that because she did not want to come to England there were self imposed barriers when she first arrived. "I don't actually think she actively tried to fit herself in". It was revealing that the teacher said,

> Apparently at her school in Malaysia she was the centre of attention and was the golden girl and had loads of friends and was prefect and all this and I think she felt that she'd been taken away from all that and put in this class and she wasn't the centre of attention (class teacher).

The teacher also described Meena's reluctance to engage within the classroom activities and her negative approach to participating in class.

> She did the same in lessons really. She was very passive…that she would sit back and listen and let things happen and not join in by trying to put her hand up to answer a question or to get active. She'd wait and she was quite slow to get started on things (class teacher).

She believed Meena found it difficult "to push herself forward to ask somebody to be her partner" (class teacher). Meena did not feel secure within the new school set up so she avoided taking risks, even though she wanted to make friends.

Fitting into the institutional culture

Meena's mother confirmed that having few minority ethnic pupils in the school singled Meena out from the majority group especially with regard to the colour of her skin. In her belief, it seemed unfortunate that the majority group were unprepared to empathise with and accept minority ethnic pupils such as Meena. Describing the attitude of the majority group Kurti said: "most of them are British kids, they're not used to having a black kid in the class, so they do not know how these kids feel and all that, so I think that's a big problem" (Meena's mother).

Kurti was disillusioned by the school response to this situation which emphasised the expectation that a resolution to the problem lay in the hands of her daughter, rather than action at school. Kurti reported that the class teacher had said "…if she wants to be happy it relies on her", possibly suggesting the teacher's abdication of responsibility. Kurti questioned the professionalism behind this suggestion and wondered what further action a pupil, her daughter could take against such a force.

> That's the easiest way for the school to handle the situation administratively. I think that's the quickest way but it may not be the professional way because she [class teacher] feels that if she wants to make things better it relies on her [Meena]…what can she do? She's one and they are a huge group (Meena's mother).

Kurti's account of her discussion with the class teacher suggested that the teacher, as well as abdicating responsibility possibly held a negative position of power towards her as a parent. Kurti's descriptions of her daughter's unhappy situation were inequitably refuted.

> Like I said, 'she's not happy, she doesn't have friends.' Like there are times when she comes back home, she feels that she's being…not accepted by her friends. And if I try to talk to the teacher they just say that it's not happening and I…I want to try and say 'it is happening', but I can't do…,they don't want to accept it, you know (Meena's mother).

The approach taken by the school was reinforced by the fact that Meena's younger sister Ria appeared not to be experiencing the challenges faced by Meena, thus providing further evidence that the problem lay with Meena and with Kurti, an over anxious mother: "Whenever I try to say Meena's problems, the school like to say that Ria is fine, nothing's wrong with Ria. So the problem can only be Meena's rather than the school you see" (Meena's mother).

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Meena's mother perceived that the curriculum at school focused on the monoculture of the majority group which seemed to disadvantage her daughter. Kurti explained that up to that point there had only been one occasion when Meena had undertaken work at school that reflected her cultural background.

> I think it would have been good if there is more reflection on culture and all that. Like now, my kids come here they only get exposed to the British culture all the time. They don't have anything to show about their own culture to reflect on themselves (Meena's mother).

Again Kurti highlighted the power held within the white majority group with regard to access to achievement and success within the school. She explained that unfortunately, as her children did not fit within this group they were unable to achieve the same success. "I think the culture here has put them in such a way that to be good you have to accept the British culture and things like that. Like you really have to be British to be good" (Meena's mother). This situation seemed far from a positive inclusion model (Murakami, 2008).

6.5 Case 5 – Ria

6.5.1 *Background information*

Although there was only a year in age between them, Ria, aged 8, appeared smaller and physically less mature than her sister Meena and spoke English less competently. Ria's mother described the girls as having different personality traits. She described Meena as generally more challenging, as well as being more diligent than her sister. She also said that Meena was "a bit more sensitive than Ria". The Deputy wondered whether Ria's characteristics could be attributed to being young and possibly lacking responsibilities in her previous school. The class teacher also described Ria as being "a much more confident, outgoing girl". When she first met Ria with her sister and her mother, Ria "was the one who would be happy to relax in the classroom and chatting and talking while mum was talking to me" (class teacher). The deputy head teacher considered that once she had got to know Meena she realized that, "She's a complete contrast to her sister, Ria, who is…a completely different person. Will talk to anyone, will do anything, will…you know…talk ten to the dozen and is a different type of person" (deputy head teacher).

Like her older sister, Ria was used to a school environment which had many more minority ethnic pupils than Manor School. It was noteworthy that although both girls were at the same school in Frasershire, albeit in different year groups, according to their mother, their experiences were not the same. The school setting has already been described in the previous case.

6.5.2 *Transition into school*

Having considered background information about Ria and her sister, this section focuses on Ria's transition into school and the impact of Meena's accident.

Meena's accident

For Ria the transition into school was challenging. Not only did she have to face her own negative experiences but also those of Meena, her sister.

The accident, when Meena broke her leg, impacted negatively on the whole family, including Ria. Following an operation to reset the broken bones although Meena was in a lot of discomfort she was not a good patient. In addition she was unhappy at school and about being in Frasershire. Consequently, Kurti focused her time and energy on looking after and supporting Meena. Surrounded by negativity this was not an easy situation for Ria. In addition 'on a practical note' whilst Meena's leg was in a plaster cast mobility was a problem for the family. This included getting to school. The class teacher described what she believed the situation was like for Ria: "um, I think she had a tough time because all the attention of Meena with her break and all the not wanting to be here and so on…I think she's probably had a difficult time" (class teacher).

Ria's mother described Ria as being proud of her identity and loyal to her home country, Malaysia. However, it was difficult, if not impossible, for Ria to hold this position at school because the school environment did not promote other languages or cultures. It seemed therefore, that Ria made a conscious decision to try and fit in with the majority group and become a 'British child'. Hence she avoided being positioned as a bilingual Malaysian child by letting go of her Malaysian identity. In her mother's view this was a good strategy for Ria to adopt. By making changes to the way she spoke, copying and resembling her peers in the majority group Ria fitted in and became accepted by them, which helped to ensure her successful transition.

6.5.3 *Fitting in at school*

Having considered Ria's transition into school, this section looks at how she managed relationships and how others saw her. It then discusses Ria's attempt to fit in by becoming a 'British child', before considering the institutional relations of power within the school setting.

Managing relationships

Kurti referred to differences experienced by Ria and Meena concerning relationships and making friends. She explained that although school staff perceived that Ria's older sister

experienced challenges whilst at school, this was clearly not the case with Ria. The Deputy confirmed that Ria related well to her peers, "she's always been fine, always been great, always joined in you know. Is always playing with people and is very happy" (deputy head teacher). Kurti explained that in her opinion the reason for this was because Ria was a confident, enthusiastic child who had always been like this since she was very young. Ria's sister Meena also observed that the relationship Ria had with her friends was not the same as the relationship she had with her own peers. In Ria's case her friends chose to be with her, which was unlike the situation for Meena: "Her friends spend time with her more than my friends. Because I saw her one time. She was with her friends but my friends aren't like that. When they come they spend time with each other instead of me" (Meena: extract from interview).

Getting friends to play with certainly seemed more successful for Ria than Meena. In a very straightforward way Ria explained her direct approach, "I just ask if I can play with them" (Ria: extract from interview). She acknowledged, however, this was not the same for her sister. "Meena, it's not like that for her, it's more different to her" (Ria: extract from interview). Ria also acknowledged that both her own peers and those of her sisters were friendly towards her and always made an effort to approach her and say hello. Ria suggested that the reason for the negative behaviour of her sister's peers was because; "I think her friends are just not interested in her" (Ria: extract from interview). Ria did not refer to experiencing these problems herself.

One of the boys in the peer group explained that for bilingual children, the key to making friends was to master English. Once mastered this led to opportunities to engage with others and have fun. He suggested bilingual pupils should: "try really hard to do English so they can understand all the other people really, to talk to them and interact with them and play games and stuff" (Dan: extract from peer group interview). This was certainly the approach taken by Ria. Kurti referred to the fact that as Ria was younger than Meena this may have made a difference to Ria mixing well with other children and integrating within the class.

How others saw Ria

Meena described how when she first started at Manor School her peers had laughed at her and said, on occasions, that she was annoying. Meena also said that this situation had initially happened to Ria too. From Meena's account, although Ria's peers had initially disliked her, this attitude improved over time:

But then they started to come with her. First she said to me that her friends are saying that she's really annoying and stuff like that. It was one of her friends that said that. She really doesn't like her but now she's being better (Meena: extract from interview).

From Ria's perspective her peers considered that she was different from the majority of the class because she came from a different country and had a different ethnic background, "um, I think they say that because maybe I'm not something like them. Maybe…you know like Malaysian" (Ria: extract from interview). It was in Ria's mind that this is what led to her peers' negative behaviour. Nonetheless, Ria's mother believed that Ria received less negative rebuttal from her peers than her sister, because of her general attitude and the way she reacted to them: "I think they [peers] look at personality and if they know that Meena reacts to whatever they say so they will come and attack her more and they know Ria's not going to so…no response" (Ria's mother).

It is noteworthy, however, that the peer group considered that it would be easier for a new pupil from a different country, rather than someone from England, to make friends within the class. They provided the reason that: "they would make friends easier because everybody would want to know what they do in that country'"(Dan: extract from peer group interview). Unfortunately, this was not what Ria found.

Becoming a British child

Ria wanted her peers to like her but this did not always happen. She explained, "so I try harder to like make them to be my friends and sometimes they do, sometimes they don't" (Ria: extract from interview). Consequently Ria actively employed coping strategies to try to overcome the social exclusion that she experienced. More than anything, Ria wanted to be like her classmates. Consequently she actively chose to speak English and imitated as best she could the way that her peers spoke. She felt that to be one of them she needed to pick up the accent and speak like a British child. By copying her peers, Ria felt she would be able to fit in. Ria's mother explained her daughter's coping strategy:

> She's speaking in the British accent and she's being accepted by most of her friends. I think because she can easily imitate the accent and speak. Imitate how they speak. Because she's young she can pick up the slang and she can speak like a British child. She's trying very hard to be the same as the English children, because she wants to be accepted. She wants to make life easy for her. She wants to be happy (Ria's mother).

Describing how she tried to make friends Ria explained how she became unhappy and frustrated by what she considered to be her peers negative language and behaviour towards her. Consequently, as before she took action and responded by copying what they had said and done to her.

> Like I try to be nice and good but some girls…,they make…,make me sad. Like if I talk something to my friends and say like, 'I'm getting wet' and they say, 'so!' or something like that. That makes me really angry. So yesterday it happened that. So, I try to…, I say it's none of your business. So you know, stuff like that [laughter] (Ria: extract from interview).

In spite of the problems encountered by Ria the class teacher considered that she had fitted into her class more easily and made friends more quickly than her older sister. The reason for this success according to the class teacher was because, "she is more confident and much more outgoing and chatty…" (class teacher).

Institutional relations of power

Kurti clearly valued bilingualism, although according to her this was not happening at school. She questioned why bilingual children themselves and the additional languages they spoke were not celebrated and seen as an asset by the school. The attitude of parents appeared to reflect the attitude of the school. From Kurti's experience there was no support for bilingualism from other parents or any acknowledgement of its benefits. She was very much in the minority and surprised at their reaction.

> I was talking to one of the parents that it's good for kids to be bilingual and she was telling me, 'we don't have to do that, why do we need kids to be bilingual? There's no need for that, the child only needs to read English.' So then I thought that that's how the situation is here you know, they don't feel the need (Ria's mother).

According to Ria's mother the school culture highlighted that, "to be good you have to accept the British culture" (Kurti). Within the school setting there was little exposure to other cultures other than the British culture. At school, English was the majority language and seen as the norm. As a result Ria tried to fit in and gain linguistic capital by imitating the spoken English of her peers and speak like a British child. It is noteworthy that children in the peer group highlighted that bilingual children were seen as different and were expected to conform with the majority group: "because they're different, people will try and tell them what's right and so they'll think that what they did in their old country was wrong because it's quite different to maybe what we do in England" (Bella: extract from peer group interview). Bella's comment also highlights the possible negative impact this attitude may have on bilingual children.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter I explained the process of generating categories from the interview data and then using these categories to present a number of cases. Whilst the main categories (background information, transition into school, fitting in at school) remained the same for the five children, their stories varied because they reflected the unique experience of each child.

The following and last chapter will provide a discussion of findings, implications, recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.0 Introduction

As mentioned earlier in this thesis, the purpose of this study is to investigate the central question, which is made up of several sub-questions:

1. What are isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling?
   (i) Do experiences of schooling differ between isolated bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils?
   (ii) What factors contribute to isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling?
   (iii) How do isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling change over time?
   (iv) How do isolated bilingual children respond strategically?

Through an exploration into the experiences at school for isolated bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers by means of questionnaires, and interviews, answers to these questions have been presented in previous data analysis chapters. Therefore, this chapter will discuss the key findings related to the schooling experiences of these two groups of pupils. In order to do this I will discuss the findings in three parts. This will be followed by the implications, recommendations and conclusion.

In part one I will consider the differences between the schooling experiences of bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils by drawing on quantitative data from the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school'. Then, in part two, I will focus on bilingual pupils exclusively and discuss key factors that influence their experiences at school by drawing on qualitative data generated by the questionnaire, 'What I think about school', together with data from the case studies. In part three, I will discuss the complex interplay of positive and negative factors seen through the bilingual children's socialization trajectories, which highlight ways in which these children use coping strategies to manage their situation and respond strategically. This is followed by the final parts: implications, recommendations and conclusion.

7.1 Part one: Isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling – how do isolated bilingual children's school experiences differ from monolingual pupils?

In order to answer the first research question, 'What are isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling?', it was necessary to draw on quantitative data from the questionnaire, 'It happened to me at school'. The questionnaire provided reports of pupils'

experiences during the previous week, whilst at school. As the questionnaire had been completed by both bilingual and monolingual pupils this enabled me to consider how different or similar bilingual learners' schooling experiences were from those of monolingual pupils. This allowed me to answer the following research question: Do experiences of schooling differ between isolated bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils?

A summary of the overall results, which show a comparison between isolated bilingual and monolingual pupils' responses about 'experiences during the previous week', can be seen in chapter 5, section 5.1.2 and appendix 16.

The findings from this study revealed an overall, complex picture as illustrated below. This study showed that children's experiences at school, of being bilingual or monolingual, were generally similar: common areas were identified for both groups of pupils.

The broad areas of commonality included positive aspects: including social inclusion and practical support, and negative aspects associated with racism, bullying and aggression, name calling and social exclusion. Little difference was found between bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers in terms of the level of reporting experiences of some aspects such as social exclusion and practical support.

Therefore, this study highlighted that bilingual children's experiences were not exclusive to them. With some categories I might have expected that the impact would be seen on bilingual pupils only; but this was not the case, as illustrated through the aspect of racism. For even though, as seen in chapter 5, section 5.1.2, figure 5 and appendix 16, bilingual pupils recorded a notably high score (22%), racism was also recorded for monolingual pupils (14%). Nonetheless, these findings reflected the differences between bilingual and monolingual pupils that would have been predicted on the basis of the literature and endorse what has already been mentioned in chapter 3, section 3.12.7 – 'Racialised Othering'. Apart from the work of Cline et al. (2002) differences between majority and minority groups had not been explored and findings from that research (Cline et al., 2002) indicated a level of sameness between both groups of pupils, as reported in this study. In Cline's study, although the minority ethnic group recorded higher scores on the Racism index, as found in this study, racism was also recorded by white pupils, such that, "little difference was found between the white and minority ethnic groups" (Cline et al., 2002: 27).

Forms of racism

As discussed earlier in this thesis and outlined above racism was seen as a complex category and difficult to easily discuss. There was, therefore, a need to problematise and

interrogate this concept. How this complexity played out became more apparent having undertaken the study. With regard to the aspect of racism, as employed by Cline et al. (2002), three situations were used in the questionnaire to signify this aspect: 'someone was rude about the colour of my skin', 'someone was rude because I'm different', and 'someone made fun of me because of my accent'. It is noteworthy that the results of my study indicated that both bilingual and monolingual pupils, who were White British pupils, reported experiencing each of the three negative experiences as seen in chapter 5, section 5.2.2, figure 6 and appendix 17.

Certainly, when accounting for the findings, the concept of difference was found to be helpful. In the light of these findings a question is raised concerning the helpfulness and value of using the term racism and whether the term 'difference' might provide a more appropriate term and approach to use. For bilingual pupils in the study difference associated with race or ethnicity would possibly be more apparent through language, culture, religion and the visible difference of physical appearance. However, some, if not all, of these factors may also apply to monolingual pupils within the white majority group. In fact, difference may be noticed within any child who is considered to be unlike the 'norm'. Similarly, with regard to the situation, 'someone made fun of me because of my accent', it is easy to imagine the strong regional accent held by monolingual pupils from, for example, areas around Birmingham or Liverpool who join schools in Frasershire. For these children their accent would also identify difference from their peers and be a possible target for negative comments. This point is linked to an example in which a year seven pupil had moved to her present school from Scotland where she had grown up. She was born in this country to parents from Pakistan. She had been teased for her Scottish accent when she moved to a primary school in England; yet she had not been teased for ethnic or religious reasons (Cline et al., 2002: 78).

With regard to white children referring to negative attitudes towards their skin colour, there are possible explanations. Derogatory comments may have been made due to a perception that a child's skin colour was something other than 'white'. This relates to Pearce's (2005) account of 'shadism', which was referred to in chapter 3, section 3.12.7 'Racialised othering'.

In her study, reporting a dispute between two South Asian girls and a black girl in an infant class, Pearce (2005) provided an example of dark skin prejudice among the South Asian children in the study. Famida, a Pakistani girl, referred to herself as white, causing confusion for her teacher who related whiteness to European origins and, therefore, did not see the girl as white. For Famida her skin colour was paler than the black child's. In this case Famida's racism, which confused the teacher, was related to shade of skin colour. This may also

account for the situation found in this study. Although this was, perhaps, an extreme example, Pearce (2005: 61) indicated there were subtle, "more common incidents that revealed a negative attitude towards difference, even in this relatively diverse school population. Children who did not belong to one of the main ethnic groups in the school sometimes fell victim to ridicule or exclusion".

Name calling and social exclusion

For situations, as seen in chapter 5, section 5.2.3, figure 7 and appendix 18, which signified name calling and social exclusion, each were experienced by both bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers. In a major study of everyday experience in rural England (Gaine & Lamley, 2003: 34) minority ethnic people described "being marginalised, or being targeted", and this included incidents in schools when students were laughed at for being considered different. This form of social exclusion was also reported by other bilingual children in my study. As mentioned by Gaine and Lamley above, bilingual pupils may be considered 'easy targets' for ridicule and being laughed at by peers.

In some situations, as shown in chapter 5, section 5.2.3, figure 7 and appendix 18, more negative experiences were reported by the monolingual pupils than the bilingual pupils. These differences were more marked between the pupil groups for 'someone called me a name that upset me' and 'someone was nasty about my family'. This may imply that the bilingual children were well integrated socially and accepted within school or it is possible that in comparison to their peers the bilingual pupils in this study were less aware of more specific derogatory words or terms described in these situations due to their level of language competency skills. This would also account for a lower level of reporting by the bilingual children regarding the situation of being called an upsetting name. These findings are in line with research studies referred to in chapter 3, section 3.12.7 – 'Racialised othering'. From her study, Cole (2008) also pointed out that in the case of the isolated bilingual learner the difficulties of reporting are compounded by language barriers as well as the pupil's status as the newcomer. Regarding the situation 'someone said things that hurt me', this is less specific and refers to the feelings and perceptions of individual children. A wider range of comments may have been hurtful, accounting for why this received the highest response level.

Bullying and aggression

In situations associated with bullying and aggression, as noted above, a similar pattern of response was evident because bilingual children encountered less negative peer behaviour than their monolingual peers. This can be seen in chapter 5, section 5.2.4, figure 8 and

appendix 19. When considering bullying and aggression, difference was seen between the experiences of bilingual and monolingual pupils. It was noted that, 'someone got a gang on me', was the only category for which the level of response was greater for the bilingual pupils than their monolingual peers. In attempting to explain this feature it would be valuable to look at this further. In particular it would be helpful to explore how bilingual children interpreted the expression 'got a gang on me' in comparison with their peers. On the basis of the literature, discussed in chapter 3, section 3.12.7, it might have been thought that bilingual children in mainly white schools would be characterised by pupil negativity towards them. Such fears seemed groundless. A possible explanation for the findings in this study may be that some of the bilingual pupils in this sample group had recorded their ethnic background as 'white', whereas, in previous research (Cline et al., 2002: 12), referred to in chapter 3, the data for minority ethnic pupils, who had been identified as 'White European', 'White Other' and 'White British' were excluded (section 3.12.7 – 'Racialised othering') .

Social aspects

Regarding practical support at school, section 5.2.5, figure 9 and appendix 20 show that the highest response from both groups was recorded for 'someone helped me with my classwork'. The similarity of response for this experience for both pupil groups was nearly identical. However, whilst it is reassuring that help was received for three quarters of both pupil groups, it is a concern that nearly a quarter of the pupils from both groups said that they had not been helped with their work. Although the findings here promote a positive picture of all pupils receiving practical support within the classroom situation there are questions that are raised. It is likely that some of these pupils would not have wanted nor needed support. However, for other pupils, particularly bilingual pupils, perhaps support was needed with work and would have been helpful. This begs the question: Why did some pupils not receive practical support?

Social inclusion was experienced by both bilingual and monolingual pupils, as seen in chapter 5, section 5.2.6, figure 10 and appendix 21. The two pupil groups did not differ greatly in the frequency with which they reported aspects relating to social inclusion. For example, this was evidenced by the situation, 'someone played a game with me' (bilingual pupils 97%, monolingual pupils 96%).

Research (Woods et al., 1999) suggests that friendships are common across ethnic groups in schools with balanced multi-ethnic populations. In this study, pupils developed similar friendship patterns in spite of being socially isolated. The findings here, in line with Cline et al. (2002: 68), suggest that the isolated bilingual pupils were socially integrated and enjoyed the same range of experiences as would be expected of any other children.

7.1.1 *A reflection on terminology in light of the findings*

It can be seen from section 7.1 that a complex picture is emerging from the data, which challenges the assumption that the experiences of bilingual children are unique. These findings, both endorse the research of others, as stated earlier in this chapter, and offer new insights.

A major insight that has emerged concerns the complex nature of bilingualism, highlighting that bilingualism is a complex category, which raises questions about the distinctiveness of bilingual as a category and about the practice of distinguishing children in this way. This is an aspect, which is surprising for it is not readily noticeable or acknowledged that there is a strong sameness between bilingual and monolingual pupils. Findings discussed later in this chapter provide further evidence of the complexity of bilingualism. In light of the findings and new insight emerging it is appropriate to reflect on key terminology as discussed in chapter 2 and to consider the potential issues its deployment raises in relation to isolated bilingual learners.

Illustrating the point that bilingualism is a complex category, mentioned in chapter 2, definitions of the phenomenon 'bilingual' are problematic. This extends to the definition adopted by DfES (2006), as stated in chapter 2, section 2.1.1, which implies that there is nothing distinctive about bilingual learners. This definition has no reference to a child's ethnic background or culture. Therefore, it could refer to any child who understands a limited level of any language other than English. Using a definition without specified guidelines makes it challenging to know what and how to measure the bilingual abilities of a child or the use made of a language or languages. Also, gaining a consistent approach to compare pupils from different educational settings would be unlikely. In addition, even if opportunities do exist for bilingual children to use their bilingual skills in an educational context some children may choose not to use their home language in favour of the majority language.

7.1.2 *Summary of part one*

The findings in this research how bilingual pupils and monolingual pupils may share the same positive and negative experiences at school. However, bilingual pupils generally experienced negative peer behaviour less than monolingual pupils. This creates a strange yet interesting picture because, apart from some negative elements, the experiences of both groups are similar. This is a feature, as mentioned above, that others have reported (Cline et al., 2002). It is evident that this is a complex phenomenon, which needs to be unpicked further.

I will now go on to discuss data generated from a questionnaire and interviews undertaken exclusively with bilingual learners, which considers the factors identifiable as impacting on their experiences. The findings appear to challenge the unitary nature of bilingualism as a category, as the bilingual children share different views and responses to their experiences as will be discussed.

7.2 Part two: Isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling – factors that contribute to their experiences

7.2.1 *Introduction*

When asked about aspects of school that they disliked, some bilingual pupils from five schools provided a strong message that there was actually nothing they disliked about school at all (Questionnaire (Q), five responses) or that made them feel unhappy (Q, four responses) (chapter 5, section 5.4, figures 16 and 17)). These pupils felt extremely positive about their schooling experiences, which reflected the findings of others (Cline et al., 2002). However, there was a different reaction by many more pupils who provided evidence explaining why they disliked their school as seen later in the chapter. This data demonstrates the variability that is evidence of the move to question the unitary nature of the category 'bilingualism'

A number of key factors were generated from the data which contributed to bilingual children's experiences of schooling. These include: prejudice and issues of visibility and audibility, teacher practice and provision, social aspects, family aspects, and the child.

Question: What factors contribute to bilingual children's experiences of schooling?

Some factors were considered to contribute to bilingual pupils' schooling experiences from both a positive as well as a negative perspective, which helped to illustrate the complexity and diversity of responses made by the bilingual pupil group.

7.2.2 *Prejudice and issues of visibility and audibility*

In this study pupils said that they experienced racism at school. Comments made by four pupils referred to the children being perceived as different from their monolingual peers for different reasons due to their religion, physical appearance, and cultural background. These experiences made the pupils dislike their schools (chapter 5, section 5.4 and figure 16).

In addition to racism, other forms of negative peer behaviour were said to have been experienced by some children including bullying and physical aggression and being excluded (chapter 5, section 5.4 and figure 17). 'Negative peer behaviour' (Q, 16 responses)

led to a high level of response given by children for not liking school. It was the most commonly scored reason for making bilingual pupils feel unhappy.

In attempting to account for prejudice against bilingual pupils it is useful to consider overlapping factors such as ethnicity and constraints within the school culture such as evidence of school diversity.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity, mentioned in chapter 2, was a factor which impacted on the schooling experiences of the bilingual children. In chapter 2, ethnicity was referred to as an essential part of how individuals construct their identity. For some individuals aspects of identity such as gender or religion may be more salient than colour. However, it is colour which remains a key determinant of the kind of treatment people receive with language, religion and culture all playing a key part in their being defined as 'the other' (Gaine, 1995: 26). This links to a key finding from this study which illustrated how ethnicity impacted negatively on the schooling experiences of all bilingual pupils in the case studies and others in the study too. The ethnicity of the bilingual children signalled them as different from their peers. 'Being different' created challenges. The results here showed how difference manifested principally through pupils' language and physical appearance was the root cause of problems. With regard to physical appearance four bilingual pupils in the case studies were similar in that they were visibly different. However, in one case, as reported in chapter 6, section 6.2, Harald, a White Western European child from Denmark, closely resembled his peers. He was visually the same because he had white skin. It was noteworthy that Harald reported no experience of racist comments as described in chapter 6, section 6.2.4. His mother confirmed that in her belief he encountered no racism due to the colour of his skin and resemblance to his peers.

The findings in this study regarding 'visible and audible difference' endorse those mentioned in chapter 3, section 3.12.7. Miller (2003: 84) described how Australian students carried out racialising practice on the basis of students looking Asian or resembling the dominant Anglo-Australian culture. In Harald's case his ethnicity was not distinguished by physical appearance or skin colour and created no problems for him. But visible ethnic differences did cause challenges for other bilingual pupils as reported in the questionnaire 'What I think about school' (chapter 5, section 5.4). This data also offers a new insight that 'visible sameness' between a bilingual pupil and his peers led to a lack of racism towards the pupil. Although skin colour was not an issue for all bilingual pupils in the case studies, language associated with their ethnicity was. It was challenging for these isolated bilingual pupils because their language use emphasised a difference to the majority group. In this case the bilingual pupils were similar in being audibly different to their peers.

Various factors in Frasershire impacted on the school 'culture' by providing constraints against which the children in the cases negotiated their entry into school. This is illustrated through ethnicity and the prejudice against bilingual children believed to be due to a lack of school diversity, which is discussed in the following section.

School diversity

Meena, Ria and Filip each commented on the presence of diversity in their previous schools but the noticeable lack of diversity within their new school and class in Frasershire. All three, but particularly Meena, saw this as problematic. Meena (chapter 6, section 6.4) believed that the lack of diversity in her new 'mainly white school' led her to being seen as visibly different to her peers, which endorses research findings (Miller, 2003) discussed earlier in this chapter and in chapter 3, section 3.12.7. This was believed by her and her mother to be a strong contributory factor to the problems she experienced in being unable to make friends during her transition to school and the marginalisation and subtle racism she experienced. It is noteworthy, however, that in the school considered to have the greatest pupil diversity, within the case study schools, Emily also experienced challenges. In this case, Emily was seen as different from her white peers but also different from other bilingual pupils due to her physical appearance and skin colour. This endorses research findings referred to in chapter 3, section 3.12.7. Pearce (2005) discussed the concept of 'shadism' in her study in which the attitude to difference in shade of skin colour was noticed and mattered. Associating this phenomenon with a long held association of dark skin with low caste or class status (Pearce, 2005: 58), paler skin tones were seen as preferable to darker ones, as confirmed by Gaine.

It is significant therefore, that negative peer behaviour and racism associated with audible and visible difference were evident in schools in Frasershire with both low and higher densities of diversity. These findings are endorsed in influential research on the education of minority ethnic pupils in urban areas with high levels of diversity (Smith & Tomlinson, 1989: Gillborn & Gipps, 1996; Blair et al, 1998), which reported the widespread incidence of racism. Similarly, following a study of primary schools, Troyna and Hatcher (1992: 195) concluded that racism was a significant feature of the culture of children in predominantly white primary schools. In addition, the seminal study concerning minority ethnic pupils in mainly white schools concluded that: "a significant proportion of the minority ethnic pupils reported race-related name calling or verbal abuse at school" (Cline et al., 2002: 1). In chapter 3, section 3.12.7 further details of these studies are highlighted.

Teacher practice and provision

Through interviewing the bilingual children and as generated by other data, it became apparent that teachers were reported as contributing to pupils' schooling experiences from both a positive and negative perspective. From a positive perspective new insights, related to access, have emerged because some teachers in the study provided an appropriate classroom environment conducive to learning enabling their bilingual pupils to understand what they were doing, gain access to the curriculum, and work to the best of their ability. The use, by some teachers, of projects, group work and collaborative working, signalled good practice in providing support strategies (Gibbons, 1991; Smyth, 2003).

It is not surprising that, when children feel comfortable and are working in a stress-free environment within their school setting, they also feel happy. It is in these circumstances that pupils feel more relaxed and are more receptive to learning and produce work of a good academic standard.

The findings here suggest that children in this sample would confirm this view. It was apparent that at times, whilst following over-arching national and local policy directives, as mentioned previously, some staff subconsciously hindered the progress by which the children 'got into' and then successfully 'got on' within their school environment. One aspect which was seen, heard and noted by some pupils concerned their teachers' behaviour (chapter 5, section 5.4, figure 16). It was surprising that some children said they disliked their teachers' behaviour and reported that negative teacher behaviour made them feel unhappy at school (Q, six responses) and unable to do their best work (Q, seven responses) (section 5.4, figure 19). In fact, a large number of pupils (Q, 13 responses) reported wanting the classroom behaviour of their teacher to change from being strict, angry and shouting at pupils and having a lack of humour (section 5.4, figure 20).

Linked to this aspect, Brooker (2002) described the principles behind the positive ethos of the school culture in her study, which emphasised the collective responsibility for behaviour of all members of the school community: "The way in which teachers behave has the greatest effect on the way the children behave in school. They will model themselves on us" (Brooker, 2002: 69). It would be interesting to examine whether such principles existed for the schools in this study and whether those in authority were aware of what was reported by the children to be happening. These findings reflect the need for awareness.

Fitting in

Teacher beliefs or attitudes regarding the support for bilingual children were also seen to impact on pupils in a negative manner at times. This was evidenced by the way none of the children in the cases wanted to stand out as different from their peers, as discussed in chapter 6. They all wanted to 'fit in' with their classmates. However, the desire to do this was strongly influenced by the attitude and approach of the class teacher. In the cases, each of the three teachers had expectations of what constituted a 'good pupil'.

As expressed by Wright (1993), teachers assess children against their own 'ideal type' pupil with expectations made such that a pupil role is adopted, "based on an anglicized model which fails to take their own background cultures fully into account" (Woods et al., 1999: 11).

With regard to Filip (chapter 6, section 6.1) and Harald (section 6.2) in particular, the boys gained a good sense of what was and was not an appropriate way to represent themselves in the class and actively sought to conform to gain acceptance and approval from their teacher and peers (Rich & Davis, 2007: 42). Overall, the aim of the bilingual learners was to be seen as the same as everyone else in the class, they did not want to be seen as different, they wanted to 'fit in'. However, each pupil approached this in a particular way using their own strategic approach as discussed in each of the case studies in chapter 6.

The findings here endorse findings in research referred to in chapter 3, section 3.12.3 in which Willett's (1995) study reported that the successful completion of certain classroom tasks contributed to the 'good student' identity that children in the classroom community worked to achieve (Willett,1995). Rich and Davis (2007) also confirmed that the boys in their study, in an attempt to be accepted and wanting to be the same as others, adopted the strategy of attempting to assume the notions of pupil identity promoted by the school. Reflecting a similar view, Berry and Williams (2004) also reported Chinese pupils' strategic attempts to conform to anglicised notions of pupil identity in a mainly white UK private school. Finally, Drury (2004) in her focused study on Samia, who was starting to learn English, concluded that the "early desire to learn English and to adapt to the new socioculture is very strong" (Drury, 2004: 50). Later Drury (2007) provided evidence of the different strategies that young children chose to manage and take control over their invisible learning at nursery. One such strategy she entitled 'Conforming to adult expectations' (Drury, 2007: 70). She described how a child conformed to what she understood to be required of her by adults in the class setting. The child's behaviour was similar in many ways to that of Harald, Filip, Emily and Ria, but not Meena, illustrating that the bilingual children did not form a homogeneous group. The studies described in this section are also referred to in chapter 3.

One size fits all

In the current study, from the perspective of Filip's teacher (chapter 6, section 6.1.3), it seemed as though the process of becoming a 'good student' and 'fitting in' with the rest of the class involved little need for her to do much different with the bilingual pupils than she would with any other pupils.

Willett (1995: 481) identified a similar situation regarding inappropriate actions due to teachers' beliefs. In this case the teacher's classroom practice was supported by the parents because her class resembled their expectations of a 'good practice' classroom. Unfortunately the teacher believed that English would 'emerge naturally' from newcomers through participation in the class. Consequently, she believed there was no reason to provide specific support for bilingual children new to English (chapter 3, section 3.12.3 – 'Teacher beliefs').

Another constraint imposed by one teacher related to the pupils' classroom seating arrangements (chapter 6, section 6.1.3). In an attempt to promote good classroom behaviour and restrict talking and silliness, Harald and Filip's teacher arranged the children within the class as boy, girl, boy, girl rather than allowing friends to sit together. This restricted the likelihood of pupils talking to each other. The findings in my study endorsed similar practice reported by Willett (1995. In this case, particularly for Filip, the seating arrangement had consequences (chapter 6, section 6.1.3). On the one hand, at times, like others in the class, he was forced to work on his own to complete teacher assigned activities. On the other hand, the girl sitting next to Filip, and described by school staff as a 'busy body', was seen to help and support Filip with his classwork. Filip's teacher seemed happy to promote this arrangement. However, this situation created a concern because the implication was that Filip gained support, in some fashion, from another classmate, yet lacked appropriate help and assistance from someone who was far more qualified – his teacher – as discussed in chapter 6, section 6.1.3. Relevant here is the study by Platt and Troudi (1997), which is referred to in chapter 3, section 3.12.3, where it reported that class practices promoted by the teacher did not adequately assist a bilingual child's learning. Similarly, most noticeable, was the teacher's belief in the value of natural processes through peer tutoring rather than direct teaching from her to scaffold learning.

Linked to this, Toohey (1998, 2000) found that specific teacher practices including pupil location and movement resulting from the arrangement of equipment and lack of collaborative working and self-help were denying some children access to essential material and linguistic and social resources. These bilingual pupils were described as 'deficient' and became "systematically excluded from just those practices in which they might otherwise

appropriate identities and practices of growing competence and expertise" (Toohey, 1998: 61). Experiences similar to those mentioned here were encountered by Emily as outlined in chapter 6, section 6.3.

Research (Youngs & Youngs, 2001: 98) also suggests that mainstream teachers expect less of students using non-standard English. In my study it is of some relevance here to remember that Emily was concerned that she had been placed inappropriately into a lower level attainment group by her teacher. It is evident that the findings in this study closely endorse research findings discussed in chapter 3, section 3.12.3.

An insight offered by this study, associated with teachers, concerns the influence and power that their role has on bilingual children. This was seen from different perspectives including the way in which some children conformed to what was required and expected by adults in the educational setting in order to fit in with the classroom community. Whilst appropriate teacher attitudes and classroom practice can greatly promote the success of bilingual pupils, a concern is raised when this is clearly absent. As seen elsewhere in research conducted by Elliot (1975), the impact of teacher attitudes, classroom approaches and practice plays an influential role in the experiences of the children in his or her classroom.

7.2.3 *Social aspects*

A striking aspect of this study was the significance of social aspects on the lives of the bilingual children. Friends were seen as key and were rated as the most important reason for children liking their school. It was no surprise that friendship and feeling socially included were rated as the two most important factors for making bilingual children feel happy at school.

Children in the case studies wanted and attempted to make friends at school. Following transition, apart from Meena (chapter 6, section 6.4), the bilingual children were positioned by their classmates such that they were accepted into the majority group. However, it was not an automatic given that they would move from the periphery to the accepted centre of the group – they had to work hard, in different ways, to achieve this although, notably, Meena never did.

Endorsing these findings, Kanno (1999), reporting on her study of bilingual pupils' identities, described a student, who in some ways resembled Meena. The student's attempts to make friends with native English speaking peers were challenging. Unfortunately, because the pupil had been difficult to understand, her peers had been impatient and unwilling to

communicate with her, thus making it difficult for her to make friends (chapter 3, section 3.12.7).

Also, of relevance to this study is an aspect of the research conducted by Cline et al. (2002), outlined in chapter 3, section 3.12.7. It discussed the social environment at school, the friendships that children had there, and their social integration. The findings highlighted, as with this study, that children had negotiated friendships across cultural and religious boundaries usually without support from other children from the same background. It was also noted in the research findings (Cline et al., 2002) that the majority of pupils who had attended school over a significant period of time had integrated socially. Whilst this was true for the majority of the case studies in this county, clearly others appeared to be "characterised by isolation and loneliness" (Cline et al., 2002: 68) and were not socially integrated within their peer group highlighting variation of experiences within the bilingual pupil group.

In multilingual, heterogeneous societies, if the dominant group considers that the ideal model of society is monolingual (Blommaert & Verschuertin, 1999 cited in Blackledge, 2000: 5), questions are raised such as 'who is in?' and 'who is out?'. A dominant ideology of homogeneity in diverse societies poses questions of social justice. As illustrated through Meena, an ideology such as this excludes and discriminates against individuals who are unwilling or unable to fit the norm (Blackledge, 2000: 5). Identified by others, children's participation in the class may depend not only on the teacher's rules for participation but also on the child's standing and relationship with peers (Gillen & Hall, 2003).

Notably, when describing their experiences of starting school, children were more worried about the social challenges than those relating to school work (Cline et al., 2002). This included concern about missing friends. Similar responses were also made by children in this study, as indicated in the cases described in chapter 6.

The data in this study, associated with social aspects, provides another insight relating to pupil relationships. A key aspect of the lives of bilingual children was making and having friends and when this worked well everything was fine. Yet there appeared to be a very fine balance between this positive situation and the reverse when friendship problems and having no-one to play with, left bilingual children feeling left out, lonely, sad and unhappy. The negative pupil impact was isolation.

7.2.4 *Family aspects*

Familial structure and background

Another factor seen to impact on the experiences of the bilingual children was rooted in their familial structure and background. In two examples from the cases, the family situations were complex and fragile with the mother taking sole responsibility for the family without any other family support. When faced with a crisis there were challenges for individuals in the family and the unit as a whole, which impacted on the children's transition into school as explained through Filip's story (chapter 6, section 6.1) and Meena's story (chapter 6, section 6.4).

Endorsing these findings is the study conducted by Brooker (2002: 159) and discussed in chapter 3, section 3.12.4 in which family structure was also seen as a factor that shaped the experiences of children. As found in Brooker's study, families such as Filip's and Meena's were initially at a disadvantage for being "isolated and helpless at times of crisis" (Brooker, 2002) in comparison to those who could call on support from family members.

Familial relationships

The familial relationships in two cases between the oldest child in the family, Filip and Meena (chapter 6, section 6.4) and their respective mother were similar in that they were complex and impacted negatively on the pupils' transition to school. In each case the challenging aspects of their relationship stemmed from circumstances associated with situations in their home country prior to coming to Frasershire. The relationship between mother and child in these families was at times very tense with blame positioned at the mother and anger felt by the child. As a result, both children had a strong sense of not wishing to start or engage with schooling in Frasershire.

In a case study discussed by Brooker (2002: 131), as in this study, the relationship between parents and child was also highlighted as complex and challenging. Brooker described how the family lacking support with parenting skills from school or elsewhere had a child who was apparently academically able but reluctant to engage in learning within certain situations.

The significance of parental attitudes: capital

When considering the significance of parental attitudes and practices Bourdieu's concept of the different types of capital helped to explain the schooling experiences of the children in the case studies. Whilst none of the families had what Bourdieu would term 'connections' two families had easier access to the most influential institution of all, their children's school.

Within the case studies the families varied in the level of social capital they could attain as well as the value this held for their children at school. For example, Emily's father was held in considerable esteem regarding his achievements in the educational community at the University and celebrated by his family at home. However, there were no apparent benefits of this high status on Emily at school. Instead the family's success and influence remained invisible and carried little weight, if any, in influencing her class teacher's expectations. The findings here are endorsed by Brooker (2002: 29) in her study of Bangladeshi families in London as mentioned in chapter 3.

As with most families all the children in the case studies came from families which attempted to do the best they could for their children within their particular circumstances. In each family the impact of parental attitude was noticeable on the children. This was more successful in the cases of Harald (chapter 6, section 6.2) and Emily (chapter 6, section 6.3) than for the other children. Harald and Emily's families each containing Mum, Dad and two children were similar in that they acted as a strong familial unit in which relationships were good. Both families arrived in Frasershire knowing their stay was for a set period of time. They embraced the opportunities the move to England offered by visiting places, utilising facilities and engaging in activities alongside English children and families and were keen for their children to explore a range of experiences.

Family practices

Within the cases it was evident that the effectiveness of family practices varied in their ability to create social and cultural capital and therefore support children's learning at school. In some cases the family practices were highly effective and therefore counted highly for creating social and cultural capital for the child in school and were also effective in supporting the child's schooling.

In the case of Harald (chapter 6, section 6.2), his mother's attitude and therefore actions provided a positive bridge to support his transition into school. During Harald's first week of schooling his mother became known by the teachers. As his translator she gained access to what was going on at school. She was confident in the school environment and showed the teachers how she was interested in education and had high expectations for her son. Later she accrued greater social affluence through working at the school as a teacher herself and engaging socially with other staff members. Her confidence was communicated to her son who also seemed confident and relaxed within the school setting. These findings are endorsed by the work of Bronfenbrenner (1979), cited in chapter 3, section 3.12.4.

Fillip's mother (chapter 6, section 6.1), also gained ready access to school staff and valuable school information because unlike the other mothers in the case studies she was White British and spoke the same language as the majority group. Her direct links with Filip's teacher were strong and she felt readily able to discuss her concerns about her son's transition into school. Once again the value of the families' cultural capital was enhanced by the ownership of social capital. Likewise, in Brooker's study (2002: 30), endorsing the findings here, it was highlighted that the value of 'What you know' can be enhanced by 'Who you know'. As with Filip's mother, Brooker (2002: 120) also found that, "only those parents with the linguistic and social skill" were able to talk with school staff and check out how their children were achieving at school.

Unfortunately, the capital possessed by Kurti's family and inherited by her children seemed to impact negatively on the children's status and achievements when starting school: particularly in the case of one sibling – Meena (chapter 6, section 6.4). This complex situation, termed 'negative social capital' (Brooker, 2002: 31) helped to explain the challenges which can befall families, reducing their effectiveness in supporting their children's learning. It was reported elsewhere (Brooker, 2002) that unfortunately negative outcomes may be seen in that families may diminish their standing in the eyes of school staff, together with negatively impacting on their own sense of efficacy in managing their lives. In the case of Meena's family, Meena's accident, together with relationship challenges at home and at school, created multiple difficulties, which overshadowed the family. Once again the findings in this study reflect those elsewhere (Brooker, 2002: 31).

Learning English

As shown in chapter 6, for three children in the case studies, Filip, Harald and Emily, a similarity was seen in their positive parental attitudes towards learning English whilst at school in Frasershire. To illustrate this point Emily's father emphasised the importance of acquiring English whilst in England saying, "she came here to learn English!", whilst Emily's mother reinforced this necessity. This attitude was reflected by the other two families although perhaps not quite as strongly. Nonetheless, the impact of the children was similar. In each case the parental attitudes impacted positively on their children's approach to learning and, therefore, what they did in the class setting. For example, Emily requested additional homework from the teacher to support her need to learn English.

Interestingly, in the case of Meena (chapter 6, section 6.4) and Ria (chapter 6, section 6.5), the same positive parental attitude towards learning English was not evident. However, the same drive to learn English may not have been necessary due to an expectation that, having

previously learnt English at school in Malaysia, the girls would be readily able to communicate in English: even though this was not the case.

The findings here replicate those of other research studies (chapter 3, section 3.12.8). Pagett (2006: 137) identified from her study that English was valued and rewarded institutionally and socially in the school contexts with the children aligning themselves with this. Social capital was an important factor affecting children's use of language in the school setting. Pupils were keen to learn English. The children's use of English in the class allowed them to build social capital which could be seen as essential to promoting their success (Pagett, 2006: 143) both in Frasershire and back in their home country.

An insight described in this study is the way that family aspects impacted positively on the schooling experiences of bilingual children. A stable familial structure in which relationships are positive rather than tense, complex and challenging are advantageous for all children and bilingual learners are no exception. Linked to this, is the way that both positive parental attitudes towards learning English and family practices also impacted positively on bilingual children. Some family practices may be highly effective in creating social and cultural capital for a child, which effectively supports how the child 'gets into' and 'gets on' at school.

7.2.5 *The child: language, academic ability and resilience*

<u>Language</u>

All the children in the case studies were similar in that when they newly arrived in Frasershire although they were able to read and write in their first language, none was able to speak or use English adequately with their peers or teachers. This meant that the pupils initially experienced great challenges in understanding the curriculum and communicating with others in the classroom setting and making friends. In this way they were different from their peers.

It was noticeable with Harald (chapter 6, section 6.2) how having access to English and therefore having a voice through his mother's intervention had such a positive impact on him and others in the class too. Flynn (2007), referred to in chapter 3, also provides evidence that parental influence made a marked difference to bilingual pupil achievement. In addition, as mentioned in chapter 3, section 3.12.4, the findings here are endorsed by Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Academic ability

With regard to academic ability, apart from Harald, the actual ability of each bilingual pupil was masked, certainly initially during their transition to school, by their lack of access to English. As highlighted in chapter 6, for all case study pupils, this proved frustrating as none had reported experiencing academic problems in their previous schools. In fact, conversely, some, if not all, were considered to be academically able. Filip, for example, discussed his frustration, which was reiterated by his mother because he was able to understand and do the maths calculations but was held back because he was unable to understand the written instructions that accompanied them. Unfortunately, lack of engagement with academic work by the bilingual pupils led their peers to assume inappropriately that they lacked academic ability. They were seen as stupid. Ibrahim (1999), from his study, referred to in chapter 3, section 3.12.7, reported similar findings, in that African students were 'denigrated' for their inability to speak English. In Ibrahim's study a bilingual pupil describing his monolingual peers said: "they think that we are really stupid, that we are retarded, that we don't understand the language" (Ibrahim, 1999: 359). Interestingly, the experiences were similar although Ibrahim's study, unlike this, took place in a diverse multi-ethnic school.

The monolingual children's view about their bilingual peers replicates the traditional assumption that bilingualism equates to an intellectual and social disadvantage. It is Cummins (2001), who has challenged this negative perception by his concept of a common underlying proficiency in which cognitive skills are transferred from one language to another.

Resilience

The final insight relates to the courage, strength and resilience held by individual bilingual children within their educational settings.

Newly arrived, isolated bilingual children face immense challenges when they start school in this county. This stems from an unfamiliarity with their new world and all that goes on there, no friends, and often, no language or anyone to communicate with in their own language. Although bilingual children, when newly arrived, may be literate in their first language and academically able, these skills may be unacknowledged and invisible within the new education system. In addition, loss may be experienced of their language, culture, friends and loved ones back home. The loss experienced by isolated bilingual pupils may also remain unacknowledged at school.

Furthermore, bilingual children encounter both negative attitudes from peers for being different and inappropriate approaches from teaching staff. In spite of the great frustration

this may create, bilingual children can be seen to be successful. Success comes from within each individual child through the strategies adopted that enable him or her to manage and cope with the challenging experiences encountered.

7.2.6 *Summary of part two*

From this section it can be seen that a complex picture is emerging from the data, which challenges the assumption that bilingual children are a homogeneous group. These findings endorsed by research referred to in chapter 3, help to develop our understanding by offering new insights and generating new understanding and by adding to the factors identified as significant by other researchers. In addition, there are two emerging themes running through the data.

New understanding has been generated revealing the complex nature of bilingualism. The findings here revealed how bilingual and monolingual pupils may share the same positive and negative schooling experiences, which challenges the categorisation of children into these groups. The findings also appear to challenge the unitary nature of bilingualism as a category, as the bilingual children shared varied views and responses to their experiences.

The findings from this study have revealed different factors contributing to schooling experiences of bilingual children including a new factor, providing new understanding of bilingual pupils. This factor called 'loss' was experienced by all the children in the case studies. In moving to schools in Frasershire they experienced loss, not only of their home language, but also of their cultural background, family members and friends, and previous home-school environments. Yet, in spite of the negative impact of these complex, overlapping factors, the bilingual children remained resilient. They took control to shape their own lives and, in general, were successful.

The findings here add to the factors identified by other researchers in which racism in educational settings was associated with audible and visible differences. Extending this understanding the findings in this study highlighted that, in one setting, despite audible difference, 'visible sameness' may have led to a lack of racism.

In addition, research studies endorse the findings here that teacher attitudes, classroom practice and provision play an influential and powerful role in bilingual children's schooling experiences with teachers' unwittingly promoting or constraining access to learning. This study extends this understanding further by revealing that some children, in particular Filip and Harald, appeared to conform, unquestioningly, to the expectations of their class teacher in order to be a 'good pupil' and 'fit in' with their peers.

The first emerging theme running through the data illustrates that the experiences of bilingual children can be quite variable due to the contribution of various factors. Secondly, for each child, these different factors seem likely to intersect in complex ways at various stages of their socialization trajectories.

I will now discuss five children's unfolding stories or narratives within their socialization trajectories to further illustrate their experiences.

7.3 Part three: Do all bilingual children share the same experiences?

7.3.1 *Introduction*

In this part of the chapter I will discuss the experiences of isolated bilingual children by drawing on the socialization trajectories of individuals from the case studies. This will enable me to answer the research question: How do isolated bilingual children's experiences of schooling change over time? These trajectories have been visually represented and can be seen in appendices 22-26. However, as stated above, the complexity with which factors overlapped must be borne in mind. Illustrating the micro details of this ongoing process it was possible to see the strategic ways in which the isolated bilingual pupils coped with their situations, enabling me to answer the question: 'How do isolated bilingual children respond strategically?' In an attempt to establish what key experiences were shared by the bilingual children I used the phases of the trajectory as a framework: pre-transition, transition and 'fitting in' until the end point was reached. I will highlight how one phase impinged on the next as various factors interfaced and how each child strategically managed the complex situations they were faced with.

7.3.2 *The pupils' unfolding stories: stages of the socialization trajectory*

<u>Pre-transition to transition</u>

A feature of the study showed that Meena, Emily and Harald shared experiences during the pre-transition stage, associated with family aspects, which were positive. In each case their parents supported their transition into school whilst undergoing a transition themselves (Dunlop & Fabian, 2007: 24). With this support, in the cases of Harald and Emily, although not so evident with Meena, came high parental expectations about the need to learn English whilst at school in the UK. A noticeable feature, however, was that one child had encountered previous experiences during this stage, which were seen to impact negatively on her early transition into school and beyond. This child was Meena. Prior to coming to the UK, Meena had experienced trauma through the death of her father. However, in spite of this devastating experience, Meena felt settled in school in Malaysia. Having been given a level

of responsibility, she was well established as a good student with a lot of friends. As a result Meena did not want to come with her mother, a full-time university student. She did not want to leave her friends and school. Appendix 22 illustrates these aspects in Meena's socialization trajectory.

From a sociocultural perspective, identities are constructed and reconstructed in classroom practices in which participants position themselves and are positioned by others, as discussed in chapter 3, section 3.9. Whilst primary socialization, familial experiences and cultural background will play a part, as seen by the children in this study, the dynamics of relations situated in each classroom setting had a powerful role in influencing what took place. This meant that children attained identities as different types of pupils -legitimate peripheral participants within their new classroom community. As identified in research studies and pertinent to this study, identities change and shift over time and children take up different identity positions that their classrooms offer (Norton Pierce, 1995; Toohey, 2000; Day, 2002; Kanno, 2003; Miller, 2003). Of relevance to this research, as found in other studies (Norton Pierce, 1995; Toohey, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2001; Brooker, 2002; Miller, 2003), was how some positions may be in conflict with others. For example, whilst the children were subject of and subject to relations of power in the classroom community, they each had agency. In the words of Biesta and Tedder (2006: 9) this enabled the children to be able to exert control over and give direction to their lives as seen through their socialization trajectories.

When considering the transition for Filip, Harald and Emily, all three pupils were in a similar position of encountering the transition into a new school within a new country, a new culture, and with a new language. Yet a difference was seen with Filip and Meena in that they had a level of reluctance about starting school, which was not evident with the other children. Their reluctance meant that early transition into school did not get off to a good start. Unlike Filip, for Meena negativity followed through the transition process. It was certainly compounded early on by the fact that, initially, Meena was unable to communicate in English with her peers and teachers. This had been unexpected and occurred in spite of having previously learnt English at school and using English at home with her family (appendix 22).

At this early stage of starting school, Filip, Emily and Harald were in a similar position to Meena and Ria in being unable to use English and understand their peers or teachers. Emily described feeling lonely, with no friends and, as described by her father, was withdrawn. Harald at this stage felt frustrated, marginalised and lacking in confidence. Unable to communicate and without friends Filip was also very frustrated. At this point the sameness

changed. Each child used agency and took steps to cope with his or her situation. Each child made a different strategic response.

Fillip wanted to have friends. He actively learnt English in order to communicate and participate in activities. Emily also badly wanted to make friends, so her approach, initially, was to carefully copy what other children did and to try at appropriate points to join in and play with them. Harald's situation was complex. He was intrinsically motivated and very bright. Consequently, as an isolated bilingual learner, he understood the need to learn English to communicate with his peers and, therefore, survive. His coping strategy was to watch and listen carefully to his peers, whilst being taught at school and to try and engage in classwork.

Unlike the other children, Harald had a voice in the class. Critical theory is useful here as a means to explore and critique how relations of power in social practices impact on identity formation, illustrating that some identities are seen as legitimate but others not (chapter 3, section 3.6). In an attempt to account for this situation it is important to see the relations and roles of significant others, namely Harald, his mother and the teacher, where power is seen as "a network of relations constantly in tension and ever present in activity" (Corson, 1993: 4). Illustrating how power operated in Harald's case, we can see that access was given to classroom interactions by his teacher with his mother acting as Harald's interpreter. Harald's teacher gave him a voice that could speak from a desirable and powerful identity. As a result Harald gained social capital in the class. Data in this study are in line with findings from other studies, referred to in chapter 3, (Willett, 1995; Toohey, 2000; Day, 2002). It enabled Harald's peers to see that, in spite of having limited English, he had academic ability and was keen to take part and learn English. The capital he gained helped to ensure he was positioned by his peers as a good student and, therefore, considered valuable to have as a friend. He was readily accepted by the majority, which helped to ensure a smooth transition (appendix 23).

Unlike Filip, Emily and Harald, who initiated positive action involving their peers, Meena's agentive, strategic response, by showing active resistance, was negative. Brooker's (2002: 92) description of Khiernssa's transition to nursery resembled Meena's actions in exercising her own agency by not conforming to the ideal type pupil and, therefore, restricting her own active participation in learning. Meena elected to speak in a very quiet voice, which proved problematic because it was difficult for her peers to understand and communicate with her. The pupils found her behaviour off-putting. Consequently, she found it difficult to make friends. It seemed as though Meena was choosing to put barriers in the way and exerting

agency and power by resisting and not helping herself to support the development of relationships.

During the transition period negative peer behaviour was experienced by all the children. However, the nature of this behaviour was not the same for each child. Some children made reference to their peers believing that they lacked ability because they had limited English. Harald described being 'laughed' at horribly for this reason. However, Meena, Ria and Emily, unlike Harald, described situations of social exclusion. Notably, Meena's teacher reported that negative comments had been made towards Meena. These had been deemed to be 'minor'. There was no evidence that action had been taken, either to support Meena or against the perpetrator.

As soon as they had started school, Emily and Meena were both very aware that they were different from the majority of children in their classes. In particular, both were aware that these differences included a different skin colour. This visible difference was not encountered by Harald. Meena perceived that the social exclusion, when encountered, was specifically due to being different through skin colour. Emily expressed a similar view. Meena perceived that lack of diversity at school was the root cause. However, Emily's school had much greater diversity, yet she still experienced problems.

Regarding pupil behaviour towards her son, Harald's mother explained that Harald had never experienced racism at school. She was certain this was because of his skin colour; he was white and closely resembled his peers. This was unlike Meena and Emily who were visibly different. In this study, visible difference was significant and impacted negatively on the pupils through negative peer behaviour.

On starting school, all five children encountered school constraints. These were enforced by staff through policy decisions, which meant they were in a monolingual, monocultural learning environment. Their languages, bilingual expertise and culture were nowhere to be seen. For the children it must have seemed that these important aspects of their identity were not valued. Supported by their families, both Harald and Emily took active steps to address this by using strategies, as described elsewhere in more detail, to bring their language and culture to the classroom to share with others.

Although the teachers were well-meaning, constraints were imposed in various ways by them on their pupils as described earlier in the chapter. Emily, in particular, encountered aspects of her teacher's classroom practice, which were inappropriate and resulted in her feeling very unhappy and frustrated. This happened for Emily at a time when she was newly arrived at school and could not speak English and had no friends (see appendix 24).

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Perhaps if Emily had had a 'voice' in the same way as Harald, she would have been able to express herself and the problems would have been resolved quicker and more comfortably. Fillip also encountered barriers created by class routines (appendix 25). In addition, he was upset at school due to experiencing loss and family issues described in section 7.2.4.

Transition to fitting in

There were aspects that both supported and hindered the children to fit in at school. In Meena's case, her transition into school had been challenging. This had included the episode of her accident, which her mother had perceived resulted from a racist incident. Meena had not made friends, was unhappy and seemed to alienate herself from other children who found her difficult to understand beyond simply the language barrier. This negativity continued into the next phase. School staff perceived that the problem arose from Meena's personality rather than issues at school. The blame was on the child. From a positive perspective, Meena's mother had tried to support her daughter and address the issues at school. Unfortunately she was unsuccessful and did not feel she had a voice, she perceived that school had abdicated responsibility – they had failed. Brooker's (2002) study showed that the amount of symbolic capital available to families varied. Reflecting Bourdieu's perception (chapter 3, section 3.5) that capital is power helps to explain the experiences of Meena and her family. On starting school the social, cultural and linguistic capital for the family were low – as reflected in the children's status and achievements. Although Bourdieu states that all capital is transferable, this was not evident; their status and position in Malaysia had not been transferred. Meena's mother was at the University, yet this did not appear to provide her with social prestige within the majority community nor to be effective in creating social and cultural capital for her children or to positively raise their profile in school. School staff saw the family experience difficulty, which suggested they were powerless at times. Meena's mother said that she felt that power was held within the white majority group regarding access to achievement and success.

Through primary socialization children acquire family habitus as well as a unique habitus (Bourdieu, 1990) of their own. Even within one family, every child's experience in the home is different. As described by Bourdieu, this disposition influences the child's future action. Through primary socialization, and the skills and knowledge that have been gained, children are enabled to move into their new school setting. Understanding the rules enables children to successfully enter new situations. Noticeably, on starting school, Harald's mother decided to 'play her cards' in a very particular way. Supporting her son successfully in the classroom ensured that, with high aspirations, she became known by school staff and attempted to invest in the future. As a concept habitus flags up the different life chances offered to

individuals. It provides a way of illustrating within a group, differences between individuals and families as seen in this study and Brooker's (2002) study.

In Emily, Filip, Ria and Harald's experience, their initial transition into school had been challenging too. The difference for Emily, Harald and, after a reluctant start, Filip, was that they had been prepared to work hard at making the move to their new school. Certainly, in Harald's case, his mother's attitude had helped too by providing a bridge, which supported his transition. Early on, the children's attitude and actions enabled them to be seen positively by their peers and teachers. For Filip this was achieved by gaining a better command of English. An early positive impression was crucial in enabling the children to be positioned, by their peers, in such a way that they were accepted and in a position to be able to fit in. But importantly they wanted to fit in and be like everyone else. The constraint put on Filip and Harald by their teachers to try to fit them into the norm as good students worked in their favour. Because they were motivated and eager to learn they used this as a strategic response. Consequently, they complied with their teacher's wishes by wanting to be good students and fit in. In Harald's case, earlier behavioural issues were overcome and overlooked because the teacher realised he had great academic potential and he came with a supportive family who had gained status.

Overlapping this, the positive impact on Harald's continuing success to fit in, from his family, especially his mother, was striking. Her continual and increased presence in the school as she took on different roles with increased status ensured that both mother and son were accepted by children and school staff alike and allowed to be successful. After all, this was what Harald's mother wanted.

In spite of finding relationships challenging, Emily persevered in employing strategies to cope with her situation. During the transition, Emily had attempted to make friends by engaging with her peers through cultural games and activities. Her efforts paid off because although Emily was seen by her peers as different, she was seen as a Korean girl, but special. Importantly, she was valued for who she was and accepted. This highlights a major difference between Emily and Meena. Although Meena also wanted to be accepted by her peers, she wanted to be accepted for who she was without making changes. Unfortunately, her peers were not prepared to accept this position. Consequently, Meena remained marginalised, without friends, and not fitting in at school. Ria, unlike her sister, was prepared to change. She did this by imitating her peers and becoming a 'British child' (appendix 26).

The transition process through to the end point was a great challenge for all the children with many negative aspects on route. Yet most had come through or were coming through the process successfully. Meena took a route through which she resisted and 'failed'. Both Emily and Harald took a different route by working extremely hard for a position in the class and succeeded. This was also evident with Filip and Ria, however, it did mean that there was a cost to pay. In particular, there was a loss of language and with that cultural identity. Of this group, Emily was best able to retain her cultural identity as illustrated in the strategies she used to make friends.

At the end point there was still a marked difference between the children. All children had acquired English and Emily and Harald, in particular, had acquired near-native English language competency. Audibly there was very little, if any, difference between the bilingual children and their peers. In fact, one of Harald's friends had remarked that it would be difficult to point him out as coming from a different country or being different to the rest of his class. The explanation of this was that Harald was audibly the same and also resembled his peers – he had the same skin colour. Visibly Harald fitted in and was one of the class.

Emily, and to a point Ria and Meena, whilst audibly the same as their peers, remained visibly different. Emily, Ria, Meena and Filip did not fit-in in quite the same way as Harald and this would never change.

7.3.3 *Strategic response to schooling: coping strategies*

There were similarities between all the bilingual children in the case studies in the way that they embarked on a range of strategies enabling them to respond and cope with the complex interplay of factors they encountered in their schooling. The strategies used by the children helped to smooth their transition into school and enabled them to be better positioned to fit in successfully and comfortably (Brooker, 2008). Appendices 22-26 highlight the strategies each child used. The strategic management of coping strategies were particularly associated with 'fitting in' and making friends.

As described in chapter six, the children, new to English, talked about strategies they used during their early transition into school. Copying what other children were doing or saying was a strategy common to all. 'Conforming to adult expectations strategy' (Drury, 2007: 70) was also common to all, except Meena. Harald talked about listening intently to what his classmates were saying and trying to engage and participate: "I listened to the others and

tried to get it, to try to understand it so I could work, so I could speak myself... they said something and I listened to them".

For Filip, one of the most important aspects about school was to have friends, it was challenging for him when this was not the case. The following excerpt highlights Filip's delight at being able to address this situation by directly initiating contact with other pupils:

> **Interviewer:** So what's happened to you since I saw you last?
>
> **Fillip:** I got more friends and... Ha! I can play with them sometimes, like play with them. I just go and ask them, 'Can I play?', and they let me play and they my friends.

I was aware that this direct method of trying to get friends was also one used by Emily. She was determined and persistent in achieving her aim to have friends at school. Consequently, supported by her family, she made attempts to interest and engage her classmates in a range of creative activities such that during her early transition into school, she started using her uniqueness as a 'Korean child' by sharing her language and cultural identity with others (Lo Bianco, 2009). This strategy proved successful as did the attempts she made to invite friends home to play and go on school excursions. Her belief was that taking the first step towards making friends so that others would reciprocate worked well. She anticipated that this two-way process would end in the development of friendships and it did. Perhaps the greatest benefit to Emily in employing such strategies was that others could see the benefits she had to offer as a friend. It was through this active approach that she gained the general acceptance of her peers.

As found in research elsewhere (Willett, 1995), the very visible friendships seen in this study enabled bilingual pupils, such as Emily, Harald and Filip, to claim high status in the social hierarchy. Being a bilingual learner did not automatically relegate the newcomers to an inferior social position.

Meena was reluctant to attend school in Frasershire and her response, when she did start school, was to take control and use agency to resist by speaking in a very quiet voice. The strategy she adopted made it difficult to communicate with her peers and then, subsequently, make friends. Meena's attempt to engage with others and make friends through telling jokes was intuitively very clever because she had seen the success others had gained in developing relationships when doing this. However, her attempts to replicate this approach failed and she was unsuccessful at being accepted and making friends. This saddened Meena greatly, because she wanted to be accepted by her peers. However, she

wanted acceptance on her terms and was unable to move flexibly with this. At this point it appeared that, rather than take risks and try again, Meena's strategy was, seemingly, to give up trying to make friends. Interestingly, her younger sister, Ria, had adopted a very different but successful strategy. Ria had decided to forgo her position as a 'Malaysian child' and take on the role of a 'British child' by emulating and imitating the speech and accent of her white, monolingual peers (see appendix 26). This confirms findings reported earlier (Leung et al., 1997). Having seen the strategy used by her younger sister, Meena was not prepared to adopt the same strategies. Meena wanted to be accepted without the need to change: she wanted to be accepted as she was and for herself.

The ways that the children coped with, and tried to overcome, negative peer behaviour varied. Initially, while at school, Harald was very frustrated and angry and became physically aggressive by getting involved in fights with other boys. Norton and Toohey (2001: 318) concluded that the learners in their research moved to a position in which their identities were respected and their resources valued providing opportunities for active participation. Gaining a powerful identity ensured success at becoming a good language learner. This was the same for Harald. Emily's strategic response was much more proactive and positive because she chose to interest and engage her peers with Korean-language games and activities in the hope that this would stimulate interest from children and initiate friendships. Up to a point, Meena, like Emily, tried to engage with her peers. She had seen how telling jokes had made children laugh and so she adopted the same strategy. However, her approach failed badly and left her feeling rather stupid. There was a major difference between the strategies that these girls adopted. The difference involved an element of risk-taking and persistence on Emily's part. If one method of engaging her peers failed Emily looked for alternative approaches. Meena, however, having failed to engage her peers gave up. Meena's heart and soul did not seem to be in this 'game'. She seemed defeated and certainly not strong enough to take on the majority group by herself.

Recently studies have identified various situations in which bilingual pupils have adopted strategic coping strategies; for example, the seminal study conducted by Cline et al. (2002: 168) highlighted that many children used the strategy of 'playing white' within their school setting, which was the position taken by Ria. Her choice of copying the pitch, pronunciation and grammar of her classmates helped her to speak in the same way as her peers and to be identified as a member of the school group. The findings in this study replicate those of Eckert (1989) from a study of high school students in the US, which emphasised the fluidity of identity and the strong influence of social contexts such as school.

A study conducted by Rich and Davis (2007) also identified that pupils employed different strategies to manage the discontinuities between their worlds at home and at school. These findings are in line with those of Brooker (2002) who concluded in her study that there was a need for children to become highly skilled and adept at developing these coping strategies if success was to be seen.

As highlighted in the current research Bourne (2001) identified in her study that children learn what to reveal about their lives, which language counts and those that do not count. Children learn to find ways of coping and of living with dignity (Bourne, 2001). Although there were some common strategies used by the children to deal with situations, each individual approached learning to learn at their new school in a different way. The strategies employed highlighted the children's ability to manage each situation and attempt to learn English and to make friends at school. Aspects of bilingual children's learning was invisible to their teachers, such as Meena's attempts to tell jokes and the language Filip used to gain friends. It demonstrated each child's approach and control as key players and agents of their own learning (Drury, 2007: 61)

7.3.4 *A reflection on the findings in light of the theoretical framework*

Socialization includes the process of transition from home to school. In this study it involves the process by which bilingual children learnt to become pupils through adapting to their new educational settings and acquiring the means to succeed in a new learning environment. The concepts of socialization, put forward by Lave and Wenger's (1991) communities of practice model are valuable, but limitations exist. Alternative approaches are provided, extending this model, to explain socialization through the theoretical perspectives offered by post-structuralist, critical theorists, the critical sociology of Bourdieu and insights offered by Bernstein (1990) and Bronfenbrenner (1979).

Lave and Wenger's (1991) community of practice model provides a useful way to examine the schooling experiences of bilingual children (chapter 3, sections 3.2 to 3.2.4). In this study the classroom was the community of practice, including the relationships between a teacher and pupils who engaged together in certain practices. The classroom setting provided a social structure with the children taking more or less desirable, powerful or equitable positions and learning through the process of engaging in everyday classroom practices. The findings showed that these practices offered different opportunities for the bilingual children to become active participants. In this study constraints imposed through teacher practice and provision impacted negatively on all the children in the case studies. Consequently, these pupils were unable to participate fully in all class activities and, therefore, remained on the periphery, which limited opportunities for appropriation of further

active participation. For Meena this situation led to marginalisation and lack of success as a bilingual pupil.

In Bernstein's concept (chapter 3, section 3.10.1), children's pre-school learning or primary socialization includes the acquisition of both 'local knowledge' and 'official knowledge' together with the experience of implicit and explicit teaching and learning. Bernstein argues that children who have acquired 'official knowledge' adapt smoothly into the class setting because they meet the same expectations regarding what is important, which, ultimately, leads to success in the school setting.

With regard to the acquisition of 'local knowledge', all children in the case studies experienced 'implicit instruction' in a non-school curriculum with apprenticeship into their family routines and responsibilities. This varied according to the religion, language and cultural background of each family and took place in countries far from England. Whilst in Thailand, Filip's mother attempted to explicitly teach Filip her own language, which was English. In addition, Filip would have experienced 'explicit instruction' in learning Korean.

Differences can be seen between the pedagogic discourse of the home and the school attended by each bilingual child. The Danish and Korean families favoured a more visible pedagogy, as illustrated by their approach to 'explicit instruction' at home, in teaching the 'school' curriculum, especially literacy. The value of the different approaches in terms of the cultural capital made available to each child also varied. The marked advantage that Filip had over the other children was that, firstly, his mother had experienced the English education system herself so that she knew what to expect for Filip. Secondly, unlike the other parents, because she spoke English, she had immediate access to Filip's teacher and school information, which was supportive for her and beneficial for Filip's transition to school.

In the cases of Harald and Emily, the family value systems were closely matched to those at school, which supported their transition process. However, this was not quite as evident for Meena and Ria. Whilst Meena's mother had a clear vision of what she expected and wanted from her children's schooling in Frasershire, unfortunately the children's experiences fell short of her expectations.

In Bernstein's view children must acquire both the recognition and realisation rules of the school's pedagogic discourse, which may be different from the pedagogic discourse at home. The rules are an essential part of the social and cultural capital held by a pupil. To be successful pupils must master both the regulative discourse, which governs classroom behaviour, and instructional discourse, which allows them to access the curriculum. With the exception of Meena, all the bilingual children were seen to master regulative discourse. This

included Harald who had initially become involved in fights with other children but was still able to overcome his negative behaviour. Harald, fillip, Emily and Ria worked hard to understand instructional discourse, which enabled the pupils to participate in class activities and gain access to curriculum content. The pupils' ability to master each discourse was assisted by their improved command of English and a desire to fit in and comply as 'good' pupils.

With both primary and secondary socialization, implicit and explicit teaching and learning can be identified. This corresponds to the two main types of pedagogy identified by Bernstein (1975, 1990, 1996) – known as the visible and invisible pedagogies. Bernstein's theorising about pedagogy is reliant on concepts that he developed – called classification and framing.

Within all three case schools, aspects of school work children learnt from their teachers originated from national curriculum guidelines and followed a more formal approach involving 'explicit teaching'. Brunel school had the weakest classification and framing of the three schools creating a setting, which appeared relaxed, informal and friendly. The pedagogy tended to be more implicit and, therefore, invisible. Manor school had a stronger classification and framing creating a rather strict and more formal approach. At Manor school the pedagogy was more explicit and visible than in the other two schools. St George's could be positioned between the other two schools but was more in keeping with Manor school. In three schools, from identifying the coping strategies used by the bilingual pupils, such as copying what other children did or said or Meena's attempt to tell jokes, it was apparent that learning took place, which was invisible to school staff.

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) account of the connections between the microsystems or settings that a child experiences highlights similar aspects between the settings and the significance of the links between them. Bronfenbrenner's concept (chapter 3, section 3.10.2), which applies to the move from home to school, signifies the importance for children of supportive connections between the different settings. He argues that the optimal case would be seen where the mother accompanies a child in the school classroom. This situation was illustrated in the study by Harald and how his mother accompanied him in class as a translator. She did this over a period of time, which helped to support his transition into school. Bronfenbrenner considers that, for subsequent development to take place, additional support is required involving two-way communication between the educational setting and home. Whilst background information is required by the school concerning the family and home setting, information about the school needs to be available for each family. When this exchange occurs the result is an accumulation of capital.

Bourdieu's explanation of power and different forms of capital have made it possible to explain the experiences of the bilingual children in the case studies and the advantages and disadvantages individual pupils and families experienced (chapter 3, section 3.5). The school capital enjoyed by children in the study can be seen, firstly, through Filip, whose mother's acquisition of social capital was enhanced as she spoke English and developed a comfortable link with his school and continual exchange with his teacher and, secondly, by Harald's mother through her class intervention and continued exchange work with school staff and involvement in social events, which enhanced her social capital. These activities legitimised and enhanced the cultural capital held by the children.

An advantage is evident in children whose development is enhanced from having both social and cultural capital and who experience continuity and links between their home and school learning. Although Filip had a potential advantage over some of the other bilingual children, his transition into school was marred by the negative impact arising from the interplay of a number of factors. An advantage was, however, noticeable in the case of Harald whose mother provided significant support for his transition into school. Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital illustrated variation between the boys because Harald's Danish language appeared to have greater value than Filip's Thai accent and pronunciation, which was ridiculed by his peers. Consequently, Harald quickly gained a high level of linguistic capital to be able to succeed alongside his peers. In addition, Ria attempted to produce the highly valued language of her peers by copying them. A language barrier, together with an apparent lack of home-school liaison made information exchange with the school challenging for Emily's family. In addition, social capital, held by her father in the University community, did not transpose across fields and act to her advantage in the school setting. This meant that Emily's transition was not as smooth as it could have been. Information exchange between Meena's family and the school was problematic. Meena had difficulty in transposing 'local' and previously learnt 'school knowledge' to her new school setting. In addition, her mother considered believed that she could not engage with school staff because she was not given a voice regarding family issues. This inequality is related to Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power relations, in this case between Kurti and school staff. Kurti was aware of the symbolic power held by the school and its role in reinforcing the knowledge and values of the dominant group, which reflected the lack of celebration of children's cultural background and use of their first language. To varying degrees this also reflected the situation in the other two schools, as pointed out by Filip and Emily. Symbolic domination, presupposing active complicity on those subjected to it, helps to explain how Harald and Filip believed in the legitimacy of their teacher, and complied with her.

This section has focused on socialization in terms of the transition from home to school as well as the socialization into a new school community. It also illustrates the significance of children as active agents in their actions with each individual exerting control and giving direction to the course of their life (Biesta & Tedder, 2006) (chapter 3, section 3.7). The socialization trajectories highlight the ways that the bilingual children responded to their circumstances and the strategies they adopted as a response to their disadvantage. They also illustrate how the children differed in the degree of agency they could exercise. The majority of the bilingual pupils seized opportunities to exert control over challenges in their school lives by taking positive action. Meena, however, took control by exercising her agency through resistance but by doing this she became isolated from her peers and restricted by her own learning.

The findings in this study can be seen to confirm, and supplement, the model of socialization introduced earlier. The socialization model, previously introduced, does not consider children as agentive in the ways they control this process as suggested by my data. Consequently, extending this model by providing new understanding of bilingual children's experience linked to socialization, my main contribution identifies the strategic ways in which children seek to 'shape', manage or impact on their socialization process. This study reveals an intimate connection between socialization and agency and how they feed off each other. An experience is seen to generate a strategic response, which itself impinges on the form of the socialization trajectory. It is evident that there is a close match between a child's experience and his or her strategic response as illustrated in the trajectories (appendices 22-26).

As discussed in chapter 3, section 3.9, the negotiation of identity is challenging for isolated bilingual learners moving to a new school in a new culture. As seen here, apart from Meena, the children moved to a position where their identities were respected, their resources valued and they were accepted by their classmates. Fillip, Harald, Emily and Ria invested in learning English (chapter 3, section 3.8) knowing they would be able to communicate with their peers and gain friends. Fillip and Emily, in particular, perceived it would lead to a better education.

7.3.5 *Summary of part three*

The socialization trajectories have illustrated the unfolding stories of a number of isolated bilingual children. It was evident that, whilst each child experienced negative and positive encounters, these experiences were not the same. Consequently, their trajectories showed variation and complexity with the interplay of factors at different phases played out for the children in different ways. Emily and Harald followed a positive trajectory but for Meena it was clearly negative. Key was the part played by each child in the level of agency they

employed to move a complex situation one way or another. To a certain extent the children made individual choices that were socially constructed ways of acting. The decisions they made reflected the opportunities made available out of the possibilities offered.

In an additional and key insight, the data revealed the intimate connection between socialization and agency, and how an experience generated a strategic response, which impacted on the socialization trajectory. The data endorses and extends the theoretical framework further by providing greater illumination of how socialization works for these isolated bilingual learners in terms of the phases of their socialization trajectories. Each experience invited a moment of reflection and subsequent action.

7.4 Part four: implications

Whilst highlighting an extremely complex situation, the results of the present study have important implications for our understanding of the schooling experiences of bilingual children. These results are, therefore, relevant to all those involved in education, particularly teachers. These implications will be presented here under four headings: (i) categorisation of children, (ii) The unitary nature of bilingualism; (iii) difference and; (iv) access.

7.4.1 *Categorisation of children*

This and the following sections problematise the construct of bilingualism. The findings in this study indicate that seeking to categorise bilingual children and monolingual children, and then to subsequently develop policy for bilingual children is problematic. The results show that a distinction between bilingual children and monolingual children is unhelpful because experiences are shared between the two groups. It would appear, therefore, that there is a danger of developing practices around bilingual children exclusively. In comparison with other research, this study showed that there was a level of sameness between the two groups as found by Cline et al. (2002).

It is of note that government initiatives, designed for all pupils, are, in fact, following this line. This is seen with 'Personalised Learning' (DCFS, 2008) and, to some extent, assessment within the National Curriculum in the form of Assessing Pupils' Progress (APP) (DfES, 2009). So far, certainly within the former, there is little evidence of work done on this area that relates specifically to bilingual learners (Monaghan, 2010: 22). Reflecting this is the absence, as yet, of guidance from a specific EAL curriculum to guide and support the work of school staff and bilingual children.

There is a need, therefore, to recognise and acknowledge that bilingual children's experiences are not unique to the bilingual group: so that, when considering policy

development, a question must be raised concerning how far it is helpful to identify bilingual learners as a separate group. Yet there are important reasons for distinguishing between the two pupil groups. This is evident with regard to access issues for bilingual children associated with language and how this needs to be addressed. Clearly there is a dilemma. Nonetheless, in extending this point, I will now consider the concept of bilingual learners as a unitary group.

7.4.2 *The unitary nature of bilingualism*

There was one aspect which united all the bilingual pupils in this study: this commonality was their bilingualism. However, as explained by Romaine (1995: 320), "Bilingualism is not a unitary phenomenon. It is shaped in different ways depending on a variety of social and other factors". The findings here confirm this view because bilingualism overlapped with other factors. This was illustrated by individual pupil differences seen through ethnicity, language and culture: in particular the interplay between bilingualism and ethnicity is significant. Children's ethnicity is both a construction of their socialization in the world together with a way of living and being in the social world. Children's languages are an important part of their ethnicity. Their bilingual development is deeply affected by the constraints and affordances in the socialization process (Garcia, 2009: 104).

As seen in this study each child's socialization, prior to starting school in the UK, had been very different and, therefore, influenced the attributes each child brought to the class setting. This included his or her knowledge and use of different languages in different contexts. Strongly related to this was the children's cultural identity and how they saw and positioned themselves and fitted into the new class setting. Examination of each child's socialization trajectory showed differences between individuals. This revealed that bilingual learners were not a unitary group and that it was unhelpful to see them as such. As seen in the following section, key terminology associated with bilingualism presents a complex picture.

The classification of bilingual learners into 'New Arrivals' and 'Advanced EAL Learners' is also challenging, again due to the lack of guidelines to readily identify between each category of bilingual learner. No classification is provided to support the identity of either a bilingual child with "limited competency in the English language" (DfES, 2006) or to identify children who have a "considerable exposure to English and are no longer in the early stage of English language acquisition" (DfES, 2006). Even though these terms are published widely within information for school staff their value is questionable.

In Chapter 2, section 2.1.7 it can be seen that there are different definitions of the term 'isolated bilingual learner' that vary according to dimensions, which may in themselves cause confusion.

The aspect of greatest relevance here is associated with pupils in educational contexts and the point that pupil isolation originates from a lack of ability to communicate readily in the first language with others at school. Use of Statham's (2008: 2) guideline that isolated bilingual learners are those children in situations where there are fewer than 10% ethnic minority children provides a useful guideline. However, it is important to avoid confusion between Statham's (2008) definition of isolated bilingual learners and the definition of a mainly white school employed by Cline et al. (2002).

This and the previous section problematised the construct of bilingualism but the question that must remain is whether there is anything that would make bilingual children's experiences distinctive and in need of special attention. Given this level of complexity, as described above, a key feature that will be referred to next is 'difference'.

7.4.3 *Difference*

The perspective of difference played a most significant role in this research when considering the schooling experiences of bilingual children. Of note was the way that the bilingual children and their monolingual peers highlighted the significance of difference.

When considering the schooling experiences of bilingual pupils the sameness between bilingual and monolingual pupils was striking with both groups encountering similar experiences. However, from looking in more detail at the bilingual pupils it was evident that within this group the situation was not the same. As the complexity from the overlap of different factors was revealed great variety of experiences became apparent and differences between individual pupils were evident.

Difference impacted on how the bilingual children felt about themselves, how they were seen and treated by their peers and teachers and crucially, as a result, the ways in which they responded strategically to cope with and resolve issues.

Within education a trend has been seen towards the recognition of difference away from an assumption of sameness. This move brings opportunities because learning to deal with difference is a role of democratic communities, yet it can lead to misunderstanding, which is problematic. A tension exists between sameness and diversity. This can be seen, firstly, in a desire, through education, to make people more alike and fit in, as seen in this study and,

secondly, a desire to support different needs and cultural orientations identified through the diverse student population.

Consequently, within dominant standards, sameness is assumed to represent conformity. As demonstrated by Harald and Filip's teacher, when difference is discussed it is with reference to the dominant norms such as, "you are like (or should be like) us" (Burbules, 1997). On the one hand the pluralistic viewpoint of tolerance for diversity assumes keeping elements of difference that are understood within the norms of the dominant group but omit others, whilst, on the other hand, celebrating diversity infers identification of difference of the other as 'exotic exhibits' from a dominant standpoint. This, to some degree, was how Emily positioned herself in order to fit in and become accepted nonetheless; within education these positions regarding differences are problematic.

Sadly the position of those who are different is no better. Their options are to either reject or play down their differences in order to conform and 'fit in' such as Filip, Harald, Emily and Ria. Or, like Meena, there is a need to abandon the majority norms and miss out on opportunities and be ostracised and marginalised in the process. In schools harm may be done if difference is interpreted inappropriately or misunderstood and trivialised by staff. An example of this is the anglicisation of non-European names (Gaine, 2005: 24).

There are broad ways of looking at difference and an implication of this study is to consider an appropriate way to do that in schools. It may be achieved by itemising dimensions of difference, using categories such as ethnicity, language and culture. Whilst this has some value there is another preferred approach. Within this approach, rather than starting with the assumptions of sameness, then identifying differences as deviations from the norm, the starting point for a 'philosophy of difference' is difference (Burbules, 1997). This approach provides an opportunity to look at elements of enacted, lived identity, which emphasises the dynamic character of difference and how people express differences. This includes differences as they change through and gain significance in different contexts. This has been illustrated in this study through children's socialization trajectories. But there are tensions too. It is important to focus on all differences rather than selecting a few. Knowing that difference is constructed it is valuable to consider how it may be reconstructed too. It should be remembered that, as with this study, differences may be interpreted from a particular standpoint but others are feasible too.

Of importance is the development of a more complex and critical approach to teaching and learning. Giroux (1992) advocates that teachers develop the habit of offering students a chance to study material that relates to differences in its widest sense. Such work can be undertaken with young children (Epstein, 1993). This is the case in Frasershire, using a

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philosophy of difference, through the development, in conjunction with Professor Chris Gaine, of the resource 'Skin Deep'.

7.4.4 *Access*

At the beginning of this thesis it was highlighted that there was insufficient evidence of children's voice within research studies. So now, having heard what children have said, there is a need to consider what it means. From talking with children about their experiences it was seen that particular factors were important to, and impacted on, their learning in school. One implication was that access to learning was sometimes denied. Access can be explained through Lave and Wenger's community of practice, socialization model. Learning takes place through participation within the community but only if access is permitted because newcomers must be granted legitimacy in order to gain membership.

In this study factors that denied pupil access to learning have been identified. At this point it is pertinent to remember the importance of English language skills in order to access learning at school. This is why isolated bilingual children need to continue to be supported in these settings. Urgent action is required to ensure that this situation is addressed. It is especially important to raise awareness of those who can make rapid changes... teachers.

7.4.5 *Pedagogical response*

As mentioned before, the complexity within this study is evident. With regard to a pedagogical response, questions arise as to whether all pupils should be treated the same even though differences exist between them. Consequently, in terms of policy development, in particular policy associated with inclusion, it would seem appropriate, on the one hand, to retain an openness to acknowledge and accept difference. On the other hand, there is still a need to support bilingual pupils on an individual basis, as appropriate to their needs.

7.5 Part five: recommendations

The recommendations from this study highlight the need to address several key areas. These include promoting additive bilingualism in schools; an awareness of adopting a 'one size fits all' approach; and policy and teacher development. These will be considered in turn.

7.5.1 *The need to promote additive bilingualism*

There was a concern that the predominantly monolingual schools in this sample with monoglossic ideologies were, unwittingly, promoting subtractive bilingualism. Certainly the children in the case studies reported loss of linguistic features of their first language (Wong Fillmore, 1991). Reporting on her study, Pearce (2005: 18) provides another explanation for

lack of support for children's bilingualism because of pressure from above, meaning government and the local authority: "because of the pressure to perform well in national tests, the emphasis now was on a rapid acquisition of English at the expense of other languages". This implied that bilingual children's additional skills were invisible. As in this study, the children were seen as lacking the more valuable skill of full competence in English. Unfortunately, they were not encouraged to use their home language.

Although it was unlikely that any teacher in the study had ever told the children not to use their home language in the class, the children knew that English was the only acceptable language. The problem arose because while the children were, in general, linguistically isolated, the schools did not overtly value their bilingualism. In each institution, whilst the staff had failed to teach the children to value their own linguistic abilities, two children, Harald and Emily, took the initiative to introduce their language and culture to their class.

It is partly teachers' own unexamined subconscious assumptions that create problems that exist in the classroom. There is a need to improve teachers' understanding of bilingualism and how it interplays with other factors. Teachers need, in particular, to understand the part they play in supporting or hindering the development of bilingual children's learning.

Of the various models of bilingualism that are inclusive of the different circumstances in which children use language I would wish schools to promote additive bilingualism if not dynamic bilingualism (Garcia, 2009: 55). Additive bilingualism provides a model in which the second language is added to the person's repertoire and the two are maintained. The second model, encouraging communicative and dynamic bilingualism, refers to an understanding that language use in the 21st century requires differentiated abilities and uses of multiple languages. It is important to reshape our concept of bilingualism because "the world seeks to develop bilingual citizens who function within the plurilingual dynamics of the twenty-first century" (Garcia, 2009: 55).

The phenomenon of bilingualism has implications for schools through policy development in local authorities and, therefore, for teachers.

7.5.2 *One size fits all*

> Children don't fit in, children are different. In my belief, every child, looking at my class, as I say, there are 25 odd-bods *(laughs)*! They don't fit into any norm and yet they're great. You've got to be flexible, as a teacher, or in a school even, you've got to go with the dynamics of different groups and it's not a question of, oh well, twenty fit in, the other five don't, therefore they must. You kind of think, ok, well how can I adapt it so they don't need to fit in? (Emily's class teacher)

These comments, made by Emily's teacher, illustrate her attitude towards the concept of 'one size fits all'. It is noteworthy that, whilst her opinion was liberal, I was unaware of specific classroom practice that negated her claimed approach with regard to Emily. Nonetheless, this teacher's attitude was appropriate and unlike others in the case studies.

The implication here is for teachers to examine their attitudes around the inclusion of bilingual children within their class and, in addition, to consider the classroom practices that they employ and their consequences for the children. Two important aspects to be considered are; the need to ensure full access to learning so that bilingual pupils achieve their potential, and the identification of approaches to minimise the loss experienced by pupils. Loss, in this context, includes the loss of language and cultural identity as well as other factors.

The act of adopting a 'one size fits all' approach implies that bilingual pupils are treated the same as everyone else. But, this means they are disadvantaged and not provided with the essential and appropriate support that is needed to further develop their English language competency, bilingualism and cultural identity. 'One size fits all' amounts to a lack of equality for some. Equally important, it disadvantages the majority group. This approach misses an opportunity to share the positive message with all pupils regarding the assets of bilingualism and positive attitudes to children's language and culture. Surely this is not what teachers want, nor the local authorities in which they are employed. The message here is: "learning *about* other cultures may lead to cultural literacy; it is learning *from* other cultures that will lead to cultural liberty (Kumaravadivelu, 2008: 237).

7.5.3 *The capacity of children to take action*

A key finding in this thesis, as illustrated by the socialization trajectories (appendices 22-26), is the way that the bilingual children were seen to take action by taking charge of challenging experiences they each encountered. The support strategies adopted by the bilingual children although valuable to them were not necessarily known to school staff. This raises a question concerning how this information might be used to better support bilingual pupils. Clearly a first step would be to raise an awareness about what is happening.

The findings in this study showed that the majority of bilingual pupils in the case studies were successful at school. This raises further questions about, firstly, how school staff can enable bilingual pupils to have positive trajectories, which lead to their success, and, secondly, whether the transition process is key to pupil success by setting up a direction, which sets the scene for all that follows. Although this was the situation for Meena, who experienced a negative transition and trajectory, it was not the case for all the children. The

trajectories of the others showed how they found ways to turn a potentially negative trajectory into a positive one.

7.5.4 Policy development

Policy and practice

Current policy and practice regarding bilingual pupils is problematic. This has not been helped by the absence of recent advice or guidance from the Department for Education (DFE) concerning bilingual learners, in particular the need to promote bilingualism. There is currently a lack of statutory requirement placed on schools to address the needs of bilingual pupils. Consequently, school policy and practice, especially where there are isolated learners, may omit to support the needs of this group.

At a national level, the National Strategies materials and guidance developed to assist school staff in supporting bilingual learners, such as the EAL Toolkit remains. However, the National Strategies staff group, who produced these materials and supported the work of local authorities, is to be disbanded in 2011.

Locally the situation is not better with severe cuts to the Ethnic Minority Achievement service, which supports bilingual learners throughout Frasershire. Major changes are currently underway regarding policy and practice. Most noticeable from April 2011, will be the absence of teaching assistants who worked directly with bilingual pupils in schools. This is a great loss because bilingual pupils, as cited by Emily and others, have found this support beneficial. In the future the emphasis in the local authority will be away from direct pupil support and towards a more strategic approach with advice and guidance for schools regarding the organisation of pupil support and support strategies disseminated through staff training.

If a bilingual pupil's educational progress is a cause for concern, teachers need to feel confident in being able to distinguish between English language development needs and issues of learning. In Frasershire, to support this analysis of need, guidance is available from the EMA service in collaboration with educational psychologists. None of the bilingual pupils in the case studies were considered to have special educational needs.

Organisation of pupil support

Within schools, an effective way of organising support for bilingual pupils is through leadership and management and an appropriate approach to, firstly, creating a positive ethos and, secondly, learning and teaching. The school's leadership team should play a

pivotal role through a strong and determined lead on race equality. In the case study schools this aspect was not fully addressed. Consequently, apart from Harald, who was visibly the same as his peers, the bilingual children encountered experiences of marginalisation and racism. In addition, when the leadership team are considering the deployment of resources in school to address the needs of bilingual learners, support should be based on both pupil self-evaluation to highlight areas of strengths, weaknesses and need as well as school data to identify specific areas of underachievement.

When provided with opportunities to express their voice bilingual pupils were seen to articulate their views eloquently in this study. This skill needs to be acknowledged and used by schools. On reflection, if this approach had been taken with children in the case studies it may have been possible to identify and resolve specific problems at an early stage making their transition into school as smooth as possible.

Schools should develop a culture and ethos within which everyone feels safe and valued. Unfortunately this was not the situation in the case study schools where bilingual children experienced negative peer behaviour including racism. Emily perceived that she was different to her peers. Apart from a visible and audible difference she was aware that she came from a different country and cultural background from the majority of her peers. The situation for Filip and Meena was problematic too, because they felt that they did not belong or have a share in the school's culture. In addition, parents and families should be encouraged to be actively involved in their children's learning. This should be established through a home-school liaison policy as discussed later.

An approach to learning and teaching, which ensures an appropriate context for bilingual pupils, should demonstrate use of children's linguistic, cultural and ethnic backgrounds to enhance learning. Schools should celebrate the languages and cultural backgrounds represented by children in the school and create opportunities to use these in the curriculum. In the case study schools, as discussed by Kurti, Emily and Filip, there was a lack of acknowledgement of the languages and cultural backgrounds of pupils in the schools. This approach was disadvantageous for the bilingual pupils, such as Meena and Filip, who felt undervalued. In Meena's school diversity was seen as a reason for underachievement rather than an opportunity.

There also needs to be a clear focus for developing language because developing English as an additional language requires explicit teaching of the range of registers of spoken English and written academic language. Exposure to English alone is not enough. It is essential to attend to the needs of newly-arrived pupils from overseas and to continue the ongoing need for language support once pupils have developed conversational fluency.

However, this support was not available for some children in the study. Fillip and Harald's teacher believed that, by fitting in with their peers, no explicit language teaching was needed.

The curriculum

In addition, bilingual pupils should have access to a curriculum, which is broad and rich, inclusive and relevant. Although access to the curriculum was achieved by Harald this was not the case for others in the study as various constraints were encountered. Emily described her unsettling experiences in trying to access the curriculum as a new-arrival. Filip experienced frustration associated with his lack of understanding about the curriculum content.

The schools in the case studies failed to recognise the first language needs and cultural background of its pupils as experienced by Kurti, Filip and Emily. Yet, as stated by Bernstein (1990), it is important that the curriculum recognises and engages with the language and the perspectives which children, from different backgrounds, bring to the classroom. Schools need to aim to achieve cultural inclusion rather than making children or their families exotic exhibits as was the case with Emily. A culturally inclusive curriculum would see the development of appropriate resources across the curriculum. Linked to this is the need to develop the knowledge of school staff regarding the linguistic, cultural and religious backgrounds of pupils and families at school.

Support strategies

Teachers should use strategies to make the teaching environment for newly-arrived bilingual children as supportive as possible for language development. These strategies should enable pupils to use and build on existing knowledge and skills and provide opportunities for use of the first language in class. In situations with isolated bilingual learners staff need to find creative approaches to do this through involving parents or linking isolated bilingual learners who speak the same language. The benefits for Harald of using his first language, with his mother as translator, were significant but, unfortunately, the other children in the case studies did not have this opportunity or advantage. Visual support through pictures, diagrams and objects is very supportive for newly-arrived pupils. This approach would have helped Filip by clarifying, in a visual way, curriculum content.

Other strategies include opportunities to learn from others who are good role models with planned opportunities for speaking and listening. This can be achieved through group collaborative learning activities. These strategies were not available for Fillip and Harald

because the attitude of their class teacher and the class organisation and practice denied them access to these kinds of opportunities. Although Emily was provided with opportunities for speaking and listening the tasks were not appropriate for her level of English.

Home-school liaison

Much of the success of home-school liaison rests on communication between parents and families about the child and about the curriculum. Communication with school worked well for Filip's mother who had ready access to his teacher and could initiate discussion when required and for Harald's mother who was very proactive in her son's schooling. However, this situation was not so positive for other families in the case studies who held different expectations of the roles of parents and teachers. The engagement of parents is advantageous for teachers in enabling them to better understand and support bilingual children. Methods for establishing and maintaining communication (Epstein, 1996) with bilingual parents include interpreters, translations, home-school books, audiotapes and home visits. Teachers' attitudes are vital to the success of these strategies (Epstein, 1996) because when teachers involve parents their children become more involved in their learning.

Building a home-school policy on an inclusive framework such as that proposed by Hornby (2000) promotes parental involvement from the perspective of what parents need as well as their strengths. It includes elements essential for newly-arrived bilingual families such as communication from the school, liaison with staff, and possible educations, such as providing information about the English education system and curriculum. This approach also ensures that parents provide information about their child, participate collaboratively in teaching the child and support resource development, which could be used to promote the use of the child's first language and raise awareness of language and cultural diversity for all. A structure such as this would have been beneficial for all families in the case studies as a basis for developing a positive relationship with school staff, particularly for Kurti and Emily's family.

Two families in the case studies (those of Filip and Meena) were at times very vulnerable and without the support of extended family members or community groups required additional support. A home-school policy needs to acknowledge that for some families and their children pastoral care may be required. Staff need to be ready to offer appropriate support as well as knowing other professional services that should be involved. Pastoral care would be much easier for all concerned if the relationship between the family and school was already well established. It seemed that Kurti never achieved this kind of relationship and, although school staff organised additional family support by liaising with

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others outside the school community including University staff and a local church group, it did not seem enough of the right kind of support for Kurti and her family.

Teacher development

There is a real need to look at national and local policy development to address the needs of bilingual pupils. However, a more appropriate and direct option for change can be achieved through teacher development.

Rather than allowing problems to reside with children and parents, problems can and should be overcome by empowering teachers. It is, therefore, essential for practising and trainee teachers to receive training to understand that a lack of knowledge and understanding regarding the needs of bilingual children is an obstacle that needs addressing. This includes an understanding of:

- The socialization/transition process

- Approaches to address loss

- Promoting additive bilingualism

- Access to a curriculum through languages and cultures that reflect the class population

- Teacher/classroom practice promoting access to learning

- The characteristics of racism and the impact of racism and other forms of negative peer behaviour

- Developing curriculum approaches based on a philosophy of difference

- The child's development of identity

- Institutional relations of power

- Awareness of a 'one size fits all' approach

When seen like this, the solution to the problem rests not with the children but with their teachers. Changes must come from teachers and not the children.

7.6 Part six: conclusion

In this section I will discuss the contribution that this study makes to knowledge and suggestions for further research. I will then make some concluding remarks.

7.6.1 *Contribution to knowledge*

Historically, even in research generated in the field of early childhood education, young children's voices have been omitted. They have not been heard. Consequently, researchers have paid scant regard to how to listen to, and interpret, what children have to say (Hawkins, 2005: 61)

The most significant implication of this thesis is the importance and value of pupil voice. Throughout the time I spent interviewing the children, and ever since, I have been overwhelmed by their stories – I laughed with them at the funny parts and felt saddened by those that were sad. I felt encouraged by all that was positive but angry at that which was negative, in particular the injustice they had seemingly experienced in their learning environments. It is through listening to children's stories, such as in this study, that their complex worlds can be seen and, subsequently, inequalities and injustices addressed.

A number of studies have looked at children's experiences using a socialization lens. A few studies have tracked changes over time, particularly transition into nursery. This was not the case at the time of starting my study. For example, recent work by Drury (2007), which was inspired by Vygotsky's zone of proximal development, uses a sociocultural framework through an ethnographic stance with very young children. However, my study provides a more explicit social framework with opportunities for children to voice their own views. It provides a more detailed understanding of the complex nature of bilingual children's experiences in schools in a mainly white county. Through their socialization trajectories, the experiences of children have been plotted and tracked from pre-transition, through transition, and beyond. The significant and proactive role that the children took in managing their experiences has also been highlighted.

Whilst a number of studies have focused on bilingual children in urban areas, there are only a few that have focused on the experiences of isolated bilingual learners who are considered to be new arrivals within a mainly white area. In addition, there is still limited research, which, firstly, uses children's voice to look at their socialization process and provides a detailed account of their transition into school or that, secondly, explores the socialization process and ways in which children seek to strategically manage their situation.

Finally, with the exception of Cline et al. (2002), few studies have explored children's experiences of schooling using interviews and questionnaires or investigated whether or not there were differences between bilingual pupils and their monolingual peers.

7.6.2 *Further research*

Further research that uses pupil voice to investigate isolated bilingual pupils' experiences is essential.

A particular area would be to examine the situation for Polish pupils because there are now large numbers of this group at schools in Frasershire and elsewhere in the UK due to the enlargement of the European community. Recent evidence suggests that there are growing concerns, certainly locally, about this group; in particular the way in which a worrying number of young individuals encounter racism and are becoming disengaged with school and at risk of exclusion. Opportunities to work with this growing number of pupils within the local authority would be valuable. The mixed method approach, such as that employed here, would provide a suitable model. Alternatively a longitudinal study could be undertaken. In addition, classroom observation may well reveal 'concrete particulars' such as body language. "Concrete particulars are the only way to the meaning that kids are constructing in their everyday situated actions" (Graue & Walsh, 1998: 105). This research could be achieved by using a teacher action research model in collaboration with the local university.

Another pertinent area for research would be to explore socialization trajectories. There is further work to be undertaken in developing innovative ways of researching and representing these.

Using a range of methods I listened to the voices of the isolated bilingual children on issues associated with their schooling. The use of questionnaires generating quantitative and qualitative data, were informative in providing a background snapshot of the schooling situation for isolated bilingual children in Frasershire. The qualitative data confirmed 'gems' of information concerning what was going on. However, of greater value were the data from the interview based case studies, which were successful in providing more detailed insights concerning the children's opinions and experiences of schooling. The interview formats I used with the children were successful. It was advantageous for the bilingual children to work individually but for the monolingual peers to work in pairs or in groups so that ideas could be shared, developed or challenged. On reflection, this was less valuable in the peer group of four because of an uneven distribution of pupil participation. Using activities in the children's interviews brought variety and fun to the sessions that successfully helped to engage the young research participants and provided rich data. An advantage of using simulation questions, with drawings, photographs and realia such as a button box, was that the bilingual children could talk about the experiences of other bilingual children without the pressure of discussing their own situation. The data revealed that having referred to the

experiences of others, the bilingual children then discussed their own experiences as a natural progression (appendix 10).

7.6.3 *Concluding remarks*

This study provided an added perspective in understanding the schooling experiences of isolated bilingual children. It looked at children's experiences from the point of view of the children and significant others. A picture of their experiences emerged through pupil questionnaires and interview-based case studies in three schools involving teachers, monolingual peers and parents. The focus here was on the voice of the children and, from the case studies, their unfolding stories.

Overall, their accounts, through the socialization trajectories, provided a complex picture of overlapping factors that supported and hindered their lives. This included their transition to school and how they attempted to fit in. Importantly the accounts highlighted the way in which these children attempted to cope, sometimes in adverse circumstances, and the way that they strategically managed complex and difficult situations. Nonetheless, whilst the majority of the trajectories were positive and indicated success at the end point, this was not the case for all. Reflecting a negative trajectory, one pupil remained marginalised and without friends at the end of the study.

It is anticipated that knowledge from this study will enable educators to reflect on, interpret and make better sense of their own classroom experiences of bilingual children. It will enable others to make informed choices about the best ways of ensuring their pupils are supported and included in mainstream education. This will enable pupils to reach their full potential whilst feeling safe and happy at school.

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APPENDIX 1: Statutory framework to ensure appropriate learning conditions

1. The National Curriculum (2000) inclusion statement. This statement is rooted in three key principles:
   - Setting suitable learning challenges, which implies setting high cognitive challenges with contextual and linguistic scaffolding.
   - Responding to pupils' diverse learning needs, which implies that schools use a range of teaching styles and strategies to meet individual needs.
   - Overcoming potential barriers to learning, which implies that schools tackle structural barriers including racism and provide access to the curriculum.
2. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 requires schools to:
   - Tackle racial discrimination
   - Promote equality of opportunity
   - Actively promote good relations between members of different ethnic groups.
3. Another initiative concerns schools' duty to promote Community Cohesion. Arising from an attempt to improve children's lives, every school is responsible for education children who will live and work in a diverse society. Through their ethos and curriculum, schools have a duty to promote a common sense of identity and support diversity, showing pupils how different communities can be united by common experiences and values (Qualifications and Curriculum Development Agency (QCDA), 2010: 3).
4. A different approach for schools, currently being promoted, is the development of a single equality policy, which presents the existing legal duties to promote race and ethnicity, disability and gender equality, and promotes community cohesion.

APPENDIX 2: Policy: Key principles for promoting bilingualism in schools

Taken from a policy on multilingualism, which provides a framework for promoting a positive whole-school ethos and developing whole-school policies to underpin bilingual approaches in classrooms. Published by Bradford in 2003 (Conteh, 2006: 8).

- English is the primary language of education and communication in this country. Therefore all children have a right to effective teaching of English and in English.
- Support in all the languages in a child's repertoire helps to ensure that children have the best access to new concepts and ideas and therefore to the highest possible achievement. It is essential that this starts with a strong foundation in the early years and continues as children grow older.
- Language is a fundamental aspect of identity. Acknowledging and promoting children's ability to communicate in their home languages builds self-confidence and encourages pupils' belief in themselves as learners.
- Access to a range of languages increases social and community cohesion and is an entitlement for all pupils. An ability to communicate in more than one language is a social and life advantage.
- Promoting home languages at school and within the school's community, including communicating with parents in ways that are accessible to them, builds community links and mutual respect. This encourages families and schools to work in partnership to develop children's full range of language competencies.
- Awareness of the systems and structures of one language aids the learning of other languages.
- Achievement in more than one language develops the capacity to enjoy being a confident and competent user of spoken and written language for an expanding range of purposes.
- The approach to language development is inclusive and values the language heritages and experiences of all pupils and adults within the educational community.

APPENDIX 3: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school

My class and school

This questionnaire is for pupils.

You can write what you really think. Nobody else in your school will see it.

This information is confidential. The aim is to find out what children think about their class and their school.

The information you give will help to make education better in Frasershire schools.

Write the name of your school and your class in this box:

School:
Class:

APPENDIX 3: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school

Personal information

Please answer some facts about yourself. Against each question tick the box for the answer that is right for you.

1. How old are you?

7	☐
8	☐
9	☐
10	☐
11	☐
12	☐

2. Are you a girl or a boy?

Girl	☐
Boy	☐

APPENDIX 3: Pupil questionnaire

It happened to me at school

These questions are different. Be careful to put your tick in the correct box:

| | During the past week | | |
	Not at all	Only once	More than once
Another pupil			
1. said something nice to me	☐	☐	☐
2. laughed at me horribly.	☐	☐	☐
3. lent me something.	☐	☐	☐
4. helped me to carry something.	☐	☐	☐
5. tried to kick me.	☐	☐	☐
6. was very nice to me.	☐	☐	☐
7. was unkind because I am different.	☐	☐	☐
8. said things that hurt me.	☐	☐	☐
9. gave me a present.	☐	☐	☐
10. said they'd beat me up.	☐	☐	☐
11. made fun of me because of my accent.	☐	☐	☐
12. gave me some money.	☐	☐	☐
13. tried to make me give them money.	☐	☐	☐
14. called me a name that upset me.	☐	☐	☐
15. told me a joke.	☐	☐	☐
16. got a gang on me.	☐	☐	☐
17. smiled at me.	☐	☐	☐
18. tried to hurt me.	☐	☐	☐
19. helped me with my classwork.	☐	☐	☐
20. was rude about the colour of my skin.	☐	☐	☐
21. played a game with me.	☐	☐	☐
22. turned my friends against me.	☐	☐	☐
23. was nasty about my family.	☐	☐	☐
24. talked about TV with me.	☐	☐	☐
25. tried to break something of mine.	☐	☐	☐
26. talked about clothes with me.	☐	☐	☐
27. tried to hit me.	☐	☐	☐
28. shared something with me.	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX 3: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school

Please tick 'ONE' box which best describes YOU.

(a)	White	British	☐
		Irish	☐
		Any other White background*	☐
(b)	Mixed	White and Black Caribbean	☐
		White and Black African	☐
		White and Asian	☐
		Any other Mixed background*	☐
(c)	Asian or Asian British	Indian	☐
		Pakistani	☐
		Bangladeshi	☐
		Any other Asian background*	☐
(d)	Black or Black British	Caribbean	☐
		African	☐
		Any other Black background*	☐
(e)	Chinese or other ethnic group	Chinese	☐
		Any other*	☐

* If you have answered 'Any Other' then please explain:

```



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I do not wish my ethnic group to be recorded in any way   ☐

Thank you for helping by working on this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 4: Items from the questionnaire - 'It happened to me at school'

Individual questions categorised within each index

A   Bullying and aggression

1. Tried to kick me

2. Tried to hit me

3. Said they'd beat me up

4. Tried to make me give them money

5. Got a gang on me

6. Tried to break something of mine

7. Tried to hurt me

B   Name calling and social exclusion

1. Turned my friends against me

2. Laughed at me horribly

3. Called me a name that upset me

4. Was nasty about my family

5. Said things that hurt me

C   Racism

1. Was rude about the colour of my skin

2. Was unkind because I'm different

3. Made fun of me because of my accent

D   Social inclusion

1.   Played a game with me

2.   Said something nice to me

3.   Was very nice to me

4.   Gave me a present

5.   Told me a joke

6.   Smiled at me

7.   Shared something with me

8.   Talked about clothes with me

9.   Talked about TV with me

E   Practical support

1.   Lent me something

2.   Helped me to carry something

3.   Gave me some money

4.   Helped me with my classwork

APPENDIX 5: Pupil questionnaire – What I think about school (Bilingual pupils exclusively)

My class and school

This questionnaire is for pupils.

You can write what you really think. Nobody else in your school will see it.

This information is confidential. The aim is to find out what children think about their class and their school.

The information you give will help to make education better in Frasershire schools.

Write the name of your school and your class in this box:

School:
Class:

APPENDIX 5: Pupil questionnaire – What I think about school (Bilingual pupils exclusively)

Personal information

Please answer some facts about yourself. Against each question tick the box for the answer that is right for you.

1. How old are you?

7	☐
8	☐
9	☐
10	☐
11	☐
12	☐

2. Are you a girl or a boy?

Girl	☐
Boy	☐

APPENDIX 5: Pupil questionnaire (Bilingual pupils exclusively)

What I think about school   ☺

1. Three things I like about school and why

   (i) _____

   (ii) _____

   (iii) _____

2. At school, I feel happy when …

_____

_____

_____

3. At school when I feel happy my work …

_____

_____

_____

4. I do my very best work at this school when …

_____

_____

_____

5. I like it when my teacher …

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX 5: Pupil questionnaire (Bilingual pupils exclusively)

What I think about school ☹

Please complete the following sentences in your own words

1. Three things I dislike about school and why

    (i)   _____

    (ii)   _____

    (iii)   _____

2. At school, I feel unhappy when …

    _____

    _____

    _____

3. At school when I feel unhappy my work …

    _____

    _____

    _____

4. What <u>stops</u> you doing your very best work at this school?

    _____

    _____

    _____

5. I would like my teacher to …

    _____

    _____

    _____

APPENDIX 5: Pupil questionnaire – What I thing about school (Bilingual pupils exclusively)

Please tick 'ONE' box which best describes YOU.

(a) **White**
- **British** ☐
- **Irish** ☐
- **Any other White background*** ☐

(b) **Mixed**
- **White and Black Caribbean** ☐
- **White and Black African** ☐
- **White and Asian** ☐
- **Any other Mixed background*** ☐

(c) **Asian or Asian British**
- **Indian** ☐
- **Pakistani** ☐
- **Bangladeshi** ☐
- **Any other Asian background*** ☐

(d) **Black or Black British**
- **Caribbean** ☐
- **African** ☐
- **Any other Black background*** ☐

(e) **Chinese or other ethnic group**
- **Chinese** ☐
- **Any other*** ☐

* If you have answered 'Any Other' then please explain:

```



```

I do not wish my ethnic group to be recorded in any way ☐

Thank you for helping by working on this questionnaire.

APPENDIX 6: Interview guides used with bilingual pupils, monolingual peers, school staff and parents

A.) Bilingual Pupils

1. In class at school, what things are important to you?

Activity a: Draw a picture of something that is important in class, at school.

- What's important for the pupil?

  Discuss the picture and explore aspects of importance.

- What's important in the playground?

  Play, activities, friends.

- Things liked, things disliked.

2. The experience of starting school in Frasershire.

- What happened?

  What was it like inside / outside class?

  Play, activities, friends.

  Language skills.

3. Language skills / language use

- In first language.

  When first arrived, current position.

- In English :

  When first arrived, current position.

- Language use at school / at home.

4. Friends

Activity b: select buttons

- How did they make friends?

  What did they do, activities in class, in the playground, play.

- How do pupils become included ?

  What do they do ?

- How do they see themselves ?

Similarities, differences with peers.

5. Teachers

- What do they do ?

- Relationship with pupil

6. At school, what's going on ?

- What's been happening ?

- What's the child been doing ?

- Activities in the class and playground

- Previous school, likes and dislikes

7. Problems at school

Activity c: show photographs of children from different ethnic backgrounds. Explain they are newly arrived at school with limited English. Or,

Activity d: draw a picture and build up a profile of a bilingual pupil to include name, age, country of origin, language level. Then using this information created by the children, ask the following questions.

- What might the problems be, if any, for the children at school ?

  Physical differences, friends, language, response by peers and school staff.

- What can be done to help ?

  Teachers, other pupils.

8. Classroom / School environment.

Activity e: show dual language books, then discuss these

- Purpose, value for children

- Are they available at school ?

- Evidence of language and cultural diversity in class.

B.) Monolingual Peers.

1. In class at school, what things are important to you ?

Activity : draw a picture of something that is important in class, in school.

- What's important for the pupil ?

  Discuss the picture and explore aspects of importance.

- What's important in the playground ?

  Play, activities, friends.

- Things liked, things disliked.

2. At school, what's going on ?

Activity : collaboratively, build up a profile of a bilingual pupil to include name, age, country of origin, language level. Then imagine this pupil arrives at school.

- What things would be important to the new pupil ?

- How would it be for this pupil in your class ?

  Teachers, other pupils, friends, work

- What could be done to help ?

  By teachers, other pupils.

3. At school, what's going on ?

- What's been happening ?

- Activities in the class and playground

  Refer to friendship group and others

4. Problems at school

Activity : individually draw a picture and build up a profile of a bilingual pupil to include name, age, country of origin, language level. Then using this information created by the children,

- What might the problems be for the pupils, if any ?

  Physical difference, friends, language, response by peers and school staff.

- Solutions to the problems ?

  By teachers, other pupils.

- How do pupils become included ?

  What do they do ?

- How do monolingual pupils see bilingual pupils ?

  Similarities, differences.

5. Classroom, school environment.

Activity : show some dual language books. Then discuss these.

- Purpose, value for children.

- Are they available at school ?

- Evidence of language and cultural diversity in class.

C.) School staff.

1. Problems if any for bilingual children ?

   Language barrier, friends, inclusion, fitting in, racism, identity.

2. Effect on the children of problems.

   School work, friends

3. How have problems been dealt with ?

   First language valued, support provided ? What more could be done.

4. Attitudes of the monolingual white peer group towards bilingual pupils in their class.

   Relationships, making friends.

5. Settling in and becoming included.

   What did pupils do ? Friends ?

6. How does bilingual child see him / herself ?

   How do others see the child?

7. What more could be done to support pupil ?

   Ethos, school environment, language and cultural diversity, bilingual resources

D.) Parents

1. Problems if any ?

   Language barrier, friends, racism.

2. Effect on the child of problems.

   School work, friends.

3. How have problems been dealt with at school ?

   First language valued, support provided, teachers' response.

4. How did the pupil make friends ?

   Attitude of peers.

5. Settling in and becoming included ?

   What did the pupil do ? Friends ?

6. How does the pupil see him / herself ?

7. What more could be done to support pupil ?

Ethos, school environment, first language, language and cultural diversity, bilingual resources

APPENDIX 7: Extract of the interview with Filip discussing his own drawing of something that is important to him in his class.
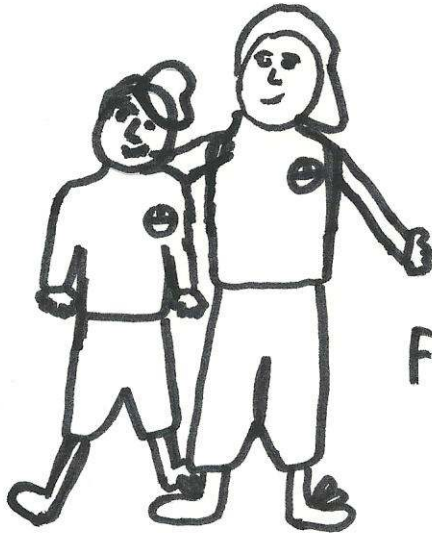
Interviewer:	What is important for you in class?
Filip:	I think it is important for me to have some friends.
Interviewer:	So, in your picture there are two people. This one is...?
Filip:	Anyone.
Interviewer:	Anyone?
Filip:	Yeah.
Interviewer:	And this one is... ?
Filip:	Me... my best friend is ummm Jack.

APPENDIX 8: Emily's drawing of something that is important to her in her class

APPENDIX 9: Extract of the interview with Harald's monolinual peers using the drawing of an imaginary bilingual pupil
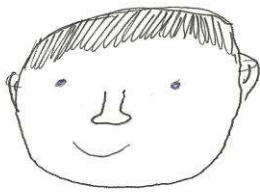
Boy
9
Germany
German.
only child
Y4

Interviewer:	What are the problems?
Pupil 1:	He feels lonely, he feels lonely, a bit left out, no friends, and feels like he's gone to an alien planet or something.
Interviewer:	Tell me more about the 'no friends' bit.
Pupil 2:	Because he doesn't know many people here, he doesn't know any people.
Interviewer:	So, how's that going to make him feel?
Pupil 1:	It's going to make him feel like he just wants to stay out of school, stay in his bed, feels like he probably wants to kill himself... ... just can't do a simple sum or something, they can't put a full stop at the end of a sentence, they just think they're not very clever at all. They say things like, 'you'd better go to hospital and get your brain changed', or something.
Interviewer:	What do you think the teacher could do to help?
Pupil 1:	She could give him a couple of sensible people to show him round the school, get him used to people, tell him their names, take him round to each class, show them the teachers, do anything that can make them feel a bit more as if he's a part of the school.

APPENDIX 10: Extract of the interview with Filip using photographs of minority ethnic children and simulation questions.

Interviewer:	Tell me about these children then. What problems would there be in their class or school?
Filip:	I think, I think they, they not really like understand what the teacher said or something like that. They shy, they not really want to play with the friends.
Interviewer:	Hmm
Filip:	I think. I not really sure right or not?
Interviewer:	How does that make them feel?
Filip:	I don't know. I think they feel a bit sad. Before I been like that, before.
Interviewer:	You've been like that before?
Filip:	Yeah

As the interviewer, I used photographs of bilingual children with whom I had previously worked.

APPENDIX 11: Consent letter and form for interview with bilingual children

Dear Parent(s) or Guardian(s)

I am writing to ask for permission for your child to take part in a PhD research study I am conducting.

My study aims to gain a greater understanding about the experiences of bilingual pupils in Frasershire schools. I will be looking at this topic from the perspective of the bilingual children themselves, their parents, teachers and peers. This research is important because it will inform the work of the English as an additional language (EAL) service and help to make education better for pupils in Frasershire schools.

I am carrying out this work within my role as Head of the EAL service and am supported by the local authority and the Fraser University. I plan to interview children to get their views about school and find about their experiences.

If your child is willing to take part and you agree the interview will take place for about 30 minutes over a small number of sessions. I will arrange a convenient time to interview your child at school. The interviews will be audio taped. All the data will be kept confidential and those taking part will not be identifiable.

Children or parents may withdraw their permission at any time. If you are in agreement please sign the attached consent form and return it to your child's class teacher. Please contact me if you would like to discuss any issues about this research. My telephone number is XXXXXXXXXX.

Yours sincerely

Loraine Davis

Head of Service

English as an additional language

CONSENT FORM

I understand that my child

_____ (Name of child)

_____ (Name of school)

will be taking part in a research study concerning The Experiences of Bilingual Children in Frasershire Schools, organised by Loraine Davis.

- My child's participation is voluntary and he/she can withdraw at any time.
- The information gathered is confidential and will only be used for research purposes.
- I have had an opportunity to discuss any issues about the study.

I give my consent for my child to take part in the study

_____ (Signature of parent or guardian)

_____ (Date)

APPENDIX 12: Consent letter and form for questionnaire completion/interview with bilingual children

Dear Parent(s) or Guardian(s)

I am writing to ask for permission for your child to take part in a PhD research study I am conducting.

My study aims to gain a greater understanding about the experiences of bilingual pupils in Frasershire schools. I will be looking at this topic from the perspective of the bilingual children themselves, their parents, teachers and peers. This research is important because it will inform the work of the English as an additional language (EAL) service and help to make education better for pupils in Frasershire schools.

I am carrying out this work within my role as Head of the EAL service and am supported by the local authority and the Fraser University.

I plan to work with bilingual children to complete a questionnaire to get their views about their experiences at school.

If your child is willing to take part and you agree the session will take place at school for about 30 minutes. I will arrange a convenient time to work with your child at school.

All of the data collected will be kept confidential and those taking part will not be identifiable. Children or parents may withdraw their permission at any time. If you are in agreement please sign the attached consent form and return it to your child's class teacher. Please contact me if you would like to discuss any issues about this research. My telephone number is XXXXXXXXXX.

Yours sincerely

Loraine Davis

Head of Service

English as an additional language

CONSENT FORM

I understand that my child

_____ (Name of child)

_____ (Name of school)

will be taking part in a research study concerning The Experiences of Bilingual Children in Frasershire Schools, organised by Loraine Davis.

- My child's participation is voluntary and he/she can withdraw at any time.
- The information gathered is confidential and will only be used for research purposes.
- I have had an opportunity to discuss any issues about the study.

I give my consent for my child to take part in the study

_____ (Signature of parent or guardian)

_____ (Date)

APPENDIX 13: Extracts from interviews highlighting open coding

	Interview Extracts	Themes
1	F: I no (t) wri ploperly ye	Not speak/write well
	Int: What do you enjoy?	
	F: I enjoy science, computer	Enjoys science
	Int: What is important to you in class?	
	F: I think it important for me to have some friends	Friendship important
	(Case 1: Filip)	
2	Int: Was that not the case to start with?	
	M: No he was just so frustrated because he couldn't, no one could understand him He does speak, I can understand his English, but I didn't realise that every one else couldn't understand his English. No one else could understand his accent, he was feeling so frustrated	Speaking frustrates Language barrier Assumptions Language barrier Accent frustrates
	(Case 1: Filip's mother)	
3	Int: How far do you think schools are supporting? (children's identity) Well, I think, probably not very much because umm, it makes, you asking that question makes me feel quite guilty, because one of the things we do, we try all the time to say you're just like, we're all the same, we're all here together, we're all part of this school, we're all part of this community, you know, yes everyone's different, differences are lovely, because they make you what you are	Not supporting identity Guilty feelings We're all the same Differences are ok Identity / Self Perception
	(Case 1: Filip's Headteacher)	

APPENDIX 14: Three core categories that emerged through data analysis.

Experiences Of Bilingual Children		
Background information	**_Transition into school_**	**_Fitting in at school_**
Demography	The Pupil	Perception Of Staff
Biographical Details	Pupil Support	What Pupils Do To Fit In
Attributes (Pupil)	The Teacher	How Others See Pupils
Personality (Pupil)	Curriculum	Social Inclusion
Previous Experience	Learning	Friends
Teacher	Language Learning	The Family
Perceptions (Pupil)	Barriers To Learning	The Pupil
Home School Interface	Parents	Institutional Relations Of Power
	Loss	School Staff
		Preparation For Later Life

APPENDIX 15: Core category: background information

1. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

    1.1 Demography

        1.1.1 Low incidence area

        1.1.2 High incidence area

    1.2 Biographical details

        1.2.1 Age, gender

        1.2.2 Ethnicity, country of origin, location

        1.2.3 Language use, identity, accent, at home, with whom

        1.2.4 Family members

        1.2.5 Physical appearance: similarities, differences, skin colour, hair colour

    1.3 Attributes (pupil)

        1.3.1 Ability

        1.3.2 Progress, language development

    1.4 Personality (pupil)

        1.4.1 Sibling differences

        1.4.2 Attitudes, feelings

        1.5.2 Relationships

    1.5 Previous experience

        1.5.1 Education, schooling, no school, multicultural

        1.5.2 Cultural socialization

        1.5.3 Cultural expectations

        1.5.4 Family issues: positive, negative

        1.5.5 Incidents

1.5.6 Different way of life

1.6 Teacher

1.6.1 Limited experience (bilingual pupils)

1.6.2 Attitudes, feelings

1.6.3 Relationships

1.7 Perceptions (pupil)

1.7.1 Frasershire school: positive, negative

1.8 Home school interface

APPENDIX 16: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school, overall summary.

Comparison of percentage bilingual (29) and monolingual (162) pupils' responses of various experiences during the previous week [n=191 (29+162)]

			Racism Overall		Name Calling/Social Exclusion Overall		Bullying and Aggression Overall	
			n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Bilingual	**Not at all**		68	78%	109	75%	164	81%
	At least Once		19	22%	36	25%	38	19%
	Total Responses		87		145		203	

Monolingual	**Not at all**		397	86%	490	63%	771	71%
	At least Once		65	14%	283	37%	312	29%
	Total Responses		462		773		1083	

			Practical Support Overall		Social Inclusion Overall	
			n	%	n	%
Bilingual	**Not at all**		54	47%	59	23%
	At least Once		62	53%	202	77%
	Total Responses		116		261	

Monolingual	**Not at all**		258	42%	342	24%
	At least Once		360	58%	1059	76%
	Total Responses		618		1401	

APPENDIX 17: Pupil questionnaire. It happened to me at school. Racism. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of racism during the previous week [n=191 (29 bilingual + 162 monolingual)]

		Was rude about colour of my skin		Was unkind because I am different		Made fun of me because of my accent	
		n	%	n	%	n	%
Bilingual	**Not at all**	25	86%	19	66%	24	83%
	At least once	4	14%	10	34%	5	17%
	Total responses	29		29		29	

Monolingual	**Not at all**	150	97%	110	72%	137	88%
	At least once	4	3%	43	28%	18	12%
	Total responses	154		153		155	

APPENDIX 18: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school. Name calling and social exclusion. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of name calling and social exclusion during the previous week [n=191 (29 bilingual + 162 monolingual)]

		Turned my friends against me		Laughed at me horribly		Called me a name that upset me		Was nasty about my family		Said things that hurt me	
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Bilingual	Not at all	25	86%	16	55%	25	86%	28	97%	15	52%
	At least once	4	14%	13	45%	4	14%	1	3%	14	48%
	Total responses	29		29		29		29		29	

		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Monolingual	Not at all	108	71%	100	64%	90	58%	119	77%	73	47%
	At least once	45	29%	56	36%	65	42%	36	23%	81	53%
	Total responses	153		156		155		155		154	

APPENDIX 19: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school. Bullying and aggression. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of bullying and aggression during the previous week [n=191 (29 bilingual + 162 monolingual)]

Bilingual	Tried to kick me		Tried to hit me		Said they'd beat me up		Tried to make me give them money		Got a gang on me		Tried to break something of mine		Tried to hurt me	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not at all	20	69%	20	69%	24	83%	27	96%	23	79%	28	97%	22	76%
At least once	9	31%	9	31%	5	17%	1	4%	6	21%	1	3%	7	24%
Total responses	29		29		29		28		29		29		29	

White British	Tried to kick me		Tried to hit me		Said they'd beat me up		Tried to make me give them money		Got a gang on me		Tried to break something of mine		Tried to hurt me	
Not at all	79	51%	89	57%	115	74%	141	90%	138	90%	130	84%	79	51%
At least once	75	49%	66	43%	40	26%	15	10%	16	10%	24	16%	76	49%
Total responses	154		155		155		156		154		154		155	

APPENDIX 20: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school. Practical support. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of practical support during the previous week [n=191 (29 bilingual + 162 monolingual)]

Bilingual	Lent me something		Helped me to carry something		Gave me some money		Helped me with my classwork	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not at all	9	31%	12	41%	26	90%	7	24%
Only once	20	69%	17	59%	3	10%	22	76%
More than once	29		29		29		29	

Monolingual	Lent me something		Helped me to carry something		Gave me some money		Helped me with my classwork	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not at all	41	27%	77	51%	102	65%	38	25%
At least once	113	73%	75	49%	55	35%	117	75%
Total responses	154		152		157		155	

APPENDIX 21: Pupil questionnaire – It happened to me at school. Social inclusion. Comparison of percentage bilingual and percentage monolingual pupils' reports of various experiences of social inclusion during the previous week [n=191 (29 bilingual + 162 monolingual)]

Bilingual

	Played a game with me		Said something nice to me		Was very nice to me		Gave me a present		Told me a joke		Smiled at me		Shared something with me		Talked about clothes with me		Talked about TV with me	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not at all	1	3%	1	3%	0	0%	19	66%	8	28%	3	10%	7	24%	14	48%	6	21%
At least once	28	97%	28	97%	29	100%	10	34%	21	72%	26	90%	22	76%	15	52%	23	79%
Total responses	29		29		29		29		29		29		29		29		29	

Monolingual

	Played a game with me		Said something nice to me		Was very nice to me		Gave me a present		Told me a joke		Smiled at me		Shared something with me		Talked about clothes with me		Talked about TV with me	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Not at all	7	4%	14	9%	12	8%	116	75%	35	22%	8	5%	35	23%	80	51%	35	22%
At least once	150	96%	139	91%	145	92%	38	25%	123	78%	148	95%	119	77%	76	49%	121	78%
Total responses	157		153		157		154		158		156		154		156		156	

APPENDIX 22: Meena: Socialization trajectory with support strategies

Strategic support strategies

1) Spoke in a very quiet voice to peers: negative impact on all
2) Tried to negotiate entry to established friendship groups
3) Passive resistance to classwork
4) Tried to engage friends/ tell jokes
5) Copied friends by retaliating when unkind
6) Blamed mother for accident, no friends
7) Out of school activities not accepted by peers
8) Not prepared to take risks
9) Knew she was returning home – gave up

Mother tried to support but School had no voice at school: perceived school as abdicating responsibility blamed Meena's personality rather than school environment

In Malaysia well established/ successful at school
- Good student
- Beautiful home, support from family/ maid

Moved to England & new school

Mother supportive of Meena: strong cultural identity

Perceived as different/ unable by peers

Not accepted by peers

Marginalised by peers

Accident

'False friends' made following accident

Meena wanted to be accepted for herself: not fitting in

End point - still no friends

Father died

Reluctant to start school

Could not communicate in English

Positive

Negative

Pre-transition   Transition   Did not actively try to fit in at school   Fitting in

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

APPENDIX 23: Harald: Socialization trajectory with support strategies

At school in Denmark well established, good student

Supportive family strong cultural identity

Mature, able student

Moved to England & new in school

Harald had a voice: was accepted by peers

Wanted to fit in and be a good student

Mother worked at school

Seen by teacher as a good student

End point - well established with friends & happy

Felt marginalised, an alien

Could not communicate in English

Laughed at by peers, seen as unable, became frustrated, got involved in fights

Language loss

1

2

3

4

5

Strategic support strategies

1) Listened/ tried to understand & engage in classwork.
2) Tried very hard to learn English/ actively participate
3) Complied with class teacher to become a good student
4) Shared cultural activities with classmates
5) Out of school activities with friends

Positive

Negative

Pre-transition

Transition

Fitting in

APPENDIX 24: Emily: Socialization trajectory with strategic support strategies

Positive

Negative

Supportive family, strong cultural identity

At school in Korea, good student

Confident, self aware

Moved to England & new in school

Family joined in English way of life

Parental expectations to learn English

Seen by teacher as good student

Relationship problems

Peers saw Emily as different but special

End point – well established with friends & happy

Emily accepted by peers as a 'Korean child'

No English, no friends, lonely

Felt told off because different

Marginalised by peers due to difference

by class routines

Barriers created

No expectation to use 1st language, language: cultural loss

Activities

Emily tried to fit into majority group

1   2   3   4   5   6   7

Pre-transition

Transition

Fitting in

Strategic support strategies

1) Copied friends, tried to join in with play
2) Proactive in initiating play/developing friends
3) Little gifts for friends
4) Shared cultural activities
5) Out of school activities accepted by peers
6) Learning English was important, Emily asked teacher for homework
7) Emily attempted to overcome problems within group

APPENDIX 25: Filip: Socialization trajectory with support strategies

Positive

- Well established, good student in Thailand: support from extended Thai
- Strong cultural identity and mixed heritage considered an asset
- Father & extended Thai family remained in Thailand
- Filip perceived he was deceived by his mother

White British mother had immediate access to staff/ school information

Moved to England & new school

Reluctant to start school & sad for a long time

Could not communicate, no friends & very frustrated

Mother gave birth to a son: family was focus of attention

Befriended by Harald

Filip wanted to fit in & be a good pupil

Ridiculed by peers due to accent

Upset by mother wishing to change Thai family name

Mother wanted Filip to learn English & do well

Better command of English therefore less ridicule from peers & accepted

End point – happy at school & becoming well established with friends

Negative

1 2 3 4 5 6

Strategic support

1) Wanted to have friends so actively learnt English to initiate communication
2) Actively participated in group activities requiring little English
3) Complied with class teacher
4) Tried hard with school work
5) 'Giggled' in response to potentially challenging situations
6) Took any opportunity in class to talk about his previous experiences/ cultural background

Pre-transition

Transition

(Great sense of loss: father, Language and culture)

Fitting in

* Barriers created by class routines

APPENDIX 26: Ria: Socialization trajectory with strategic support strategies

Positive

Negative

At school in Malaysia, good student

Supportive mother, strong cultural identity

Ria's attitude enthusiastic, outgoing, confident

Moved to England & new school

Could not communicate in English

Seen as different & marginalised by peers

Loss of cultural identity

Father died

1

2

3

4

Ria tried to fit into majority groups

Meena's accident, mother focused attention on Meena – difficult time

Accepted by peers

Mastered English, played games, made friends

Seen by teachers as a 'good student'

End point – had some friends

Strategic Support Strategies

1) On encountering negative peer behaviour – Ria retaliated
2) Ria choose to become a 'British child'
3) Prepared to take risks with peers
4) Copied friends by retaliating when unkind.

Pre-transition

Transition

Fitting in