Learning from multilingual trainee teachers to inform working with EAL pupils.

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Candidate Declaration

I hereby declare that:

1. I have not been enrolled for another award of the University, or other academic or professional organisation, whilst undertaking my research degree.

2. None of the material contained in the thesis has been used in any other submission for an academic award.

3. I certify that this thesis is my own work. The use of all published or other sources of material consulted have been properly and fully acknowledged.

4. The work undertaken towards the thesis has been conducted in accordance with the SHU Principles of Integrity in Research and the SHU Research Ethics Policy, and ethics approval has been granted for all research studies in the thesis.

5. The word count of the thesis is 64,815.

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Abstract

Pupils learning through English as an Additional Language (EAL) are in the minority in the UK. Numbers of these pupils has grown considerably over recent years, but EAL pupils receive variable support towards success within England's education system. Although grouped together in education policy, EAL learners come from heterogeneous backgrounds, and the 'attainment gap' between them and their mono-lingual peers is reported as an area of concern. Teachers are publicly held to account for pupil progress, against universal benchmarks and through use of high-stake testing. Trainee teachers must understand the critical impact they have in enacting policy in the classroom and how their own values and ideals will influence their choice of pedagogy to offer alternative ways to support EAL pupils. Set within a Bourdieusian framework and drawing on concepts of capital, symbolic power and symbolic violence, this study explores and analyses the experience and identity of multilingual trainee primary school teachers using narrative enquiry. Few studies with teachers of EAL pupils involve multilingual teachers in Primary settings and even fewer studies involve multilingual trainee teachers in the UK. Thematic narrative analysis of study data captures participants' journeys of learning in school, their use of translanguaging and their experience of Initial Teacher Education in developing professional identity and shaping choice of professional pedagogy.

Themes drawn from the data focus on belonging and inclusion, identity, additive and transformative approaches to language, and Initial Teacher Education. The emotional costs of navigating a school system where participants felt they did not fully belong is evident, as is the importance of relationships with teachers. The lived experience of multilingual trainee teachers taught in English schools is made up of the intersection and relationship between language acquisition and learning dynamics. The impact of this lived experience of trainees is the focus and originality of my research, along with a novel approach to data collection and interpretation. This study seeks to inform the preparation of teachers working with EAL pupils in the current policy context in England. This context determines the conditions for growth of a school system that is ever-evolving and which is affected by global and subsequent national priorities. In this context, although a translanguaging approach to teaching and learning may be the ultimate goal for many teachers, this thesis suggests that the concept of Funds of Knowledge (FOK) may provide a helpful stepping stone on the journey as long as it is viewed as an illustration of the way that pupils bring their cultural heritage, identity and knowledge to the classroom and fuse these with their experience of education in the classroom. Thus, the concept of FOK is presented as a helpful illustration of the importance of pupils' cultural heritage and experience and of the recognition of these in classroom planning, teaching and learning, whilst avoiding tokenism and ensuring that teachers remain "critically reflexive" to avoid unintentional perpetuation of hegemony (Oughton 2016, p63).

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Thank you to loving friends and family and awe-inspiring colleagues who have believed in me and cheered me on in my endeavours; most of all to my dearest Jon, Ethan and Thaddeus.

Finally, thank you to my wonderful parents for whom education and social justice were fundamental to their ways of living; my hope is that my work does justice to their legacy.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Context of the study

Today, more than a million children aged 5-16 years in UK schools speak in excess of 360 languages between them (NALDIC, 2019); this equates to 20.8% of pupils (DfE, 2024b). In the literature, these pupils are referred to as 'EAL' – that is, those learning through English as an Additional Language. They make a highly heterogeneous 'group', coming from diverse backgrounds; Vertovec, (2007, 2019) refers to this as a growing 'super-diversity'. In the literature, few studies with teachers of EAL pupils involve multilingual teachers in Primary, and very few studies have been found involving multilingual trainee teachers in the UK, although this is a growing field. One of these studies (Safford and Kelly, 2010) takes the theme of agency for multilingual trainee teachers, finding that trainees with varied language resources did not feel that their 'funds of knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992) were noteworthy or had a place for use in the Primary classroom. The current research project will contribute to the literature, highlighting the potential that multilingual trainee teachers offer in schools which serve children learning through English as an additional language, especially but not only, when a specific language is shared between teacher and pupil/s. This study differs from those already found in the literature as it draws on participants' narratives of their experiences of being taught in primary or secondary school, and university in England. Thus, the experience and learning that participants have had of 'being' an EAL learner are traced through to their application of practice as primary school teachers.

The term 'EAL' is itself problematic, firstly due to the suggestion that all learners of English form a homogeneous group and secondly because the term has become a label often associated with deficit connotations, indicating what learners cannot yet do, rather than drawing on skills that they bring to the classroom and the learning experience (Honigsfeld et al., 2021; Welply, 2022). Alford (2024, np) notes "An obdurate discourse, deficit thinking is hard to shift as it requires systemic understanding and challenge." This problem will be explored further in the review of policy and practice chapter, identifying the principles of inequality on which the current education system is founded and will be used in the discussion chapter to highlight the necessity to involve trainee teachers in a critical

approach to their training which takes place within the current policy climate of education in England. Mindful of the challenges inherent in using a single term to refer to a vastly heterogeneous 'group' of learners, EAL as a term can be helpfully used to link themes that arise across this diverse group, whether these learners are new arrivals to England, or are second or third generation migrants, and whether they are proficient in speaking, reading or writing in their first or additional languages (Foley et al., 2018). It is important that these considerations remain at the forefront of research in the field and work with learners in the classroom. EAL is also the term that is used throughout publications by the Department of Education in UK and as this jurisdiction is the focus of the present study, the term has been adopted for this thesis.

Themes that I have selected from the literature concerning the complexities for teachers in England as they support pupils learning through English as an additional language (EAL), centre around the formulation of policy and in particular the turning point marked by the 1988 Education Reform Act which resulted in the creation of England's first National Curriculum (1990) and attendant assessment policies. In order for classroom teachers to support all learners fully in the classroom, there are choices to be made regarding the enactment of official policy (teaching to the National Curriculum and its assessment requirements) whilst balancing teachers' creation of classrooms as effective communities of learning (Menken and Garcia, 2010); these are challenges to be addressed within Initial Teacher Education courses. Later I will argue that the use of FOK and Translanguaging approaches are useful methods for teachers to adopt to support EAL learners.

In the next sections of this chapter, ITE in England will be outlined to give context to how teachers are prepared for classrooms that serve EAL learners, after which the concepts of FOK and a translanguaging approach will be introduced.

1.2 Initial Teacher Education in England and UK

Initial Teacher Education (ITE) across UK jurisdictions varies to some extent but shares many features. In England, which is the focus of this research study, ITE can be completed through a variety of routes, ranging from a ten-month Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) or Post Graduate Diploma in Education (PGDE) to a three or sometimes four-year degree course that combines degree study with the acquisition of Qualified Teacher Status (QTS).

Further options are offered through a part-time top-up degree (from foundation degree to full honours) plus QTS, while other routes combine school-based work through 'assessment only' programmes, where unqualified teachers are assessed through their classroom work, producing a portfolio of evidence against the Teacher Standards (TS). Further school-centred Initial Teacher Training (SCITT) and School Direct (SD) programmes require the bulk of trainees' time to be spent in school, whilst training providers affiliated with HEIs offer theory and practice-based taught sessions. Routes into teaching in Wales, Scotland and Ireland vary. There are significant differences within each jurisdiction, to what is taught to trainees regarding teaching pupils learning through EAL.

Training to support EAL learners in English ITE programmes focusses on the fulfilment of TS 5 which states that teachers must "adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils". Specifically in relation to EAL pupils, these standards require teachers to "have a clear understanding of the needs of all pupils, including…those with English as an additional language...and be able to use and evaluate distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support them" (DfE, 2012). There is no guidance as to how teachers support the full range of learners. In 2020, the government published the Core Content Framework (CCF) for ITE which included a series of 'Learn that' and 'Learn How to' statements aligned with the TS, that were stated as the minimum requirement for training delivered by ITE providers. Although the CCF mentions support for some groups of children (for example those with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities - SEND) within this framework, there is no mention of EAL learners. It is fair to assume that the corollary of the omission of EAL pupils from the CCF leads to varied coverage across the plethora of teacher training routes outlined.

In Wales, the accreditation of ITE providers includes the requirement for courses to prepare trainees to meet the Professional Standards (PS), in place since 2017. In relation to language learning and awareness, professional standards require teachers to "have high expectations with regard to Welsh-language development in the context of the bilingual nature of Wales"; "understand the expectations in the curriculum with regard to Welsh-medium provision and/or Welsh Second Language" and to "build a school climate and learning culture which takes account of the richness and diversity of the school's community including Welsh Language and culture." The Welsh school curriculum is laid out in six areas of learning,

including that of 'Languages, Literacy and Communication'. Within this area, the clear intention is that 'Welsh, English and international languages' are expected to be significant part of a pupil's holistic development. The aim of this area of learning is "to encourage learners to transfer what they have learned about how languages work in one language to the learning and using of other languages" (Welsh government, 2022, np).

In addition, as part of the developing anti-racist policy in Wales, financial incentive is offered to attract BAME trainee teachers as the Welsh government (2022, np) stated that the "education system must broaden pupils' understanding and knowledge of the diverse cultures which have built our present and present". It appears that there is greater importance given to the inclusion of a meaningful acknowledgement of language learning and awareness for teachers in Wales, than in England, particularly but not solely in relation to learning Welsh as well as English. This may be due, at least in part, to the fact that Wales offers dual-language education in some Welsh schools. There is no equivalent CCF for ITE in Wales however, requiring ITE providers to interpret on an individual basis, how to train teachers to support pupils in school.

The Scottish context offers a more streamlined approach to ITE, providing two routes, both university-led. One route is the PGDE and the other is a four-year undergraduate route, both of which align to similar routes in the English system. Similar to the Welsh context which allows pupils to learn Welsh as well as English, 17 of the 32 Scottish local authorities offer dual-medium education enabling pupils to learn the heritage language of Scotland (Gaelic). The detailed Professional Standards for Scottish teachers (2021) outline the necessity for teachers to consider professional values, underpinning their knowledge, pedagogy and professional responsibilities. In each area of the standards, teachers are required to note and adapt teaching and learning towards Gaelic medium education 'where appropriate' and the values of 'social justice', 'trust and respect' and 'integrity' are designed to ensure that pupils' "social, ecological, cultural, religious, and racial diversity" are considered and catered for in school classrooms.

The Irish context requires teachers to train for a longer period than in Wales, Scotland or England. Irish ITE courses are either two or four years in duration, depending on whether they are undergraduate or post-graduate in nature. These courses require trainees to demonstrate their ability to teach in the Irish language and ITE programmes are required to

ensure that these expectations are met, whilst also giving opportunities for trainees to experience teaching in the Irish language in placement settings.

In the expected standards for Irish ITE, reference is also made to ensure that courses meet the needs of a range of ITE trainees in the "adequate provision to include the diversity of learners in the student teacher population e.g. native speaker, second language learners and learners of high ability". In addition, in a section on Inclusive Education, specific mention is made regarding the need to "recognise that teachers encounter a diverse range of needs in the course of their teaching, regardless of setting. This will include additional learning needs… associated with diverse linguistic, socioeconomic, cultural and ethnic (including Traveller community, Roma) backgrounds" (The Teaching Council, p4). As with the standards set out in Scotland and Wales, no central curriculum offers guidance on how providers meet these standards to ensure parity across courses.

As this outline illustrates, there is considerable variation within the Initial Teacher Education field as to time spent studying and learning to teach in schools in UK. As part of this thesis, the adoption of a critical Third Space approach will be suggested as a means to support trainee teachers' understanding of the multiple layers of learning to teach (Moen, 2008).

Next, I will outline three key concepts that underpin the work of my study. They each offer significant conceptual depth and centre on an inclusive ideology by proposing ways to explore human experience. Later I will use these concepts to suggest different ways to synthesise our approach as teacher educators to understand how best to include EAL pupils and support trainee teachers in doing so.

1.3 Funds of Knowledge

The concept of Funds of Knowledge (FOK, Moll et al., 2005) recognises and draws upon the considerable learning that pupils have already encountered and engaged with before entering school and is a helpful concept to teach trainee teachers as a way to help them to see beyond the challenges inherent in supporting pupils who are new to English and demonstrate how to recognise the positive contribution that EAL learners can make to the classroom. The framework presented by FOK relates to social justice in education and as Hogg (2012) argues, resists the 'deficit theorising' (Hogg, 2012, p48) that may surround EAL learners. If teachers hold a deficit view of pupils from some cultural or linguistic

backgrounds they may be caught between opposing positions of trying to support such pupils while believing that they are only capable of making little progress Hogg (ibid).

FOK is an additive term that seeks to acknowledge and redress the balance of cultural capital in the classroom, placing the onus on schools to teach in a culturally responsive way (Banks, 2009). As Rodriguez (2013, p87) points out, FOK aims to "recognize community assets" in a national education context which

> "privileges conformity and standardization over responsiveness and inclusiveness, educators [who are proponents of FOK] confront hegemonic forces that continue to shape public education for the majority of students living in poverty or who are ethnically, linguistically, and otherwise diverse" (Rodriguez, 2013, p87).

That is to say that teachers who recognise what pupils bring to the classroom in terms of experience and learning rather than focus on the deficit of what pupils don't yet know 'confront hegemonic forces' and are in the position to positively influence the support of EAL pupils in their classrooms.

The FOK approach is not however without critique, and it could be concluded from the literature that the approach is part of the legacy regarding support for EAL learners, rather than a valuable approach to be adopted in the current education climate. Banks (2009, p394) cautions that teachers must guard against *"essentialising"* (italics in original text) different cultures but must instead recognise that there will be racial, linguistic and cultural variations within groups of pupils with similar backgrounds to avoid stereotyping. Indeed, the work of Gonzalez et al., (2011) highlight the resulting danger that teachers' understanding may be "oversimplistic" (2011, p 483), leading to a *mis*understanding regarding families, communities and cultures that could result in reinforcing the perceptions that the FoK approach intended to refute. There is potential here however that in recognising that generalisations must not be assumed regarding individuals and families within any given heritage background, the need to consider the diverse backgrounds of pupils in a classroom could lead to teachers ignoring the necessity to consider the daily lives of pupils that influence learning in school. One example of this may be seen in pupils' religious practices, given that many pupils in the current English school system regularly

attend after-school faith-based groups, experiences that may be shared by some teachers and the understanding of which could prove helpful in scaffolding learning in the classroom.

Gonzalez et al., (2011) recognise that whilst emphasising the complexity of pupils' cultural FoK to avoid oversimplification, ignoring cultural background can lead to lack of recognition of fundamental aspects of pupil identity and may lead to exclusive classroom practices; this they describe as a "double bind" (p 484). They conclude that although FoK as a concept requires critical examination by those adopting it, the inherent value of the approach remains and it is this balanced perspective that is advocated in the current project by suggesting inclusion of a FoK approach as part of ITE in England in order that in "engaging teachers in conscious, sustained attempts to find and incorporate community strengths into classrooms is an essential means of countering dehumanizing policy reforms" (Gonzalez et al., 2011, p 491). Alongside this additive approach, the growth of a further, transformational understanding of language using translanguaging is a way to develop that arising from the FoK body of work. A translanguaging approach reconceptualises language and can be seen to compliment the FoK concept of the acknowledgement given to all aspects of the mosaic of individual pupils' identity.

1.4 A translanguaging approach

The Bourdieusian concepts of capital, habitus and field were used as a lens through which this study was planned, approached and examined and I explored and re-examined the concept of 'translanguaging' (see Creese and Blackledge, 2015; Duarte, 2019; Conteh, 2018) in light of narrative data. Moving away from the notion that language is a 'bounded system' (see Garcia and Li, 2014; Zhao and Flewitt, 2020) translanguaging builds on the developments in second language acquisition research, that were fuelled by Firth and Wagner's (1997) seminal recognition that language learning is more than a cognitive process and includes the vital components of "social and contextual orientation to language" (Larsen Freeman, 2007, p775). Not only does translanguaging offer the potential to scaffold learning in the classroom, but crucially, its adoption demonstrates inclusivity for EAL pupils. In chapter two, the concept of translanguaging will be examined in light of the current policy context that may be considered to be at odds with a translanguaging approach. In chapter three, empirical studies will be explored that illuminate the multifactorial nature of experience for learners where the language of instruction differs from the first language. As

translanguaging is a relatively new field, trainee teachers may not have been given the opportunity to engage with it 'officially' as pupils; however, their insights into the use of first language in the classroom are helpful for the advancement of inclusive pedagogy. Bourdieu's concepts are a critical framework in which to examine the theme of language use in the classroom, given the basis of an education system that is arguably predicated on the super ordinance of English.

In a sense, the 'Third Space' is a link between home languages and speakers of these and other languages. That is to say that Third Space is a place to explore, consider identity, form/reform one's own identity in relation to language, heritage/s, experience and relationships, making decisions about who one is and where we belong; it is a concept that offers opportunities within ITE to support trainees' understanding and as such will be used later to provide recommendations for the revision of ITE courses. Here I briefly introduce the concept.

1.5 Third Space to support criticality

The concept of Third Space was developed (initially by Bhabha (2004) and built on by Soja, 2009) to explore an alternative and metaphorical 'space' in which to explore language. Bhabha offered a critical approach in the context of postcolonialism; Soja built on this by offering the concept of Third Space as a framework within social sciences. In relation to my study, the concept is useful in examining the role of language and language learners' identity, especially in relation to social and professional behaviours. Bourdieu's focus on the intersection of cultural capital, habitus and field is significant when considering the role of the teacher in setting up and managing the classroom – it's ethos, routines and practices. In her research into the links between identity and agency for multilingual children, Maguire (2005) suggests that everyone is situated in contexts of time and space that are both material and social. She quotes the work of Lefebvre (1991), noting that social actions and practices are context-specific and part of a wider historical picture, while Norton (1997) claims that such contextual sites are places of struggle and are multifactorial. The notion of spatial, temporal aspects of experience resonates with the choice of narrative methodology for this project, which will be explored further in the methodology chapter.

Although the concept of this 'Third Space' is contested in some quarters (see Zhou and Pilcher, 2019) as being 'essentialist', it is a useful concept to consider when planning for 'safe spaces' (Conteh and Brock, 2011) in the classroom. Indeed, Gannon (2010, p1) uses the Third Space metaphor as "evok[ing] a hybrid, in-between, disruptive space that can operate to disturb normative or deficit perceptions" which is particularly helpful in the quest to interrogate and disrupt the deficit perception of EAL learners that has often pervaded the field. Gannon (ibid) suggests that this is important for fields of 'pre-service' Teacher Education; this study gave opportunity for exactly this aim, to afford time and space for discussion, exploration, interrogation of experience and consider how such experience has impacted present and future pedagogy for trainee teachers.

Maguire (2005, p1-2) suggests that there are many 'types' of space: social, cultural, real, imagined, ideological, geographical, being in the world. As part of Bhabha's concept, aspects of the self, including language and identity, may be given time and focus to generate greater understanding and insight. Maguire (2005, p1424) mirrors Ivanic's claim that:

"While schools may position children, so too children align and position themselves as they construct their own reflexive projects of self-hood in particular places".

However, what was explored more fully in the current study was whether this alignment by children may be possible in the school system in England and whether this has been the experience of participants in UK schools and universities. Experience shapes an individual, especially one who by definition is young (school-age) and their identity as a learner in the early-stages of development as illustrated in the work of Dakin (2017) and Chan (2009) that will be explored in the next chapter. Wherever the 'shaping' of an individual takes place - and this research gives the opportunity to explore how, when, where, why this shaping has taken place – this will in turn shape the chosen pedagogy of multilingual trainee teachers as they choose a method of teaching that aligns with their philosophy of education. Maguire (2005, p2) reminds us that such shaping is also prey to political circumstance and leanings and is "locally and globally situated". In the current global political climate, this has never been truer than it is now. The ever-tightening immigration policy in English Government rhetoric has significant implications for the acceptance of new-to-English learners in English schools and schools are not neutral places politically or ideologically.

The suggestion of “hybrid identities” (Maguire, 2005, p1427) appears apposite in this context as learners may have multiple language identities, and varied cultural heritage rooted in political environments, before and during their training to be a teacher. Maguire (2005, p19) suggests that becoming multilingual is a “complex, dynamic, relational process” and that finding one’s voice can only take place where there is professional and personal trust, equity, mutual respect and justice. The same must be said for multilingual trainee teachers.

Wenger’s development of the term teachers’ ‘communities of practice’ (1998) gives us the opportunity to examine where trainee teachers ‘belong’, especially for this study, if they are multilingual teachers. Vickers-Hulse’s (2024) study with minoritised trainee teachers (also explored further in the next chapter) demonstrated the complexity of a trainee’s identity as part of a professional group if they feel ‘othered’ because of factors pertaining to representation and belonging. We might ask three questions: did these trainees have agency in relation to language and identity formation as a pupil in school; do they have agency as a trainee teacher; will this influence their chosen pedagogy? Later in the discussion chapter, I explore the importance of understanding the perspective of multilingual trainees and the contribution that this understanding should make to ITE providers in training teachers to meet the needs of EAL pupils.

1.6 Theoretical framework of the study

The work of Bourdieu offers a helpful framework in which to consider the experience of EAL learners and the implications of these in relation to teacher education. Over the period of my study, the metaphor of an elaborate board game formed in my thinking, leading to a feeling that the experience and support of EAL pupils in England may be perceived as a battle played out between competing discourses; either to view the skills of EAL pupils as deficit or as an asset. The UK game ‘Monopoly’ (copyright Parker Brothers) is based on the premise that players gain capital as they move in a linear way around the board. As they play, they occasionally gain opportunities to improve their chances through life events, but essentially the game favours those who gain opportunity and wealth quickly from the start. A similar ‘game’ in the English school system sees pupils needing to gain capital through high-stakes testing in order to ‘achieve’ and progress successfully through the system whilst playing by rules that may disadvantage those learning through EAL and particularly those

who arrive part-way through primary or secondary school because they have not gained the same experience of the UK education system or the language of instruction as their mono-lingual English-speaking peers. Teachers in turn gain capital through supporting their pupils towards 'success'; success being defined as high scores in narrow, standardised age-related assessment tasks carried out in English, which are further weighed through international comparison (Lewis, 2014). The stakes of winning (or losing) are high. This metaphor aligns with Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field.

In educational spheres, the ultimate field of power sits with governmental structures and the power of these is communicated through policy and curriculum (Flynn, 2015). Quantitative data are used to 'measure' success for pupils in these standardised tests; either pupils answer with the correct words or numbers, or they do not, and these responses are counted, and presented as evidence of attainment. By treating pupils in this way, it is easy to disregard their identities, backgrounds, and personal qualities, de-humanising data in easily read pie-charts and the like (Burnett et al., 2020). Little account is made of pupils learning English as a language while also learning through English as a language of instruction and Demie (2024) reminds us that the UK is the only developed country that does not use an assessment system that acknowledges EAL pupils' first language proficiency. Applying a Bourdieusian lens, academic and linguistic capital is attributed to pupils without their knowledge and is used to label them as learners at particular 'levels' within the school system. It is easy to see how learners begin to embody their capital, unaware of the rules of the game.

In the literature review chapter, I will use powerful examples from the research of Brooker (2002), Chen (2010), and Dakin (2017) that show the individual impact on pupil identity of embodied habitus as manifested in school settings and becoming a part of pupils' identity in a range of ways. In the findings chapter I will share the narratives of participants in my study to communicate the impact of being judged as intellectually deficient by teachers and the resulting frustration for pupils. In an attempt to disrupt this narrative, I will go on to argue that Moll et al.'s (1992) notion of Funds of Knowledge (FOK) positions in additive terms, the customs, knowledge, and experience of multilingual learners and that understanding by the classroom teacher of the importance of this knowledge offers a powerful instrument of change if they acknowledge and include the FOK of learners from a range of backgrounds,

into their pedagogical decision-making on a daily basis. Although the concept of FOK has been critiqued as previously mentioned, I argue that it remains a helpful stepping stone towards inclusion in a school system that has not yet become fully equipped with the transformative practice of translanguaging practice and pedagogy.

Later in the literature review, studies of ITE programmes in two UK jurisdictions are examined and attention is drawn to Bourdieu's (1974, p32) claim that education is "one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern, as it both provides an apparent justification for social inequalities and gives recognition of the cultural heritage that is, to a social gift treated as a natural one". The work of Cushing (2023) among others is used to illustrate the ongoing relevance of Bourdieu's claims today.

Bourdieu's work is utilised in mining the subtractive discourse that often surrounds those learning through EAL (Cunningham, 2019). It is through this framework that I will examine education policy that is influenced by global, national, and local priorities. Gillborn (2005, np) urges that: "There is a pressing need…to view policy in general, and education policy in particular, through a lens that recognises the very real struggles and conflicts that lie at the heart of the processes through which policy and practice are shaped."

To this end, I will explore the role of teachers and teacher educators in mediating this range of policies and the potential impact of mediation in the classroom. In doing so, I will identify the original contribution of my research to the literature in the field of EAL. The inter-connectedness of pupils, curriculum, power structures, influence of cultural capital, and habitus within the education field is mapped out in Figure 1. This figure includes the role of ITE in underpinning the planned development of professional pedagogy by preparing teachers in an appropriate way to meet the needs of their pupils:

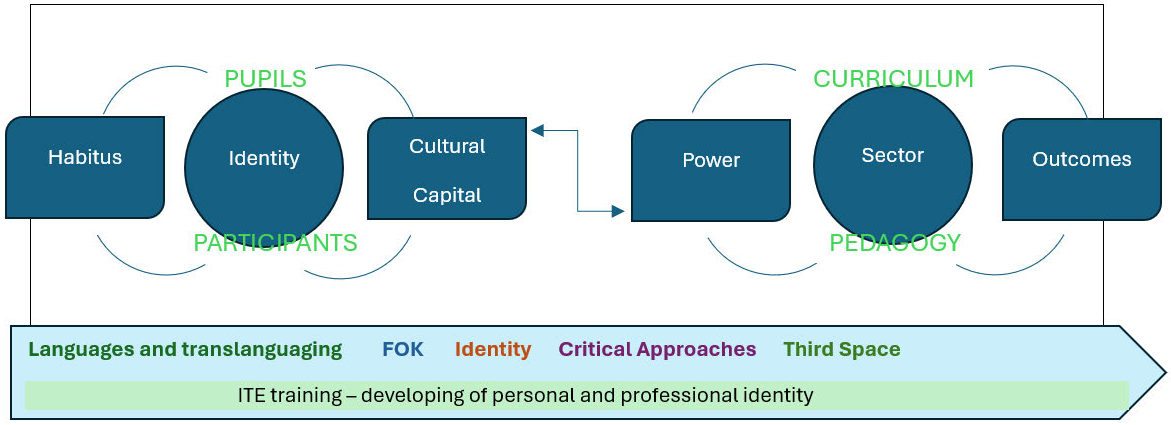

FIGURE 1: Interconnections between areas of the education field, underpinned by ITE training

1.7 Motivation for and Aims of the study

My teaching on the subject of EAL on Teacher Education courses has, over the years, lead to the opportunity of listening to many stories told by trainee teachers who have themselves learned English as an Additional Language in the English school system. After almost every lecture, trainees came and shared their experiences with me, often having reflected on this experience and begun to reevaluate it in light of learning about the value of first language and its crucial role in the process of teaching and learning as well as an integral part of their identity. I became troubled by the recurring theme of learners being told not to use their first language in school, or their parents being instructed by teachers not to speak in their heritage language at home, in order to avoid 'confusing' their child. These experiences were sometimes also backed with those from more recent days spent on school placements where a similar ideology pertaining to first language had been witnessed. Trainees' stories reminded me of the work of Bourdieu, illustrating the habitus that learners had adopted unconsciously over their years in school, that was now being challenged during their training to become a teacher. Symbolic power, Bourdieu (1992, p164) stated is: "that invisible power that can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it". The motivation for this study grew out of the opportunity to support trainees to challenge that symbolic power which they had been subject to, and to learn from them regarding the most appropriate

ways to offer support for EAL learners in the school classroom and embed these principles in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) courses.

The aims of this study were to explore what ITE can learn from multilingual trainee primary school teachers about preparing to work with pupils who learn through EAL in England and to amplify student voice from this under-researched group. By using a novel approach to data generation and by offering a 'Third Space' (Soja, 2009), multilingual trainee teachers were invited to explore and reflect upon their own language use and language learning and the influence of these experiences on their pedagogy as teachers. The lived experience of multilingual trainees as learners and the adoption of intentional, inclusive pedagogy were explored to determine potential contributions to ITE curricula and to further develop guidelines for working with multilingual pupils and staff. I was interested to understand the intersection between language learning and discourses around the impact of language learning in the classroom, interpreted and experienced in light of cultural understanding and within a Bourdieusian framework. I was concerned by the dearth of literature gaining the perspective of those with lived experience of being multilingual and learning through EAL in England. The aims of this study promoted Hornberger's (2004, p169) suggestion that within the education system:

> *As English-only policies and mono-lingual language ideologies continue to exert their sway both nationally and internationally, we need bilingual educators to be conscious advocates for the language rights and resources of language minority students and speakers of endangered, indigenous, immigrant and ethnic languages wherever they may be.*

1.8 Research Questions:

The research question identified for this study was: What can Initial Teacher Education (ITE) learn from trainee teachers who are themselves EAL, multilingual learners, to inform the preparation of teachers for a multilingual classroom?

Using Bourdieusian concepts as a point of departure, analysis of findings will be discussed considering: the purpose of language and 'languaging' (Badwan, 2022); 'Anglonormativity' (McKinney, 2021), monolingualism and multilingualism; the paradox of desiring to attain 'sufficient' levels of English while at the same time maintaining home language and the

necessity of learning English in order to 'succeed' (Cheng, 2023). I also explore translanguaging (Conteh, 2018; Li Wei, 2018) and 'critical' translanguaging; critical framing of language, and a consideration of anti-racist education.

Beyond the life of the research study, I hope that the project proves to be a catalyst for change in the classroom, concurring with Sikes's (2006, p45) endorsement that educational research should lead to "praxis, to committed, informed action".

1.9 Methodology and Methods of study

Moen (2006, p65-66) identifies three layers of teacher education, each of which may be developed through the use of narrative enquiry. She suggests that the first of these is 'knowledge-for-practice' where trainees seek classroom strategies to trial in their early practice, the application of knowledge gained from their own experience as a pupil without, perhaps, the criticality of a deeper understanding that study may bring. The second layer is 'knowledge-in-practice', observing and enacting what is experienced during trainee school-based placements, including learning from 'experts' in the setting. The third layer that Moen identifies is 'knowledge-of-practice' which links the theory learned through a deep study of teaching's multiple facets and connects with experience in the classroom. Crucially, this third layer of teacher education recognises that knowledge is never fixed but an iterative understanding which grows and develops as teachers respond to the kaleidoscope of variables in any classroom. Each layer, if explored using narrative reflection, deepens the understanding of the teacher's role pertaining to a vast range of experience including relationships, a sense of belonging, and the influence of lived experience (Lieblich et al., 1998).

For this reason, narrative methodology was adopted for the study; the narrative approach facilitated reflection on the experience of multilingual trainees, made up of multiple elements, including relationships with teachers and the management by those teachers, of the classroom experience.

Methods included the use of unstructured interviews, the aim of which was to give participants space to explore their experience of learning as an EAL pupil. The interviews were preceded by participants making a 'creative text' that illustrated their learning experience; this 'text' was a multimedia resource that was not analysed as an artefact but

used as an elicitation device for discussion during the interview. Using this 'text' as a catalyst for telling their story gave the opportunity for participants to plan what they wanted to say in the interview, which was an intentional choice made by the researcher to ensure the participants' stories were central to the data, as opposed to the use of a priori questions which can determine the direction of an interview.

Through thematic narrative analysis of interview data, and the adoption of a Bourdieusian lens, themes were identified that powerfully illuminate the potential for future development of Initial Teacher Education (ITE). The lived experience of multilingual trainee teachers taught in English schools, is made up of the intersection and relationship between language acquisition and the experience of learning when the language of instruction is other than the first language; this is the primary focus and originality of my research. Elbaz-Luwisch, (2010, p274) points out the power of hearing stories of those "whose experience is generally not heard" and the narratives of multilingual trainee teachers offered unique insight into essential classroom support for EAL learners, noting the importance of a person's identity in the learning experience and that identity is both individual and socially constructed (Coffey and Street, 2008). As teacher educators, we can learn a great deal from these experts in the field about how best to prepare teachers for the primary classroom, in respect of inclusive pedagogy and the potential of a translanguaging approach. Viewing through a Bourdieusian lens offers the opportunity to reconsider power structures within the education system that arguably should be disrupted through planning for a critical approach in ITE.

As part of the data analysis process, the researcher also partook in a creative response to the research experience. In the same way that the creative text produced by participants was not an artefact to be analysed, so too the creative response by the researcher was used as a way to explore the data on a deeper level than that which is available through the use of formal language alone. These art pieces produced by the researcher are in no way meant to be elevated above those of the participants but are illustrative of a shared approach to the use of creative processes in the teaching and learning process.

1.10 Outline of thesis

The thesis consists of 7 chapters.

Chapter 2 explores the literature relating to policy and practice in England, in the context of the UK. In this chapter, I outline the impact of global influences on education in England and specifically on the discourse surrounding EAL learners and their teachers. I also examine the role of teacher education in the process of preparing teachers for meeting the needs of all learners and the pressures inherent in designing a training course within the prevailing global standards agenda.

Chapter 3 explores empirical studies in the literature relating to this context, highlighting the impact of policy and practice on individuals and on ITE institutions and their construction. Studies pertaining to EAL pupils and multilingual trainees are examined. In addition, studies exploring the use of translanguaging as a pedagogy are also explored, along with the use of narrative methodology and its application in research, illustrating its appropriate adoption for the current study.

Chapter 4 outlines the methodological approaches of my study, justifying the use of narrative methodology and thematic narrative analysis as the most appropriate tools for this study. My own creative responses to the findings took the form of the production of pieces of artwork; this approach will be explored in the methodology chapter, and examples will be used to illustrate in both the methodology and discussion chapters.

Chapter 5 sets out the findings from the project, outlining key themes of belonging and inclusion, identity, translanguaging, Funds of Knowledge (FOK), and ITE.

Chapter 6 explores the analysis and discussion of findings in detail, and themes are developed examining the potential for preparing early career teachers as agentive practitioners and specifically multilingual teachers whose FOK are valuable assets in the primary school classroom. Challenges presented in the education system are examined considering the findings, and alternatives are proposed.

Chapter 7 offers recommendations to policymakers and to ITE providers before conclusions are drawn, noting the limitations of this study and future research opportunities identified.

Chapter Two: Review of Policy and Practice

2.1 Introduction to chapter

In this chapter, the recent history of the school context in England will be charted through the literature, tracing changes brought about by implications of the Swann report (1985) and through the Education Reform Act (1988), considering also the UNICEF (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child. The subsequent influence on the organisation of schools that serve pupils learning through EAL will be considered and policies that shape classroom practice will be interrogated.

The variable climate of ITE in England will be examined as part of the following chapter through the exploration of empirical studies, identifying that trainees may benefit from the opportunity to experience and explore their pedagogical decision-making, based on a critical exploration of their professional role in the current context. This, however, may be challenging given the constraints of time and multiple routes into teaching in the current English context outlined earlier.

2.2 Global influence on governments' education and social policy

The influence of international data on the expectations behind UK benchmarking may be seen clearly as governments increasingly use results from Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) tests to justify and inform policy creation (Lewis, 2014; Hopfenbeck et al., 2018). This relatively recent influence has seen a surge in dominance (Lawn, 2013; Hopfenbeck et al., 2018) within international policymaking and as Lewis (2014: 318) argues: "PISA-driven enumeration of education performance has contributed to a process of 'governing by numbers'". The 'objectivity' of this method could be questioned using a Bourdieusian lens as he drew attention to the immense power of those in a position to influence how education systems are organised and whom they favour; his approach gives rise to questioning the nuance of data that positions vast quantitative data sources as the authority about pupils on a global scale. This questioning extends to the use of data in the UK to identify EAL pupils labelled with an achievement gap (Strand and Murphy, 2014; Strand 2021); these pupils are subject to scrutiny from policymakers.

Aside from PISA testing, support for EAL learners around the world, and assessment policies used to judge them, differ considerably. Scott and Erduran (2004) offered a helpful comparison of Assessment policies used in USA, Canada and Australia with those used in UK. The teacher assessment they analyse outside UK is made up of several strands; crucially, frameworks have been built in consultation with classroom teachers. These frameworks recognise that pupils learn in different ways from one another, and that they are affected by a range of factors on their 'journey' toward language proficiency. As Conteh (2023) points out, treating EAL learners as a homogeneous group is not accurate or helpful, though learners are required to attain a certain level of language proficiency in order to fulfil assessment requirements. Cummins et al., (2015) note that in some regions of Canada, there is no difference in the attainment of pupils who speak the language of instruction as their first language and those for whom it is an additional language. They argue that this results from choices around pedagogy, specifically using and valuing pupils' home languages in the classroom (Cummins, 2000). This intentional use of pupils' languages is one way that policy may be mediated at the school and classroom level and will be discussed later as alternative approaches are explored as recommendations from my study.

The backdrop to education policy and practice regarding newly-arrived pupils (who are also EAL) and their families is heavily influenced by the media and political rhetoric, driving social policy which favours exclusive behaviours against those who are new to English. National and local press stories have perpetuated the stereotypes pertaining to some communities for many years and it may be considered that "racism is still rife across Europe" (Rorke (2015, p6). The "tough new plan for asylum" (Theresa May then UK Prime Minister 2015) made clear the UK Conservative government's fresh and ongoing attempt to limit immigration into Britain from all countries; this plan continued over the following nine years with the most recent conservative government headline announcing, "the biggest ever cut in net migration" (conservative government slogan, 2024). Many people had hoped that with the advent of a new Labour government in 2024, the rhetoric around asylum seekers would change, however, this does not appear to have been the case, given the government's announcement in February 2025 through the Border Security Bill that those claiming asylum through irregular routes [N.B. there is no legal way to enter the UK to apply for asylum] will receive a permanent ban on British citizenship, even when granted

protection. In addition to the practical implications of such measures, these policies problematise the basic concept of new arrivals in Britain. By portraying immigrants as a 'threat', a highly negative identity has been created, and as Blommaert (2008, p83) warned,

> "The distinction between inhabited and ascribed identities is one that involves differences and inequalities in agentivity, scope and depth… an individual only has agentive powers over part of his or her own identity".

This hostile political climate is the backdrop against which education policy and practice have been worked out and pupils new to England are in danger of being made unwelcome in local communities (and via assessment policy, discussed later). Internationally this picture is reinforced. Trump's 'xenophobic binge' (Younge, 2015) represented views that had once been considered extreme, as seeming moderate, contributing to the worldwide picture of inequality which has been perpetuated more recently by altering a "system of protecting refugees and asylees, established in 1980… to policies that weaponize them" (Wasem, 2020). Having been re-elected as President of the USA in 2025, Trump's influence is still strong across America and the world. In January 2025, Trump cut funding for the Department for Education in the United States (US), responsible for ensuring the equality of opportunity within education in the US, along with cutting the funding for all equality and diversity-related work in all US government departments.

At the heart of the UK call to 'British Values' (Cameron, 2014) apparently lay 'tolerance, respect and freedom' but it was difficult to see how the perceived identity of some EAL learners fitted within this rhetoric. In schools, the Equality duty (2010) which in theory brought together all anti-discriminatory legislation was juxtaposed with the Prevent duty (2015) which called schools to help protect pupils from radicalisation. The Prevent duty placed responsibility on teachers to 'report' children and families if there were concerns regarding radicalisation. During the early implementation of this duty, stories highlighting teachers' discomfort in being arbiters of political suspicion were common and there appeared to be a very fine line for teachers to tread as they negotiated the complexities of these political expectations.

While Vertovec, (2007, 2019) described a growing super-diversity of community in many of Europe's cities that may be defined as a growing multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and multi-faith society, Blommaert (2013, p193) warned that "we are facing not a system of plurality here, but a system of complexity characterised by intense poly-centrality"; that society is segmented into many parts, and such segregation leads to disunity, despite efforts to build social cohesion. Prieler and Payne, (2015) noted that racism is also a problem for some teachers and the wider community of English schools and that this racism may be focussed on specific ethnic groups.

Research has clearly demonstrated that inequalities and discriminations influence how children develop in the learning environment (Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke, 2000; Troyna and Hatcher, 1992; Brooker, 2002) and the impact of self-concept on the identity of the learner (Hattie, 2018). Despite this, policymakers in the UK continue to focus on the deficit model of EAL learners, using examples such as the high-profile report from Oxford University (Strand and Murphy, 2014, Strand 2021) focusing on the 'achievement gap' of minority ethnic groups in the UK. This report singled out those who performed consistently lower than their peers in Literacy; a deficit model was presented where little attention was given to the positive effects of having a multicultural, multilingual school environment, celebrating success, or to wider reasons for pupils' disengagement or low attainment. Reports such as these become the foundation for national education policy.

The global approach to the treatment of EAL learners has a direct influence on how the education system is organised nationally; the approach to the system in England and how this has developed over time will now be explored in more detail.

2.3 National Education System in England: Built on Key Policies

Themes from the literature concerning the current complexities for teachers in England as they support pupils learning through English as an additional language (EAL), centre around the formulation of policy based on reports such as Strand and Murphy's (2015) which will be closely examined shortly. This report was influential in current policy creation but needs to be seen within the context of the earlier history of UK national education policy and in

particular the turning point marked by the 1988 Education Reform Act which resulted in the creation of England's first National Curriculum (1990) and attendant assessment policies.

Just before the Education Reform Act was written, the Swann report (Swann, 1985) named 'Education for All', outlined the intention of achieving integration for ethnic minority communities within British society. The report insisted that all children be given equal opportunity to mainstream education. In relation to EAL, this was interpreted as a removal of section 11 teachers, who had until then, taught EAL learners separately from the main class, to be given bespoke support. This is significant because the edict that the Swann report proffered regarding teaching EAL learners as part of the whole mainstream class, contributed to the thrust of the first National Curriculum that was brought in to bring about standardisation of school practice.

The 1988 Education Reform Act marked a defining moment for the ideological position of education in England and Wales. Based on Neoliberal ideals and the New Right, marketisation, parentocracy, league tables, OFSTED, formula funding, and the creation of the National Curriculum became the new educational norm. Being sold to parents as a salve for poor teaching standards, the National Curriculum heralded 'standardisation' across all schools with the promise that each child would receive the same education, whichever school in the country they attended. The White paper "Better Schools" (HMSO, 1985) had articulated these aims. This one-size-fits-all approach made accountability measures straightforward (by counting how many children reached a particular 'level' in their learning) but immediately challenged teachers who brought innovation and creativity to their planning and teaching (Ogier, 2019) as gradually, schools became subject to performativity, began to 'teach to the test' more and more until a school's reputation became based on their latest OFSTED report and a narrowing curriculum (Ball, 2005).

The paradigm created by the notion of a one-size-fits-all curriculum and associated assessment policy required challenge in recognition of a range of learning styles and pupils with a variety of learning needs. In the original National Curriculum (1990), there was very little attention given to those who may not be able to access the curriculum fully (see appendix 1 (i)). By the second iteration of the National Curriculum (2000), an 'Inclusion Statement' was added (see appendix 1 (ii)). This second version took specific account of EAL

pupils and their potential barriers to learning. Interestingly, by the most recent version of the National Curriculum (2014), this Inclusion statement had been paired down to a version closer to the original, although mention is made of pupils learning EAL (see appendix 1 (iii)).

Alongside the inclusion statement, sit the Assessment and Access arrangements for multilingual (EAL) pupils (see Standards and Testing Agency, 2012); these stipulate when and if pupils will be entered into Standardised Assessment Tests (SATs) at the end of each Key Stage in school. As an illustration of how these arrangements are currently enacted in English Primary schools, a child who is new to English and arrives in school in Year 4 (age 8-9 years), will be required to undertake tests that are carried out in the early summer of Year 6 (age 10-11yrs), giving them less than two years to reach the same level of attainment as their monolingual peers. Thus, children who are relatively new to learning in English are assessed to the same standard as those who have been learning in English since they joined school in the Foundation Stage (age 4-5 years). Widely received research clearly demonstrates that children will take up to seven years to become adept at learning in the language of instruction (Cummins, 1981); the disparity between research and education policy in England is crystal clear. Teachers' beliefs and such policies do not always align, many teaching groups and education charities oppose the Year 6 SATs and have in recent years campaigned for change (TES, 2021).

Neoliberal values underlying these policies prevailed; there was a removal of the safety net that would support those who are economically or socially vulnerable; often EAL pupils and their families are both and may have missed parts of their education journey due to displacement if they have moved to UK during school years. Free market and the marketisation of schools are powerful forces; schools whose pupil cohort comprises any number of EAL learners are judged with the same criteria as those whose children all speak English as their first language – a dynamic of competition underpinned by unfair rules through the publication of high- stake test results dominate. The effects of this unbalanced system are long-lasting for pupils and for schools (Berliner, 2011).

Analysis of the language used in the National Curriculum of England and Wales allows an examination of some of the policy drivers at its heart. By introducing a central curriculum as an imperative for all pupils, the Government effectively stated that pupils formed a

homogeneous group, that nuanced education for pupils with differing needs and educational requirements, became a moving away from the 'norm'. For EAL children who are still learning the language of instruction as well as learning *in* the language of instruction, this immediately puts additional barriers in the way of their attainment. The policy picture varies across the UK however; as mentioned in the introduction chapter, Wales has a bilingual curriculum (2022) which encourages multilingualism. This is an illustration of the lack of cohesion in central policy, examined through this chapter.

2.4 Power Dynamics of the National Curriculum

Here I use Hyatt's (2013) critical policy discourse analysis frame to examine the construction of power dynamics running through the National Curriculum, the consequence of which offers a starting point for the deconstruction of the identified power bases. Later, a brief exploration of who holds 'power' may illustrate that the enactment of policy in the classroom offers opportunities as well as challenges to teachers and those teaching them. Hyatt (2013:837) states "The aim of the analysis is to uncover how authors of texts… represent and construct the social world, institutions, identities, relationships and how these are shaped and characterised ideologically through relations of power". If knowledge is power, then analysis of policy offers opportunities to influence those engaging in policy debate.

In the introduction to the first (1990) National Curriculum, the Government justified the implementation of the mandated syllabus by stating that agreement had been reached among stakeholders as to its necessity. Paragraph 4 states:

> "Since Sir James Callaghan's speech as Prime Minister at Ruskin College in 1976, successive Secretaries of State have aimed to achieve agreement with their partners in the education service on policies for the school curriculum … A substantial measure of agreement has already been achieved, and there is now widespread support for the aims of education which were set out clearly in the White Paper "Better Schools". (Cmnd - 9469. 1985)"

Hyatt referred to the warrants that were employed by policy writers to give credence to their views –here we can see that agreement among stakeholders was stated but not

supported with any evidence of who was consulted and how agreement was reached. Evaluative language was used to persuade the reader as to the value of a "good curriculum", the authors state that "valuable progress" towards agreeing this "good" curriculum had been made. However, the assertion goes on to state that:

> "progress has been variable, uncertain, and often slow. Improvements have been made, some standards of attainment have risen. But some improvement is not enough. We must raise standards consistently, and at least as quickly as they are rising in competitor countries" (paragraph 6).

The language of certainty invited readers' trust and the mention of international comparison, almost felt like a call for national loyalty, using patriotic and imperative language of battle ("*we must raise standards*…"). Indeed, even the title of the *National* Curriculum perhaps encouraged readers to view the requirements as of national importance in a context of growing global competition. This sense of competition has been heightened in recent years through the growth of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and overt international competition for educational outcomes. This will be explored further, later in this chapter.

Similarly, what Hyatt termed the 'accountability warrant' was used to rally readers to demand a better deal for pupils:

"Some schools already offer such a curriculum, but not for all their pupils. Many schools offer something far less good. The Government does not find this acceptable. Nor do parents and others in the community."

This language offered a given agreement with policy - after all, who would *not* want their pupils or their offspring to make good progress? Assessment of a school's progress was couched within this same accountability warrant as the policy stated that ongoing comparisons:

"enable schools to be more accountable for the education they offer to their pupils, individually and collectively. The governing body, headteacher, and the teachers of every school will be better able to undertake the essential process of regular evaluation…"

No mention here of the differing needs of individuals and how they might fall short of (inequitable) assessment benchmarks or be supported towards reaching their potential. Similarly, the policy stated that parents would be able to judge a school's success by the results of pupil assessment "against agreed national targets for attainment". Who had 'agreed' to these targets was not clear. Assessment was deemed so vital that it was stated "the Government has decided...that to be effective [the curriculum] must be backed by law". Using the language of legislation, the imperative could not be more strongly worded; there was to be no deviation from the requirements of the National Curriculum. Professionals were offered a license to ensure this curriculum raised standards through "imaginative application of professional skills at all levels of the education service" but with little acknowledgement of the range of needs represented in the classroom. There is a use of political warrant here too, the policy is justified in relation to what is good for the nation, for society, for the public good.

Examining England's National Curriculum in this way offers context to the management of all pupils in England and in the next section, I will examine the impact of this policy on EAL pupils in particular as it impacts heavily in relation to attainment and accountability.

2.5 National Curriculum and EAL Pupils

Despite the fact that the UNICEF Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) Article 29 states that "the education of the child shall be directed to … the development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language, and values", the tolerance in England towards first language use in the classroom is low. Home language, if permitted in school, is often employed only as a transition to the 'language of instruction' and is not valued in its own right (Creese, 2005; Li Wei and Martin, 2009; Robertson, Drury, and Cable, 2014). In England, the language needs of EAL learners are largely ignored in education policy and teachers are left to decide how to navigate the complexities of teaching and learning with little guidance, mandatory training, or Continuing Professional Development (CPD) (Leung, 2001). Leung's (2001, p48) reference to the "fringe status of EAL" appears apt. Although in some countries including parts of the UK, dual language teaching is encouraged (examples include Wales, Ireland, Australia and the Netherlands), and 'dual-language immersion programs (sic) are widespread across the United States' (The Century

Foundation, 2025), in parts of the US, this pedagogy is deemed illegal (see Garrity et al., 2018). England's policies on first language use in school perhaps sit somewhere between these polarised positions, but with little support for teachers, practice is left at the behest of individual schools making education somewhat of a lottery for EAL pupils.

The use of Critical Race Theory (CRT) is further developed in the USA than in the UK and will not be adopted in this study but Gillborn's (2005) analysis of education policy in England using CRT makes for uncomfortable and vital reading. His exposure of the more subtle 'unintended' racism that he suggests pervades the subconscious of many white people in a lack of awareness of 'white supremacy' caused me to re-think my own and others' position in the perpetuation of discrimination through education policy.

Nationally, there might be some acknowledgment from the Department for Education (DfE) which has jurisdiction over England, Wales and Northern Ireland, of the need to address pupils' differing needs and offer support; one Ofsted report (2014) sought to showcase the 'good practice' of three Local Authorities in England that support relatively large numbers of Roma (who are EAL) pupils. However, the recognition that this group of pupils may have specific needs was overshadowed by the tenor of the report that encouraged integration rather than inclusion, to ensure 'achievement'. Whilst integration focuses on the changes necessary within an individual to align with the established environment, inclusion highlights the need for the adaptation of education policy and classroom practice in light of children's individual needs (Anastasiou and Kauffman, 2011). The Ofsted report (2014) focussed on changes that pupils and their families needed to make, rather than those that the education system could make in order to offer more effective support. MacKenzie (2022) suggests that language is often not included in the discussion around inclusion, and I argue that beyond (and including) the focus on the protected characteristics found in the equality duty (2010), language is an imperative consideration to ensure consideration of all marginalised groups.

Cushing (2023) uses a racio-linguistics approach to explore the notion that pupils are judged negatively in relation to their use of language/s. Cushing (2023) suggests that benchmarks designed by those in power are set in order to establish and maintain a hierarchy of language use in the school system, a suggestion that resonates with a Bourdieusian approach. In highlighting the underlying discriminatory practice of recent initiatives in the

English school system that point out ‘word gaps’ of bilingual learners, Cushing (ibid) suggests that pupils are viewed as ‘suboptimal’; word gaps are seen as a detrimental factor in relation to progress and achievement because of multilingualism. Consequently, he suggests that policy around overcoming ‘word gaps’ may be seen as racist and damaging. Cushing’s work identifies a difficulty for teachers as they navigate a system that requires them to ensure pupil ‘progress’, while potentially simultaneously casting these pupils in a negative and demeaning light. Cushing (ibid: ‘Mind the Gap’ section) suggests that pupils cast in this way are not only those who are typically labelled as multilingual but also those pupils who come from homes that are considered to be ‘language poor’ and he points to white supremacy, racial capitalism, and social class stratification as both cause and effect. Cushing’s empirical study (2023) with multilingual trainee teachers will be explored in the next chapter.

Brooker’s, (2002) powerful research with Bangladeshi families in London who became marginalised through the lack of cultural capital, entering school aged three years old and already disadvantaged, is a salutary reminder that for some, inequality often goes unchallenged to the detriment of pupils’ progress through every stage of their life. The power of cultural capital, resulting in families’ adoption of habitus is a central problem in the equity of experience and is crucial to the education experience of all learners. It is especially detrimental to those who do not start school with a shared understanding of the rules that work towards and underpin successful progress through the education system. There may be a perception by some teachers about children who are deemed not to be prepared sufficiently for school “because their families have failed to equip them with adequate linguistic and cultural practices” (Cushing, 2023: Mind the Gap section). There is little or no recognition of the many strengths and rich cultural heritage that multilingual pupils bring to the classroom and that these may be utilised to maximise learning.

Similarly, Rosa (2016) points to the effect of what he terms “languagelessness”, a position ascribed to bilingual pupils judged to be suboptimal by those who are first-language users of either of the languages spoken by the bilingual; that is to say that in speaking two languages, there may be a danger that the bilingual learner does not identify with either as a ‘first’ language and thereby not belong to any group of first- language users. Rosa (2016) suggests that there is a hierarchy of languages, each being deemed as more or less worthy

than another. Although set in the USA context, Rosa's work will be illuminated in the findings of my study, which makes his work prescient for the English education system too. He gives examples of the way that pupils from different racial backgrounds are treated differently from one another; bilingual, white pupils whose bilingualism is praised, alongside their non-white peers who may be kept back a year in school as a result of their bilingual identity. Consequently, Rosa (2016, p165) points out a relationship between class and race and the considerable stigma attached to some bilingual pupils, while white pupils are considered "invisibly normal". He suggests that in these settings, schools try to "Anglify" (p169) non-white bilingual pupils so that they be assimilated successfully into the school system. The assertion is made, that linguistic assessments are made both informally (how pupils, parents, or indeed school staff come across as they speak) as well as formally through standardised tests. In this way, Rosa claims that in parts of the USA, there is a "framing of bilingualism as a handicap" (p164) that resonates with the English school system that appears to be set up in a way that disadvantages many EAL pupils; this will be demonstrated through the data of my study.

2.6 Accountability Measures and EAL Pupils

It was easy to see how, against this backdrop of accountability, attainment, and competition, EAL pupils may be deemed as 'problematic' - indeed anyone who may not chart a smooth course towards easy academic success could be judged similarly. As Safford and Drury (2013, p73) say, "Bilingual learners have come to be 'included' in a strongly centralised, monolingual national curriculum and assessment system". Bourduiesian notions of power, and knowledge resonate and urge reconsideration of power dynamics within the curriculum and relationships in many classrooms that are organised in line with a system driven by free-market capitalist comparisons. Bourdieu might have enquired as to who decides on a curriculum, whose languages are preferred, valued, elite, who has 'power' within a system; a system that is fragmented, and within which groups of learners are disenfranchised and marginalised (Biggart et al., 2013). By selecting one language (English) as the only mode of communication and learning, an "epistemological blindness" (Bhatt et al., 2022, p427; MacKenzie et al., 2022) is created whereby only knowledge that may be communicated through English is considered, thereby excluding knowledge that may be

communicated in different languages. Concepts, knowledge, and understanding inherent in a particular culture (also called Funds of Knowledge) may be lost as this becomes inaccessible through restricting the creation of learning opportunities to one language.

Fast forward thirty years and the term 'achievement gap' (Laws, 2013) is widely used by the UK's inspection body Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) and Government discourse around pupil achievement, identifying groups of learners who fell short of benchmark national test scores. Similar rhetoric is explored in Higher Education, suggesting that the 'attainment gap' between international (or EAL) and 'home' students is of concern when what is needed is a reconsideration of a range of factors, including the creation of curriculum alongside the pedagogy to support those learning through EAL (Seuwou, 2023). The imperative for 'equitable education' (Choudry, 2021) is as strong as ever.

2.7 Impact on EAL Pupils of Measuring 'Attainment'

Twenty-five years after the introduction of the first National Curriculum, Oxford Professors Strand and Murphy published a co-authored report (2015) comprising results from a significant quantitative study into the attainment of EAL pupils in England (Strand) and a systematic review of successful 'interventions' designed to support EAL learners (Murphy). Strand's quantitative study drew on the National Pupil Database of more than 20,000 schools and analysed the 'attainment' of EAL learners, identifying a series of 'risk factors' and making recommendations for future funding and teacher CPD. Murphy's part of the report was designed to identify complementary recommendations.

One of the strengths of this report is that it usefully illustrates how the system works, specifically in England, as opposed to studies that have included other parts of the UK or have drawn on an international context. I will explore the limitations of such a review, shortly. As part of the executive summary, Strand's report states that no matter which ethnic group a pupil is from, if they are EAL, their attainment is likely to be below their peers within their ethnic group. So EAL itself is given as a 'risk factor' concerning attainment for all pupils. The report goes on to give detailed reasons for variability of risk which lists a number of key factors; Identified SEN, International arrival during the key stage, Pupil mobility (when they joined school), Ethnic group (certain groups are identified as performing less well than

others), Entitlement to Free School Meals (FSM is a UK proxy for social deprivation), Region (within England), Age and Gender. However, significantly, the report reminds us that the same risk factors apply to *all* pupils, irrespective of ethnic or EAL status.

Even though it is widely recognised that EAL is an umbrella term that cannot offer a representation of a homogenous group, headline data is used within the report to support the deficit discourse around all pupils learning in a language other than their first (Hutchinson, 2018). In addition, the authors state that "particular first language groups within the White Other and Black African ethnic groups are associated with much higher risks of low attainment for EAL students" (Strand, 2015 p12). When we read which languages this data represents, however, it seems odd that no link is drawn between the person and the language. Luk (2023, p310) reminds us that "Quantitative data are a proxy for human behaviour. Behind those numbers, there are human faces and experiences that are the center of the investigation". For example, there is no reference made to the likelihood of trauma or missed education that may have been the experience for refugees and asylum seekers. Reporting the results of narrow testing does not measure well-being, engagement, or enjoyment of learning. In addition, there is no mention made of the unreliability of the ascription process, an issue often discussed by a group of head teachers with whom I regularly work, whose schools serve EAL communities. There is widespread acknowledgement within this group that some parents fear the impact of 'admitting' that their children are EAL (see also Biggart et al., 2013).

If we look more closely at the language of Strand's report, it reveals a match of the neoliberal values underpinning the Curriculum and more broadly, the system that it represents. The language of *risk* and *low achievement* immediately frames the findings in a negative light. In the executive summary alone, the word 'risk' is used 20 times, 'achievement' is used 23 times, 'attainment' 21 times, the word 'results' (of tests) 7 times, 'funding' 9 times (this may be perceived as positive as it highlights the need for a greater resource to support schools, although what this means is not clear). Standard Assessment Tasks (SATs) are used as comparison points, despite the fact that these comparisons were inaccurate for 15% of pupils who entered school after the Key Stage SATs were carried out for their year group. The fact that the word 'measure' is written 6 times in this summary points us towards the key to the report; through analysing the data as has been done here,

writers were able to quantify children's progress through school, thus forcing comparison. If one of the highest influencing factors on EAL achievement is the length of time in the country, does achievement (or lack of) become a self-fulfilling prophecy for our EAL pupils? Depending on one's philosophical ideal about the purpose of education, such comparisons are arguably the antithesis of teachers' professional values (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2015) but are instead a useful tool for politicians and policymakers alike (Ball, 2017; Bešić, 2020).

Strand's call for greater funding of English schools is welcomed as financial cuts have sunk deeply into English schools in all areas despite a range of political parties having attempted to redress inequality in education (Brighouse, 2021). The National Funding Formula (NFF) which allowed for 3 years of funding for schools with EAL pupils is no longer ring-fenced and research demonstrates that it takes longer than 3 years for pupils to gain full language proficiency (Cummins, 2000). In addition, if a child arrives after Year 9 (age 13 years), they miss out on the funding altogether (Hutchinson, Bell Foundation 2018). The uneven concentration of EAL pupils across Local Authorities in England finds relatively few schools with high numbers of EAL pupils, and many schools with very few (Strand and Murphy, 2015; Hutchinson, 2018). As a result, it may be possible for funding reviews to effectively 'ignore' schools with EAL pupils, beyond the notional measures outlined above. In the Professional Body requirements, brief statements are made about the obligation of teachers to "meet the needs of all learners, including those with EAL" (Teacher Standard 5) but no mention is made of how best to do this. Individual schools and teachers are left to consider factors likely to impact pupil progress (such as length of time in the UK and deprivation) and there is a great risk that they will not have the capacity for such considerations, in the 'pressure cooker' (Perryman et al., 2011) that currently pervades the English school system. Strand's (2015) report leads to the danger of certain groups being identified as being more (or less) worthy of investment. Observations such as: "Black African…had particularly high proportions of students who arrived in the UK between ages 5-14… over 40% compared to the sample average of 3%" (Strand, 2014:67) are not qualified with how to support such learners, but are instead presented as a matter of concern.

Accompanying Strand's report, Murphy's (2015) systematic audit of 'Interventions' designed to support EAL pupils found an almost total lack of any interventions suggested in policy in the UK (only one intervention was identified) which is indicative of the lack of any central

policy to develop EAL expertise in schools (Hutchinson, 2018; Leung, 2001). Again, teachers must navigate the requirements of the national directives themselves and in doing so, often fall prey to what Hall and Cook (2012, p297) call the 'entrenched monolingualism' that underpins the National Curriculum in England (see also Conteh, 2023).

The limitation of a study that purely reports numeric data, laid out as 'evidence' in the way that quantitative research is designed to do, is that it is difficult to detect the human element behind the numbers. This omission is critical in any country's educational context that comprises millions of people who represent a vast range of culture, heritage, and experience. This requirement for nuance is exemplified by a mixed-methods study undertaken by Griva et al., (2017) with teachers in Greece. On one hand, quantitative data demonstrated that most surveyed teachers supported the use of the first language by bilingual learners. However, the complementary qualitative data found that those teachers also placed conditions on this practice– for example using first language only as a support to learning Greek and only in specific lessons. In this mixed methods study, one set of data supported the other and I question whether purely quantitative studies such as Strand and Murphy's (2015) offer the necessary insights gained through a qualitative approach. I will examine this point further when considering the methodology for my project.

In this next section, I will refer back to the recent history of education policy in England that has had a significant influence on the pedagogical practice in UK schools, following the pivotal Swann report (1985). The resulting 'mainstreaming' (teaching all pupils together as one class, including those new to the language of instruction) of all EAL pupils from the early 1980s onwards in England was rooted in the intention that all pupils felt that they were included in whole class teaching but as discussed now, may have hidden dangerous patterns of unintended consequences.

2.8 Mainstreaming

The use of withdrawal groups which had been in place for EAL pupils for the previous 10 years, at this time was beginning to be deemed as a racist practice (Monaghan, 2019), being seen to deprive EAL learners of feeling like full members of the class group. Vazquez (2019) further suggests that the prevailing view (incorrectly) added that if pupils could not cope in mainstream classes, then they must have some Special Education Needs (SEN). A corollary

of this assumption was that the mainstream class was viewed to be the most appropriate place to learn English, surrounded by competent and confident speakers of English.

During the 1980 – 1990s, opinion was divided among teachers regarding withdrawal groups and discussion revolved around pupils' wellbeing as much as about academic attainment (Monaghan, 2019). As outlined in Chapter 3, the Swann Report (1984) titled 'Education for all' supported this position, requiring that all pupils were taught together with the class group. An excerpt of the report reads:

"*some ethnic minority pupils may…have particular language needs either because English is not their first language or because they speak a dialect of English which differs from the Standard English of the school. If and when such language needs arise, they should not be regarded negatively simply as a 'problem', but rather should be seen as just one aspect of that pupil's educational needs, which may in any case be similar in nature if not in degree to the linguistic needs of some ethnic majority pupils, and for which it is entirely reasonable and proper to expect schools to cater"* (Swann Report, 1985: 325).

'Mainstreaming' meant that all pupils, including those from a wide range of language backgrounds, were taught in an age-specific class where English was used as the language of instruction. Consequently, although curriculum content may have been appropriate for the age of the pupil, the possible language barrier posed for new arrivals was not addressed (Leung and Valdes, 2019).

Since the 1980s, education in England (along with all vital public sector services) has been subject to severe spending cuts by consecutive UK governments. These spending cuts significantly affected the central support for teachers of EAL pupils, such as Local Authority Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) teams and school library services all of which had previously been readily available for schools to call upon in terms of resources and expertise. Further, until the early 1990s, there had been a centrally funded PGCE teacher qualification focussing on EAL which was subsequently lost due to reduced funding in the sector. More recently, in the early 2020s, the school inspectorate Ofsted cut the role of EAL advisor to the inspection team, viewed by many education specialists as a backward step in supporting inspection teams to understand the contextual needs of schools that they inspect. In this austerity climate, Demie (2024) calls for a return of Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG) funding (which the Conservative government

abolished in 2011) to redress the creeping financial cuts and begin to reinvest in support for EAL learners. These spending cuts added to the complexity of supporting EAL learners through a 'mainstreaming' approach as the resources and structures that had been in place to support teachers were no longer available; indeed the erosion of funding, training, services, and recognition in the school inspection process have led to a position where the needs of EAL learners may have been rendered invisible in policy, making intentional inclusion by individual schools and teachers all the more essential.

The next section of this review of policy and practice will explore the system of training teachers in England. I will outline the challenges faced by the sector in which university-based ITE courses reside; my argument is that although ITE may be heavily influenced by challenges around prevailing influences of language supremacy, policy, and curriculum, we are in a prime position to suggest meaningful change, given our highly tuned focus on pedagogy.

2.9 Initial Teacher Education (ITE): Part of the Higher Education Context

The influence of global forces is prevalent in education across the world, notably in the realisation of neo-liberal ideals that focus on the marketisation of education as a commodity, presenting as competition that favours those in power and those who are seen to hold the greatest capital. Higher education (HE) is subject to the same forces as those seen at work in schools, and as places of great financial turnover and potential wealth, the stakes within the HE sector are high. Within this context, Bhatt et al., (2022, p425) argue that the English language has become the "lingua franca", as one of a few colonial languages around which education is organised in terms of teaching, learning, and assessment. A consequence of this position is that those whose first language is anything other than English are immediately at a disadvantage alongside English-speaking monolingual peers; this is a perfect example of Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital.

Neo-racism theory has been extensively applied to the experience of international students in the context of Higher Education (for example see Cheng, 2023; Squire et al., 2024). Rather than focus on race alone, this theory presents the reality of discrimination based on culture (including language) and the nationality of students, including micro-aggressions in both formal (relationships between tutor and tutee) and informal (social) interactions (Cheng,

2023). In addition, Bhatt et al., (2022, p427) describe the “double-bind” faced by multilingual academics in Higher Education, who need to choose whether to publish in English (employing “scholastic capital” MacKenzie et al., 2022, p495) in order to reach a wider audience, or in their first language to allow for access by those who do not speak English. In the context of the education system in England and of my research, the concept of neo-racism provides a helpful reminder of the difficulties currently being worked out by individuals.

In relation to university-based ITE, this problem may be disguised, with the argument that teachers are being prepared to teach in the English school system and will need to teach in English, expecting pupils to learn in the same language; thus the ‘symbolic power’ (Bourdieu, 1992, p164) may go unnoticed (Cushing, 2023). This inequality results from an intersection of race, language, cultural heritage, and education and reflects the hegemony that underpins and empowers those in decision-making positions in the realm of education, principally policymakers. Again, we see Bourdieusian concepts writ large; language cannot be viewed as an “objective entity” (MacKenzie et al., 2022, p494) but may instead be seen to hold much power.

The work of Safford and Kelly (2010) with university student teachers who did not recognise the rich shared experience with pupils learning through EAL, is another stark example of the notion of habitus in HE. These student teachers had no understanding of (and worryingly appeared not to acknowledge the necessity to address) the missed opportunity to use a rich shared experience of culture and language with pupils in school; this empirical study will be further explored in the literature review chapter.

As will be explored later in the findings, analysis, and discussion chapters, participant student teachers in the current research project experienced attitudinal barriers throughout their education in England concerning language, preparedness for school, assumptions regarding academic ability, and the organisation of classrooms by school staff. This “discrimination based on culture and national order” (Lee and Rice, 2007, p389) was recognised by participants in different ways and to differing degrees. Whether conscious or subconscious on the part of teachers and school staff, the effects of these behaviours were profound and the implications both looking back on the lived experience of participants and looking forward towards systemic change in the education sector will be explored further.

2.10 ITE curriculum

The Core Content Framework (CCF) was recently introduced (2019 and implemented in 2021) as the framework for Initial Teacher Education in England and Wales. Until this time, the 'curriculum' for ITE was based on trainees' exploration and understanding of the Teacher Standards (TS see appendix 2), against which they needed (and still need) to provide evidence of meeting the standards with a level of proficiency (the process of providing this evidence varies between ITE providers). This lack of structure left institutions to plan the curriculum taught to trainees with foci selected individually course by course, the monitoring of which was carried out through inspection by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). We know from the results of the Newly Qualified Teachers (NQT) survey which surveyed new teachers early in their career, that many did not feel adequately prepared to teach EAL pupils; I will explore this subject further, shortly. The recently introduced CCF, though providing a structure around the core values of the TS, does not mention support for EAL learners specifically at all. Although there is an inherent assumption that ITE providers interpret the requirement for 'Adaptive Teaching' to include support for EAL learners, this again leaves the responsibility to support all learners at the behest of potentially sporadic training provision.

Interestingly, an understanding of the needs of EAL learners does shine through English Government guidance, from time to time and these sets of guidance do provide some structure for teachers and trainees. For example, as part of the National Strategies published in 2006, The New Arrivals Excellence Programme offered comprehensive guidance to schools. However, unfortunately, its adoption was not made mandatory and quickly fell into disuse. Robertson, Drury, and Cable (2014) highlight conflicting ideology *within* curriculum documentation around this time, as Early Years Foundation Stage assessment documents (DCSF 2008) stated that home language may be used to assess learners in some areas of the curriculum while demanding that Communication, Language, and Literacy are assessed in English. In the most recent DfE publication of Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) statutory guidance (DfE, 2021) sensitivity to pupils' cultural and heritage backgrounds is called for, suggesting that currently there may be a renewed understanding of the importance of teachers' recognition of pupils' early skills and experiences. The varied tenor of statutory (and non-statutory) documentation illustrates an

uncertain approach to EAL pupils and how best to support them; this does not allow for assured guidance of trainee teachers, nor does it assure that the settings in which they later teach have a clear understanding of how best to support EAL pupils.

In the next section, I will examine the landscape of ITE provision in England in light of preparing trainees to understand the possibilities of inclusive practice, concerning EAL pupils.

2.11 Preparing trainees to teach in the English education system

As outlined in the introduction chapter, the number of routes into teaching has increased over recent years including; an apprenticeship model where trainees are placed within a specific group of schools (for example a Multi Academy Trust) and work while they study; work part-time in school and study to teach alongside a 'top up' course; study a full-time three-year degree with Qualified Teacher Status (QTS), or study a university-based Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE), also with QTS. These different routes offer differing opportunities, allowing prospective trainees to select what will complement their level of experience prior to study. Almost all of the literature referring to the preparation of new teachers regarding support of EAL pupils, highlights the challenges of training, whichever route they select, although helpful suggestions have been made for the development of intercultural understanding (Apedaile and Whitelaw, 2012), teaching about additive bilingualism (Cummins, 2000; Conteh 2018, 2023), the associated themes of Funds of Knowledge (Moll et al., 1992), and possibilities offered through greater time spent in school teaching EAL pupils (Skinner, 2010).

All teachers in England are trained to meet the requirements of the Teacher Standards (TS), a list made up of two parts: Part one is a series of eight areas of teaching, and Part two provides a list of expectations about personal and professional conduct. At all stages of a teacher's professional journey, from early career teacher to retirement, teachers are held accountable against these standards and the distinct areas of practice make up the baseline curriculum of ITE, through the delivery of the CCF. Part one of the TS covers areas that are deemed to be essential elements of the teacher's role: setting high expectations for pupils, promoting good progress and outcomes, demonstrating good subject knowledge, planning

and teaching well-structured lessons, meeting the needs of all learners, use of assessment, managing pupil behaviour and fulfilling wider professional responsibilities. I question whether their performative nature is helpful in supporting teachers to include all learners in schools, in the best interests of individuals and particularly in light of Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, habitus and field. There is only one TS that mentions EAL learners which includes the call to "meet the needs of all learners, including those with EAL" (Teacher Standard 5). As I will explore in the Analysis and Discussion chapter, this single focus is one that requires careful planning if as teachers we can expect to cater for learners' individual needs. Within a system that is not structured for nuance (all pupils must undergo standard assessments unless there are specific exceptions relating to their circumstances), it is challenging to recognise individual need whilst remaining accountable to national requirements, in schools that serve unique cohorts (that is all schools). It could be argued that standardisation is unrealistic, or as Bourdieu (1977, pxvii) would suggest, a form of 'symbolic violence' against those who do not share the roots of the ruling powers. This suggestion is further explored later in the Analysis and Discussion chapter, when synthesising the exploration of literature with findings in the data. I will argue that the role of teacher education is to offer a range of perspectives relating to what can be learned by engaging with pupil background, culture and language/s and integrating this understanding into professional pedagogy. In addition, I will argue that the use of a 'Third Space' (Soja, 2009) approach offers opportunities to explore lived experience of EAL learners and reflect on these in the context of university-based learning and school placements.

The recent introduction of the Core Content Framework for ITE (2021) presented an immediate requirement for review of the curriculum, attempting to standardise content across all ITE routes and link with ongoing professional development as an Early Career Teacher. In an increasingly multilingual world, and as society in England becomes increasingly pluralistic, the review of curricula seems to be a helpful time to remind ourselves of Blommaert and Rampton's (2011, p3) words, which seem more pertinent than ever for trainee teachers:

"Rather than working with homogeneity, 'stability' and boundedness as the starting assumptions, mobility, mixing, political dynamics and historical embedding are now central concerns in the study of languages, language groups, and communication".

Possibly because university teaching may aim to promote an 'alternative discourse' to the prevailing standards agenda forced on schools in England, trainee teachers with whom I have worked have often observed practice in school that contradicted their understanding of good practice, finding themselves in "Dilemmatic spaces" (Turner, 2016 p571) regards meeting the needs of EAL learners in their classrooms. There is recognition that trainees may experience considerable tension regarding policy and practice, as they train against the backdrop of differing personal and professional beliefs (Pillen et al., 2013). Trainee teachers, still themselves assessed against the Teacher Standards in England, must demonstrate their fulfilment of these standards while inhabiting "multi-membership" of several communities, including schools and universities (Wenger, 2015 p38) and ascribing to beliefs about education that they are unable to enact in the classroom. As an ITE tutor, I sometimes found myself conflicted in supporting trainee teachers to navigate the 'tensions' that Pillen et al., (2013) describe, whilst conscious of our position as Higher Education Institution (HEI) provider of ITE, falling under the same inspection and accountability measures as schools.

The role of ITE in training teachers to work with EAL pupils is both crucial and complex; crucial due to the growing numbers of EAL pupils over recent years and complex in part since EAL pupils in the UK come from diverse backgrounds and are a highly heterogeneous 'group' (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert, 2013). Training courses are required to prepare teachers for the expectations of the education system based on pupils' expected 'attainment' concerning the National Curriculum (2014), measured through the aforementioned narrow, age-related assessment tasks. As previously noted, these assessments potentially disadvantage EAL learners as tests are carried out after 18 months of the pupil starting to learn English and are presented in comparison to those learning English from birth. In a university programme that is subject to the same inspection and performativity measures as schools, there is a requirement to prepare teachers for the expectations of the system but as Bourne (2001, p250) suggests, 'institutionally constructed discourses' imposed on schools lead to a deficit model of EAL pupils, portraying them as a 'problem' (Safford and Drury, 2013).

The Newly Qualified Teachers (NQT) Survey in England and Wales carried out between 2003 and 2015, asked specific questions regarding NQTs' preparedness for meeting the needs of EAL learners: Question 18 asked "How good was your training in preparing you to teach

pupils from all ethnic backgrounds?" and question 20 asked "How good was your training in preparing you to teach pupils with English as an Additional Language?". As ITE providers, it is hoped that tutors have a good understanding of research and prepare new teachers to understand the benefits of bilingualism (Conteh and Brock, 2011; Cummins et al., 2015; Snell, 2017), use of first language in the classroom and pupils' 'Funds of Knowledge' (Moll et al., 1992), each of which will be explored shortly as a potential 'alternative discourse' within teacher education. However, Flockton and Cunningham's (2021) study suggested that the perception of trainee teachers and tutors differed concerning how this area of training was taught and research such as Martin-Jones and Saxena's (2003) and that of Robertson et al., (2014), suggest that teachers did not support the findings of the research, in the classroom. Each of these studies will be explored in the empirical studies literature review chapter.

Next, I will review an alternative discourse surrounding the EAL learner. I propose that this discourse should be presented to trainee teachers systematically through their training, in order to prepare them for today's classrooms.

2.12 HEIs and ITE: offering an alternative discourse

As outlined earlier in this chapter, the impact of global comparison on the way that education is organised and systematised in England in competition with countries across the world is clear. Comparison using, for example, PISA data drives the need for the production of numerical data that can easily be presented as 'evidence' of the 'success' or otherwise of specific approaches, strategies, and ways of working in schools. This reductive approach gives rise to reports that dehumanise data (Burnett et al., 2020) and use them to predict 'outcomes' for pupils who are required to learn in a language that is different to their first language. Systems put in place to support EAL pupils are not structured in such a way to offer equal opportunity to all pupils, given the variable nature of teaching for EAL pupils in English schools; instead, EAL pupils are framed in a deficit light by many and their progress is often not supported as they attempt to make sense of a system where teaching is not designed with their needs in mind. This is the world in which trainee teachers must navigate their burgeoning understanding of their professional identity and respond to how schools respond to the performativity agenda that they manage daily.

An alternative discourse is offered by those who approach EAL pupils with an additive or transformative mindset, as mentioned earlier. Academics, teachers and researchers who ascribe positive attributes to multilingualism seek and find much value in Funds of Knowledge (Moll et al., 2005) that learners bring to the classroom, adding rich experience to the classroom context.

Juxtaposed with the deficit discourse around assessment of 'attainment' that draw on vast datasets aiming to standardise the outcomes of millions of children in thousands of schools, there is a more nuanced discourse which offers an altogether different view of the learner whose first language differs from the language of instruction and the role of their teacher/s. This alternative discourse is the 'subject knowledge' that can make up the training about support for EAL learners; this is significant because such knowledge provides considerable challenge for teachers joining a system organised to measure performance and attainment. This discussion focusses on inclusive practice, construction of identity of both pupils and their teachers and the impact in the classroom.

Norton's (1997, p410) assertion is compelling: "Every time language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with their interlocutors, they are organising and reorganising a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction and negotiation".

Such a powerful claim reminds us that in every classroom, on a daily basis, teachers are witness to and partly responsible for, the negotiation of pupil identities with the associated profound impact on participation and achievement. The declaration that language use is as much about identity as it is about vocabulary, syntax and grammar urges an examination of inclusive practice; only through intentional inclusivity will learners feel that they belong in the classroom community and become able to construct a positive learner identity. This sense of belonging leads to greater participation and ultimately impacts pupil achievement (see also Cummins, 2000; Booth and Ainscow, 2011; Elliot, 1968; Chen, 2010; Dakin, 2017; Conteh and Brock, 2011).

Cummins' framework for intervention (Figure 2) outlines the process of negotiation in relation to the power relations at work in society, the education system and school

communities and is a useful reminder for trainee teachers about how classrooms may be organised to ensure that pupils experience an empowering classroom ethos:

SOCIETAL POWER RELATIONS

influence

the ways in which educators define their role (teacher identity)

and

the structure of schooling (curriculum, funding, assessment etc)

which in turn influence

the ways in which educators interact

with linguistically, culturally-diverse students

These interactions form

an

INTERPERSONAL SPACE

within which

learning happens

and

identities are negotiated.

These IDENTITY NEGOTIATIONS

either

Reinforce coercive relations of power

or

Promote collaborative relations of power

FIGURE 2: SOCIETAL POWER RELATIONS, IDENTITY NEGOTIATION AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT FROM

Identity Texts the Collaborative Creation of Power in Multilingual Schools, Cummins and Early (2011, p24)

EAL learners' construction of identity at the hands of 'the system' can lead to the travesty of lost opportunity in all areas of education and society (Hall, 2012); supporting pupils as they make social and cultural adjustments (Conteh et al., 2008; Sood and Mistry, 2011; Dakin, 2017) as well as linguistic (Cummins 2000; Goriot et al., 2016) is critical to their success. Of course, this is not a straightforward requirement as inclusive education requires teachers to provide equitable opportunities for pupils who have individual needs (Dyson and Millward, 2000) and in the next section, I will explore some of the complexities inherent in adopting inclusive practice which need to be explored with trainee teachers in order to prepare them to operationalise inclusivity in the classroom.

2.13 Inclusive Practice

The complexity of multi-faceted identities is beautifully illustrated by Bešić's, (2020) 'intersection onion' (Figure 3) which demonstrates the multiple pressures and influences at play in the construction and interpretation of an individual's identity from micro to macro level. Besic suggests that the implementation of inclusion must include acknowledgement of the intersection of many factors that make up the individual and the system into which they are to be included. Likewise, Glazzard (2024) reminds us that it is the responsibility of teachers and teacher educators to have the aim of social justice as the motivation for inclusion in their work, in order meet the needs and rights of pupils. Factors such as cultural heritage, background, length of time learning English, time spent in the UK, community and family support are all variables that need consideration to support inclusion.

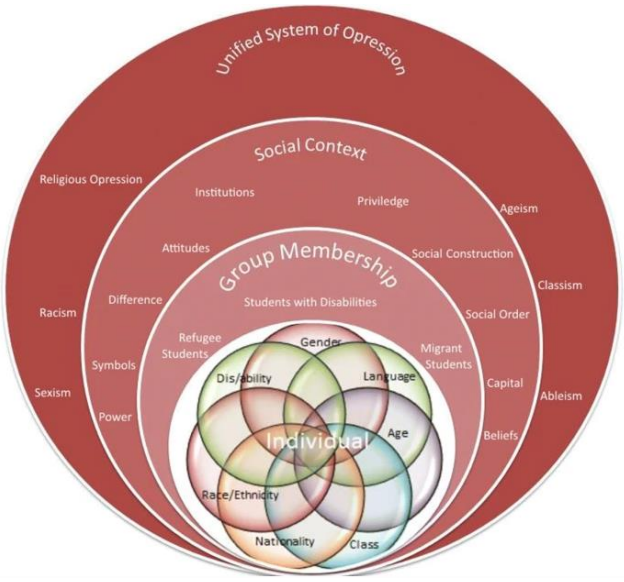

FIGURE 3: The intersection onion.

Intersectionality: A pathway towards inclusive education? Bešić, E. *Prospects* 49, 111–122 (2020)

Though perhaps demanding of the teacher, understanding of the interplay between these layers is important in meeting pupil needs. However, inclusion is complex and enactment requires stealth and careful planning in a climate that heavily favours dominance of making strong academic progress and where school staff find themselves compromised or struggling in the face of great pressure from the accountability agenda that dominates, with decreasing support from Local Authority teams specialising in EAL (Hammersley-Fletcher, 2015; Choudry, 2021). The layers of Besic's intersection onion may also need consideration in terms of the fluidity of a person's identity; that is to say that layers may be flexible and subject to change through different areas and times of a person's life.

The fact that implementation of inclusive practice is demanding and challenging in multilingual schools, is illustrated by anecdotal accounts of those where behaviour problems and staff uneasiness about division (and possibly a misunderstanding of a central call in UK to the promotion of 'community cohesion' DCSF, 2007) have resulted in the prohibition of first language use and trainee teachers are party to these challenges being discussed in staffrooms during training placements; it may be that such conversations are then perceived as the 'reality' of school life. Prohibition of first language use in schools is an approach that

demonstrates a misinterpretation of challenges around language use; where there is miscommunication or lack of understanding between pupils or between pupils and staff, challenges should not be addressed by eliminating pupils' first language, but rather by tackling behaviour difficulties and potential racism. MacWilliam's (2020) powerful example of ongoing work with a Scottish primary school in exactly this way, where staff were trained to understand the root of challenging behaviour and worked together to plan inclusive approaches systematically throughout the school, demonstrates the ripple effect of positive outcomes when schools examine and revise their practice and change whole-school policy.

There appear to be opportunities for schools to create environments within which pupils thrive or falter, depending on the navigation of central curriculum, assessment policy, and inclusive ideology; in order to avoid what Haug (2016) calls a 'masterpiece of rhetoric', teachers must be taught to examine and enact inclusive pedagogy, rather than such ideology being viewed as an optional part of their role.

2.14 Funds of Knowledge (FOK)

The concept of FOK was developed in the 1980s by Moll et al., (1992) in the USA. The goal of this work which was a collaboration between university researchers and a classroom teacher (Amanti) to identify ways to overcome the deficit discourse surrounding pupils from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This work was carried out to positively construct ways of impacting pupils' learning within the classroom; there was deliberately a practical outcome of the fusion of work between university researchers and classroom practitioners. Classroom teachers were guided to gain a more robust understanding of the background and previous experiences of pupils in their classes, to influence pedagogy and ultimately to improve educational outcomes. In her work with Moll et al., (2005) Amanti described her observations that pupils from [low income] minoritised backgrounds were just as capable of making good educational progress as their middle-class peers but were often judged by the educational establishment (including initial teacher training) as being deficient in terms of preparation for attending school. The rich 'funds' that had been garnered through pre-school engagement with a range of dynamic, culturally diverse activities had not been perceived as positive experiences by teachers, rather pupils were perceived to be 'lacking' from the start. Crucially, a specific element of Moll at al's work was to establish teachers as

learners themselves; an imperative part of the teachers' role was to learn about their pupil's background and be seen to be doing so by engaging with families and community members. In this way, a relationship of mutual trust could be established and a dynamic of valuing pupils' backgrounds developed (Soltero-Gonzalez et al., 2012).

There is a significant link between the research-informed practice resulting from the FOK body of work and teachers engaged in communities of classroom learning and the vital role of relational pedagogy in this context. FOK principles bring Bourdieusian concepts right into the heart of teaching and therefore are also a vital part of initial teacher education (ITE).

Rodriguez points out that because the FOK body of work is situated within, and is created because of, the education milieu which is influenced by partiality and power imbalance:

> "It is difficult … to remove all of the elements of dominance… when schools and communities continue to reflect pervasive, overt and subtle, power imbalances that relate to the economic, political, and social history and context of society at every level" (Rodriguez 2013, analysis section).

In this way FOK work resonates clearly with Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital with its disruption of the perpetuation of the social class system and dominance of the ruling elite. While starting school involves joining a system based on certain ideals and preferences as to how education is organised and run, those who do not share early childhood experiences that align with these preferences may be disadvantaged (Brooker, 2002).

As previously mentioned, the FOK approach is not without critique. Banks (2009) warns that the approach may cause teachers to reduce heritage practices to tokenistic actions, potentially holding on too tightly to practices rooted in the past. However, as the research of Creese and Blackledge (2015) demonstrates, young people have learned to remix past and present (culture and heritage) with cultural experiences seen to be rooted in UK heritage. The participants in Creese and Blackledge's study were seen to mix both language and generational representations of relationships, demonstrating their understanding of the values held by their peers and also those of older community members.

The utilisation of first language is one element of FOK that may be used to support learners. The concept of translanguaging is another way to help pupils access their first (or multiple)

language/s and has developed in recent decades; it warrants consideration as a transformative approach to teaching and learning in the classroom.

2.15 Translanguaging and critical translanguaging

Although the use of translanguaging may be beneficial for many EAL pupils, the use of this as a pedagogical strategy is varied (Singleton, 2022). Translanguaging as a pedagogy began to gain attention in the field from 2001 when Baker translated William's (1994) Welsh term 'trawsieithu' which described a type of dual language teaching combining English and Welsh. Translanguaging has increasingly become a focal point in education of EAL learners, since this time. Translanguaging had been developed as a method to support complementary English/Welsh language development (Lewis et al., 2012) but García and Li Wei's (2014) emphasis on the pedagogical potential of the approach as a vehicle for social justice, spear-headed its further development. This potentially marked a change in the landscape for EAL learners, worldwide. Translanguaging grew from Lave and Wenger's (1991) situated learning theory and is relevant in today's superdiverse (Vertovec, 2007) communities. Vygotsky's emphasis on "the dominant role of social experience in human development" (1978:22) suggested that teaches are in a position to create classrooms as communities of learning, where pupils and teachers create opportunities for new learning together. The 'safe spaces' to which Conteh and Brock refer are inclusive classrooms where children feel valued and can "co-construct new meanings" (2011:350). This suggestion in turn mirrors the notion that thinking is shaped by human interaction and resonates with inclusive ideology and collaborative learning. Within this context, translanguaging offers possibilities for growth of relationships and learners' sense of self-worth, as well as offering a tool for learning subject-specific curriculum content. Learner identity is fluid and multi-faceted, a result of Bourdieu's (1992) habitus, though my research demonstrates that identity may be rooted in misconceptions and lack of confidence in the value of one's language. The "trans" ('transformation') of Translanguaging is used to indicate a change in the use and perception of language and both its status and purpose. Ideological links between translanguaging, inclusive practice and intercultural understanding are key as EAL pupils often feel marginalised, and teachers' intercultural understanding may be lacking (Brooker, 2002; Baker, 2006; Baker, 2021).

In exploring inclusive pedagogy, translanguaging offers us a new way to approach language-use and describes the process that learners may use to combine their language resources with positive effect (Garcia and Li Wei, 2014). As referred to earlier, 'bilingual' and 'multilingual' refer to the use of more than one discrete language in a binary process of moving between pupil's first language and the language of instruction and back and forth through the learning process (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). 'Translanguaging' instead refers to the combination of *all* available languages; Garcia and Otheguy (2020) go further, stating that the 'strong' version of translanguaging rejects the idea of separate languages in the brain of the speaker. Multilingual learners engage with language in a fluid (Badwan, 2021), rather than a finite way sometimes referred to as 'languaging' (see Creese and Blackledge 2015; Conteh, 2018; Morgan, 2004; Li Wei, 2018). This practice promotes creation of effective communication as the priority of language use, its purpose and its usefulness (Blommaert, 2019; Kress, 2019) rather than learning a specific national "language" (Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012; Badwan. 2021). Garcia's (2014) emphasis on the social focus of translanguaging resonates with the creation of learner identity and the sense of belonging in the classroom (Cummins and Early, 2011). If the central tenet of inclusion is an individual's right to be valued in every respect – heritage, background and language – then I suggest that translanguaging as a pedagogy may be used as a proxy indicator of a school system's inclusive practice. Indeed Panagiotopoulou, Rosen and Strzykala, (2020) assert that social justice, inclusion and translanguaging are parts of a whole and that this combination must shape the future of education practice.

The discourse around translanguaging as a pedagogy promotes the learner as someone who through their language repertoire, their identity, heritage and experience bring a rich contribution to the classroom community (Conteh, 2018; Duarte, 2019) moving away from hierarchical language beliefs.

2.16 Translanguaging as a pedagogy, enacted policy and instrument of social justice

As Creese and Blackledge (2015, p23) state "A translanguaging approach to bilingualism extends the repertoire of semiotic practices of individuals and transforms them into dynamic mobile resources that can adapt to global and local sociolinguistic situations". Duarte (2019, p164) advocates the use of translanguaging as a "useful resource for

interthinking". This is a move away from the functional view of language, espoused in the 1980s (see Halliday, M. Matthiessen, 2014), which has come to underpin much of the current National Curriculum in England and Wales. Arguably, translanguaging as a pedagogy requires a review of curricular and assessment practices, as the use of language develops as part of our new superdiverse landscape.

Creese and Blackledge (2015) point out the power inherent in language use and a possible shift through intentional consideration of alternatives; by adopting fluid language use (and removing the status of different languages), there is a transformative shift in classroom ethos (Garcia and Leiva, 2014). Badwan (2021, p9) draws our attention to the full spectrum of "linguistic fluidity", ranging from political to pedagogical contexts. This transformation towards identifying the purpose of language as a means of communication may be experienced by pupils via the inclusive policy of a school but may only go some way towards navigating the requirements of the National Curriculum and attendant assessment policies. Schools must acknowledge that monolingualism "is a dying phenomenon" (Conteh 2023, p48) and that its principles underpinning the UK National Curriculum must be challenged. It strikes me that the intentional adoption of translanguaging as a pedagogy directly impacts the power balance in the classroom, demonstrating the teacher's inclusive values and redressing exclusive policy, through enactment, although it must be recognised that within the current context which focuses on performativity, first language use in the classroom will be used to support increasing competency in English, rather than celebration of first language in its own right.

Exploration of this wide and complex range of factors is critical for trainee teachers to help them understand and navigate their role as early career professionals. In the next section, I will consider the role of teacher educators in supporting trainees' understanding of their role in mediating policy on a daily basis. Such mediation is critical if we are to prepare teachers for lifelong engagement with the profession, equipping them to balance inevitable changes to policy, with their own professional values.

2.17 Mediation of policy at school and classroom level

Policy is mediated by individual schools, teachers, pupils and families within the 'system' (Menken and Garcia, 2010), albeit heavily influenced by directives from central government. This places the class teacher at the centre of day-to-day practice that communicates ethos and works out the practicalities of inclusive ideology. A teacher's philosophy of education, that is the ideological and theoretical lens through which they view education, teaching and pupils, make up part of their professional identity and will govern the ethos that permeates their classroom. Teachers' beliefs and values about the purpose and function of education, the goals that should be set for pupils ('targets') and attitudes towards assessment ('attainment') will all influence practice. It may be that in this way the enactment of policy can considerably change what was intended by policy writers.

I witnessed this enactment of policy and the changes made by teachers, influenced by their philosophy of education, during my Masters study. My final project was undertaken in a school where children with special educational needs (SEN) were integrated from their specialised unit into mainstream classes for a few lessons each week. Teachers from mainstream and from the unit would meet regularly in order to plan for integration. This was at least the school policy. My study found that although most of the mainstream teachers did indeed meet to plan and welcome pupils with SEN into their classes (and worked tirelessly to ensure they were fully and meaningfully included in lessons), some teachers chose not to accommodate those with SEN, suggesting that the pupils disrupted learning for others and were better served elsewhere. In a school where the written policy was to include all pupils in mainstream, the enactment was quite the opposite for some (Cooper, 2011).

A contrasting example of policy mediation came to light when working with a student teacher some years ago in university. The trainee had been instructed by school staff, under pressure to prepare the class for imminent SATS tests to "leave the EAL pupil to work on the computer". The trainee chose not to follow this informal policy and went home to make a wide range of interactive resources for her EAL pupil, whose thorough engagement with all the materials he was offered became an inspiration for the student and was cited as a turning point in her understanding of support for all learners. As her tutor, it was a turning point for me too as I witnessed the confidence of a young teacher in her early career, taking courageous steps to undermine localised policy with dramatic effect. As explored earlier, it

is the responsibility of ITE to challenge, offer alternative discourses and encourage student teachers to compare values of education policies with their own. These illustrations are not intended to expose classroom teachers as poor practitioners; it is imperative to acknowledge the pressure felt to prepare for standardised assessments as this may well be central to the problem (Perryman, 2011).

2.18 The role of teacher educators

Teachers continually stand at a nexus point where their own professional identity, the political climate, individual school priorities and learning about pupils' backgrounds and needs all meet. New teachers manage the collision of cultures relating to learning, work, professional and cultural capital (their own and that of their pupils) and the culture of change. As Pring (2005, p18) stated, one's philosophy of education depends on the "words, language and metaphors which we have inhabited and use". During teacher training opportunities should be offered for student teachers to examine the 'words, language and metaphors' that they choose to espouse in order that they are prepared to approach the classroom with agency, criticality and an understanding of their role in mediating policy.

Initial Teacher Education seeks to give opportunities to explore these concepts, giving time to consider the importance of all areas of pupil development, understanding these as a priority as teachers manage the classroom experience of their learners on a day-to-day basis. Such opportunities to explore, discuss and process the many requirements of a professional role are pivotal to student teachers' ongoing learning. Building in time for such exploration requires careful planning from ITE tutors and these deliberate openings for discussion may be considered a metaphorical 'Third Space'. Later I explore this notion of space in order to recognise its importance in the teacher education process. These spaces allow for all student teachers to share experiences of their own (both as pupils and early career professionals) and skilful use of such space allows for the sharing of powerful discussion to develop thinking. My own experience of such discussion with student teachers has led to a deeper understanding of the importance and value of these structured conversations during taught training and the identification of the need for specific research with multilingual student teachers, as this project affords. Such conversations take place

however, within the context of HEIs which are currently engaging in an ongoing consideration of the attainment of those from multilingual and multiracial backgrounds.

2.19 HEIs and multilingual trainee primary school teachers

Bourdieu positioned the stakeholders in education, likening them to players in a game. Although 'players' include pupils, teachers, head teachers, ITE providers, classroom teaching assistants and families, I focus here on multilingual trainee teachers as they explore and form their philosophy of education, their understanding of pedagogy and classroom practice in the current climate of policy and practice. Multilingual trainees offer a unique opportunity for ITE providers to gain insight to inform the review and co-construction of the university ITE curriculum. The most recent figures from UK's Department for Education (DfE) regarding number of 'BAME' teachers in the UK, were from 2023 (reporting academic year 21/22) and at this point it was reported that approximately 15% of UK's teachers were registered as being from a 'BAME' background. This proportion does not reflect the number of staff who are multilingual as languages spoken are not reported. Given that a significant number of teaching staff represent a range of ethnic backgrounds, it might be reasonable to assume that the skills and knowledge brought to the classroom would be reflected in both curricular and support for pupils learning English. Later, in the analysis and discussion chapter I argue that cultural and linguistic resources which multilingual trainees bring with them to the role of classroom teacher, should be considered as Funds of Knowledge (FOK) and used to support pupils' learning through providing a bridge between first language and use of English.

Themes explored in this chapter have focused on the construction of the education system in England and the impact of this system on individual learners. The national picture in England has been explored, influenced heavily as it is by global comparisons, in a climate that promotes performativity and competition on vast and individual scales. Pressures experienced by teachers working in this system have been illuminated, and an alternative discourse focusing on inclusive ideology, which is sporadically backed through education policy in England, has been highlighted; the scarcity of this backing from policy and through professional training has been illuminated, along with the associated challenges for learners and teachers. Opportunities for mediation of policy and transformative pedagogy by

informed and proactive teachers have been identified, and the role of initial teacher education courses to prepare new teachers for their role has been positioned, demonstrating the importance of training teachers who engage with a critical approach.

Chapter three: Empirical Studies in the Literature

In the thesis Introduction, the purpose and rationale of this study were outlined, highlighting the urgency to review the approach to teaching pupils learning through English as an additional language (EAL) and the dearth of literature pertaining to multilingual learners who are training to be teachers in primary schools in England.

In chapter two, policy and practice were reviewed, positioning an educational climate in England that is set up to present a deficit perspective of EAL pupils. Throughout the thesis, I argue for additive and transformative perspectives on teaching and inclusion of multilingual learners (Cummins, 1981ff; Conteh, 2018ff; Li Wei, 2018) to counterbalance this deficit perception which often relates to attainment, a focus brought about by the intense pressure on schools, in the current global standards agenda and resulting policy landscape. Using examples of empirical research and the notion of identity, this chapter illustrates the potential impact on pupils of official and informal school policies and the measures that learners take to negotiate and maintain aspects of themselves. It also explores the identity of the ITE context in England that shapes the training of early career professionals, alongside that in the UK jurisdiction of Scotland. In addition, linguistic identity is explored through the concept of translanguaging as a potential pedagogy and the chapter provides illustrative examples of studies utilising narrative methodology as a means to explore identities and thus illustrate the inspiration for the current study. Connections are drawn with the literature in the previous chapter regarding policy and practice and also with the conceptual framework comprising Bourdieu's concepts, and those of Funds of Knowledge, Translanguaging and Third Space, the lenses through which this study is both constructed and analysed.

Themes from this review of literature will be further developed in the Analysis and Discussion chapter in synthesis with research outcomes, in order to draw conclusions and make recommendations to stakeholders.

The literature search (see below) yielded studies of teachers working with EAL pupils and a small number of these report studies in the UK; many focus on secondary teachers (often

teachers of languages). However, few studies have been found involving multilingual teachers in Primary and even fewer studies involving multilingual trainee teachers in the UK could be found.

3.1 Search Approach

My approach to searching the literature in preparation for this review was a combination of organic and systematic searches. In order to allow thinking to develop naturally, I followed a 'snowballing' approach and allowed myself to pursue interests sparked through a range of reading. For this reason, my review cannot be described as systematic or exhaustive; I have chosen here to focus on changes witnessed in education in England since the 1988 Education Act, as this represented a key moment in the narrative of education for bilingual (as they were termed at the time) pupils.

Pupils learning through EAL are referred to in a range of ways through the literature; they are in turn named as 'bilingual', 'multilingual', 'plurilingual' 'English language learners', and those who learn through English as an Additional Language ('EAL'). All of these terms are illustrative and do not recognize the variation in this heterogeneous 'group' of learners. Those learning through EAL may be new arrivals to the country and learning English for the first time, having developed a good grounding in their home language/s; others will be those born in England, into a family where English is not spoken in the home and pupils do not begin to learn it formally until they start school but will have become familiar with the language to an extent, through community exposure.

In one area of my search, I have found it difficult to identify any texts using the approach described so embarked on a systematic search for studies relating to 'bilingual teachers in Primary' and 'bilingual trainee teachers'. SHU library gateway, Education Abstracts, and ERIC databases were searched using the following keywords: EAL, ELL, bilingual, multilingual, plurilingual student/pre-service/trainee teacher, Primary. In addition, I individually searched through journals of International Bilingual Education and Bilingualism and International Journal of Bilingualism.

3.2 Pupil Identity

The following examples of qualitative, ethnographic research, illustrate impact of learner experience on the identity of individual pupils. Highlighting these examples of lived

experience and using pupil voice to elucidate is helpful in that it clearly draws our attention to how the personal and academic journey of individual learners may be shaped by individual teachers and thereby the impact of professional practice on the trajectory of a pupil's school career. The following two examples of research with pupils in the US and England give voice to the learner experience.

Chen's (2010) illuminating research with one secondary-age ELL (English Language Learner) in US, offers insight into the complexity of identity negotiation in school. Chen observed the pupil in different classes where he constructed different identities, based on his relationship with each teacher. In three different classes, this academically able pupil acted in turn as a studious learner, a troublemaker, and an aggressive member of the class. Chen suggests that this young person was subject to 'situated identity' (Gee 1999) and that identity is continually re-constructed and refined, multi-layered and in constant flux. As Rutgers et al., (2024, p211) state: "multilingual identity…[is]…more than learners' actual or perceived experiences and proficiencies in language, and…has evaluative and emotional dimensions, along with current and future dimensions" an assertion supported by Mills' research (2001, p390) with third-generation Asian pupils in the highly multicultural and multilingual city of Birmingham, UK who navigated "biculturalism" depending on the context of their conversations (with peers, family, inside and outside school).

Mills' (2001) research sought to explore the views of young people on the role that language played in forming the identity of individuals. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, she found that young people deliberately utilised different languages in different settings; in the family setting, first language use was deemed to be important for a way to communicate, in particular with older generations such as grandparents who may not have learned English to the extent of the younger generation. First language use was also important while communicating with peers from a shared cultural background. However, the role of speaking and using the English language was vital to learning in school and establishing and maintaining relationships with peers in school and friendship groups. Thus, these young people were accessing different aspects of their identities to pursue connections in different contexts. Mills suggests (2001, p 389-390) that the status of different languages and how these are perceived in society, in school and in the family, all affect how languages are used by children and asserts that biculturalism can be a point of

conflict. Children may even belong to a group where others feel the same sense of not-belonging for various reasons. Cummins and Early's (2011) framework of intervention explored in the previous chapter suggests the societal structures that sit beneath this identity construction and influence teachers' understanding of their professional role which influence the organisation of the school system (for example language policies) and interpersonal interactions between pupils, peers and school staff; Norton (1997) reminds us that such identity construction is ongoing and developed through every spoken interaction.

An equally poignant insight into identity construction is offered in Dakin's (2017) research carried out in an English primary school; this study is undertaken in Dakin's role as an EAL support teacher, in an 'intervention' group regularly taken out of the mainstream class for 'catch up' lessons. In this rare piece of research that documents pupil voice, we are shown how children's perception of their identities becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy with dramatic effect. An example is given of Gloria, an intellectually able child who had achieved great academic success and admiration in her previous school (before coming to the UK). As a result of a traumatic move to England, her behaviour led to her becoming labelled as disruptive and attention-seeking by her new school. The huge impact on academic work and emotional well-being was inevitable as she was excluded from the classroom with no planned emotional support; the loss of opportunity regarding both well-being and learning is heartbreaking. Dakin's interpretation of this vignette is that outcomes for many pupils could be changed quickly if teachers allow pupils to use their first-language skills in the process of building relationships and in learning as "recognition of their cultural and linguistic identities" (para 9). The suggestion here is that by excluding the use of a child's first language in school, the message communicated to pupils is that part of their unique identity, is unwelcome in the classroom. This is a chilling realisation in light of the UNICEF Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), referred to earlier.

In marked contrast to Dakin's study, findings from an EAL pilot project carried out in another London school some years earlier, demonstrate the possibilities offered by a whole-school focus on professional development for teachers in supporting multilingual pupils. Crucially the latter project determined to build on pupils' social and cultural experiences and celebrate first language development alongside that of English with the explicit aim of nurturing the identities of multilingual pupils (Ludhra and Jones, 2008). This work aligns with

the Funds of Knowledge approach (Moll et al., 2005), recognising the value of cultural experiences and language as key components of pupil identity (Gonzalez et al., 2011).

Arnot et al.'s (2014) study including pupils, teachers, school management staff, governors and parents was located in two schools (one primary and one secondary) in the East of England and therefore outside of the larger UK cities that are typically home to greater numbers of multilingual pupils and families. This study sought to "extend the understanding of the pedagogic and social issues relating to language development, social integration and educational achievement of school-aged learners" (p5). Findings illustrate the interconnections and multifaceted nature of multilingual identity that schools must be aware of and support for successful inclusion of EAL learners. The research identified that staff 'beliefs' about the role of first language in school differed considerably; they ranged between the belief that first language use was a pedagogical support for learning the target language, to viewing the use of first language as a hindrance to learning English. In both schools, pupils were taught with a 'mainstreaming' approach, using full immersion in the language of instruction, supported in some cases through withdrawal groups. Some teaching staff held the opinion that pupils could not be integrated into the mainstream class until a certain level of language proficiency was attained, while others felt that integration could be applied with greater flexibility depending on the lesson being taught. In the primary setting, learning English was viewed as a means for social integration as well as academic learning, whilst in the secondary setting learning English was more focussed on subject content. These beliefs impacted on social integration of pupils, a factor recognised as important in both primary and secondary settings in the study; such recognition illustrates negotiation of either coercive or collaborative relations of power (Cummins and Early 2011, p 24) even if unintentional, through the outworking of language policy. The importance of a shared, inclusive policy is noted as "there did not seem to be a consensus amongst teachers about the actual or potential value and role of L1 in the classroom" (Arnot et al., 2014, p 7); it is perhaps not surprising therefore that teachers' views ranged from a belief that a multilingual classroom was beneficial for both EAL and non-EAL pupils to that which stated that only English should be spoken in the classroom. Respect of pupils' first language in the school context and the understanding of its inherent value in supporting learning is central to both learning and a sense of belonging in the school setting. Arguably, those whose first language

is not recognised or permitted in school do not attain the cultural capital necessary to feel as though they fully belong. A FOK approach presupposes that pupils' language/s are assets which may lead to an empowered habitus (Bourdieu, 1992) rather than that which results from a deficit view of language acquisition.

Picton at al., (2019) explore the application of a Bourdieusian approach to understand this sense of belonging through their study with refugee children in an Australian primary school; this work identifies the school as a Bourdieusian 'field' in which 'rules of the game' are worked out, and 'habitus' is navigated and negotiated. Applying a Bourdieusian lens is helpful in exposing and making explicit the outworking of identity construction within schools; to quote Bourdieu (1974, p32) again in citing education as "one of the most effective means of perpetuating the existing social pattern". Against the backdrop of intense political and systemic pressure (Ball, 2017; Perryman et al., 2011) school leaders must seek out ways to disrupt the deficit narrative that places blame on pupils for being unable to navigate the barriers put in the way of 'achievement'; school policies must intentionally construct ways to create inclusive classrooms, for example through inclusive language policies, if pupils are to thrive (Cummins and Early, 2011; Cummins, 2016). In constructing inclusive classrooms, teacher's professional identity is both influential and influenced. The following studies are helpful in illustrating this.

3.3 Professional identity

Pillen at al., (2013) identify school training placements as experiences that carry high stakes due to the pressure of assessment and as a result, trainees may find them "dilemmatic spaces" (Turner, 2016 p571) in which personal values are suspended in order to fit in with a specific school's policy and practices. This is identified too in Cushing's (2023) study to be explored later in this chapter in relation to the ITE context, where it was found that in some cases, trainees withdrew themselves from the ITE course as a result of these assessment policies. UK studies with bilingual teaching assistants (TAs) offer additional insight into the identity of multilingual professionals in the UK school classroom. Martin-Jones and Saxena (2003) and also Robertson, Drury and Cable's (2014) studies highlight these tensions.

Martin-Jones and Saxena's study assert that TAs were considered to be a resource *for the class teacher* but not considered a resource *for bilingual learners* themselves. That is to say

that despite shared language and cultural heritage, opportunities to utilise this sharing were not planned for in the classroom, by (monolingual) teachers. However, bilingual TAs *did* sometimes use their shared languages as resources, somewhat subversively but that this was a positive by-product of their work, rather than a planned opportunity created by the teacher. These findings were mirrored in the study by Robertson, Drury and Cable (2014) who found that bilingual TAs did not use their first language in the classroom as a matter of course, nor did the bilingual children they were working with, even when there was a shared first language. In this study, TAs spoke about being "allowed" (p617) to use their first language when telling stories to pupils, denoting that this was the exception, rather than the expectation; the benefit of shared experience may be lost on countless occasions rather than utilised as powerful pedagogical support and the habitus (Bourdieu, 1992) assumed by these school staff prevents revision of policy as practices may go unquestioned as the behaviours, language, and activities perpetuated by a standardised curriculum and established "ways of being" (Bourdieu 2000, p145) in education settings.

Exposure of policy and practice through exploration in ITE has been highlighted in the suggested Third Space approach to teacher education and will be discussed further in the Analysis and Discussion chapter. The next section identifies a study that followed one newly qualified teacher in USA as they left their training programme and the section goes on to examine two empirical studies of ITE programmes in UK universities; the latter highlights the variation in ITE of preparing teachers to meet the need of EAL learners in the classroom, which may in some way account for the practice illustrated in the research studies involving TAs above.

3.4 ITE

As noted earlier, the dearth of literature involving multilingual trainee teachers was a concern at the start of the current study, but one study based in USA (Wong et al., 2020) tracked a bilingual trainee into her early career where she worked in a context that served families predominantly from a single ethnic group. Whilst the UK context often serves pupils from a wide variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds as opposed to the context of this American study, Wong et al.'s (2020, p154) findings were of interest, as they highlighted the importance of "self-reflexivity", "meta-linguistic awareness" and the power of agency in "pedagogical decision-making". These foci resulted from the student teacher examining her

own language and cultural 'resources' in relation to those of her pupils, creating opportunities for meaningful incorporation of cultural FOK and cooperation with families regarding expectations of education. Arguably, this reflexive approach is critical to success of early career professionals, but ITE courses in UK do not appear to explicitly aim to teach such skills to trainees in relation to support of EAL pupils (Safford and Kelly, 2010). Building on the outline given in the introduction of ITE across the UK sector, the following empirical studies explore this context in two jurisdictions of UK, England and Scotland. These studies were interrogated to identify the inclusion of EAL-specific teaching as part of the ITE curriculum. They were undertaken two years apart and have two shared authors (Foley and Anderson).

Analysis of the curriculum in the two Scottish universities (Anderson et al., 2016) illustrate the disparity in policy and provision in ITE in relation to support for EAL pupils. The research focussed on courses with a secondary school focus; courses were full time, 10-months duration and resulted in provisional registration with General Teaching Council of Scotland (GTCS). Both courses attracted Masters credits. One course offered a lecture and seminar that all trainees were taught with an optional additional module offered to some trainees (depending on the subject specialism selected for study). The optional additional module offered sessions of 2 hours for 18 weeks, exploring the application of theory and practice in relation to inclusion of EAL learners in the classroom and their development. This is a significant addition to the 'standard' curriculum received by all trainees on the course. In contrast, the second university in this study is reported not to have offered any EAL-specific training highlighting the significant differences on training courses, wrought by lack of clear guidance for ITE in relation to EAL support.

Having identified similar themes across international contexts including UK and the USA, Anderson et al., (2016, p31) suggest that "there appears therefore to be a consensus within international literature that the knowledge base of teacher education programmes needs to expand to accommodate the shift towards classrooms that are culturally and linguistically more diverse". The fact that one university could provide a course with no EAL-specific training appears to further support Leung's (2001, p48) reference to the "fringe status of EAL".

Foley et al.'s study (2018) of the English ITE context focussed on the preparation of teachers for meeting "the language and literacy needs of EAL learners" (p3). As part of the project, authors note that participants may be learning through EAL themselves and this "highlight[s] the question of how well ITE programmes respond to participants who themselves happen to be EAL learners" (p35). Part of this study examined the beliefs of trainee teachers as to the value of first language use in the classroom, the results of which indicated that there was still progress to be made in relation to ITE courses teaching the importance of first language use in school. Participants gave a range of opinions as to whether EAL pupils are best supported in the mainstream classroom or in withdrawal groups, a mainly positive set of responses was noted regarding the importance of teaching explicit strategies for moving knowledge from first to target language with most respondents holding the opinion that English was best learned through immersion in an English-speaking environment (whole class or group). In addition, there was mixed opinion regarding whether "explicit teaching of the vocabulary and structure of the language" (p51) was appropriate in schools. No questions were asked about the translanguaging approach to supporting EAL pupils which suggests that researchers did not consider this an area of interest. When asked how well trainees felt their training had prepared them to meet the needs of EAL learners, responses included reference to learning helpful strategies and resources, and to understand how to empathise with pupils. Researchers drew conclusions as to the current effectiveness of ITE programmes to meet the needs of trainees in relation to EAL input. They highlighted the need for greater collaboration between schools and ITE providers to ensure that trainees' understanding develops cohesively in relation to policy, literature and practice. Recent developments in the translanguaging approach may be helpful as part of this collaboration, given Li Wei's suggestion (2018: 24) that "education can be a translanguaging space" which enhances inclusivity as well as learning.

Both reports surveying ITE provision in England and Scotland acknowledge the need for a wider review of ITE in both jurisdictions, whilst acknowledging the demands of designing courses that are relatively short and therefore need to select areas of focus carefully to ensure full coverage of the range of teachers' professional responsibilities.

Within this ITE context, Safford and Kelly's study (2010) explored the linguistic and cultural capital of multilingual trainee teachers in a higher education institution in England, finding

that these trainees did not recognise ways to develop practice that utilised their considerable knowledge and expertise in language; indeed the study referenced the concept of Funds of Knowledge (FOK) (Moll et al., 2005), finding that trainees did not appreciate the FOK at their disposal or the value of these and the potential for pedagogical use. The study found that school based colleagues often did not support trainees to access their FOK or develop their pedagogy in light of linguistic skills or shared cultural heritage and understanding. Safford and Kelly align these experiences with those of multilingual pupils, recognising the "invisibil[ity of their] linguistic and cultural capital" (p1) and recognising that institutions of schools or higher education may not be environments which seek to develop such skills, especially in a monolingual curriculum that asserts the centrality and importance of literacy competence and confidence. They remind us of the importance of challenging "the monolingual mindset" (p 18) and the significance of this understanding for all trainee teachers, whether multi or mono lingual. Safford and Kelly's study was influential in shaping my research design through the shared positioning of participants as competent linguists with multiple skills and knowledge that if recognised could impact their professional role in an agentive and positive way.

Flockton and Cunningham's (2021) study within English ITE provision gave insight to the disparity between the perception of newly qualified teachers (via the now replaced NQT survey) and that of tutors on ITE courses in England as to the value of the EAL-training on their courses. This mixed-methods study used questionnaires followed up in interviews of 62 ITE tutors. Themes identified focussed on how tutors taught for 'preparedness', to teach pupils learning through EAL and how 'comfortable' and 'confident' (p 233) they were in their ability to do so. Tutors interviewed suggested that the low confidence rating by trainees came from a lack of experience rather than a lack of training, that only through applying what has been learned on the ITE course can true confidence grow (p 229). Acknowledgement is also made that such themes may need further exploration to ensure shared understanding, however findings are valuable in identifying the danger of designing ITE courses that may not necessarily meet the needs of trainees fully. Recommendations made from this study relate to three specific areas of education. Firstly in relation to ITE, noting the importance of further teaching on language acquisition; secondly that school-based opportunities give wider experience of teaching EAL pupils and thirdly that ITE

courses must prepare trainees to meet the needs of a system where pupils need to make progress that is recognised through the use of performativity measures such as tests and exams, a system that is founded on inequality (Bourdieu, 1974).
The results of each of these studies highlight the nuances and multiple layers of learning that are both crucial but also sometimes challenging to create in ITE provision due to factors pertaining to trainee experience, beliefs and attitudes of trainees and tutors, time constraints of ITE courses, expertise of ITE staff and opportunities for school-based application. Each of the reports suggests a review of ITE provision in relation to support of EAL learners, a view that is supported through all parts of this thesis.

Cushing's (2023) study is a critical and critically important examination of the experience of racially minoritised trainee teachers in England. The research takes a racio-linguistic stance and views data through that lens. Cushing states that this perspective provides "a way of thinking about the co-construction of language and race which centres intersectional oppression, coloniality and white supremacy in the production of inequality". His works endorses Bourdieu's (1974) focus on systemic structures that perpetuate inequality in education, through the insistence on adherence to a set of 'standards' that are almost impossible for minoritised groups to meet, without changing key parts of their identity, in this case language, race and/or class, a state that Cushing describes as "language oppression" (p 896). The racio-linguistic stance aligns with that of Bourdieu in that both expose otherwise unseen structures and beliefs that signify and embody oppression of groups of people who are subjugated by (in this case education) policy. Cushing cites examples of trainee teachers who have been marginalised due to their accents and their speech patterns that are deemed to be unacceptable by those in power - in this case school based mentors, supported by university based colleagues. Cushing argues that these trainees often leave the teacher education course before completion due to the treatment they receive, which in turn perpetuates the problem. Participants in the study had self-identified as being a person of colour and also as being confident speakers of English; however, in each case their language had been identified as a problem during the ITE course. The powerful examples offered through Cushing's study highlight racist behaviour towards trainee teachers, sanctioned and promoted through adherence by school staff to the demands of the Teacher Standards (TS) and pressures associated with inspection. Cushing

draws attention to the TS which he argues legitimise a focus on “linguistic whiteness” (p 903) and inspection foci that suggest that speaking standard English is a matter for social justice, by leading to greater opportunities in education and the workforce.

Such a focus on changing one’s language had led Cushing’s participants to become self-conscious about their identity, questioning whether they had selected the correct career; crucially the decision by some to leave the ITE course in the face of their experiences, directly and negatively impacting the racial diversity of the teacher workforce.

Cushing’s study resonates with that of Vickers-Hulse (2024) whose research exploring the experiences of minoritised trainee teachers in a different area of England highlights tensions between identity, a sense of belonging on the ITE course and the lack of a racially diverse teacher workforce in England.

Participants from Vickers-Hulse’s study identified as belonging to minoritised groups in comparison to their peer group, groups which are not necessarily minoritised in relation to the global majority but in “aspects of gender identity, sexuality, disability, neurodiversity and race” (p 2044). Results from her study identified themes of representation, othering and tokenism; like Cushing (2023), Vickers-Hulse acknowledges that these challenges result from systemic structures and are not easily resolved. To begin to address such inequalities, Vickers-Hulse suggests the adoption of specific and intentional reflection on ‘critical incidents’ (p 2045) recognising that identity is not fixed but often depends on context and a feeling of safety. The aim to offer such opportunities for reflection resonates with themes identified in my research project in the intentional identification and utilisation of a Third Space in which trainees are supported to explore their lived experience to encourage professional growth.

The examples provided by Cushing (2023) and Vickers-Hulse (2024) illustrate the intersection between individual and institutional identities, whilst at the same time demonstrating the power that policies within a large organisation such as a university have in directing significant influence over individuals and their professional trajectory.

3.5 Translanguaging

Whilst the potential for translanguaging as a pedagogy may be reasonably straightforward for classrooms where there is shared language between adult and pupil

or peer to peer, so long as the ideological atmosphere allows for such sharing, Costley and Leung (2020) draw our attention to mainstream settings in England where there are not the opportunities offered in this way. Like the study charted in this thesis, theirs too examined policies that influence the perception of languages in the English education system and alongside this, views of "experienced language education professionals" (p 11) on translanguaging in multilingual English classrooms. Professional roles represented in Costley and Leung's study included a member of the school inspectorate with responsibility for EAL, a school teacher specialising in EAL, a local authority EAL advisor and a university-based teacher educator specialising in 'modern foreign language'. Their study was carried out in secondary schools with pupils aged between 11 and 18 years old. Crucially, Costley and Leung defined languages in a multilingual classroom as a set of resources upon which pupils draw in order to communicate and learn together, rather than as bounded systems that are "simply sociocultural and historical artefacts, rather than accurate descriptions of an individual's linguistic repertoire" (p 5), a transformative interpretation of what language 'is', that is not represented in the policy documents examined. The requirements of assessment highlighted in the previous chapter form a significant strand in the findings of Costley and Leung's study; a restrictive understanding of language drove participants towards the acceptance of "Standard English as the de facto language of instruction" (p 17) due to the necessity to prepare pupils for examinations, undeniably problematic because processes born out of such policies create a cycle out of which it is difficult to break, regardless of teachers' personal and professional beliefs and values around language. As Bourdieu (1992) asserted, linguistic norms lead to disempowerment of those in the linguistic minority. In the UK, in early years and primary settings, academic assessments "where issues of power are always at stake" (Grenfell 2010, p2) are carried out in the English language. By establishing any one language as superordinate, all other languages are considered subordinate and as Welply (2002, np) suggests, this is especially so in English- speaking countries where "there is a dual form of linguistic domination: it is both the dominant national language, which determines who belongs and who is Othered, and the dominant global language, a legacy of colonialism and capitalism".

As with most studies, Costley and Leung (2020) identify teacher training as a central theme, due to there being no focus in ITE on the use of pupils' multilingual repertoires in the classroom, thus perpetuating a lack of professional expectation regarding multilingualism as a classroom resource, even when trainee teachers were multilingual themselves. This is especially surprising given that Costley and Leung's study was undertaken with EAL and modern foreign language teachers. Conclusions are drawn as to the Bourdieusian concept of capital as (bounded) language/s receive varying degrees of credence and acceptance in school, resulting in teachers remaining a long way from utilising pupils' multilingual repertoires as a translanguaging resource. Recommendations made from the study echo those in this thesis, namely regarding a review of policy, assessment practices in England and the preparation of teachers through ITE.

The outworking of policy and the professional roles mentioned above is seen in young people's experiences of negotiating identity positions as they translanguage. Translanguaging practices studied in Creese and Blackledge's (2019) study in a heritage language school in Birmingham UK, a city that may be defined as 'super-diverse' (Vertovec, 2007), showcases young people (aged 15 years) using translanguaging to combine use of English, Punjabi and also colloquialisms to communicate within a "youth culture...to index a youthful, 'cool' positionality" (np). This is cited by the authors as an example of negotiation of identity positions as they translanguage, thus illustrating that translanguaging is more than language use but a way of communicating identity and membership across cultures. Whilst this recognition of translanguaging to navigate the multiple layers of identity may be viewed positively as by Creese and Blackledge (2019), Probyn (2019, p220) charts research in the global south that illustrates the way that translanguaging has been viewed by some as "a deviation from the monolingual ideal", and that teachers who share first language with their pupils have used both languages in spontaneous ways only to support access to English, given the need to complete assessments in English alone. However, Probyn draws our attention to the ideological origins of translanguaging practice, that aim to disrupt linguistic hierarchies that held sway in colonial pedagogies. Through use of classroom examples, she attests to the power of planned pedagogical use of translanguaging with Grade 8 (13 years old) pupils in South Africa, where the first language was isiXhosa and the language of instruction –

and assessments - was English. In classrooms where planned translanguaging took place, “the opportunity to learn was markedly greater” (p 225). The classroom teacher’s heteroglossic approach allowed for first language use to build understanding of new concepts in pupils’ first language before supporting pupils to transfer this learning into the English language. Crucially this classroom teacher’s approach was flexible and responsive to the needs of his pupils, viewing first language as a learning resource. This work mirrors that of Burr (2018) in UK, where planned pedagogical use of translanguaging is designed to create learning opportunities through carefully constructed and sequenced tasks that scaffold pupils’ learning from first language through to English. Burr offers the “input-processing-output” (p 77) structure of scaffolding as an effective method for flexible classroom use; the benefits of this approach in the mainstream classroom are borne out in the research of Duarte (2019) whose study with 15 year old pupils in the Netherlands illustrated how learners “scaffold one another” (p 150) as they used their first language at the exploratory stage of learning when engaging cognitively with new content, which resulted in more developed outputs in the language of instruction, towards the end of the task. Duarte’s focus was on the use of collaborative talk in the classroom, suggesting that the use of translanguaging in the mainstream is both possible and leads to a helpful “pedagogical shift” (p 163).

This review of empirical studies and the policy landscape in England was foundational in establishing the theoretical framework adopted in my study. They confirmed that Bourdieu’s approach to identifying and exploring the inequality inherent in the education system was apposite in the current UK climate of an education agenda that is rooted in monolingual priorities. These studies suggested that the further examination of FOK, translanguaging and the concept of identity would be helpful points of departure in exploring the experience of multilingual trainee teachers in my research. They led to the following research question: What can Initial Teacher Education (ITE) learn from trainee teachers who are themselves EAL, multilingual learners?

My research aimed to find out more about the construction and negotiation of multilingual trainee teacher identity in the classroom and how individuals perceived this construction, if indeed they were conscious of the process. I was interested in the

concepts of “self-reflexivity”, “meta-linguistic awareness” and agency in “pedagogical decision-making” mentioned by Wong at al, (2020, p154).

3.6 Narrative inquiry

Sarasa’s (2015) powerful use of narrative inquiry in the realm of Teacher Education offered the motivation behind the methodology for my study. Through exploration of ‘unheroic lives’ (p 17) trainee teachers examined stories featuring family members that illustrated elements such as hard work, determination, resilience and tenacity. They were deemed ordinary or unheroic due to their being observations of people known to the participants, not lives of famous or public characters. Sarasa’s analysis of these stories was carried out in two ways; each story was captured and presented in its own right, after which themes were drawn out that linked the stories through commonalities such as the elements outlined above. This study followed Connelly and Clandinin’s (1990) original methodology of narrative inquiry and offered insights into participants’ beliefs and understanding of the lives described. It explored emotions brought about through re-telling of stories and the consequent impact on learners; Sarasa emphasised the impact that telling and listening to one another’s stories had on the learning of participants about their teaching experience, due to the personal investment in the lives retold and the identities explored (p 19). They assert that the experience of sharing narratives in this way built a community of learning in the Teacher Education classroom and became the foundation for professional and personal learning on the course.
Sarasa (2015) states that the role of narrative inquiry “has been reinterpreted as both research on teaching and teacher research and also as a process for professional development. This latter is a multifaceted, never-ending, situated, and personal trajectory” (p 15). Similarly, the work of Chaaban et al., (2021) using narrative inquiry to explore the role of emotion in shaping professional identity of teachers resonated with the design of my study. Chaaban et al. allowed participants to talk freely about their experiences, which was offered as a helpful method to explore identity.
It was in the vein of the work of Sarasa (2015) and Chaaban et al., (2021) work that the research explored in this thesis was designed.

Chapter Four: Methodology Chapter

In this chapter, after restating the research question, I will first set out the paradigm of my study and then critically justify the methodology choice, further exploring the relevance and value of narrative methodology for teachers and teacher education. The methods used in the research process and the recruitment of participants will be explained including the adoption of multimodal concepts within the interview design. Details of the interview process will be given, including reference to the questions that were used to guide the unstructured interviews. Similarly, thematic narrative analysis will be examined and the use of creative arts as part of the analysis process alongside more formal use of Nvivo will be explored. Positionality will be examined as will ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

The research question resulting from the literature review was: What can Initial Teacher Education (ITE) learn from trainee teachers who are themselves EAL, multilingual learners, to inform the preparation of teachers for a multilingual classroom?

4.1 Research Paradigm

Lincoln and Guba (2016) note the opportunity within the constructivist paradigm to explore possibilities for social justice. As illustrated earlier in the introduction chapter, I take a constructivist ontological and interpretivist epistemological position which reflects the axiological assumptions inherent in aiming to amplify student voice from an under-researched group. Bourdieu suggested that social experiences and the environment of education, impact the learner. The field consists of people, places, buildings, books, resources, and Lantolf (2007) suggests that the learners' interaction with these is key for the "role of social, historical and cultural context in shaping the individual" (Forbes and Rutgers, 2021, p400) and consciously engaging thinking and experience (Moen, 2006). In this way, adopting a Bourdieusian lens requires the researcher to examine the complexity of findings (Creswell and Poth, 2017), a paradigm that suits this study as it explores the influence of lived experience on multilingual trainee teachers – that is to say what they have experienced as an EAL learner and how this has in turn impacted on their own early professional pedagogy**.**

Inductive research aims to identify and select ideas and themes that are generated in the data, rather than approach with a series of a priori codes. Within the narrative methodology, there is the opportunity to interrogate data regarding 'linguistic' features (Lieblich et al., 1998) as well as dissection of the narrative structure and identification of themes (Polkinghorne, 1995; Mishler, 1991; Riessman, 2008). As Riessman (2008:11) asserts, "narrative analysts interrogate intention and language – *how* and *why* incidents are storied, not simply the content to which language refers". During the analysis, I will refer to the 'linguistic' features that Lieblich et al. suggest, however these features will be interpreted within the Bourdieusian framework of the study, rather than through linguistic analysis.

Reflecting on human experience and its temporality reminds us as teachers and teacher educators that learning is a dynamic and iterative process. In her work within the field of second language acquisition, linguist Diane Larsen-Freeman asserts that we can learn a great deal from a dynamic systems approach to language learning and this is relevant to teacher educators. Rather than learning being viewed as a series of simple steps to get from the starting point to a pre-defined ending where a pupil 'achieves' (or not) their goal, she suggests that the process and path of learning will be different for each learner. Larsen-Freeman's (2019:11) adoption of dynamic systems theory (DST) in relation to language acquisition is fascinating; she suggests that DST offers a "non-reductionist theory of change". She acknowledges that as learners, people are interacting with themselves and others at all times, and this in relation to their previous learning and experience. Her claim that 'second' language learning is "complex, gradual, nonlinear, dynamic, social, and variable" (2007, p35) requires teachers to understand learning as a vital and dynamic process that will vary for all pupils in any given classroom. Both the learning of language per se and the learners themselves are vital elements of this dynamic journey; both are integral and imperative and remind us of Vygotsky's (1978, p22) claim on "the dominant role of social experience in human development".

Shanker and King (2002) describe these interactions using the metaphor of dance (originating in the work of Savage-Rumbaugh et al., 1993), where individuals communicate, responding to one another and their environment to create meaning. The environment is made up of learning resources, the classroom, and/or wider society. If a change is made to

one variable (for example the classroom), changes may take place throughout the system (the learner).

Although this study will not take DST as an underpinning theory, narrative methodology offers a way to explore the dynamic process of learning and acknowledge its importance by staying close to the story of the individual and subsequently linking to the stories of others; as Cummins (2021, p xxxvii) states "the intersections between theories, empirical phenomena, and social realities are dynamic and constantly evolving". By using narrative methodology, we capture the development of (in this case, teacher) identity (Riessman, 2008) showing its evolution over the timeframe of the story told.

4.2 Narrative methodology

Narrative methodology has developed over recent decades, developing the work of Connelly and Clandinin (1990) who strove to position the value of this approach within teacher education. Andrews (2008, p4) presents developments as an "historically-produced theoretical bricolage in narrative research…largely responsible for the current wide variability in how researchers conceptualize what is narrative, how to study it and why it is important — as material, method, or route to understanding psychological or social phenomena, or all of these". Andrews presents the vast plethora of narrative approaches, exposing 'theoretical divisions' (p4) within the discipline but also notes the 'richness of approaches' (p13) in the narrative realm, emphasising the considerable shared value within each approach in the way that narrative methodology offers the opportunity for 'events' and 'experiences' (p5) to be recorded and explored whether it is believed that stories are constructed individually or socially, whether narratives are imbued with agency (or not) or represent a single critical moment or a lifetime of experiences. Relatively recent developments in the field include the 'Big' and 'Small' stories approach, authored by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (See Bamberg, 2006; Bamberg, M., & Georgakopoulou, A. 2008). Their inclusion of both past events and developing understandings of these events as part of the research process is valuable because it reminds us of the temporality and often evolving nature of narratives. Small stories research however has typically "appealed both to sociolinguists and discourse analysts," (Georgakopoulou et al., 2024, p1) and was devised to counter the way that narrative research was perceived to restrict accounts "on the basis of language and text based criteria" (ibid), generally in interview settings. Thus, 'big' stories

were described by Bamberg and Georgakopoulou as putting "emphasis on the biographical content and the *what* of stories as opposed to their communicative *how*" (ibid) in order to draw analysis from stories "that present fragmentation and open-endedness…exceeding the confines of a single speech event and resisting a neat categorization of beginning–middle–end" (ibid).

Significantly, the project charted in this thesis was designed to capture the 'what' and understand the journey (so far) of participants in relation to the beginning, middle and end of their developing pedagogy. Andrews (2008, p 7) suggests that the 'small stories' approach "tends to prioritize 'event' over experience, and socially-oriented over individually-oriented narrative research", thus rejecting a focus on individual agency. For this reason, the current research was designed with a broader understanding of the power of narrative approaches, in the belief that agency is indeed detectable through individuals' stories; in the current research, this agency is key to witness the influence of narrative reflection on professional pedagogy of teachers. The power of agency will become apparent in the narratives of this research, in due course. Within the small/big stories debate, Andrews (2008, p8) asserts that "a dialogic approach that advocates doing both kinds of research at the same time is a conceivable and helpful solution". In keeping with the original intention of Clandinin and Connelly, this research was constructed on the premiss that teachers' embodiment of their experience impacts their pedagogy; that "teachers and students live out a curriculum…an account of teachers' and students' lives over time is the curriculum, although intentionality, objectives, and curriculum materials do play a part" (1992, p 365). Over time, the national curriculum in England has become more prescriptive and focussed on targets (Ball, 2017; Ogier, 2019) which may reduce the degree to which curriculum can be changed; nevertheless, as will be demonstrated, individual professionals will bring themselves to the teaching task and personal experience will influence this practice. As illustrated in chapter three, examples of narrative research focussing on teacher education by using Clandinin and Connelly's approach (Sarasa, 2015; Chaaban et al., 2021) were instrumental in the selection of this approach for the current study.

Narrative methodology offers a unique opportunity to elevate participant voice as the story told is the object of the research; the story is explored, segmented, summarised, "re-storied" (Creswell, 2007) and presented to the reader to illuminate an argument. The

process of re-storying carries significant responsibility for the researcher, and this will be explored later in the chapter when validity, credibility and trustworthiness of the narrative approach are considered.

The ultimate intention of this research was to inform ongoing Initial Teacher Education (ITE) reform. The dearth of literature in the field of multilingual trainee teachers and what we might learn from a greater understanding of their experience, is addressed through answering the research question. Narrative methodology requires the reader to engage with the story being told. As Riessman (2008, p9) asserts "narratives invite us as listeners, readers and viewers to enter the perspective of the narrator". This was the aim of the study – to invite us as listeners to hear and gain perspective on the experience of participants. Riessman (2008, p9) suggests that these perspectives are sought with the purpose of bringing about "progressive social change". Shortly, the method of examining narrative stories as units in their own right and then drawing themes across them will be examined; this is one method to draw out both individual and shared perspectives on the experience of learning; in Moen's words (2006, p 60) "narratives…capture both the individual and the context". However, as Squire (2014, p112) notes: "stories' ubiquity in domains usually thought of as academic, political, policy and popular, public and private, make narrative research a flashpoint for a kind of epistemic anxiety about how social researchers gather and construct knowledge, and what they know" and Clandinin et al., (2007) note that some denigrate narrative methodology as "just telling stories". However, the versatility of the narrative approach (Riessman, 2008, Barkhuizen, 2011) aligns with the aims of this study to elevate voices rarely heard (Elbaz-Luwisch, 2010).

The impact of storytelling affects not only the intended audience but also the narrators themselves, and in doing so structures and shapes participants' identities (Gibbs, 2018). It could be argued that in asking participants to reflect on their story, this encouraged agency through reflection; indeed, it was hoped that in recounting their story, participants would as Gibbs (ibid) suggests, begin to develop their identity, potentially taking this renewed understanding into their professional practice. This proved to be the case, as illustrated later in the findings; participants' accounts showcase this developing professional identity as they reflected on what lived experience had taught them about their role as a teacher.

The value of the narrative approach for teachers in supporting teacher professional development (Barkhuizen, 2011, p397) was confirmed throughout the study as interviews with participants demonstrated the efficacy of reflection, the power of which will be illustrated in the findings chapter. As a result of actively seeking to give voice to participants, their stories can take their place in the literature and influence future policy and practice, whether locally via ITE courses or more widely when shared with a range of audiences.

Narrative methodology suggests the vitality of human storytelling and the value that we gain in listening to the experience of individuals who can offer a unique perspective on any given topic, in this case, the lived experience of being a pupil learning English as an additional language (EAL) in a UK school or university. In listening to the narrator's story, the researcher is in the privileged position of being invited to witness parts of the life of another at close quarters and be party to their processing of a selection of their experiences. In this way, we access the narrator's truth, which may then directly impact positive change in the field (Riessman, 2008).

As previously mentioned, the choice of the narrative approach for this study was largely made in relation to the centrality of the use of story in the realm of teacher education. If we are to be effective teachers ourselves, teacher education tutors should help trainees to see that they too are continually learning, as well as sharing knowledge and expertise (Andrews, 2012). This knowledge and understanding are related to context (Moen, 2006); analysis of stories in the research must be carried out in relation to both when and why the story is told. In this research project focussing on lived experience, participants were asked to present stories that are "rooted expressions of participants' lived experiences" (Pino and Adu, 2002, np.), particularly related to learning in a specific area of their life. The value and impact in the field of teacher education is worked out through Moen's (2006) 'layers' of knowledge and practice and the application of narrative methodology to synthesise trainees' experience and professional development. Riessman (2008, p74) draws out the distinction between narrative methodology and that of grounded theory by attesting to the way that narrative methodology offers the methods to access both the significance of single stories and the themes that connect them.

The power of stories in the current study was illustrated in the creative analysis previously mentioned. Findings had a profound effect on me as a researcher, and their analysis

developed in a personal and creative way using linocut, monoprint, and cyanotype. This response resonates with work of Bailey (2020, p350) who "argues for the role of sensory interpretation as a valid and necessary method of analytical enquiry, particularly to challenge existing dominant, primarily written discourses that often strive for unrealistic empirical objectivity". This will be explained further later, in the data analysis section of this chapter.

The prevalence of stories in our everyday lives indicates their power to help process human experience (Pomerantz et al., 2012) or in Polkinghorne's (1988:1) words "narrative is the primary schema by which human existence is rendered meaningful". Pomerantz et al., (2012) acknowledge the interpretivist nature of the narrative study and Goodson (2013, p35) suggests that this is the inherent power of the approach, that narrative research "forces a confrontation" with the stories of participants. Storytelling is thus a fundamental way that humans communicate and having worked with trainee teachers for nearly twenty years, the researcher in this study has been witness to hundreds of accounts, relating the influence of attitudes, classroom events, relationships and interactions that have had an impact on professional development of early career teachers. Goodson (2013, p107) expresses the intrinsic investment of the whole person in the act and art of teaching which makes the narrative approach so apposite; he states, "Our teaching is not a performance of trained competencies…but an expression of ourselves, our ways of knowing, our cultures and our contexts". Narrative methodology offers a unique way to explore this connectivity and gain insight into a range of stories that illuminate relationships that make up the 'layers' (Moen, 2006) of teacher education (these will be further explored shortly). Wenger-Trayner (2015, p2) calls such stories a "repertoire of resources" to promote professional development.

It is often through stories that trainee teachers relate how their professional practice developed over time; whilst on school placements, they give accounts of the way pupils responded to their teaching, using this information to influence the planning of next steps in the classroom. Thus, trainees use storytelling as a natural starting point to reflect, discuss, explore, and develop professional practice; tutors gain insight into how trainees develop as professionals over time and how knowledge is constructed (Riessman, 2008; Goodson, 2013). In doing so, tutors chart the story arc of the beginning, middle, and end of a trainee's

many professional journeys and note the progress in their proficiency. This story arc is tremendously flexible – it may follow the story of one minute of classroom 'action' or of the journey through a three-year degree, or a lifetime from childhood to adulthood but in each case, it will demonstrate causation and concatenation offering profound depths of insight to listeners.

Each participant in this research carefully selected stories that they wished to share with someone who they knew would be receptive to their accounts; this was not a random and casual conversation between two people, but participants came with a purpose, to relate their experiences of living through the education system in England, UK and to tell the researcher about the impact of those experiences on their life. Ryan's (2007, p24) claim supports the power of narrative research to explore these stories and plumb the depths that they offer when she says, "narrative is about problem-solving; narrative is about conflict; narrative is about interpersonal relations; narrative is about human experience; and narrative is about the temporality of existence".

Very often, ITE tutors engage storytelling as a pedagogical tool, asking trainees to reflect on their experience as a pupil to engage them with the perspective of the learner as a starting point for their own professional development. Multilingual trainees, who have a unique set of experiences concerning learning through EAL, often bring insights of the complexities inherent in navigating the education system and its "institutional narratives" (Clandinin and Rosiek, 2007, p237) to the attention of those who haven't had the same experiences. These reflections offer insight into areas of learning that build powerfully on the planned taught content of the session and thus tutor and trainee craft together the seminar at hand. Chan's (2009) claim that stories "lived and told" (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p20) can be used as a training tool for teachers, providing an accessible springboard to discussion and eliciting an informative perspective from those with lived experience mirrors Ryan's (2007) assertion regarding the purpose of narrative in problem-solving, exploring conflict and human experience.

4.3 Temporality

An indictment often made of narrative study data is that of temporality; in hearing participants' stories, we are viewing a snapshot in time. Participants used stories from personal experience (Creswell, 2007) with a specific contextual focus of the classroom

(Ollerenshaw and Creswell, 2002) to illustrate their accounts. If I were to interview the same people again in two, five, or ten years' time, different stories may or may not heard. This is not to say however, that the results at any one time are invalid; currently, the trainees' understanding and perspectives on experience are real and are a vital step in the iterative development of their professional practice as interpretation of an event will influence subsequent action. In Connelly, Clandinin, and He's words, (1997, p666) "the teacher's past experience, in the teacher's present mind and body, and in the future plans and actions". Andrews (2014, p7-8) refers to this dilemma as "situated knowledge…the speaking 'I' is always located in place, space and time", the storytelling of our lives is dynamic and always developing.

Bakhtin's (1986) concept of dialogue suggests that every utterance becomes part of a dialogue with others. The scale of this dialogue may vary and it may be a recent exchange or conversation over years; as Gudmundsdottir (2001) says, this dialogue joins voices that speak through time and space, linking people from different but connected lives. In the current study, this notion of dialogue was evident as participants spoke about families and heritage. All participants talked about the varied attitudes of teachers in school and the power of teachers' words to influence pupil development and progress. Thus, as Moen (2006) asserts, no listening, speaking, or writing occurs without concatenation and 'temporality' is vital to the narrative of the speaker; we understand a person's story in light of what they have experienced, who they have lived alongside and with whom they have been in dialogue.

The vignette of each participant's story is a powerful distillation containing the essence of their narrative; essential elements of context, heritage, experience, interpretation, causation, and consequence come together to produce rich data; in this particular study, narratives hold the potential to be a powerful force in the education context of ITE.

4.4 Interpretation

In re-telling someone's story the researcher must be mindful that their story positions others in the narrative and it could be asked whether these 'others' would agree with the participant's interpretation of events. It is possible that this line of thinking could take researchers on an infinite road of querying the reliability of participants' stories, but Hannon (1998) calls us to consider educational research as similar to a living plant interacting with

its surroundings, that narrative research is one of a range of methodologies that recognises the post-modern claim that knowledge is never one single authoritative voice and sitting within the sociocultural framework, links individuals with their context (Moen, 2006). It recognises Dewey's (1938) philosophy of the interrelated nature of experience and education. Indeed, as Moen (2006 conclusion) claims, "Classroom reality is complex, multidimensional… narratives from classrooms capture both the complexity and…the multivoicedness of teaching".

Whilst recognising this 'multivoicedness' (Bakhtin, 1986), it is also helpful to consider the importance of relational ethics guidelines, an approach that acknowledges the agency of each participant in shaping their narrative and making choices regarding what to include in the data about other people who feature in their story. Relational ethics also carefully considers the relationship between the researcher and the researched (Ellis, 2007). In this study, participants were given space during interviews to explore their thoughts, their narratives and the inclusion of others in their stories, using Bhabha and Soja's (1996) concept of 'Third Space'. Guzula (2022, p30) calls this a space of 'hybridity' where positions may be considered. This notion will be explored further in the analysis and discussion chapter. Through exploring the learning experiences (in school and at university) of trainee teachers who were multilingual, the aim of this study was to understand the learner as someone deriving and acting on identity positions that were influenced, created, and interpreted as an individual influenced by cultural heritage and also the culture of the school system (see Coffey and Street, 2008).

As participants of this research project were early in their professional journey, narrative research offered them the opportunity to explore ideas and experiences and reflect upon these in terms of their identity, both in the present and how they hoped to develop in the future (McAlpine, 2016).

4.5 Narrative as a unit

In 'restorying' (Creswell, 2007), narrative inquiry distils the essence of the narrative, bringing to the fore the themes determined by the researcher in collaboration with the participant considering their context and in recognition that stories should not be reflected on in isolation (Riessman, 2008, p105). Moen (2006) warns against the decomposition of the 'whole' unit of analysis, suggesting that by analysing parts separated out from the whole,

the essence of the unit may be lost. She goes further in quoting Gudmundsdottir (2001, p235) who suggested that narratives are not stand-alone stories, owned by one speaker but instead "one finds no singular voice, because any claimed voice is a heteroglossia of culturally situated voices that ventriloquate through the singular voice that is claimed by the individual". This suggests it is appropriate to draw out themes through case-by-case comparison, attempting to maintain uniqueness while sharing common themes. Thus, the background (spatial, temporal, social) of a story cannot be detached from the meaning and is critical to the analysis.

Lieblich et al., (1998) suggest classic genre styles of romance, comedy, tragedy, or satire, and a widely held view of the romantic genre is that it possesses an agentive form, often thought of as a 'hero' narrative (See Campbell, 2008) where the protagonist is triumphant despite the necessity to overcome countless threats to their success. These motifs were apposite in this research and covered the experience of education, family, and a sense of belonging. The discourse that the narrator used then built on these themes and persuaded the listener of their views around the plot.

4.6 Narrative Story Arc

As mentioned, in employing narrative analysis, data is analysed in three realms – spatial (place and sequence of places), temporal (past, present, future), and social (personal emotions and people interacted with) (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006). Analysis and interpretation involved examining the structure of the story as an entity, acknowledging the causal links between elements of the story-arc from beginning to middle and end, noting spatial and temporal settings (Denzin, 1989; Riessman, 2008). Cortazzi (1993) suggested six possible parts to such a narrative; first, the narrative is laid out (abstract which may be presented by the researcher via questioning) and the scene is set (orientation), followed by the telling of the story itself from beginning to end (complication) which is then evaluated. Through this evaluation, the narrator relates the purpose of the story, and the narrative arc is resolved in the summary (result), closely followed by an optional 'coda' through which the teller brings the audience back to the present day and thus relates key points of the narrative objective; to create a vignette of each participant's story, this structure was adopted to capture specific ideas in the narrative while remaining mindful of Rubin and Rubin's (2012) caution to ensure that links are substantiated from the data. Through

analysing in this way, it was possible to ensure that each aspect of a narrative had been given appropriate focus and this meticulous attention to detail added to the trustworthiness of the data.

4.7 Validity, Reliability, and Trustworthiness

In asking research participants for an autobiographical account of their experience of learning English, each became the protagonist in their own narrative. This ensured that the voice of the participant was kept as the focus of the story through each part of the narrative arc. In addition, this autobiographical structure gave licence for supporting characters to be introduced without censorship. In each narrative, a range of characters were introduced, in support of the autobiography. All participants spoke about family members; similarly, each spoke about teachers and teaching assistants.

Thomas (2013) suggests that reliability is a concept established in the positivist paradigm and that all qualitative research is potentially "radical, non-rigorous, and subjective" (Tobin and Begley, 2004, p388). Following the 'paradigm wars', it is argued that qualitative methodologies adopted in social sciences offer access to 'truths' that are not available through conventional research. Narrative methodology is one of many qualitative approaches, but the temporality of the data offers unique access to the impact of human experience (Polkinghorne, 2007). Narrative methodology, focussing on individuals and their understanding of experience (Mertova and Webster, 2020) must be presented honestly and authentically in the findings (Huberman, 1995). Although claims cannot be made to objective 'truth', convincing arguments can be made through the presentation of findings, about the relevance and pertinence of someone's story. Mertova and Webster (2020, p75) suggest that the reliability and trustworthiness of records are the "cornerstone of validity" for narrative research. The responsibility for presenting valid claims rests with the researcher in how they connect data from participants to represent themes that communicate the profundity of human experience (Polkinghorne 2007, p476).

The pilot study carried out prior to the main research study provided a significant validity and reliability measure. The aim for the pilot was to review the rigours of methodology and methods (Lancaster et al., 2004) and to evaluate whether the main study was likely to produce trustworthy and reliable data, suitable for answering the research question (Doody and Doody, 2015). It offered opportunities to explore the invitation of participants, the use

of creative 'texts', the use of unstructured interviews and to trial data analysis methods. These methods proved valid through the pilot and the rich data collected were illustrative of what narrative research can offer to the academic field. During the pilot, a research journal was kept collecting thoughts and observations; in the main study this developed into the creative response to data that will be explored shortly.

In many types of qualitative research, triangulation is an appropriate method by which to substantiate claims. In narrative research, however, given that individual stories are unique a more reliable method is the search for 'motifs' or themes in individual stories, noting these as they recur across accounts. To this end, during the analysis process of the pilot study, a grid was created to record these recurring motifs and themes, an excerpt of which can be seen in Figure 4. For the main study, this process was transferred into Nvivo due to the quantity of data:

Narrative arc: beg/mid/end Denzin (1989) Parts of narrative (Cortazzi 1993)	Definition of Cortazzi's narrative parts	Participant: Laura	Participant: Zara	'Linguistic features' (Lieblich et al 1998) Words, metaphors, verbs – active/passive	Motifs common across accounts (Polkinghorne 1995; Mishler 1991; Riessman 2018)
Abstract (may be offered by researcher)	Narrative laid out	Researcher gave the task of relating journey of learning English	Researcher gave the task of relating journey of learning English		
Orientation	Scene setting	I was eight, that's when I started to learn English. So yes, I was taught English in Portugal and then I moved [to England] when I was 16 (line 3)	I started [learning English] when I first started school when I was like 5 and I didn't really speak a word of English I only like a little bit of English although I was born here…my mum was around 12 years old when she came to this country… so her English, I mean it's alright but it was not great but she would often speak in Punjabi.. to my Dad and then that's how we, you know, she would speak Punjabi to me (lines 1-8)		**Background** sub-themes: Heritage Culture Generational differences

FIGURE 4: Excerpt of data analysis drawing out 'motifs' and themes across narratives

Findings were analysed by the researcher using the professional experience resulting from immersion in the field and with thirty years' experience of working in education settings. The instruments of the research (interviews and use of creative stimuli) were reliable in the sense that they offered the same opportunity to gather valid data, each time they were used.

In arguing for naturalist inquiry, Lincoln and Guba (1985) note that such research is values-driven including through the choice of study, its theoretical underpinning, the choice of

paradigm that guides the study, and the context of the research. They argue that exploration in this type of study is based on the principles of a post-positivist paradigm and metaphysical 'truth' (p14) and is the richer for it; narrative research draws upon interpretation from both participant and researcher (Creswell, 2007). That is to say that although the researcher must interpret the story being told, this is done in collaboration with the participants themselves (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Rogan 2005). Barkhuizen (2011), like Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggests the helpfulness of member-checking to ensure that participants agree with any interpretation added to the data by the researcher. It is the self-consciousness or reflexivity of the researcher that brings trustworthiness to narrative research (Moen, 2006). To ensure that member-checking was active in the research, post-interview conversations were used to talk through points that had been noted during the interview, checking for accuracy with participants. Aware of the danger of making unhelpful time demands, the opportunity for member-checking in the thesis-writing stage before the thesis was complete was offered, should participants wish to take this up.

4.8 Research Design: Methods

4.8.i Recruitment of study participants

Multilingual participants were invited via Professional Learning module sites (VLE platform) on their ITE course. Invitations were made across all undergraduate, postgraduate or school-based courses run in the Teacher Education department to create an 'opt-in' dynamic to the research. In a department with more than one thousand trainee teachers, this offered a large range of potential participants. Had there been a necessity to select from a high number of respondents, there was a plan to select to ensure a range of characteristics such as age of entry to the UK, sex, language and immigrant status; this selection did not prove necessary. Seven potential participants responded to the invitations on the module sites. Two chose not to continue with the project after reading the information as they felt the time commitment would detract from their studies. Five participants became part of the project and were asked to select pseudonyms to protect anonymity; these are presented in table 1 along with heritage language(s), age of entry into the UK and their family timeline.

Name	Heritage Language	Age of Entry to UK	Family timeline
Hannah	German & Indonesian	18	First generation immigrant
Zara	Punjabi	British citizen from birth	Second generation immigrant
Jacob	Polish	10	First generation immigrant
Jasmin	Arabic	10	First generation immigrant
Laura	Portuguese	8	First generation immigrant

TABLE 1: Study participants

4.8.ii Multimodal 'text' creation

As part of the research design, an element of multimodal methods was adopted; the project was not multimodal in entirety.

Each participant was asked to prepare a 'text' to illustrate their experience as an EAL learner in school and on the ITE course, including the role of learning English in their education experience. These texts were not analysed as part of the research data but were designed as an elicitation device facilitating further discussion during an unstructured interview. Participants' 'texts' took multi-modal form, linking with Cummins and Early identity texts (2011); the use of audio and video recording, cameras, and a variety of art materials were offered, and suggestions were made regarding the possible form of the text (see information sheet, appendix 3). In keeping with the Montessori approach, Gauntlett (2006) suggests that by engaging in a creative activity, participants may develop their thinking about experiences and their identity through using the hands and body as well as the mind. The product of this process is then used as a form of communication with the researcher. In this way data generated were designed to capture student voice, allowing participants "to speak with immediacy" (Abbot and Gillen, 1999, p49). Multi-modal text has been found to enable plurilingual participants to "articulate personal narratives of themselves, their communities, and their language learning experiences" (Stille and Prasad, 2015, p608), an aim which resonated with that of this study to valorise multilingual voices and amplify these as part of the research design. The requested "text" was deliberately open-ended from the researcher's point of view, the purpose being to offer a starting point for discussion allowing participants to decide the focus, rather than taking an imposed point of departure decided

by the researcher. Participants talked through their “text” at the start of an unstructured interview; this process aimed to place the participant as the author of the discussion and the researcher as facilitator of a ‘Third Space’ (Soja, 1996) in which to explore experiences.

Later, the process of data analysis will be explored, including the researcher’s creative response through artwork. The purpose of the researcher using creative processes in this way mirrors the intention to support participants’ use of similar processes as a method to support exploratory thought. Neither process, either that requested of participants or that employed as researcher was valued more highly; both were seen as helpful elicitation devices.

The following section will consider the use of interviews and critically justify their use, in relation to this study.

4.8.iii Interviews

Interviews were designed to take approximately one hour. Two interviews took almost exactly one hour while two were just over this (one hour, ten minutes and one hour fifteen minutes); one was shorter at 48 minutes. Interviews began with the researcher thanking participants for their willingness to be involved in the research, a recap that consent was gained and the purpose of the research. Participants were then invited to start by sharing their multimodal ‘text’. As previously explained, this text was treated as an elicitation technique rather than an artefact in its own right, its creation was designed as a tool to generate thinking, ensuring that participants’ stories were captured and not created in response to a priori interview questions.

Questions asked within the interview were dependent on the details shared by participants as part of their story. For example, when each participant explained their arrival in the UK, questions were asked for elaboration about which year of school entry was entered if this was not clear, to establish clarity. In subsequent parts of each interview, questions often requested that participants say a little more about a point raised to establish whether the theme was central to their narrative and to ensure their point was fully captured. The overriding purpose of carrying out unstructured interviews was to ensure that participant voice was captured, and questions posed by the interviewer sought further detail or clarity, rather than determining the direction of the conversation.

Qualitative education research is used to capture the views, interpretations, and relationships between and within individuals and communities (Freebody, 2003). Problems (posed through questions) are explored, and the views of participants are gathered. Data is collected through words or pictures (Creswell, 2019) and one method of gathering these data is through interviews which Freebody describes as "co-ordinated interactions" (2003, p133). Gubrium and Holstein (2002) explore the changes that interview practice has undergone in the qualitative realm. They state that dynamics between researcher and interviewee, the structure of an interaction, and 'discursive dimensions' (2002, p27) have all been reconsidered in light of reflections on epistemological assumptions. Previously, interviews were considered a transaction of 'knowledge' from interviewee to researcher, but in recent decades consideration of the tool of interview has become more focussed on the necessity for reflexivity and the role of the researcher's interpretation and co-construction of the data, which is especially pertinent in narrative research (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). These considerations were central to this study, in that the power of the narrative turn lies in the focus on the individuality of one person's account whilst also offering an opportunity to draw out commonly occurring motifs across a range of accounts.

Interviews may be open-ended, semi-structured, or structured (Thomas, 2013) and this continuum represents the influence of the interviewer on what is asked, and thereby to some extent, the data generated. The decision to carry out individual as opposed to group interviews was based on the desire to elicit individual stories of participants, rather than a shared perspective of being a multilingual learner. Rice and Coulter's (2012) analysis of individual narratives exploring teacher-educator identities demonstrated the power of the individual story to offer deep insight. I felt that trainees would find it easier to talk about personal experiences on a one-to-one basis and that sharing in a group with others who they did not know might limit sharing of personal stories.

One premise of narrative methodology is that interviews are a joint construction between interviewer and interviewee (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990). As researchers, we co-construct and edit these stories (McAlpine, 2016; Keats, 2009; Riessman, 2008). This active collaboration and co-construction are perceived by some (see Polkinghorne, 2007) as a limitation of narrative inquiry; participants knew that I had invited their stories, thus implying (correctly) that they would be sensitively received. Despite this sense of bias, my

conclusions through the pilot study regarding the trustworthiness of the research were that *"*far from offering unreliable data and an untrustworthy methodology, the relaying of this lived experience illustrates the dynamic nature [of teaching and learning]. It offers the power of rich, thick description (Denzin, 1989)" (Cooper EdD assignment 3).

Unstructured interviews were selected as a means by which participants could maintain 'control' of the interview; Mishler's (1991) conscious emphasis on empowering interviewees was at the forefront of this planning. The focus of Mishler's work emphasised the shifting paradigm of qualitative research in positioning the interview as discursive interaction. In placing the participant and their 'text' at the centre of the entire interview, the aim was to minimise input from questions that may determine the direction of discussion. Creation of the 'text' ensured that participants had spent time thinking about their story and had decided ahead of the interview, what they wished to share. The intention was that this would increase participants' confidence as they could steer the interview, rather than being at the behest of a series of questions. These intentions were realised throughout the process as each person except one brought with them something to start their account, confidently sharing their 'text', talking openly about their experiences. Two participants brought a PowerPoint presentation that comprised a series of pictures that captured their thoughts, while one person brought a piece of music, one brought a 'word cloud' and one participant brought nothing. This final interviewee was offered a chance to reschedule to give time to create a 'text' but this offer was declined, as they had considered what they wanted to say, which indeed they had.

4.8.iv Methods of data collection

In the researcher's own training to be a teacher some thirty-five years ago, the focus of professional interest was on the Montessori approach to education (first developed in 1912). This approach favours the experiential, creative, and exploratory styles of learning, engaging children with all their senses as they are guided through any learning task. The Montessori approach favours child-led learning, thus placing the pupil at the heart of study within the classroom community and facilitating the growth of intellectual, social, emotional, and physical capabilities (Marshall, 2017). In keeping with this approach, this creativity was an integral part of the research design and data analysis, as computer software and a creative response were used to analyse and present the data.

4.8.v Methods of data analysis

Denzin (1989) suggests that narratives provide a non-random sequence of events in someone's story, that one event leads to another, and that as a result, stories need to be analysed as whole 'units' (see also Riessman, 2008). In addition, Gibbs (2018) suggests the use of narrative methodology is helpful to make connections between the individual and the social and it was on this basis that thematic analysis was selected to compliment narrative.

Analysis was a non-linear process, as the researcher moved between the use of notes made from the transcripts, Nvivo-based analysis and that of the arts-based approach. In this way the process was iterative (Nowell et al., 2017). The process is summarised in table 2 before going on to examine each part individually:

Data Analysis Process	
Familiarisation with the data	Ongoing throughout the project. After each interview, I re-listened to the recording immediately, taking notes and memo-ing with initial thoughts and insights. Through the analysis process, recordings of the data were re-visited, along with transcripts to check for accuracy and further immersion
Narrative arc considered and vignette created of each story	Using spatial, temporal and social components (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006) and Cortazzi's (1993) narrative 'parts' for structure
Nvivo programme adopted	Coding was carried out across and between narratives, using Nvivo nodes alongside hand-written notes
Arts-based approach	Re-visited data while creating artwork to explore interviews at greater depth ("as a way of investigating and knowing" Pentassuglia 2017:3).
Findings written	Checked back with data to ensure interpretations were true to participants' accounts

Table 2: Data Analysis Process

4.8.vi Transcription

After interviewing participants, the data were transcribed using a commercial company; immersion in the data was ensured by listening to the interviews several times, and once the transcripts were completed, listening again (and again), checking for inaccuracies in transcription as well as for meaning and coding.

Analysis of data began on paper – this took the form of pages of interview transcriptions with an increasing number of hand-written notes in multiple colours. Miles' (2014) encouragement to write memos without worrying about neatness was helpful, and to record thoughts of all kinds, including musings that may not ultimately be included in the final analysis. This was an immensely important part of the process as it enabled free annotation without concern for neatness or other aesthetic considerations. Notes were made about what drew the researcher's attention, and many jottings, questions, and queries were identified. Having estimated a timeline for this part of the analysis, expecting it to take weeks, the timelines needed adjustment as this process took months. Each time transcripts were returned to, the story of each participant took further shape – links were noticed between parts of each interview, and the number of times someone made the same point in different ways were noted in addition to the language used to convey meaning. Figure 5 gives a snapshot of this process:

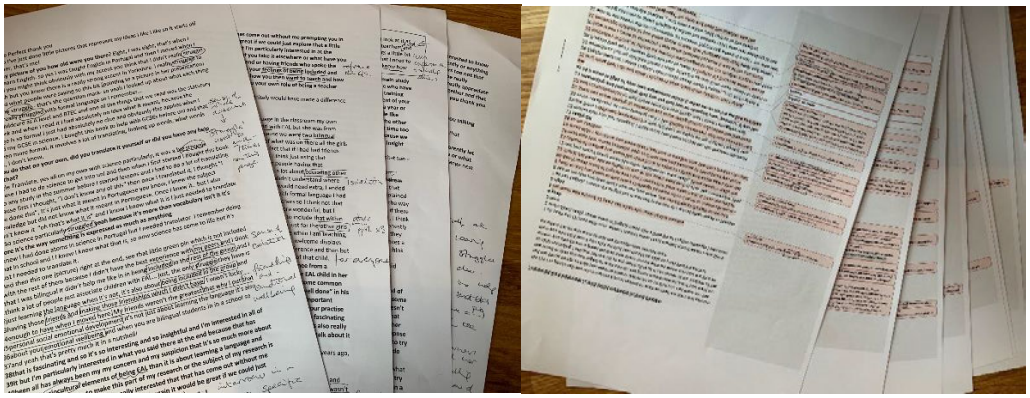

FIGURE 5: Working with the transcripts

In narrative inquiry, data may take many different forms from story-telling, to written documents, pictures, and metaphors (Connelly and Clandinin, 1990; Creswell, 2007). Having decided not to analyse the creative text for this project, focus was on participants' spoken word, thus my data was spoken language. This decision was made on the basis that 'texts' were intended as a starting point for discussion and a means for participants to articulate their views rather than artifacts in their own right. Data therefore comprised of the verbal component of the interview (words) and some paralinguistic components (Riessman, 2008, see also Flick, 2014).

4.8.vii Thematic Narrative analysis

Polkinghorne's (1995) distinction between 'analysis of narratives' and 'narrative analysis' is useful; he suggests that stories are coded, categorized and themes are detected, while also providing a narrative as a discrete entity. The combination of thematic and narrative analysis allowed me to analyse individual stories, thus maintaining their integrity whilst also noting linguistic motifs and illuminating common themes that illustrate any shared experience, if applicable. In the Findings chapter, the individual narratives are presented, followed by a section outlining identified themes prior to their further analysis and discussion.

An example of the combination of thematic and narrative analyses is found in a study with Canadian trainee teachers (Chang-Kredl and Kingsley, 2014). This study held some resonance with my own in exploring the influence and role of previous experiences and sense of identity on the reasons for training to teach. In identifying themes, Chang-Kredl and Kingsley counted occurrences of categories of participant responses (home, school, work) and the negative/positive nature of these. This data analysis felt almost quantitative, as numerical totals of each response were offered as explanations for their interpretation, an approach identified by Ryan and Bernard (2003). The same quantitative element of data was not collected in the current project, although themes were strengthened as they occurred across more than one narrative. Although responses were not counted, comments should not be taken in isolation, so repetitions were noted; Moen (2006) notes the importance of concatenation as a measure by which to identify key themes in the data.

Thematic analysis (TA) may be either inductive or deductive in essence, or a combination of both, depending on the agenda of the researcher. TA is suggested as a flexible method of

coding, and searching for, defining, and reviewing themes (Braun and Clarke, 2012). Thematic and narrative analyses may be meaningfully combined by seeking out shared themes that the researcher selects in each participant's narrative. In comparing stories, we ascertain whether themes demonstrate "a patterned response or meaning within the dataset" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p82). So, stories were analysed in their own right but then grouped together and linked (Riessman, 2008; Gibbs, 2018). As with Lieblich et al.'s (1998) approach to narrative analysis and interpretation, thematic analysis may identify specific linguistic motifs (words, phrases, metaphors, verbs, tense, repetition) or form (classic styles of romance, comedy, tragedy, or satire). Lieblich et al. propose that common narrative themes often pertain to relationships, belonging, and the influence of life experiences on subsequent events. Thus, words that had been coded and grouped into themes were significant because they captured thoughts, feelings, and emotions that linked participants' understanding as language learners in the form of dialogue (Bakhtin 1986).

Gibbs (2018) offers a method for the combination of narrative and thematic analysis. He suggests that in combining the approaches suggested, the researcher combs each narrative, noting key features of the story and transitions through life (for example home, heritage, languages spoken, school, and university); they pick out themes, looking for contradictions to these themes, highlighting emotive language, imagery, metaphors and begin to make connections and comparisons between stories, acknowledging the spatial, temporal and social aspects of narratives (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006). Constructing this analysis side-by-side in this research enabled the identification of key themes in each person's narrative arc which gave the structure for each vignette. In addition, themes were identified across cases and linked, noting the emerging picture of multilingual learners' experiences and how these related to their pedagogy as trainee teachers. Using direct quotes from interview transcripts allowed the representation of participants' stories with authenticity.

4.8.viii Use of Nvivo

The decision was made to transfer all analysis onto the Nvivo programme as the number of paper notes became unmanageable. Using Nvivo enabled organisation, sorting and classification and the keeping of an audit trail of the large volume of data; the transposing of notes into initial codes resulted in 11 nodes, 22 subordinate-nodes and then a further 9 sub-subordinate nodes (See figure 6).

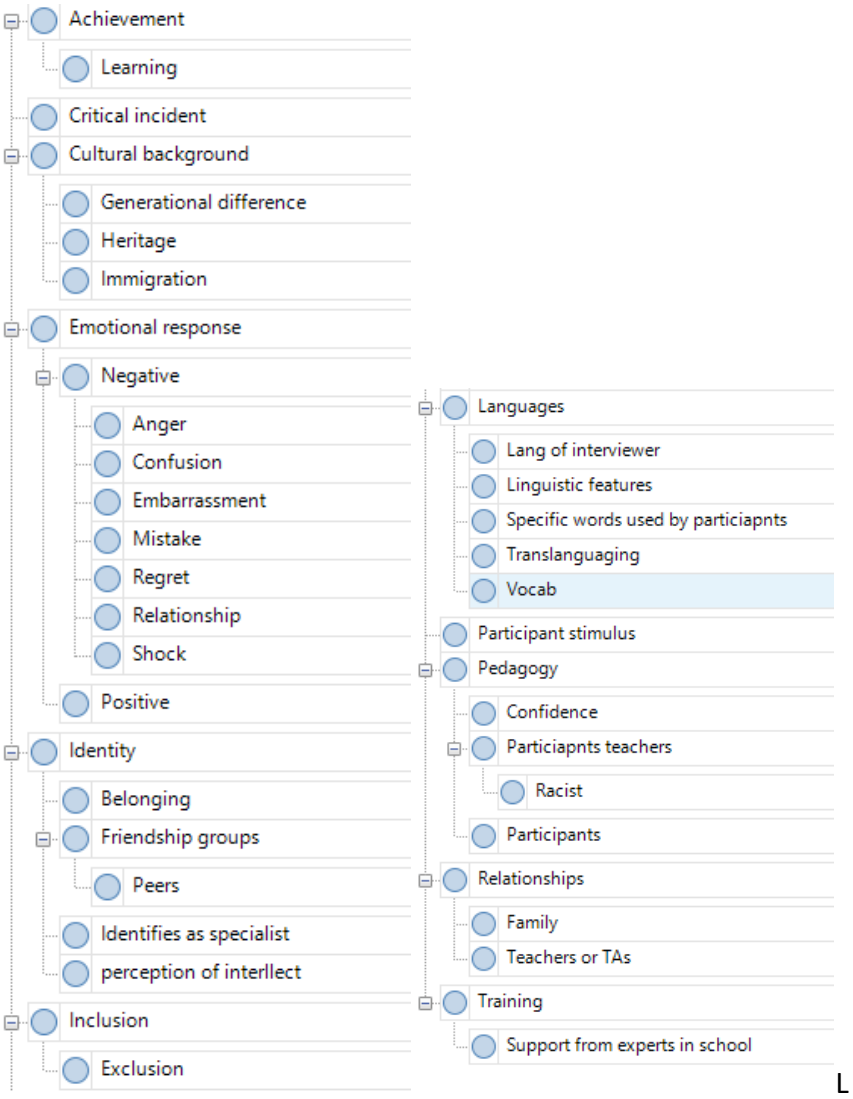

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FIGURE 6: Snapshot of nodes from Nvivo

4.8.ix Creative approach to data analysis

The Nvivo programme permitted the linking of codes into 'relationships' which in turn were categorised into themes (Seale, 2018); see figures 7 and 8 below:

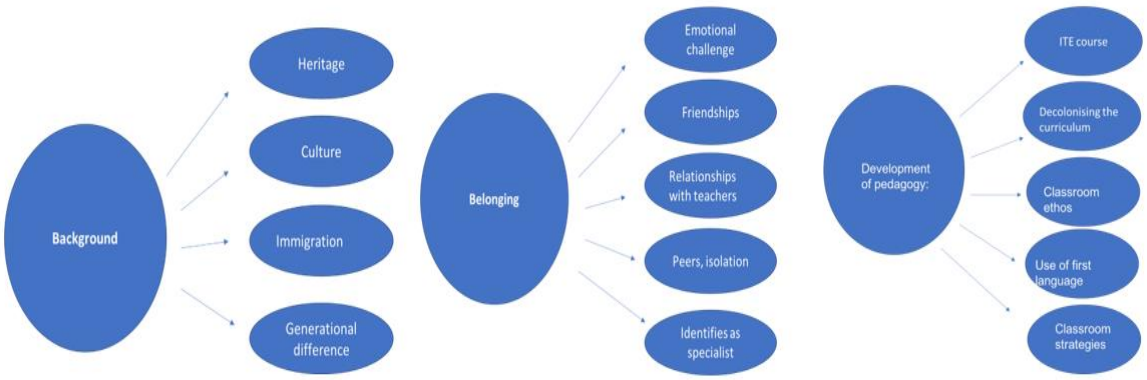

FIGURE 7: Developing codes

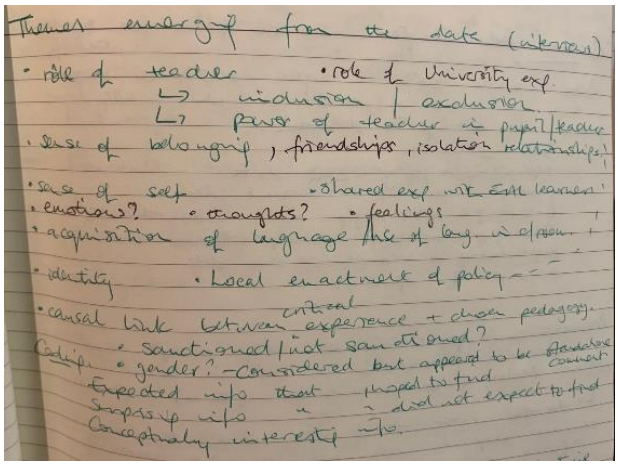

FIGURE 8: Developing initial themes

In addition, and outside of Nvivo, mind-maps were created showing the relationship between and within themes. These maps stimulated a different approach to think through the data and were a helpful way to visualise results differently. As someone whose intellect is fuelled by visuals, the researcher found this was an important step in developing links between parts of interviews and in turn across the stories of different participants. An example mind map can be seen in figure 9:

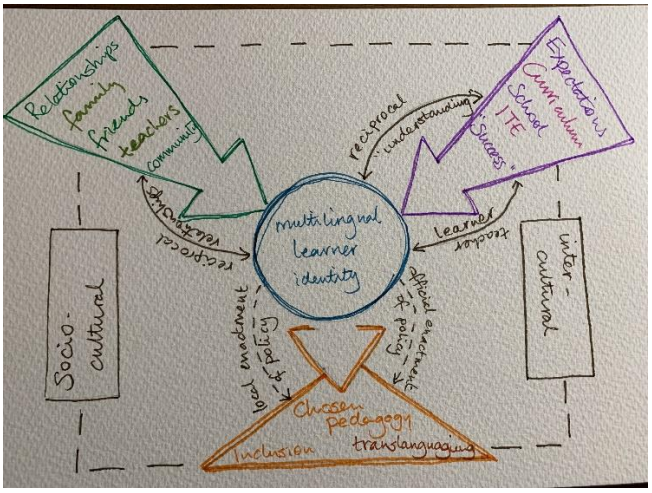

FIGURE 9: Mind mapping during analysis

Analysis was iterative and "spiral" throughout (Creswell and Poth, 2018:185); it was a reflective and organic process. Having organised the data, links were identified across stories; a return was then made to each individual story to identify the narrative arc and re-present, indeed "re-story" (Creswell, 2007, p56) each participant's account. In creating this narrative arc of each individual whilst also identifying links across narratives, a strong sense of cohesion in the project developed; stories stood in their own right while also becoming part of a larger whole. Caution was important in ensuring that the links made remained close to the data (Rubin and Rubin, 2012).

The use of Nvivo to record, colour code, and organise this analysis facilitated checking that all data had been considered equally and nothing had been disregarded. It allowed for the identification of "mundane, expected and surprising" (Creswell, 2007:54) findings to be analysed. Rubin and Rubin (2012) suggest sorting and ranking of codes – this was helpful as some were more dominant in the data than others. To identify the ranking, the frequency of the occurrence of an idea presented by a participant and the intensity with which it appeared, impacted the ranking. For example, the sense of urgency with which one participant related a critical classroom incident and the fact that it had been the central tenet of their account increased the ranking of the code in the analysis process.

4.8.x Visual data analysis method

Having spent significant time analysing data through coding and deconstructing into blocks of information in the Nvivo computer programme, I began to feel as though something was

missing from the analysis. Stenhouse (1988) suggests a strong link between teaching and artistry; by nature as teachers, we create curricula, classroom ethos and activity, relationships, and moments of learning and it is this artistry that also makes teachers researchers in their field. This 'artistry' found its way into my research through the analysis process.

Rubin and Rubin (2012) title their chapter in Sage's Research Methods tome 'The Art of Hearing Data'. The participants in my study stated their desire to be part of the research in order to make their voices and their stories heard – this was not a case of collecting numbers or abstract ideas but of garnering powerful insights into the lived experience that in Gudmundsdottir's words are set to "ventriliquate through the ages" (2001, p235) through the impact of experience on the developing pedagogy of new teachers. As one of the intended outcomes of this doctoral research project was to make recommendations regarding development of ITE curriculum, the notion of voices joining together across participant's stories, bringing together their history, culture, family, and heritage was critical to enact greater social justice (Lincoln and Guba, 2016) in the realm of teacher education.

As a teacher educator, my research project has both personal and professional significance as well as for the participants and the wider field. My response through artistic medium was an outworking of the impact on me as an individual, while representing a visual representation of data analysis.

As I spent time with the data, my interest in creative arts began to overlap with analysis and I began to view data in a new way and make links between my love of the natural world and the growth of my understanding of participants' stories, feeling compelled to represent these links through creative art, as Pentassuglia (2017:3) says "as a way of investigating and knowing". My interest and belief in the arts as an expressive medium was part of my initial interest in asking participants to present their thoughts creatively; Pentassuglia (ibid) suggests a helpful link between art-based approach and narrative methodology to highlight multiple layers of meaning. The use of creative methods took analysis to a new level. Kienle (2019:129) suggest that visualising data in this way offers a counterbalance to "the quantification of embodied experience into seemingly objective and all-encompassing datasets".

I began to create a series of printed images, using monoprint, cyanotype, and linocut. By way of an example here, Figure 10 shows my response to participants' stories, having heard about their journeys and being witness to their impressive progress through the education system; this image is of snowdrop flowers, emerging as they do after long winter months representing strength, beauty, and resilience.

FIGURE 10: Linocut print of snowdrops

This creative response to the data continued, and further examples are included in the analysis and discussion chapter. Reflecting later on this process, it felt as though considering participants and representing data visually in this way somehow reconnected the researcher with the humanity of those who had been interviewed; the metaphorical significance that had been attributed to them built a strong sense of respect for participants and reconnected with the initial motivations to carry out the research study. The visual materials may be viewed in a similar way to "diaries, field notes and interview transcripts" (Pink, 2011, p20) and as such became an active part of the analysis process. As they are part of the interpretation in the research, they are subjective and "incomplete, contingent and constructed" (Kienle, 2019, p130); it was vital that a reflexive approach was adopted in the interpretation, given these subjectivities and the awareness of the influence of experience, emotion, and knowledge on qualitative analysis (Pink, 2011) and the "ambiguity of visual meanings" (ibid 2011, p4).

Olmos-Vega et al., (2023) suggest the importance of continual evaluation of subjectivities within qualitative research, throughout the whole project, enabling a focus on the value of the researcher's position and knowledge of the relevant field. The research journal was

instrumental in discussions with supervisors as connections between findings and their interpretations were explored.

Lupi and Posavec's project (2015 in Kienle 2019) suggests that presenting data visually was "debunking the myth that the world is data that can be captured and visualized with neutral, distanced, and all-encompassing technologies of vision" (Kienle 2019, p130) which resonated with this study. The re-connectiveness that was experienced through exploring the data felt significant and mirrored the 'slow data' that Lupi and Posavec suggest allows for greater connection on a personal level between people, bringing humanity to the research process. Interpretation through artistic activity brought a personal lens to the data, purposely reflecting on the value of participants and the respect with which they were held.

4.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical consideration was carefully planned through the submission and approval of the Research Study Ethics Form (Sheffield Hallam University). Thus, ethics were positioned within BERA guidelines for Educational Research (2011). These guidelines outline researchers' responsibilities towards participants, the research community, sponsors of research, education professionals, and the general public. Principles of beneficence, non-maleficence, trustworthiness, autonomy, and justice were embedded throughout the research design and were central to its implementation. Ethical approval for the study was requested via Converis and was granted prior to the project commencing (see appendix 4).

Invitations to take part in the study were advertised via course admin sites. In doing so the aim was to provide an 'opt in' dynamic to the research. I was acutely aware of the potential power imbalance that could prevail in the tutor/tutee relationship (Creswell, 2019). Participant invitations, information sheets, and consent forms (see appendices) were carefully designed, and participant consent and right to withdraw were re-confirmed at each interview. Although my intention for the study was to work only with trainees whom I did not teach in an attempt to minimise power imbalance, one student who was part of my academic tutor group did approach me, asking to take part. Her desire to influence ITE through the research was central to her request and after discussion with my Director of Studies, it was decided that she could take part, bringing to mind once again the importance of staying close to the data to avoid misplaced interpretation. BERA guidance (2024) allows teacher educators to research with their own students as long as the power imbalance has

been addressed and carefully considered; this consideration was noted in the ethical approval gained before the start of the project. Assurances were made to all trainees that their progress through the teacher training course would not be influenced as a result of taking part in the research study. No work or placements of any of the participants were assessed by me, once participation in research was requested. Anonymity and confidentiality were assured through the use of pseudonyms and care was taken with the use of personal or sensitive data which may reveal the identity of the participant.

Two of the interviews took place during the global pandemic when university buildings were closed, and meeting in person was prohibited. These two interviews took place online. Specific guidance (SHU, 2022 and 2025) was sought regarding conducting research online from the ethics policies of the institution where my research was carried out. Post-pandemic, rooms were booked in the building most commonly used by trainees, to carry out the interviews. This ensured familiarity and ease of access and the room booking system ensured that interviews could progress without interruption.

Secure storage of data, in line with the data management protocols (see appendix 7), proved straightforward on the university Q drive, and recording using university equipment went smoothly. Recording 'real' data involving participants' lived experience, reinforced the importance of this security along with the assurance that every effort would be made to ensure anonymity.

One of the possible benefits (beneficence) of being involved in the research as noted earlier, was that participants had the opportunity to reflect on their experiences and it may be empowering to spend time thinking about their progress as a learner.

4.10 Debrief post-interview

Discussion and debriefing at the end of the interview proved interesting as participants spoke about the importance for them, of being involved in the study. In response to thanks for their participation, each said that they valued the opportunity to talk about their time as a learner and hoped that in relaying their experience, they would make a difference to others; in doing so they had put their trust in the researcher to re-tell their stories. Noticing this element of trust was an example of both the 'power' in relationships with participants (Creswell 2019) and the responsibility of transcription, memo-ing, and interpretation of data

(Creswell and Poth, 2018; Flick, 2014). Participants' feelings of 'responsibility' to other EAL pupils through the impact of research were striking and confirmed the belief in amplifying student voice (Abbot and Gillen, 1999). In the research journal, reflections were made that the title 'researcher' sounded formal and detached but instead, I felt like a confidant and ally to my participants.

4.11 Positionality

Professionally I have witnessed 'change' in challenging educational circumstances through my own and others' work. This change has been driven by the profound belief that all people have equal rights, are born into inequality, and that it is the responsibility of those in power to try and redress the scales of inequality where possible. This work requires a combination of hope and action (Friere, 1921). However, Hall (1990, p18) encourages us to acknowledge our positionality "in order to say anything at all" and I recognise that my position starts with the hope that we can influence change in policy and practice concerning EAL pupils and the belief that this is possible. When teaching trainee teachers, the aim has always been to encourage them to consider their influence as classroom practitioners, affecting change through inclusive practice.

Despite having hope and belief, I recognise that there was a continual necessity for personal reflexivity (as well as methodological, theoretical, disciplinary, and practical reflexivity Bhopal, 2010; Dean, 2017); it is as a white, middle-class British woman that I view the world. A recent focus in the media on 'white privilege' reminds me of the power of advocacy that is available, but I am interested in giving a 'voice' to a group of people with whom I do not share heritage or life experience. Freire (2004) reminded me that care needs to be taken not to speak for research participants; although motivation focussed on advocacy, I was careful to approach the narrative methodology prepared to report what was observed, rather than what was expected in the data. At times professional identity was shared with participants; I have worked closely with a wide cross-section of teachers and school staff in several cities in the UK but Bhopal (2010) and Dakin (2017) warn of the danger of presumed understanding within this sharing.

I noted that I was both an 'insider' and an 'outsider' in the research process – that is to say that when I began my research project, I had a good working knowledge of how Teacher Education operated in one northern English University and the management thereof, but I

also had more than twenty years' experience of teaching and managing children and staff and of the implementation of policy in a combination of Primary schools in England. The tensions that this positionality brought were noted and explored. As articulated as part of the literature review, by delving into the minutiae of policy and exposing its neoliberal roots as part of this study, I needed to consider my position as a teacher educator afresh. Understanding both school and university 'language' and some of the processes inherent in each type of institution had advantages in the project; I was able to gain participants' trust in demonstrating a level of understanding in their work and some of the struggles they faced. However, there was also a real danger that I could be part of the hegemony, part of the 'problem' of marginalisation resulting from little understanding of participants' lived experiences. As Phelps (2019) identified, schools and universities share some language, but much is very different; in addition, I had no experience of learning in a language other than that which I use at home.

As schoolteacher for over a decade, my own experience of working with culturally diverse and multilingual families adopted something close to the "participatory or apprenticeship model of instruction" (Moll, 1992, p21); through engaging members of pupils' families and the wider community in school and inviting them to take part in and contribute towards classroom learning, I learned a great deal and the positive impact on all pupils (not only those learning through EAL) was immediate. Prior to working in Higher Education, I taught in several multicultural cities of the UK, spending years in Peterborough, Birmingham, Nottingham, and Sheffield. In doing so, my professional interests had become honed towards inclusion of children from a wide variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds. As a class teacher and later as a head teacher, my work focussed on inviting families into classrooms to support the learning of their children and to contribute to the wonderfully varied cultural milieu of the primary classroom. With hindsight, I instinctively believed that the Funds of Knowledge that people brought to the classroom should be as varied and rich as possible and reading the work of Moll et al., (1992) years later, resonated with how I believe that education is best organised.

As pupils' families felt welcome in school and despite minimal spoken English were able to support practical classroom activities, children from these families relaxed into school life and made rapid progress. Strategically, I added culturally relevant references to classroom

planning to ensure pupils could engage with resources that drew on familiar concepts. Instinct told me that family and community members were willing to attend school and support classroom learning because they too felt that they were welcome and valued. As a teacher, I positioned myself as a learner of cultural practices that were new to me and thus learning was reciprocal. This model of working is also that which I had employed to train teachers for several years prior to this research project, using literature to underpin principles of ITE instruction.

Fifteen years into my teaching career, following parental leave, and choosing not to return to headship, I extended my professional experience into teaching children with Special Needs (as it was termed at the time). This work further honed my focus on inclusive practice and my master's study investigated the relationship between special education and mainstream, drawing on experience of working in a mainstream school which included an 'Integrated Resource Unit' (IRU) for children with Language and Communication challenges. Despite the fact that pupils learning through EAL do not by definition have special educational needs, they have sometimes been treated as though they have barriers to learning, other than being new to the language of instruction.

Some years previously, I had become familiar with the Index for Inclusion, a policy created by Booth and Ainscow (2011) to support the inclusion of children with additional needs into vibrant school communities (of many different types, both mainstream and special). The policy invited all school staff to consider afresh the aims, objectives, personal and professional beliefs and values that are inherent in making education successful for all pupils and when I began to train teachers to support children learning through English as an Additional Language (EAL), the premiss of the Index for Inclusion proved valuable. Based on the 'social model of disability' (Booth and Ainscow, 2002; see also Barton, 2003) the policy took the perspective that it was not the learners who presented barriers to progress, but rather the environment within which they were taught that 'disabled' their learning. While pupils were problematised due to their learning needs, they were sometimes viewed in a negative light in the mainstream classroom, and my perspective on EAL pupils was that they were often viewed in a similar way. Thus, in designing and delivering teaching materials to enhance trainees' understanding of the unique position that EAL learners hold in the Primary and Early Years classroom, my focus was on additive bilingualism, intercultural

understanding, Funds of Knowledge (Moll et al., 2005) and creating 'safe spaces' (Conteh and Brock, 2011) for learners in every classroom, to position their contribution to schools as positive, instead of as problematic. Above all, I was determined to eradicate the misunderstanding that EAL pupils automatically have Special Educational Needs and utilised my understanding of inclusive ideology as a basis for this teaching. Often, during Initial Teacher Education lectures and seminars, multilingual student teachers would share issues they had experienced as EAL learners themselves. I explore a sample of these experiences next, as an illustration of the stimulus for my research, through the invaluable insights that trainees offered.

Powerful examples of classroom practice that did not reflect research-informed understanding of how best to support EAL learners to make good progress, were often shared. Although stories varied, some of those that particularly troubled me (and not least because of how often I heard the same narrative), were those where trainees had been told that they were not permitted to use their first language in an English-only school classroom. On countless occasions, I heard stories when as pupils, trainees had been told to 'leave their first language at the school gate'. One trainee told me that her mother was told by a primary school teacher to stop speaking her first language at home because she was 'confusing' her daughter. At the time this trainee had been eight years old, and until the day of the lecture, her mother had tried 'not to confuse' her daughter, speaking only English at home. The travesty of stories like these struck me afresh each time. Unfortunately, I heard similar narratives sometimes from trainees on school placements who spoke about the school policy of speaking only English in the classroom. It is important to note, however, that examples of excellent professional practice in school have also been witnessed by myself as a university link tutor and by trainees. Schools that have invested time and energy to thoroughly understand the needs of pupils from a range of EAL backgrounds have made significant efforts to structure their school and their curriculum to meet the needs of all learners. These examples have been inspiring to see and have further fuelled my determination to make such practice part of the expected 'norm' for all pupils. Such schools have considered a fully inclusive ethos and school environment, they have made full use of the range of materials and strategies available to support pupils and have worked closely

with families to support their understanding of the education system in England. In addition, they have shared good practices by offering training for schools in the locality.

Over time, I began to consult with multilingual trainees as to how best to tackle any misunderstandings of inclusive practice with colleagues in school, which ultimately led to this research project, drawing on the experiences of multilingual trainees.

4.12 Reflexivity

Within thematic and narrative research, as with any research methodology, there is the need for ongoing reflexivity. As Berger (2015, p219) suggests: "questions about reflexivity are part of a broader debate about ontological, epistemological and axiological components of the self". The axiological debate is fundamental to these observations and my positionality is reflected in the themes that I identified in the data. The strong desire to ensure that my research gives voice to the multilingual trainee teacher, making them front and centre of the research, shaped the way that I organised the project. I actively sought participants' stories, thoughts, intentions, and choices of narrative content which they formulated for the purpose of communicating to the research context (Riessman, 2008); at all times I was aware of my responsibility to share these stores 'accurately' and thus protect contributors to the research (Denzin 1989). My deliberate choices relating to methods in the research process influenced what data was generated and the subsequent analysis. The inductive approach to thematic and narrative analysis suggests a 'ground up' method, although it is important to recognise that as a researcher it was I who determined the direction of the interview and thereby generation of data through my choice of questions (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002). I was conscious of Braun and Clarke's (2019) claim that the researcher selects the story that they wish to tell from the data and as such, I was the lens through which data was viewed, noting interesting, expected, and surprising observations in the findings (Creswell and Poth, 2018).

Credibility and authenticity (Gray, 2022) were attained through a conscious and resolute intention to check for understanding in the data and a desire not to misrepresent participants' narratives. Buckner's (2005) warning that an interviewer's emotional response can shape interpretation of the data and Gibbs' (2018, p2) suggestion that interpretation is both imaginative and speculative were borne in mind. At times through the interviews, I felt empathy and sympathy for participants as they related the struggles they had experienced

in the school system. Their rich description of events, feelings, relationships, and their "meta-linguistic awareness" (Wong et al., 2020) gave clarity to the background of their pedagogical decisions at this early point in their teaching careers and I felt both troubled and impressed that they had needed to work so hard in order to attain their goal of becoming a teacher.

4.13 Research limitations

Further research exploring the translanguaging approach in the classroom is necessary to explore and offer insight into the use of this pedagogical approach in a range of settings. The scope of my current project in exploring lived experience of EAL learners does not allow for an in-depth focus on translanguaging in and of itself; this is one limitation of the study. Research with multilingual primary school teachers is also in further need of development to explore the range of experience that could be utilise more effectively in the classroom.

Further limitations are recognised in the small number of participants in this study; it is hoped that future research will gather data from a wider, more extensive range of participants.

In addition, whilst the curriculum of ITE has been briefly explored, the role of the school based mentor for trainee teachers has not been mentioned in the data; the role of mentor is one that has significant influence on the experience of trainee teachers through their course and it would be helpful to include representation of this part of teacher training in future research.

Chapter Five: Findings Chapter

In this chapter, findings of the research will be presented in two sections. Firstly, a vignette of each participant's narrative will be presented, having been analysed for the 'narrative arc' – their story from beginning to end. As part of this arc, each narrative has been analysed in relation to spatial, temporal and social components (Connelly and Clandinin, 2006) and has been presented in line with Cortazzi's (1993) narrative 'parts'; vignettes have been written using the narrative structure of a typical story- 'orientation', 'complication', 'result' and 'coda', as discussed in the methodology chapter. For coherence, these individual components will not be separated out in each vignette. Narratives present intersectionality between the narrator and their stage of life, geographical location, other people, places or social and educational systems. Thus, the summary of each vignette comprises a carefully selected range of detail to present each story as fully as possible, while maintaining succinctness for the reader.

Following this series of vignettes, an initial presentation is made of themes arising across narratives, using thematic narrative analysis. These themes will then be further explored in the following analysis and discussion chapter.

All names used in the vignettes are pseudonyms, chosen by participants. In this chapter, I note initial reflections on findings in each narrative and later select themes that are shared across more than one vignette, noting Gudmundsdottir's (2001, p235) suggestion that narratives do not stand alone but are a collective of "culturally situated voices". In this way, the following key themes are identified:

- Belonging and Identity
- Translanguaging and Funds of Knowledge
- The Initial Teacher Education (ITE) curriculum.

5.1 Participant narratives

Hannah

Hannah's parents originated in Germany and Indonesia (although her mother viewed herself as Yemeni). A multilingual learner, Hannah initially identified her four languages in order of proficiency: German, Indonesian, English, Arabic. Interestingly, towards the end of her interview this ranking changed as she stated that her English was most proficient, being the language of her degree study, showing me that her language identity was something that was not fixed but ever-changing. Each language was equally important to Hannah and she talked of her potential 'abandonment' of one or more language, reminding me of how central they were to her identity:

"Not to abandon the language as in when I'm here in the UK I try not to, not speak it obviously, but to incorporate some Arabic. There is an Emirate Society in [this city] and I've made a big friend group from them and they always speak in Arabic but they know my situation and they are really kind and welcoming about it and I just try to keep the Arabic going."

Hannah described her hopes to work abroad once fully qualified, in order to keep her languages alive:

"I think that it's [wanting to work abroad] …wanting to travel and gain experience but on the other side it is also not wanting to lose the language."

Hannah's narrative spans the geography of parental and extended family homes and her travel between these countries as a child, continuing as a young adult. The 'creative text' brought to interview was a piece of music that she identified as significant in the process of language learning and her identification as multilingual. Hannah had used this music - the 'Emirates' airline melody regularly heard as she travelled between countries during her childhood (double click on figure 13 to listen) as a prompt to 'switch language' to that spoken in her destination country, facilitating her practice in speaking and learning that language afresh.

Hannah creative text music.m4a

FIGURE 11: Hannah's creative text melody

Hannah also related the use of this piece of music along with spoken English in role play as a young child in school; music had been a constant as her sense of belonging shifted through learning of multiple languages and living in different countries. Brandt et al., (2012) discuss the connection between learning music and language acquisition; the multilingual nature of communication through music where no words are used.

The thread of learning multiple languages is part of the 'complication' of Hannah's story – as noted above, she appeared undecided about which language was her most proficient and, in her efforts to ensure that all her languages were maintained, she demonstrated the importance of her multilingual identity.

Hannah talked about her experience as a trainee teacher and how her use of Arabic in the classroom proved pivotal for one boy and his family:

"a child that spoke Arabic, he wouldn't really be as engaged. He would look at the pictures but he wouldn't really understand what was going on, but when I read it to him in Arabic you could see his eyes, they were just [gasp] it was completely different understanding of the story, which was really special…when it was home time and the mum picked up the boy, he was going on about how I had read the book to him…[later] the parents came in to do story time and …his mum asked who it was that spoke Arabic, so we read a book together with me, the mum and the boy".

"And I think that I want to do more of that. I wanted to do more of that."

I asked Hannah if she was prepared to use translanguaging skills in her teaching, but despite the success of her work with the Arabic-speaking pupil, Hannah voiced a lack of confidence in using this language as a classroom teacher. She did, however, tentatively consider using German or Indonesian language, given her greater confidence in speaking these.

Perhaps due to her stage of training (not quite halfway through), Hannah attributed her progress on placement to the expert colleagues she had worked with in school. What came through clearly was the lack of awareness that Hannah had about her skill in understanding and using four different languages and in turn how much this could impact her pedagogy, notwithstanding her realisation that:

"these children are kind of like me in the way that English is not their first language".

I noted that this sense of identity had not yet translated into her conscious professional practice. Hannah's mentor who was the class teacher supporting her as a trainee teacher had been keen to use alternative resources to support EAL learners, but Hannah's Funds of Knowledge (Moll et al., 1992) offered a chance for them to use these resources with greater skill.

"When the teachers found out I could speak in Arabic they were so excited to get things, because they had so many things planned that they could do in other languages or activities".

The language skills that Hannah had built since her early years equipped her with invaluable insight into the experience of her pupils. In her account of reading to and with her Arabic-speaking pupil and the reaction of Hannah's mentors to her skill in connecting with the boy and his family, perhaps we see a spark of recognition for her inherent communicative skills, though this recognition needs significant development if it is to fuel Hannah's future conscious professional development. I return to the theme of trainee teachers' recognition of their considerable FOK (Moll, 1992) later in the analysis and discussion chapter and link this with Bourdieu's notion of habitus. Pillen's (2013) attention to the demands placed on trainee teachers by assessment of placements in school and the importance of the mentor's role (Shields and Murray, 2017) is also important to revisit with a greater depth of analysis in the discussion chapter, as is Cushing's (2023) concerning data regarding potential racist attitudes in some schools. Hannah's reluctance to use her first language in the classroom may have been connected to her desire to demonstrate language skills that are already strong, rather than those still developing.

Zara

Having first presented and talked through a 'Wordle' (see figure 14) that summarised her experience of learning English, Zara orientated her story with an account of her heritage; her mother moved to England aged 12 and Zara was brought up in a monolingual home conversing in Punjabi as what she called her "mother tongue". By telling us that she was daughter of an immigrant, Zara placed her story within the context of family who held tightly onto their heritage and home language. However, she was keen to reflect that this

start in life did not give her a good grounding in learning English and this belief drove her desire to bring up her own children speaking only English – a decision that she came to regret. Zara talked a little about her culture and how this differed from the perceived practice of people who spoke English as their first language, using the example of reading to children at bedtime.

FIGURE 12: Zara's Wordle 'text'

Against this backdrop of cultural heritage, Zara's narrative focussed on a single classroom incident during her secondary school education. This incident involved a teacher reprimanding one of Zara's peers for using his home language in school saying:

*"don't you **dare** speak in your own language."*

from which Zara drew the poignant and powerful conclusion that home language was '*wrong*'. She related her reflection at the time:

"do I have to be English then, to belong?"

Demir (2023, p40) suggests that this "ousting of a language from an educational space...where students should feel comfortable and able to meet as equals, is discriminatory and disempowering" Demir's words ring true for Zara, as she suggested that this was one of the reasons for her choosing to bring up her children to solely speak in English, a salutary reminder of the power of classroom teachers to impact the perceived identity of pupils.

Zara's narrative moved on to explain and partly excuse the teacher's behaviour, recognising the challenge of teaching children who spoke in a language that the teacher did not

understand. Zara's reflection led to an exploration of alternative pedagogy – for example, how teachers might incorporate first language in discussion with pupils. However, she was emphatic in her judgement of the 'support' group in which and many others had been placed. Her perception was that the decision on the composition of this group was based on the cultural heritage of pupils, rather than their need for support. She referred to these groups as a *"holding space"* and spoke about the isolation she felt in being placed in the group. At this point, she returned to her role as mother and reflected again on teaching her own children to speak only in English contrasted with the understanding that she gained through the Initial Teacher Education (ITE) course. The course had been transformative in her understanding of the importance of nurturing a pupil's first language, in understanding children and their background, valuing pupils' identity and also in maintaining family relationships. The course had also given her cause to explore the National Curriculum (prescribed for all teachers and pupils in English and Welsh maintained schools) and given fresh insight into the decisions made pertaining to what is included (or not) in this curriculum, such as the role of Zara's ancestors in supporting British History. She noted: *"The Values and Issues module which has taught about decolonising the curriculum…is rich in diversity which I have really loved. I want to teach a diverse curriculum e.g. in History. I would like to teach a sense of self…and I like the sense of belonging".*

A unique element of Zara's account is the inter-weaving of her observations and learning as both teacher and parent. The ITE course had influenced not only her professional pedagogy but also her role as a parent and the understanding of the importance of home language in the cultural understanding of her family.

The narrative arc in Zara's account is clear as she relates the 'journey' from her classroom experience where she assimilated the view that use of first language was "wrong", to working through the ITE course during which Zara began to question some of the discourse portrayed in her past experiences of schooling. I observed the themes of belonging, a sense of self, inclusive practice through use of first language (or not), relationship with the teacher (in position of power) and the curriculum. And the use of definitive words like 'dare' and 'wrong', 'rich' and 'loved' illustrating the powerful impact of these themes and the beliefs underpinning them.

I was reminded of Sikes' (2006, p45) prompt that "Mills, Bourdieu, Denzin, Youdell, Gillborn, Griffiths and, and, and do not advocate getting bogged down in intellectualising theory when there are dirty problems like racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, poverty to be solved in the world". These findings had powerfully illustrated why I wanted to undertake the research, elevating participants' voices and thereby hoping to illuminate areas for change and development in the support of EAL learners in the classroom.

The spatial/temporal element to Zara's account spans three decades of living in one city in England. However, the roots of her story reach back through her mother's immigration to England as a child. There is a strong sense of cultural identity as daughter of a refugee through Zara's narrative of her early life. Her mother did not ever learn to speak English fluently, having settled in a community that shared her home language and beyond which she did not travel to live or work. As a university student, Zara attended a local institution to train as a primary school teacher in order that she could do so without impacting on her responsibilities within her family. Although she physically stayed to study in the same city as she had lived since birth, Zara's understanding of her personal and professional identity grew exponentially during this time.

The language of Zara's story was extremely powerful. It portrayed a strong reflexivity and some anger and yet was delivered with a measure of understanding for those who could be perceived as acting with racist or discriminatory behaviour.

As with Hannah's story, the challenge for Zara lay in the untangling of misunderstanding regarding her own Funds of Knowledge (FOK) and the power of these funds in the role of teacher. There was a sense of Zara's growing understanding of the skill she had but this enlightenment brought with it a strong sense of negative emotion regarding her parental decisions about language.

The result of Zara's renewed cognisance of her skill was demonstrated in the impact on her developing pedagogy, as she committed to engage with parents of EAL learners as they support their children. Indeed, she had already begun to build a library of multilingual story books that she intended to encourage families to borrow and share together at home. Her understanding of the pupils she had taught, and will go on to teach, had broadened and she was more open to languages and multilingualism. However, her story also suggests that Zara

perhaps felt that these realisations have come quite late on in the parenting of her own teenage children. She talked about how the relationship between her children and their maternal Grandmother may have been slightly lessened by their restricted communication, caused by Zara's preference to use English in the home and not promote the use of Punjabi, although the cultural funds of knowledge were built into the wider family life.

Zara's narrative is an immensely powerful story of learning, realisation, and articulation; it has the power to transform at an individual, institutional and societal level and in the next chapter, this theme will be explored further considering how the ITE curriculum may be influenced by incorporating narratives that elucidate human experience (see Arday, 2020) and teachers' mediation of policy Menken and Garcia (2010)). Zara's story demonstrates the influence of the ITE course on her as an individual as she became aware of the importance of first language and also of the currently highly Eurocentric National Curriculum in England and Wales. Such realisations at an individual level have the power to inspire change through how teachers work, as they look for ways to decolonise the curriculum and support multilingual learners and their families; as a corollary this may bring about societal change. Ehirazaryan-White (2024) suggests multiple ways that teachers and leaders in Early Years settings can use materials that reflect a range of cultures and languages and engage children in learning. Indeed, the aim for such sensitivity to pupils' cultural and heritage backgrounds is stated in the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) statutory guidance (DfE, 2021). This, and the relevance of Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field will also be explored further in the next chapter, as the theme of power – who decides what is taught in schools and why – is central to decisions made by policymakers and curriculum writers and enacted by classroom practitioners.

Jacob

Jacob did not bring a stimulus to talk through as requested but said that he felt this was not necessary as he knew what he wanted to talk about in the interview. As the purpose of the stimulus was to support participants to clarify their thinking, and was not an artefact to be analysed, we proceeded without. Jacob arrived in England at the age of 10 years; having left Poland in the equivalent of the English primary school Year 4; he joined a Year 6 class due to the difference in structure of the two school systems. He started the interview telling me that he;

"didn't really like school. It was a bit rubbish".

These comments were based on Jacob's opinion that his primary school teachers:

"did not know what they were doing with students that didn't speak English".

Jacob felt he began to learn English when he moved to secondary school:

"because they [teachers] actually took care of it".

A theme that ran through Jacob's account was that teachers

"assumed I was stupid".

He was fairly disparaging of his early teachers who he felt made no effort to understand him and didn't have an awareness of the fact that he

"just [didn't] speak the language".

In primary school, he was placed in groups with children who had special educational needs and who required work that demanded a slower pace and less intellectual capacity than Jacob possessed. He was frustrated by the teachers' lack of understanding and described how he chose to communicate his intelligence to them by writing out long and complex mathematical calculations that demanded no English, in order to demonstrate his ability.

Much of Jacob's interview was an analysis of teachers' work and the impact of this on his experience of school. Following his negative portrayal of his primary school experience, Jacob painted a more positive picture of his secondary school experience which bore out a theme that inclusion was central to success and wellbeing for EAL learners in school. His secondary school experience was made up of time spent in whole class teaching, while also benefitting from some additional support in withdrawal groups, tailored to his needs:

***Researcher**: So tell me about Y7 then, what did they do differently and how did that look for you?*

***Jacob**: They actually included us, so there was an EAL group, which was a few people that didn't speak English and people that kind of spoke, and so we had a normal timetable when*

we would go in to lesson and every once in a while on the timetable we would have a little extra English lesson with the two teaching assistants that were in there. And they used to send them to class with us. So if it was two people that didn't speak English in one class they would send a TA to work with us. It was the same two teaching assistants throughout the journey, so we got really used to them and they got really used to us and it was quite nice, because we had that friendship kind of-

***Researcher**: Yes, you were able to build relationships with them?*

***Jacob:** Yes, so they were like kind of parental figures, you know. And they were doing a really good job. They were giving us extra work, they were sat with us in class, and they wouldn't really translate the work, they would just try and explain it and do some extra work. They would sometimes take us out of class and let us do a slightly different version of the work and they actually helped.*

***Researcher:** So would you say that you quite quickly began to feel like you were working as you should be working.*

***Jacob:** Yeah, definitely because I was actually included in the lessons and in class. Not just sat somewhere else.*

Jacob's summary of being made to feel as though he was welcome in the class is an insightful definition of inclusion:

"When you feel like you're included you are actually doing what everyone else is doing and that is when you're starting to get the work done. You don't feel a separation, so mentally you feel a lot happier and you actually feel like you're part of the class and not someone who has just been put there and because you're doing the same no one else really noticed you as much because they don't know why there's a TA [teaching assistant] with you and so it's like you're not different than anyone else, you're just part of the class".

When asked about how his experience has impacted his developing pedagogy, Jacob talked further about inclusion and the importance of ensuring that teachers find out about children in their class. He felt that use of an identity text type activity where pupils are asked to

paint/draw/build/write something to tell the class about themselves (See Cummins 2011, 2016) was a favourable way to elicit information about their backgrounds; he felt that through such 'texts',

"you realise what they [pupils] actually find important without having to target specific questions".

Jacob's account spans the decade that he had lived in England which included entering the education system in the final year of Primary school (even though he left Poland at the equivalent of two school years earlier), through to the second year of his university study. Although prompted, he chose to speak very little about his schooling in Poland and I was left with the impression that school had been straightforward for him until he came to live in England. The decade in the English system however had proved to be pivotal for Jacob, giving him insight into the experience of an EAL learner which influenced his developing pedagogy as a trainee teacher. With some of his family remaining in Poland, Jacob's story spanned a large geographical area and the decade he has lived in England constitutes half of his life.

Jacob's story is quite short in comparison to those of other participants. He was keen to summarise his experience and relay the message that he wanted to communicate about how important inclusion of pupils was in the school environment, and that automatic assumptions by teachers about the intelligence of multilingual pupils should have been avoided.

Jacob clearly drew the link between *feeling* included in the class or the EAL support group and making progress that reflected his considerable intellectual capacity – he made the point that if inclusion is not achieved, multilingual pupils will not reach their potential in education and in doing so voiced with pure eloquence, the point that Booth and Ainscow (2011) made through the image of three interlinking circles of Belonging, Participation and Achievement. We talked about this during his interview and Jacob used a very simple and clear response to confirm his view:

***Researcher**: it feels like what you're saying there, is that if the children feel as though they're included, they have a sense of belonging in the classroom and that is what enables them to participate and then to achieve. Does that resonate with you?*

***Jacob**: Yes, definitely.*

Inclusion for Jacob did not solely mean being part of the whole mainstream class at all times, it also involved carefully structured withdrawal classes that enabled him to access learning and reintegrate into the main class. His secondary school appears to have achieved the balance between withdrawal and inclusion for Jacob, very effectively.

In contrast to Hannah's account, Jacob is fully aware of his intellectual strengths and the Funds of Knowledge that he brings to the classroom. However, there remained a lack of confidence in his technical accuracy of the English language, as Jacob noted that he remained vigilant when teaching, to ensure that the correct grammar, spelling, and syntax were taught to pupils. He said that he continued to work hard to build his English language skills as he taught in school on a 'supply teacher' basis in addition to his study. Jacob talked about the gradual increase of his confidence as he taught, whilst checking the content and accuracy of his instruction with colleagues.

The language and use of parataxis that Jacob employed through his interview were interesting. In using a series of short sentences, he created an element of dramatic effect – points are made for impact and the language inherent in longer sentences that could detract from that impact was stripped away. Through the interview, Jacob would explain a point then use a short sentence to clarify his key message. He used this technique, consciously or otherwise, all through the interview; in offering advice to other trainee teachers in working to include new pupils in the class, Jacob simply suggested that they:

"Just do a little research on the student".

He ended the interview, stating that he hoped his story will help communicate the message about inclusion being the most important part of a teacher's role in meeting the needs of EAL learners.

There is much to draw on from Jacob's narrative, especially the clarity with which he articulates the nature and importance of inclusive practice. In the next chapter, these themes

will be explored, continuing to use Bourdieu's theoretical framework and drawing on the foundational work of Booth and Ainscow (2011), Cummins and Early (2011) Besic (2020), Cushing (2023) and others to make suggestions to policymakers, schools and settings regarding inclusive policy.

Jasmin

Jasmin brought an 'identity text' series of pictures with her to begin the interview (see figure 15).

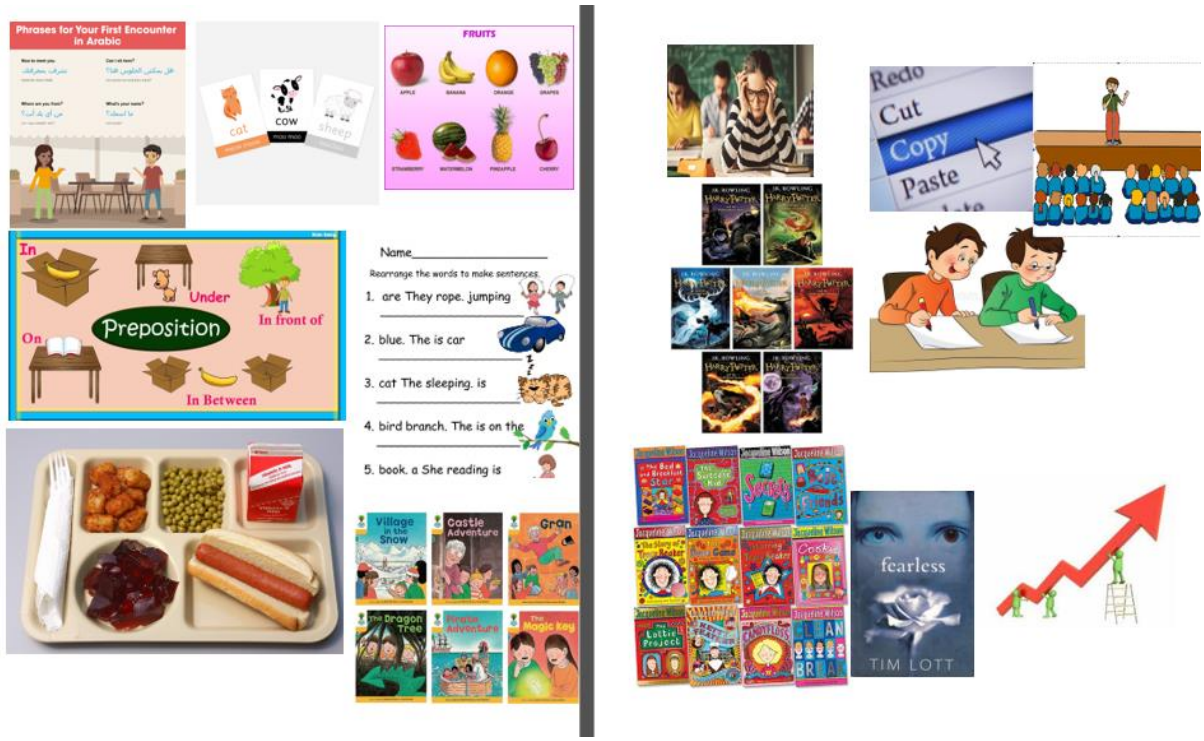

FIGURE 13: Jasmin's creative text

She used the pictures *"like a story"* to talk through her early experiences of learning English. Jasmin arrived in England as a Year 6 pupil (age 10 years); she was a refugee from Kuwait where she and her family had been declared 'stateless' following the war with Iraq. The fact that her family were 'stateless' meant that Jasmin had no right to schooling and had been when taught at home while living in Kuwait, by her Auntie who was a trained teacher.

Jasmin's first language was Arabic, and she began to learn English when she arrived in the UK and attended school for the first time. She was placed in groups that were designed to

support less able pupils and sometimes with one-to-one support. Perhaps because of this grouping, Jasmin had no idea in those early years, of her inherent intelligence and it was clear that her teachers did not either. She talked about the challenges involved with learning a new language such as confusion over vocabulary that highlights some of the complexity of the English language (using a salutary example of refusing to eat a 'Hot Dog' from the school menu because she believed it to contain dog meat).

Jasmin expressed the stress and confusion she had felt at the system of Standard Assessment Tests (SATs) that followed only a short while after her arrival in England (it is not clear why Jasmin was included in these tests as rules of the English system do not require inclusion in the assessments of new arrivals to the country). The SATs that all Year 6 children sit were supported by an interpreter for Jasmin. However, the role of the interpreter was only to read the questions, not to convey any comprehension of what was being asked.

This confusion was symptomatic of Jasmin's progress through her early years in English schools; systems such as testing, or school assemblies or regular routines were all a source of stress and confusion. She found the introduction of a 'buddy' and specific support from staff to be helpful, but it took some time for her to settle into school fully as after a few months in primary, she moved onto a secondary school.

Jasmin's early years in secondary once again saw her placed in low-ability groups designed to support pupils with additional needs but from Year 9 (age 13 years), Jasmin and her teachers began to realise her true intelligence. She began to move up through the ability sets of secondary education until by the end of year 11, she was in the 'top ability set' for all subjects. Results of public examinations for pupils aged 16 years (General Secondary Certificate in Education - GSCEs) showed Jasmin to have attained in the top ten pupils in her school, demonstrating higher than average ability in all subjects. She stated:

"when I got my [GCSE] results is when I found out I can speak English now, I'm fine".

In school, Jasmin was required to speak in English at all times, being told that

"We're in English class to speak English. We're not speaking any other languages".

She talked about the hierarchy of different language users in school and the fact that those from Romania and Slovakia were treated with less respect by staff than herself:

"I feel like people from Asian communities got a bit more respect than the Slovakian and Romanian…and that divide just made things worse, made the relationship between everyone worse."

The inference of Jasmin's statement resonates with Demir (2023, p40) who asserts, "marking a language as deviant…can insidiously burn itself into the developmental and adaptive process" [for students]. On a related note, Jasmin commented on the fact that the teaching of EAL groups in secondary school was always undertaken by teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds, which Jasmin felt was inappropriate:

"I think that it shouldn't be like that. I think it should be both ethnicities teaching English because it's not like getting – I don't know, it's like the experience of learning English for the person learning English. It's like – I don't know how to explain it, but like you're being taught it, but it's about the person delivering it, it's not like because you're EAL you are taught by an ethnic teacher. It's like students that I've learnt English with, they thought that that was demeaning, that we are taught by ethnic teachers rather than English teachers. Like why can we not be taught by both, or one or the other. Why only one?"

When I asked her to elaborate, it transpired that Jasmin had interpreted the employment of ethnic minority teachers as being less prestigious than white teachers; she felt EAL learners were set apart by being supported by staff who were themselves still learning English – in other words, she felt the exclusive practice of being taught by a different group of staff to non-EAL pupils, which she felt was discriminatory:

"it was like we were separated out".

In addition, it was interesting that when posed a question about learning on the ITE course and taught content around support of EAL learners, Jasmin began talking about the concept of 'belonging' in school. At this point she related her experience, whilst on placement, of asking children to complete an 'identity text' activity. It was one of the only parts of the interview where Jasmin spoke about emotions:

"I think one interesting idea that I've been really interested in and have been exploring through my assignments as well is the identity texts, so an example of this – I love it. It's just the way that children put in a blank piece of paper with their own identity … representing an experience

and expressing it. I think that you won't understand the value of it until it's put in practice, so then like I don't know, having students to have a go at it in seminars or in schools as well. I could see the impact it has. It has like a huge impact. Just like seeing yourself on a piece of paper, it's just amazing. I feel like it's really, really like – like really interesting as well. I have not heard of it before until like last year when we did EAL and inclusion. And it is really, really interesting".

Speaking of how her pedagogy had moved on as a result of her lived experience, Jasmin used an example which illuminated her understanding and expectation that EAL learners purely had a barrier of language, not of general intelligence. She described supporting a new arrival whilst on school placement, understanding that syntax, grammar, and spelling were less important in the first instance than encouraging the pupil to record their work in any way they could. Jasmin understood that this pupil could participate in the class work with the appropriate support and was able to thrive as a result. Her high expectation of the pupil to successfully engage with the class learning show-cased Jasmin's philosophy of education for EAL learners that could be likened to her own development; understand the support a learner needs, and they will go on to thrive and achieve highly.

Jasmin's narrative of learning English and of her lived experience as a multilingual learner spans a decade and having travelled to England, largely took place within one city in England which she had grown to know well but that had been a source of confusion in the early days of living in the UK. Having moved to a community where the majority of people shared a common language and heritage, she related that the source of her initial confusion in the country was *"getting used to things in school mostly really. Whereas other things were fine because you've got your family guiding you through it".* In school, she said:

"I think that it is challenging just knowing what's going on around. So like the timetable, and like the way that they [pupils] move [around school, between lessons]. The books are all different and new books come out and I don't understand that. When the teaching is 'Yeah, today we will be doing this' and I feel like I wasn't involved in that, like I wasn't aware of what's going on or what the topics are, yeah, and also I had like a TA on my table whenever there was a TA … and yeah, there was support in terms of that but it was only like a lower group thing, it wasn't like an EAL sort of support. It was just because 'Oh, you're a lower group, this is the [alternative] task set'".

Jasmin brought to life her growing understanding of the school system as she talked through key moments of her school journey – she told of incidents that brought clarity for her such as the moment she received a certificate during an 'Awards Assembly' (when pupils are celebrated for various achievements during a school week). These moments began to mitigate the *"stress"* of finding herself in a perplexing education system which at first obviously felt baffling. Her account charted a gradual understanding of the daily routines, the system of testing, understanding her own progress in terms of academic attainment and her personal realisation that she was a very able student. She focused heavily on the attainment aspect of school life – grades, tests and the justified sense of achievement in her hard work - and it was clear that her identity as a very successful learner was highly valued and central to memories of school life in England.

This echoes Bourdieu's theory of habitus and these themes drawn from Jasmin's narrative will be further explored in the next chapter. Aspects of her identity as a learner are central themes, and her developing awareness of her own ability which she felt was only confirmed through the attainment of high grades in standardised national examinations at age 16 years. Kell (2022, p186) speaks about the "access paradox" of English being viewed as a valuable means to an end, a way to gain access to opportunities that are only possible, if English language is learned; Cheng (2023, p4) also describes English as "a commodity", given the status afforded to its learning. Jasmin's narrative highlighted with eloquence the way that these positions may work their way into pupils' lived experience and showcase the value of narrative research as an instrument of change.

Laura

Laura brought with her a PowerPoint slide of pictures to talk through as her 'creative text'- see figure 16.

FIGURE 14: Laura's creative text

Laura's story began once she moved to England and then causal links were drawn between her experience as a learner in school, her relationships with peers, her feelings of isolation, followed by her learning on the ITE course and how all of these will impact her future professional practice.

Laura began learning English at the age of 8 years, when she was still living in her home country in Western Europe. She moved to England aged 16 years and continued her studies, in preparation for going to university. This preparation proved extremely challenging for Laura as she taught herself academic English, using an internet-based translation device to interpret textbooks. At secondary school she felt isolated and ostracised by her peers, which she put down to their lack of understanding of what it meant to be learning through English as an additional language. Laura drew significance from this point, relating how important she felt it was that teachers educate the whole class about EAL pupils, noting that some assume:

"the only struggle they [EAL learners] have is learning the language when it's not, it's also about being included in the group and having those friends and making those friendships which I didn't have".

The notions of 'inclusion', and the understanding of the "struggle" (a word Laura uses multiple times in her account) of EAL learners were dominant themes in her narrative. The

strong sense of Laura's feelings about how difficult her school experience felt was unavoidable in her interview. Laura was one of two EAL learners in her class and she felt outnumbered by a large group of monolingual English speakers (including the teachers) who did not understand the significance of learning through EAL. This experience has resonance with Jean Conteh's (2014) work exploring the way that education can inadvertently be organised to exclude multilingual learners through isolation from their peers. She spoke of how upsetting it was to feel ostracised and excluded by her school peers and the impact that this treatment had had on her happiness at the time.

The emotional costs of navigating a school system where she felt she did not fully belong was evident, as was the importance of relationships with teachers. Laura stated that her feelings of isolation had a detrimental effect on her attainment which in turn had a negative effect on her inclusion in the class.

With western European heritage, Laura identified (as did Jasmin) the impact of racist attitudes prevalent in parts of British society. Laura's home language was often deemed to be prestigious as are most western European languages, whilst those from other parts of the world may attract a negative response. Demir (2023, p40) calls out such behaviour as "the legacy of past colonial practices".

Like Zara, Laura articulated her sympathy for the teachers in her account, showing an understanding of the complexity of the teaching role but nonetheless articulated an intention to approach the role differently as a result of her experience and training; she felt that teachers could do far more to support their EAL pupils, if they were taught more effective support strategies.

Going on to talk about the ITE course and modules that outlined the importance of inclusion of EAL pupils, along with helpful strategies to support language learning, Laura suggested that her understanding of what it felt like to be an EAL learner equipped her for supporting pupils in her future role of class teacher and sharing this would benefit other trainee teachers. Speaking of the module sessions that focussed on supporting EAL learners, she said:

"those lessons are designed really well I think but if it would be beneficial I think just if there are others like me, like that there are people in the course who've got you know, EAL, I think it would be nice for people to share their experiences with other people, because honestly my

experience will not be the same experience as somebody who's been here since they were 3. I mean something I think if if people will have a chance to share the experiences a little bit, share their insights of what they went through with learning English here, I think that it would, it would make a difference to those people that didn't go through that experience just had that insight"

Laura identifies that the utilisation of FOK in the ITE context, supporting other trainee teachers in their understanding of the experience of being an EAL learner, would be a helpful addition to the training of teachers who have not learned in this way. This idea connects with the concept of ITE providing a 'Third Space' for reflection, one where representation may be explored, giving voice to those with lived experience. In this way, the work of Moll et al., (FOK 1992), Bhabha (2004) and Soja (2009) (Third Space) and the importance of their incorporation in ITE programmes will be developed in the next chapter.

5.2 Identification of Overarching Themes Across Narratives

Three overarching themes were identified in the findings, which will be further detailed and explored in the next chapter. These were: Belonging and Inclusion; Identity, Translanguaging and Funds of Knowledge and Initial Teacher Education. These themes are examined in light of critical engagement with the conceptual framework of the study. The knotty concept of inclusion is explored in light of findings, offering potential to revisit the reality of teaching in a system that favours mainstreaming. Similarly, the role of translanguaging in schools is explored, finding examples from the literature that inspire towards potentiality for alternative ways forward within a system that is constructed to support a linear, functional and potentially problematic view of learning language (Cushing, 2023). Possible change in ITE is examined in the synthesis of findings and the literature.

Each of these findings is closely linked to the concept of identity, whether of individuals, those taking a professional role or of social or institutional settings. Bourdieu reminds us that this concept underpins educational structures through embodiment of capital and habitus, and exposure of these tensions goes some way to addressing their power. As Vickers-Hulse (2024) points out, systemic issues are not quickly solved, and the results of one research project are not expected to bring change across the whole system, but potential for change will be highlighted in the discussion.

Chapter six: Analysis and discussion chapter

The first key finding is the importance of a sense of belonging in school and how this might be engendered through inclusive language policies. This sense of belonging is closely aligned with a person's identity and whether they feel as though they are a member of the school setting.

The second key finding is that translanguaging did not feature in the experience of the participants in this study. However, there was varying experience regarding the use of first language in school, ranging from a complete denial to permission to use this during social times of the school day. There was no evidence of the valuing of participants' FOK as pupils, but some recognition by school-based mentors of FOK, whilst trainees were on school placement.

The third key finding is that participants spoke about some teaching during their ITE course in relation to support of EAL learners, but there is more that can be done to improve this element of training, particularly in relation to utilising FOK of multilingual trainees.

In this chapter I discuss the research findings in relation to issues of policy and practice. Key findings relate to policy positions arising from formal and informal iterations of classroom practice and the outworking of language ideologies, pedagogy, curriculum and assessment. These are considered in relation to issues of social justice both as they appear in the data and scoping for possibility and future professional development of teachers. This synthesis continues to engage critically with the conceptual framework of the study; concepts of FOK, translanguaging and Third Space are revisited to examine their potential within ITE, to support trainees' understanding of the needs of EAL learners.

These themes are all grounded in the fundamental concept of identity. Identity of the learner, identity of the trainee teacher, identity of the ITE tutor, and the non-human but nonetheless crucial identity of the curriculum and education system within which these parts all meet and operate. Each element of this system is intertwined and interconnected; each cannot operate unilaterally but must function in relationship together. Some parts hold greater power than others in influencing practice that in turn impacts learners in school settings or universities. Applying a botanical analogy in keeping with my creative response to data, such parts of a whole could be envisioned as roots of many plants within a vast

forest and to stretch the analogy a little further, this forest may be organically and mutually supportive or may be unbalanced and in need of attention so that all plants have the opportunity to flourish. There are some parts of the 'forest management' that it may be possible for us to enact, given a renewed vision of what might be a problem to overcome and by focussing on strategies to foster growth. Other parts of the forest may be beyond our current control, but by being aware of their existence and the power they hold, we are able to mitigate some of their influence through a critical and agentive approach. Using the lens of Bourdieusian concepts has positioned the focus of this study to shine a light on current practices that may perpetuate advantage for those in a dominant monolingual position above those who are new to learning English and to the school system in England. In this chapter, I revisit some of the literature examined in chapters two and three, discuss further in light of research findings, and draw on additional literature to develop my argument for possible changes that may be implemented in England's Primary school education system and HEI-based ITE.

In the first section of the chapter, the concept of how inclusion works at the classroom level is explored and includes a focus on some of the mechanisms that can either support or thwart inclusive practice and impact pupil identity.

In the second section, the focus turns to the identity of the trainee teacher as an agentive practitioner, identifying the critical necessity that multilingual trainees must be supported to understand the value of their FOK as part of a strategic approach towards greater inclusion of EAL learners in primary classrooms.

The third section of this chapter examines the identity of ITE as a framework to support the training of teachers via curriculum and an inclusive ideology and ethos. I examine the responsibility of those working in ITE to create space for trainees to explore their professional identity, drawing on the findings of this study in order to inform teacher training for all trainees, whether they are multilingual or not, in relation to understanding the support that EAL pupils deserve in education settings. Although it may not be possible to change the curriculum and professional body requirements per se, I argue that it is possible to teach about how these requirements operate and thereby allow teachers to influence their practice to better support and value the EAL learner.

6.1 Constructing inclusion in the classroom

Concepts of belonging and inclusion are related, if not intertwined, as the act of including a pupil in the classroom context enables them to feel a sense of belonging and potential investment in their learning community. All but one of the participants in my research spoke about the importance of feeling a sense of belonging, especially in the early days of their time in a new school. Jasmin spoke about the confusing and stressful school systems (such as the system of testing) that made her painfully conscious of her initial lack of belonging. Laura spoke about the struggle she experienced all through her time in secondary school due to the lack of understanding that teachers and peers had about her social, emotional and learning needs. Jacob spoke passionately about how little his first teachers had understood his intellectual capacity during his early days at school. Corcoran (2023, p1239) draws on case studies of pupils in England transitioning to new schools, to assert that "the use of labels to categorise particular groups of learners according to perceived learning needs can further marginalise them"; this resonates with experience related in the narrative accounts in my study, where assumptions were made about participants' intellect based on the label of EAL. Only through effective admissions practices in schools can shared understanding between pupil and teacher be assured (Messiou, 2019) and a sense of pupil belonging established. With the growth of technology, tools have been developed that anecdotally are found to be very effective in schools, such as programmes designed to support the use of first language in admissions procedures and assessment processes that consider the holistic development of an EAL learner (for example the NASSEA EAL Assessment Framework). These tools are used by some schools, and I will argue later that mandating their use as part of a robust EAL policy may be a helpful way to develop support for EAL pupils and their families. In using this type of approach, pupils and their families witness the efforts made to accommodate their multilingual requirements; conversely, the lack of such systems in school reduces the scope for settings to understand new pupils' full profile and thus only partially be in a position to support their inclusion and sense of belonging.

Figure 17 illustrates my response to the data using cyanotype to create an image of learners whose identity was not fully recognised in school – they appear as 'outlines' of themselves,

isolated and not fully known as individuals or included in school life in a meaningful way. As a result, they did not flourish as people; integrated but not included in the classroom.

FIGURE 15: Cyanotype representation of learners' isolation and lack of recognition in school

This sense of belonging we know to be crucial to pupils' wellbeing, based on Bronfenbrenner's (1992) ecological systems framework. Bronfenbrenner's framework positioned a learner's school context in the 'microsystem' layer, that of greatest influence on a child's development, containing key relationships with family, friends, and the immediate day-to-day context of school life. It is well documented in the literature, that the school system is pivotal at all layers of Bronfenbrenner's framework, from culture, government policies, curriculum, organisation, relationships, and pedagogical practices. As explored in the literature review, the importance of facilitating a sense of belonging and learner identity in school is pivotal to truly inclusive practice. As outlined in chapter three, Picton at al. (2019) explored the application of a Bourdieusian approach to understand the sense of belonging for refugee children in an Australian primary school; their work identifies the school as a Bourdieusian 'field' in which 'rules of the game' are worked out, and 'habitus' is navigated and negotiated. One critique of Bourdieu's concepts is that they offer a deterministic approach and that inequalities are presumed as a starting point. However, Grenfell (2009, np) refutes this critique as being a "partial and superficial reading of Bourdieu's work". Similarly, of Bourdieu's approach, Flynn (2015) reminds us that policy and curriculum are outworkings of the ultimate power of the ruling classes in education.

What inclusive policy and practice look like needs to be under continual review due to the ever-changing demographic of the English school system. I will return to Vertovec's (2007) notion of a superdiverse society later in this chapter, but it is important to note the notion

of such diversity here, in recognition of attempts made by education policy to include EAL learners in the mainstream classroom and meet their needs, including the needs of isolated EAL learners. In chapter two, the introduction of 'mainstreaming' in the English school system was explored, identifying a pivotal point in the outworking of education policy, in mandating that all pupils be taught within the mainstream class, rather than be taught through more bespoke groups. It appears that a policy rooted in good intention - that pupils are not separated from their peers – resulted in less support for learners from teachers who had not been trained to identify and cater for their learning needs, leading to isolation within the mainstream class.

The narrative accounts of Jasmin and Laura reflect mainstream teaching methods that were affected by these changes. Laura spoke of significant feelings of isolation and loneliness in a system where her emotional needs were not met, and her language learning needs were mostly met through teaching herself using online translation devices. Her identity as a learner in school was of someone who was not worthy of friendship in the class, due to the language barriers. Laura's account was threaded through with the feeling that the teacher could have done much more to help her to feel included in friendship groups and this would have benefitted her well-being and her learning significantly. Jasmin was also fully immersed in the classroom with no additional academic or emotional support. She spoke about her confusion at the system in which she found herself and illustrated her sense of floundering whilst she gleaned information to help her make sense of the requirements of her new learning environment.

The move towards mainstreaming, based on altruistic aims, had instead led to a position where EAL pupils were very often deemed to be exactly what the Swann Report had set out to oppose - a 'problem' (Safford and Drury, 2013); there are several reasons for this. The process of teaching all pupils together in one mainstream class requires accurate and efficient assessment of new pupils' academic abilities on arrival in the school along with targeted, systematic, and structured English language support where this is necessary (Conteh, 2023). Many helpful teaching strategies will support EAL learners (see Conteh 2019, 2023) but teachers need to be better supported in learning how to plan for their use in school, and crucially to understand the theory behind the recommendations. The central tenet of both Jacob and Jasmin's accounts was that it took far too long for teachers to

realise their academic capabilities, resulting in isolation, frustration, and missed opportunities for learning. In addition, the stress experienced by both participants because of language barriers went largely unseen and none of my participants spoke about specific support that they had been offered by the classroom teacher to support their learning needs.

In a creative response to this data, Figure 11 illustrates many trees, positioned to show stance, relational proximity, and clarity. This image illustrates my interpretation of the mist shrouding participants in the school classroom; they spoke about feeling confused, isolated, and excluded in the early days (and sometimes well beyond) of joining the English school system, being treated as part of a problematic, homogeneous group; misunderstanding school systems and practices, excluded from class work and friendship groups. Some participants had emerged more than others from the 'mist' of confusion, but each had individual needs, despite them all being the same age and being taught the same curriculum.

FIGURE 16: Trees in the mist - Lino cut

As Leung and Valdes (2019, p352) point out, with no additional training of teachers to meet the needs of EAL learners as part of the mainstream class, this sometimes led - as it did for the participants in my study – to a position of "sink or swim" for pupils. In contrast to Laura and Jasmin, Zara and Jacob experienced provision of support groups where pupils are taught outside of the main class. Their experience of these groups differed; Jacob benefitted from a combination of mainstream teaching with some support of an occasional group which aided

his attainment whilst contributing to his sense of belonging (as part of the intervention EAL group). In Zara's account she positions this 'intervention' less positively, with a sense that these groups were used as a holding space for pupils, offering little academic or emotional support.

The growth of National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC), a UK based subject association and its range of regional and special interest groups, is one example of the positive work currently being developed in the field and the sharing of this good practice is a powerful tool in the arsenal of renewal and growth in understanding the resources that can support teachers in meeting the needs of their learners.

Later in this chapter, I examine the role of ITE and the implications of my research in helping to overcome some of the obstacles outlined, in the preparation of early career teachers to meet the needs of multilingual learners. Apart from Hannah who emigrated to UK in time to begin university education, the participants in my study have each experienced English schools as a pupil, during the period of ever-decreasing funding for EAL provision and support and this impacted their identity as learners.

6.2 'Languaging': what language is and what it is not

Before delving further into the concept and potential of using translanguaging in the classroom, it would be helpful to explore the concept of languaging and how this may relate to the politics and censorship of pupils' language use as this is an issue that lies at the heart of inclusive practice. Bourdieu saw "language itself as a form of domination" (Schubert, 2014, p183 in Grenfell, 2014) and Badwan (2022) identifies an 'ontological tension' regarding what language is; she posits that language is often positioned as a bounded system adopted as an entity by each nation who describe their specific language, but instead language may be perceived as a verb with "no boundaries, open, dynamic, overlapping, creative, responsive, proactive, human, post-human, and always in the making" (Badwan, 2021, p7). She asks who may be considered as competent language users and who is disadvantaged by a narrow concept of what language is. Inclusion of EAL pupils is only possible if the fact that they are still in the process of learning the language of instruction is not considered to be a barrier to their learning or to them belonging fully in the English classroom in which they find themselves. Shortly I will explore this idea further in relation to

the consideration of translanguaging as a concept and in relation to the potential of multimodal semiotic communication in Early Years and Primary classrooms.

The idea that 'Anglonormativity' (McKinney, 2017; Guzula, 2022) prevails worldwide and is both a symptom of coloniality and a method by which non-English users and their languages are denigrated, which may be claimed as "linguistic and epistemological violence" (McKinney and Christie, 2021, p8). Adami (2019, p37) warns of the danger of "reproducing hegemonic discourses on language" if emphasis remains on spoken or written language use alone as forms of communication.

If we espouse the intention to broaden our view of language, its purpose, potential and power, then as educators and teacher-educators, one of the difficulties we face is balancing the belief of valorising all languages and their users whilst working within a system that promotes 'Anglonormativity' (Guzula, 2022) and the supremacy of English-only curricular, assessment-practices and 'vertical knowledge structures' (Berstein, 1996). Jasmin spoke about her 'realisation' that she had reached her desired goal of speaking English: *"when I got my [GCSE] results is when I found out I can speak English now, I'm fine".* McKinney and Christie (2021) name this the 'access paradox', acknowledging that the speaking of all languages 'should' be valued, but speakers of languages other than English often desire to learn English above all others considering the ticket to 'success' that this affords. The English language may thus be seen as a "commodity" (Cheng, 2023, p4), highly prized for its potential to fuel success for the learner; Cheng (ibid) states that "English proficiency is perceived as a passport to a better life and enhanced socio-economic status".

The aim of anti-racist education, therefore, may be two-fold; in recognising that "languages are historically, politically, and ideologically defined entities" (Li Wei, 2018, p27) we aim to valorise all languages while facilitating English learning within a critical frame that encourages learners to examine and problematise the potential over-prominence of English usage across the world. Hall (2019) offered insight into secondary school pupils' behaviour of holding tightly to their own language, even once they had become highly proficient in English. This, Hall surmised, was an attempt to maintain their distinctiveness as users of their first language, noting that language is so much more than a means to communicate, it carries a multitude of layers regarding identity.

My creative response to the conceptual requirement to hold tightly onto first language in the face of domination of English-only policy is presented in figure 18. It shows an image that combines abstract form (representing mis-aligned policy formation) with a ginkgo leaf. The leaf holds significance in relation to participants of my study and many others whom they gave voice to through the research (Gudmundsdottir, 2001). Ginkgo leaves are purported to symbolise duality, hope, and vitality and these attributes felt fitting given the qualities each participant had demonstrated in the stories they shared. This symbol became that which I associated most with my participants, and I went on to produce a number of prints using this design. Research into the ginkgo tree offered insight into its resilience and capacity to withstand pressure in testing conditions.

FIGURE 17: Ginkgo leaf with abstract forms – Lino cut

Laura's recommendation for ITE was helpful as she suggested that teacher educators gain insight from trainees who had themselves been EAL pupils in school to inform the ITE curriculum; as English language learners, multilingual trainees are experts in the field and through co-creation, can develop meaningful curriculum for trainee teachers. This co-creation will support trainees to understand the purpose and potential of building fully inclusive classrooms.

6.3 Translanguaging, multimodality and semiotics

In the last decade, translanguaging as a concept has continued to develop in the literature and its use in relation to communication beyond the use of spoken and written language has

grown in prominence. Singleton and Flynn (2022, p14) provide a useful critique of translanguaging and its journey over this time, reminding us that its philosophical and pedagogical roots lie in the pursuit of inclusive practice, and concluding that application of the term requires constant revisiting, given its growing use and application in a range of contexts. Initially, the term was used in a context where pupils were asked questions in one language (Welsh) and answered in another (English). However, over time the term has been used more widely to include a wide range of multimodal and semiotic practices. The purpose of translanguaging differs, depending on the outlook of the proponent. For example, if considered as a means to learning the 'target language' more proficiently, the term translanguaging may infer that one language takes priority over another. However, if translanguaging as a term, as has become more common in the last decade, is used to offer a range of communicative practices, it delivers a broader understanding of 'language'. Leung and Valdes (2019) and Li Wei (2018) note that the term may be used as a theoretical, a conceptual and a pedagogical term. Li Wei (2018, pp9, 11) proposes its use as a 'practical theory' stating that practice-theory-practice should be viewed as a perpetual cycle, during which knowledge is formed. This is a useful approach to use as a method to explore inclusion of EAL learners in the classroom when training teachers as they undertake study, then apply knowledge through placement in school settings, returning in due course to university-based study through which they examine their observations and practice.

A multimodal approach to translanguaging, using the social context of making meaning through a range of signs, symbols and physical movement has developed (Garcia and Li Wei, 2014, p29), fulfilling the 'trans'-formation of language and communication. Li Wei (2018, p27) suggests that 'trans' refers to communication that *'transcends'* constructed language structures to include users from a range of cultural and social backgrounds, *'transforms'* language systems and individuals' thinking and is *'transdisciplinary'* in that it re-conceptualises language "working across the divides between linguistics, psychology, sociology and education". He suggests that children have a natural instinct to connect socially, and this encourages them to use all communicative resources available to them at any one time, including those beyond spoken or written language; he helpfully suggests that Soja's (1996) Third Space can be linked with a translanguaging one; "a space of extraordinary openness, a place of critical exchange…to encompass a multiplicity of perspectives". In this

way, Li Wei (2018, p15) suggests that translanguaging is “linguistics in participation”. This insight offers exciting opportunities for teacher educators to explore the multidimensional role of language and translanguaging practice as a means of inclusion for learners, whatever stage of proficiency. “Linguistics in participation” (ibid) could well be mirrored in the model of scaffolding that trainee teachers are familiar with, as a methodology for supporting learning across the primary curriculum, bringing the full support of EAL learners into the realm of daily classroom practice. Jasmin’s reference to her use of identity texts, which adopt a combination of drawing and (optional) writing, illustrated the power of this type of scaffolding; *“I could see the impact it has. It has like a huge impact. Just seeing yourself on a piece of paper, it’s just amazing”.* Within this research project, participants articulated their feelings of identity, belonging and participation, through their own creative texts; another example of the concept of transformation regarding communication that Li Wei suggests.

Similarly, Perera (2018, p112) suggests that various signs can be combined to make meaning, questioning whether verbal and written language should remain the primary mode of assessment and analysis of language. She suggests that ‘semiotic’ is a helpful alternative to the term ‘linguistic’ (see also Kusters, 2017), in recognition of multimodality in communication, linking with Blackledge and Creese’s (2017, p252) exploration of the use of the “embodied communicative practice” (see also Li Wei, 2018, p17). Perera (2018) suggests that use of gesture, body movements and multimodality are especially relevant in superdiverse (Vertovec, 2007) communications where there is little or no shared formal language. Adami (2019) offers insight to such communication using case studies of shopkeepers in the superdiverse UK city of Leeds. These case studies showcased the development of multimodal social semiotics as a response to the changing customer demographic and communicated the possibilities for communication beyond spoken language. I argue that the same approach could be usefully adopted by school staff in communications with pupils and families to support inclusion – communities are ever-changing, and ever-developing and this should be reflected in policy and school practice. The participants in this study used a range of communicative methods in bringing with them a version of an ‘identity text’ to help them to communicate with me as a researcher. This proved to be a highly successful way to prompt communication in the interview. Although my participants all spoke English to a level that made studying in English possible, the use of

creative methods allowed them to engage creatively with their own thinking and meant that each person came to the interview prepared to tell me their narrative, having planned the content beforehand. This supports Blommaert and Rampton's (2016) demand for shifting paradigms of exploring language and communication, brought about by the speed of global connections and communications.

Adami (2019, p37) states simply *"Communication is multimodal; we normally combine different modes whenever we…interact*". Gestures and actions both accompany speech and influence thought (Kita 2017). Bourdieu's focus on "mind-body connections" (Stahl 2024, p3) supports this by drawing our attention to the embodiment of habitus and the concept of doxa (acceptance of being). This may be illustrated by the difference between written and spoken communication in any conversation – non-verbal resources such as facial expression, gaze, and body movements often clarify the meaning of words used, and this could be described as 'translanguaging'. Similarly, children are familiar with communicating using their bodies – they embody 'language', including the use of sound, movement, and touch. The consideration of methods of communication, requires ongoing reflexivity (Blommaert and Rampton, 2016) in order to avoid allowing formal language to become the "super-ordinate of all semiosis" (Adami, 2019, p38). Teachers are familiar with the necessity for ongoing reflexivity as they regularly review and reflect on what has worked well in classrooms on a daily basis.

These notions of translanguaging and wider conceptualisation of communication are a far cry from the narrow definition of 'learning' adopted by the teachers of participants in this study. Jasmin related how she was required to speak English and no other language in school: *"We're in English class to speak English. We're not speaking any other languages"* and Zara's stark example of the teacher admonishing Zara's friend for using their *"own language"* are clear messages to EAL pupils that their heritage languages were not welcome in school, and it appears that no alternative methods of communication were offered. In the theoretical framework presented by Bourdieu (2000, p145), the translanguaging approach to communication may be described as "ways of being and doing", the concept of habitus being showcased through children's learned behaviours depending on cultural background. Although one of the more widely held criticisms of Bourdieu's work is the lack of empirical studies to evidence his claims, Zara's experience showcased here is a clear

example of Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus. Children conform to expectations, whether in the use of eye contact, touch, or posture, and in the context of their 'field', the accustomed social spaces, these behaviours feel natural and go unquestioned.

Pupils learn about communication in relation to the 'field' of school life – certain behaviours are expected and/or acceptable in different spaces; the use of louder/quieter voice, gesture, expression, movement, using of hands and fingers to support counting, singing, sitting, moving - all are used in a range of semiotic communication. Such communication may not always be totally clear for all parties (Blackledge and Creese, 2017); pupils, their peers, and teachers may not always understand fully what is being communicated but if the mindset is one of inquiry and interest, the use of semiotic resources can lead to a powerful alternative to formal use of language. In Li Wei's words (2018, p24) "education can be a translanguaging space".

In conceptualising language in this more open and flexible way through the use of translanguaging and varied semiotic practices, and regarding communication as a broader concept than speaking and/or writing in a particular mode, we give the potential for new ways of working and new ways of learning. As Otheguy et al., (2015) noted, the current system of assessment in England tests not only using the English language to communicate but also tests a pupil's technical level of English too. I argue that inclusive practice should focus on allowing a range of language use to communicate quality of thinking, rather than test a pupil's technical understanding of the language. This would support the development of a pupil's identity as a competent learner, not one who was isolated and labelled in a deficit way. This argument is one that I return to in the recommendations to policymakers, in Chapter 7.

6.4 Trainee teachers as agentive practitioners

Freire's (2017) concept of the contextualisation of knowledge within experience, particularly the experience of those from marginalised communities runs through this research; his work demonstrated the reality of Bourdieu's (1991) concept of habitus and is mirrored in Hattie's (2018) notion of self-concept and its impact on learning. Each of these concepts relates closely to the formation of a learner's identity in the classroom, as they inhabit a learner persona and enact learning behaviours that realise that 'reality'. The trainee teachers in this study offered vital insights by relating their experience of learning where the

language of instruction was different from their first language/s and this primary concept runs through each participant's narrative. The role of ITE in creating a 'Third Space' (Soja, 1996) in which all trainee teachers (not only those who are multilingual) can reflect on their learning experience, and that of their peers is pivotal; Guzula (2022, p30) suggests that considering a range of perspectives in this Third Space can lead to "a new understanding or new consciousness". In this way, trainee teachers may consider their own experience and that of others, reflect on their professional role, and begin to form pedagogical choices through reflexivity and reflection. This reflexivity and reflection were witnessed through my study, as Hannah and Jasmin gave examples of support that they had offered pupils in school by using their first language and Funds of Knowledge to support learning. Hannah's narrative example of reading to and with a pupil and his mother, using both Arabic and English gave her the opportunity to reflect that *"these children are kind of like me"*. Similarly, Jasmin's support of a new arrival in school through her understanding of the priority of communication over written accuracy was a key moment of reflexivity. Planning for these observations and embedding them in the context of a taught university seminar, offers ready opportunities to develop trainees' thinking about their own experience, practice, and agency, sharing with others and giving space for discussion of practice. This in turn offers opportunities for trainees to develop further agency through explicit exploration of experience. A 'framework' of agency is a helpful way to consider the development of professional practice, and I return to this later towards the end of the chapter.

6.5 Impact on layers of learner identity

The impact of impoverished experience resulting from unstructured mainstreaming practices and a lack of criticality towards the purpose of language explored in the previous section is multifaceted and resonates with both Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital and Bronfenbrenner's concept of the ecological system. Such experience has an impact on layers of learner identity. Participants demonstrated the impact of their experiences on these layers of identity; their cultural identity, their identity as a language learner (of English), their identity as a capable learner (intellectual identity) as well as their identity as a trainee teacher. Hannah's language identity is central to her narrative and her experience in the UK as she worked hard to maintain her identity as an Arabic speaker, consciously making efforts to attend social gatherings that would support her continued use of the language. Zara too

held a strong affiliation with her heritage language of Punjabi, but this language identity was undermined by her experience as a pupil, to the extent that she chose a different route of language development for her children. The fact that during Zara's interview, she quoted what appeared to be the exact words of a teacher used twenty years earlier is a testament to the impact that this incident had made. Other layers of participants' identities were revealed in relation to multi-cultural and multilingual heritage; the EAL group that supported Jacob's learning and sense of belonging; identity as a parent as well as identity as a trainee teacher.

In response to this data, figure 18 illustrates through monoprint, the way that I view my participants as individuals who make up a heterogeneous 'group' at different stages of their language learning journeys, with multiple layers of identity. As they have developed into confident, capable trainee teachers, they sought to give back to pupils and the education system as a whole, in response to their own experiences of learning. Indeed, each participant stated that their choice to be involved with this research was the intention that their stories be heard and contribute towards improving the education experiences of those following them through the system. In the same way that ferns (as all green plants) are beneficial to the environment by producing oxygen back into the atmosphere, so my participants give life-promoting value back into the school system that they have lived through and experienced at all layers of their identity. This organic metaphor could be generalised to all EAL learners, given the considerable FOK they bring to the classroom.

FIGURE 18: Monoprint of my participants as a heterogeneous, education-enhancing 'group'

In the next two sections I will explore the concept of trainee teacher identity and draw out specific challenges that multilingual trainee teachers may face, in the current context.

6.6 Trainee teacher identity whether mono or multilingual

Wenger (1999) suggests five dimensions of a trainee teacher's identity; this offers insight into the depth and sensitivity of a trainee teacher's growing professional understanding. Professional identity, underpinned by a philosophy of education, influences how teachers organise classrooms, plan learning opportunities, and govern the spaces and environment in which they teach. Wenger cites negotiated experience, community membership, learning trajectory, nexus of multi-membership, and relation between the local and global, as fundamental to trainee development of their professional identity. Olsen (2008, p39) suggests that teachers' interests, beliefs, and values about education shape "who one is as a teacher". As trainee teachers explore the notion of inclusive practice and how such policy may be worked out in the classroom, they must quickly learn how to navigate the landscape in a variety of schools. As referenced earlier, trainee teachers regularly reflect on school priorities and learn that inclusive practice presents challenges in the classroom. In addition, as we have seen, each school approaches inclusive practice differently. These experiences, alongside taught university-based sessions are key building blocks of trainees' professional development as teachers. Ainscow and Messiou (2018, p13) assert the importance of listening to pupil voices to understand how policy in school is interpreted and understood – in particular by those whose voices are in the minority: "those whose socioeconomic status, race, language and gender renders them problematic to particular teachers in particular schools" and ITE training must equip trainees to do this. It appears that often, pupils (of whatever age) are the last people to be consulted by teachers about how learning feels and impacts on individuals in the classroom. This is borne out in my search for the voice of multilingual learners in the literature. There is research to be found regarding teachers of EAL pupils, and that pertaining to 'foreign language' teaching but rarely is there found research that captures the voice of multilingual pupils regarding classroom practice.

Developing teacher identity is potentially challenging for those who value achievement and diversity in a broader sense than the National Curriculum allows, and standardised testing in England demonstrates. This notion of professional identity underpins questions around the

ideology that a trainee teacher brings to the training 'package' (made up of university and school-based experiences and training) and impacts their trajectory through the course and beyond. Baker (2021, p533) suggests that the sense of identity is multi-faceted and ever-changing, stating that identity is "daily rewritten, reimagined, reconstructed, renegotiated" in light of experiences and roles that someone undertakes; this includes the ongoing 'renegotiation' brought about through focussed training experiences. Anderson et al., (2016) suggest that conflicting identities related to language use may mean that learners feel that they belong or do not belong in a school setting. This was evident for the trainee teachers participating in my study who were partway through their training course. The course offers a valuable window during which a trainee's identity and inclusive ideology may be considered openly and honestly, offering a 'Third Space' for the exploration of values, observations of practice, and application to the 'layers' of knowledge and experience of teacher education (Moen, 2006, p66).

Goepel (2015, p3) situates a changing professional identity both within the university and in placement schools as trainees begin to synthesise personality, professional interests, skills, and abilities. She calls this growth of identity a "way of becoming". This recognition places a great responsibility on ITE providers to encourage trainee teachers on a learning trajectory (Wenger, 1999) of their own; in Baker's (2021, p533) words, their identity is "daily rewritten". As trainees experience schools with differing practices, their values are further honed, reflecting the organic nature of the professional sense of self. Writing about Dewey's (1938) theory relating education to experience, Roberts (2003) suggests that carefully designed experience is the foundation of successful learning. Hannah, Jasmin, and Zara each spoke about school placements, during their interviews. In each case, they cited support from school-based mentors who had encouraged them to access and use their skills of shared funds of knowledge (FOK) and language with pupils. This request from mentors demonstrates a view contrary to that of Banks (2009) who warned against the potential for tokenistic inclusion of FOK in the curriculum. Indeed, by asking multilingual trainees to use their cultural resources with pupils, they demonstrate what Gonzalez et al., (2011, p491) suggest is the most appropriate way for teachers to engage, in "conscious attempts to find and incorporate community strengths" in the classroom. This mirrors the assertion of Moll et al., (2005) that teachers should position themselves as learners. In each case,

participants were beginning to reflect upon the power of these skills, though this reflexivity needed further development. Jacob and Hannah both spoke of their reluctance to rely on language skills (first language and English) in school, in case they mislead pupils in the use of vocabulary, syntax, and grammar. Some of this reluctance may be due to the assessment that they themselves will go through as a trainee teacher and the desire to disguise any potential 'deficit' in their own grasp of English.

ITE courses in the UK are required to assess trainee teachers against the professional body Teacher Standards (2011) mentioned earlier. Pillen et al., (2013) identify assessment reviews as nexus points; these may be places of tension for trainee teachers as they negotiate the demands from a range of priorities. On the one hand, they must meet the requirements of the Teacher Standards and on the other, the added demands of the priorities of the school in which they are temporarily placed. Learning to meet the needs of all pupils, including those who are learning through EAL, is stated as a specific element of the trainee teacher's remit (Teacher Standard 5, 2011). As part of their learning to meet these professional standards, trainees negotiate diverse school contexts as part of their growing understanding of the multi-faceted professional role and this requires an examination of their personal and professional identity and values. They may try to fit in with the school (in order to be assessed favourably) while in some instances trying to reconcile this with a privately held and quite different philosophy of education. I witnessed this often with trainees on school placement if they were placed in a school whose values did not align with their own concerning inclusive practice.

My creative response to the position that trainee teachers hold in schools where they are subjected to assessments while holding in tension their experience, knowledge, cultural capital, and habitus is illustrated here (figure 19) through monoprints that show in almost x-ray detail, the beautiful and impressive structure of the leaf that supplies nourishment to withstand the demands of British weather; through these images I represent the holistic strength that supports my participants and their unique identity. The resilience they demonstrated is deeply impressive, despite the challenges inherent in their journey.

FIGURE 19: Monoprint leaves showing the strength of structure

Examples of successful school placements, close partnership with colleagues in universities and schools, able to give their time, energy, and experience to high quality mentoring and coaching, meeting the trainee teacher at their unique point in the professional journey can result in robust progress against the teacher standards and identify learning development points that are unique to each trainee. In learning about meeting the needs of EAL pupils, this progress will often include greater intercultural understanding, and learning about the complexities of addressing multi-faceted pupil needs such as language, cultural heritage, pre-school experience, and the challenges experienced by transient populations. In understanding this complex picture, a trainee teacher's role as 'Cultural Bridge' between home and school (Apedaile and Whitelaw, 2012) begins to grow and new professional identities develop.

I will now examine aspects of identity that apply specifically to multilingual ITE trainees.

6.7 Multilingual Trainee Teachers' Identity

None of the participants in my research spoke about racist behaviour towards them as trainee teachers. Unfortunately, there has been anecdotal evidence of such behaviour for some trainees with whom I have worked over recent years; sometimes trainees have experienced negative comments regarding their accents and have been harshly judged on their developing use of standard English. These prejudiced judgements have led to concerns

regarding professional competency and have undermined trainees' confidence in learning English well enough to use as a language of instruction or dressing in an 'acceptable' manner. Racist practice is subtle and nuanced and although my participants did not reference racism, many of the details of their narratives suggested that microaggressions were threaded through their experiences. Bourdieu (1993, p34) identified that "a legitimate language is a language with legitimate phonological and syntactic forms, that's to say a language meeting the usual criteria of grammaticality, and a language which constantly says, together with what it says, that it says it well". That is to say that speakers are judged for the accuracy of their language, a factor that we know impacts judgements regarding trainee teacher professionalism. Baratta's (2017) work in Northern English cities found that there was considerable prejudice among some school mentors towards trainee teachers whose accents were not 'standard', a phenomenon that Cushing (2023, p893) calls "the raciolinguistic status quo". Baratta links his work with Bourdieu's (1992) regarding linguistic norms in education and the disempowerment of those not using the preferred language; a concept which MacKenzie et al., (2022, p494) refer to as 'linguistic capital'. My research demonstrates that mediation of inclusive policy by EAL ITE trainees will be nuanced depending on their experience of being an EAL pupil; both Jasmin and Hannah cited examples of agency when teaching EAL pupils and Jasmin spoke about her experience of witnessing the discriminative behaviour towards pupils who spoke languages not deemed as prestigious as her own, highlighting a hierarchy of language users in school.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus remains central to the analysis of data as, despite Jasmin and Hannah's support of pupils, they did not recognise the power of their work with EAL pupils. The same theme can be traced in Jacob's interview, identifying as he did, that he still worried about the potential grammatical mistakes he might make with pupils (though often he found these fears were ungrounded), whilst not recognising the skills he brought to the classroom. Through a Bordieusian lens, the adoption of habitus is clear; the trainees positioned themselves in terms of a deficit mindset, illustrating underlying beliefs that they were less professionally adept than others. Figure 20 illustrates my response in monoprint to this data, showing the way that individuals may be made to feel less important than others, and the obstacles put in their way through racist behaviour towards different

language learners. The use of gold represents the true worth of the learner that shines out from the image, despite the othering by those in power in the classroom.

FIGURE 20: Monoprint leaf with obstacles and gold relief

Although my participants spoke about this experience in school and did not identify racist behaviour in their university experience, Sleeter's (2017) work in the USA found that tests in teacher education demonstrated that white teachers scored more highly than people of colour, and this is mirrored in current UK university data, showing that trainee teachers with first languages other than English regularly score lower in academic work as well as school-based assessed placements. Sleeter (ibid) found that issues in the USA context were only tackled for non-white trainees when there was an 'interest convergence' – that is, when both the interests of white people and non-white people would be equally advanced. The current drive across UK Universities to address the BAME attainment 'gap' may be an example of the same interest convergence – that is, perhaps there is added incentive to make changes to university practice, where BAME (who may also be EAL) trainees attain less highly than their white peers, in order that University statistics are impacted favourably.

I will explore this issue further in the next section, specifically in relation to ITE courses.

6.8 ITE curriculum

Sleeter (2017) found a slightly more hopeful picture regarding the university BAME 'attainment gap' in ITE where a faculty was more racially diverse. In these departments, work with trainee teachers was more focussed on preparing them for racially diverse classrooms. However, she also found that most programmes taught about the topic of racism in discrete segments through a course, rather than integrating the theme through a programme. By doing so, it could be perceived that teaching about racism and anti-racist priorities was a separate 'issue' that could be dislocated from the main task of teaching as a whole. In this section, I will explore an approach to ITE that has the potential to equip multilingual trainees to both reflect on their own experiences as multilingual learners while simultaneously interrogate the curriculum that teachers are required to adhere to in England.

The Newly Qualified Teachers (NQT) Survey in England and Wales mentioned earlier, that was carried out between 2003 and 2015, and the Ofsted survey completed in years since 2015 (ongoing) each collated data from new teachers registered with the General Teaching Council (GTC) regarding Early Career Teachers' preparedness for meeting the needs of EAL learners. Nationally, the results of these surveys have remained a concern for Initial Teacher Education (ITE) providers as positive responses remained lower than those given regarding other elements of teacher training. This has led to the consideration of curriculum redevelopment. Interestingly, in 2020 the UK government launched a 'Market Review' of Initial Teacher Education (note neoliberal values underpinning this initiative, referring to ITE as a 'market'). The requirements of this review did not include *any* reference to EAL learners, once again grouping the teacher's responsibility to these pupils under the banner of 'meeting the needs of all learners'. By avoiding a requirement on ITE providers to make this a central and explicit part of their teacher training programmes, a range of approaches across different institutions will inevitably develop; because of this, calling for a mandatory EAL component to ITE courses will form one of my recommendations to policymakers in the next chapter.

6.9 Third Space as a pedagogical tool for ITE

In synergy with the concept of Third Space (Bhabha and Soja 1996), Skinner (2010) suggests that the essential role of ITE lies in providing the opportunity for reflection, exploration, discussion, and interrogation of preconceived beliefs about linguistically and culturally diverse pupils. Costa McPhail et al., (2005, p109) suggest that ITE must encourage trainees to have: "a) a deeper respect for the culture of English language learners and their families, b) the ability to question their own assumptions and c) the ability to discuss issues of identity, privilege and ethnocentricity" and the use of stories may be used as a pathway into reflection and reflexivity, developing identity and professional perspectives. The use of storytelling within education may affect both the intended audience and the narrator themselves (Gibbs, 2018) and be incorporated into a 'Third Space', as explored in the choice of methodology for this project. On ITE courses which range in length between one year (nine months in reality) and three to four years, there is a requirement to condense theory, policy, legislation, and classroom strategies into a small number of taught sessions. To summarise and make meaningful sense of research and research-informed practice in such circumstances, is no mean feat. However, ITE must prepare teachers to develop their own, autonomous approach to developing practice within the classroom, allowing for "context-sensitive" pedagogy (Kumaravadivelu, 2001, p539) and a 'Third Space' approach offers a meaningful opportunity for individuals to explore their philosophy of education in a collegial, collaborate and creative way. It offers a way to explore inclusive pedagogical methodology for teaching; contrary to the style of teaching perpetuated by a narrow, highly prescriptive curriculum, and progress that is measured by high stakes testing. This approach promotes the value of thinking and reflecting deeply and listening to all. It is an approach that runs counter to the 'symbolic violence' (Bourdieu et al., 1977, p xvii) meted out on teaching delivered without creativity and without decisions by leaders to encourage agency in the classroom. Education systems based on neoliberal ideals foster competition and a fear of failure (via public assessment and exam results) to motivate learners, but an inclusive pedagogy promotes the opposite; a Third Space approach offers open ways of thinking, exploration, and learning as a community and the role of both teacher and pupil is one that is shared rather than being based on a power dynamic of superior/inferior. Inclusive pedagogy is a transformative approach and influences not only what is taught but also how

teaching involves the full range of learners. Lei Wei (2024, p 204) suggests: “translanguaging pedagogy through co-learning leads to transpositioning, a fundamental shift in the teacher’s, and the learner’s, subjectivity”; it is the opportunity for this co-learning and exploration that Third Space affords. These ‘transpositioning’ and critical pedagogies are both rooted in an intentional focus on equality and social justice (Li Wei, 2024) and espouse principles of decolonising the curriculum. They focus on empowering pupils, building community, and developing supportive learning environments in which pupils thrive and reach their potential. This in turn requires reflexivity on the part of the teacher, hence the importance of making it the bedrock of ITE curriculum.

Proponents of social justice in education (see Garcia and Li Wei, 2014) also advocate that classroom communities and learning that takes place within them, equip learners to take their learning beyond the setting and into wider society. They question the status quo and how classrooms are set up, to think creatively and critically about learning theory and practice. Building on the work of Bourdieu in identifying and attempting to dismantle power structures in education, the Third Space approach suggested in the current study offers opportunities to consider the outworking of this dismantling. The Third Space approach aims to support the development of teaching that reframes education as part of a life-long journey of discovery, and personal and professional development.

The approach is particularly suitable as a methodology where ITE taught ‘content’ goes beyond what may typically be described as ‘subject knowledge’. By this, I refer to that growing professional understanding related to a trainee’s developing philosophy of education, and the support of EAL learners is one example of this type of learning. There are indeed many strategies that can be learned regarding how to support learners in the classroom (some of which will be highlighted later) but appropriate training must also cover areas of what is sometimes termed the ‘hidden curriculum’. In relation to EAL learners, this hidden curriculum will include the setting of an inclusive classroom ethos and supporting pupils as they make social and cultural adjustments (Sood and Mistry, 2011) as well as linguistic ones (Cummins, 2000). Bourdieu’s (1980) theory of cultural capital reminds us that many EAL pupils hold little capital beyond their community (cultural, political, or social). The importance that teachers understand their pupils’ background must remain

fundamental to inclusion (Cummins, 2015; Afitska, 2020) as Jacob articulated so clearly in this study by passionately describing how teachers failed to 'see' him as the intellectually capable and adept learner that he was and in primary school, he was left to struggle with little support. As Bourdieu reminds us, the culture of the classroom can disadvantage those whose previous experiences are different from the majority community before starting school, if classroom teachers do not enact agency in planning the necessary support for those at different stages of learning the language of instruction. The examination of Bourdieu's (1980) theories of habitus and cultural capital is crucial, noting the interplay between EAL pupils, education, and political policies and of inclusive practice in schools could bring a meaningful lens to the taught 'content' of ITE courses. Trainees must be made aware that families who do not have the cultural capital to make their FOK visible to teachers may assume a deficit habitus in educational contexts, and pass on this habitus, unconsciously labelling their child as a deficit learner; in Guzula's (2022, p29) words, "the continued hegemony of the English language and anglonormativity". Trainees who have had the opportunity to explore these notions will be better prepared to disrupt the deficit narrative and keep expectations high for all learners, scaffolding the progress of EAL learners as required. In meeting the requirements of the professional Teacher Standards, it is the teachers' role to understand and valerate the FOK offered by diverse communities in addition to those from the cultural majority to meet the needs of learners from these families in the same way they would for those born white British, but teachers are sometimes ill-equipped to recognise the value of the cultural heritage of their pupils.

In the next section, I examine some of the ways that we might do this as ITE providers, outlining an approach to criticality that equips trainee teachers to engage with critical pedagogy and learn to embed this in their ongoing practice; I continue to refer to the possibilities offered by the use of the Third Space approach to open opportunities for critical exploration of key aspects of teacher training. First, I explore the invaluable approach developed by Farook (EAL professional journal Autumn, 2024) to create a multilingual lens through which to view the professional Teacher Standards (TS) that underpin teachers' practice in England and I then move on to explore critical approaches to the curriculum that trainee teachers may find helpful in guiding their developing philosophy of education.

6.10 Reconceptualising Teacher Standards; a Multilingual focus

By applying a multilingual lens to the Teacher Standards (TS), Farook (2024) suggests a helpful approach to re-focussing attention towards meeting the needs of EAL learners. She helpfully re-positions the standards by identifying key questions that draw attention to EAL-specific challenges and opportunities in the classroom. For example, TS1 states that teachers must:

"Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils". To this statement, Farook adds the thought-provoking questions:

"How can a classroom teacher establish a safe and stimulating environment for pupils using EAL that is rooted in mutual respect where both children's differences and similarities in experiences, knowledge, skills, cultures and languages can be celebrated? Are there opportunities to create physical, intellectual and emotional spaces where children can explore and use language in creative and effective ways to develop positive emotional, social and cognitive learning behaviours?"

In similarly re-focussing each TS, new ways of thinking may be presented to trainee teachers to understand and apply the TS to their professional development, giving opportunity for intentional and agentive application of inclusive values, focusing specifically on the needs of EAL learners. Had this approach been adopted by the teachers of Jacob, Laura, Jasmin and Zara each participant in this study would have experienced a very different classroom environment to that in which they were taught. This is a helpful way to frame the ITE curriculum for trainees at the beginning of their professional journey and by combining with the 'Third Space' (Soja 1996) approach, trainees may be facilitated in adopting a critical mindset through which to examine and analyse observed classroom practice, curriculum and assessment requirements for pupils in England.

I will now go on to examine further suggestions that may be adopted within this critical approach on ITE programmes.

6.11 Critical framing, critical literacy

Critical framing is an approach suggested by Guzula (2022, p40-41) with the deliberate intention to "disrupt monoglossia". Guzula reminds us that policymakers are always part of the dominant classes in a country, they are often white, middle class, and may have no

experience beyond their monolingual linguistic background. Her work resonates with Bourdieu's, stating that it is these people who hold power, design, and dictate curricula (as well as dominate the economic and political climate). By teaching trainee teachers to prioritise English learning and ignore all other languages, thereby denigrating and presenting many as patois, educators perpetuate the hegemony of the English language (Guzula, 2022). In order to move away from this hegemony, ITE providers must intentionally address the issue of the apparent superiority of English language use. Critical framing offers a 'Third Space' in which to expose and disrupt this narrative by exploring with trainee teachers (and their pupils), the context, design, and intended impact of any part of the curriculum. This 'disruption' reminds me of work undertaken with ITE trainees in the institution in which I work, where we explored the possibilities of introducing multilingual and multicultural sources into lessons based on the National Curriculum. One simple example of this approach was the module that explored a range of ways to introduce culturally appropriate materials in History lessons to illustrate the necessity of decolonising the curriculum. Such exploration led to valuable discussion about the role of the teacher, values-based education and shone a light on the euro-centric curriculum often delivered in English schools unless a critical framing approach (by the teacher, with their pupils) is adopted. It was this work that Zara referenced in her hope of teaching pupils a *'sense of self'*. The critical framing approach needs to go much further than the example above, if we are to prepare teachers for a truly inclusive pedagogy; as discussed, "we need to raise critical awareness of the raciolinguistic ideologies underlying the framing of the medium of instruction and the norms of language use" Li Wei (2022, p180).

The concept of critical literacy builds on the notion of critical framing by exploring the foundations of literacy. Kell, McKinney, and Guzula (2022, p178) examine the reification of literacy and what has become 'acceptable' within literacy practices in the classroom, ranging from the use of phonics as a method of teaching reading, the development of orthography which is ideologically driven (as many dialects have not traditionally used regular spelling) or perhaps the most insidious " "literacy myth"; the idea that becoming literate has cognitive consequences in and of itself" and may be viewed as 'enlightenment'.

Much of the desire to drive this reification of literacy (and other parts of a standardised curriculum) no doubt lies in the ease it offers to assess 'progress' of pupils as they journey

through school; thus the value of comparison, measurement, grading and "outcomes-based learning" (Kell (*in McKenney* 2022, p183) is seen once again to drive what is taught in schools and how this is done. This calls into question what the purpose of language and literacy are, and whether they should be viewed as a method of communication and meaning-making or a tool by which to be assessed. As explored earlier, Jasmin's interest and belief in the power of using 'identity texts' (Cummins and Early, 2011) in the classroom demonstrated the importance of using methods of teaching that move away from the focus on written or spoken language as a way of communication and of understanding pupils. She had witnessed the impact of the activity in supporting pupils to communicate through multimodal means and was keen to make this part of her ongoing pedagogy.

6.12 Summary of the chapter

Although each participant had attained highly (as evidenced by their entry into and progress through degree level study), only Jasmin and Jacob recognised in their interview, that they were intellectually capable pupils. None of the participants spoke about the value of their multilingual skills in supporting learners in the classroom, despite Hannah, Jasmin and Jacob giving examples of how this language use had supported pupil progress. Instead, Hannah and Jacob both spoke of their concern about making grammatical or vocabulary errors in the classroom, reflecting the prevailing neo-liberal agenda of performativity and comparison. Only Jasmin referenced an approach she had used to raising a pupil's engagement by intentionally prioritising involvement in a task over the 'correct' answers.

Zara was the only participant in the study who spoke about the realisation she had made during the ITE course about the importance of including a broader range of content in the National Curriculum, to reflect the multicultural composition of the UK, referring specifically to the subject of historical accuracy.

In each narrative the importance of belonging and inclusion in the classroom came through as a central theme. Laura and Zara spoke about the pain of feeling isolated from and inferior to classroom peers and Hannah and Jasmin both spoke about the confusion of joining a new education system that involved high stakes testing, relatively soon after their arrival in school. Jacob's searing critique of teachers who, in his view, did not make sufficient attempt

to understand him, his background or his needs are a salutary reminder of the responsibilities of classroom teachers to engender an inclusive classroom ethos.

At the start of my doctoral journey, the literature review focussed on the structure of the English education system and the deficit model often applied to discourse around EAL learners due to the prevailing standards agenda at play at all levels and across global contexts. The work of Cummins, Conteh, Creese and Blackledge had inspired me to look more closely at the impact of the classroom teacher's approach on the progress made by pupils and I had been especially interested in the sociocultural aspect of the lived experience of being an EAL pupil and whether individual teachers may have agency in the face of systemic pressures. In particular the work of Menken and Garcia regarding teacher agency fuelled by interest in understanding the opportunities for teachers, despite the prevailing political context. As my study progressed, these interests developed further through the literature as I examined the multiple layers of opportunity offered to teachers and pupils through a greater understanding of Bourdieu's concepts cultural capital, field and habitus which in turn acted as a framework for an exploration of the development of language acquisition through dynamic systems and the possibilities of translanguaging as an approach and as a postmodern concept in the twenty first century classroom. An exploration of inclusion as a concept, identifying challenges and opportunities has showcased the requirement for teachers to be vigilant to ensure classrooms are places of optimal learning, whilst recognising that inclusion is as much a mindset as a set of rules. Critical approaches to language, specifically the recognition of a highly Eurocentric curriculum and the purported superiority of English language were examined to problematise this position and offer a critique as to why and how reform is urgent and imperative.

With this study in mind, the concept and importance of offering a 'Third Space' to trainee teachers, in which they may reflect, discuss and re-examine their pedagogical decision-making through the lens of criticality was identified as essential for a robust ITE programme.

6.13 Implications for ITE

There are several implications for ITE to be drawn from my study. Cremin (2015) draws our attention to a creative approach to pedagogy which builds on pupils' Funds of Knowledge, viewing young children as expert learners and Cummins (2016) extends this claim towards

pupils' capacity as expert language learners. This perspective reverses the deficit model which has in recent years pervaded education policy in England and has inevitably therefore become reflected in some teachers' practise. There are no 'off the shelf solutions' (Cummins 2016), however Cummins pertains that teachers have the opportunity to make schools 'language friendly'; this is the role of the head teacher who infuses the school with an ethos of inclusivity (or not), which is then borne out in classroom practise. Where inclusive policy is enacted with creativity and determination, head teachers lead by example and classroom teachers are free to explore opportunities with individual cohorts of children. Even in schools where head teachers are not as supportive of inclusive practise, teachers may have the agency to teach inclusively if they are equipped with the tools of critical thinking through their initial teacher education.

Tamati (2016) likens multilingualism to a tree with roots that connect with the roots of others, supporting each other. We saw the development of such connections in the narrative examples of both Laura and Jacob in this study. Both participants made connections with other multilingual learners in their classroom as pupils. They built a measure of friendship with these pupils based on their shared experience as language learners. It would be easy to speculate about the missed possibilities of a different approach by Laura and Jacob's teachers, had they had the insight to support them in fostering and nurturing these friendships and helped them to widen relationships across the class however Cummins reminds us that the education of learners who are new to English is not always straightforward. Learners who have English as an additional language may not only have a barrier of learning a new language for the first time but may also be part of socio economic groups that are less advantaged or may have marginalised status, resulting in the need for teachers to be aware and understand their pupils' identity within any given pupil cohort. Cummins' poignant question "take away identity and what do you have left?" asked at the EAL conference at SHU (2016) left listeners pondering their role in the classroom and I argue that this critical, reflective and reflexive approach is essential in developing inclusive practice. Using Tamati's (2016) metaphor of the roots of multilingualism, I argue that part of a teachers' role is that of encouraging the growth of such roots of connection, through inclusive pedagogy. During my study, Jasmine reflected briefly on the value of the 'identity text' exercise that she undertook in school, as part of her university study. She found this to

be a profoundly impactful exercise which enabled learners to express their identity without use of spoken or written language. Jasmin's reflections amount to an informal action research project, using reflection and reflexivity to critically explore aspects of learner identity with her class of children, that if better understood by the teacher could impact on improved pedagogy.

The exploration of Jasmin's reflection and impact on pedagogy in the university setting is illustrative of the notion of Third Space, the metaphorical place where trainee teachers may explore their understanding and their reflections on experience. Schon (1987,1991) suggests that an analogy of reflection may be conversing with oneself and Moloney and Oguro (2015) describe teacher capacity to 're- self' through reflection on intercultural experiences including the impact that this may have on understanding of their pedagogy. Moloney and Oguro (2015) call this a sociological approach to an intercultural language pedagogy, developing a teacher's holistic attitude. Their study looked at the effects of supporting trainee teachers to de-centre from their own culture in order to explore professional pedagogy and make appropriate connections between experience and teacher education literature, engaging trainees to examine the ontological roots of their classroom decisions, rather than building pedagogy that is based on a list of readymade classroom strategies. Their study asked students to draw connections between their own experiences of being language learners and the literature on pedagogy; participants of that study were secondary school language teachers in Australia but the same approach is crucial in a primary school classroom for any teachers working and supporting children from diverse language backgrounds. My argument is that the use of narrative ways of teaching and learning in initial teacher education, whilst potentially opposed to the current trajectory of education policy in England is a vital approach to supporting trainees to become agentive practitioners learning to use critical thinking to develop their professional pedagogy and develop a sustained and resilient approach to professional development throughout their career.

Narrative reflection is something that can be taught and explored in the teacher education classroom within a Third Space approach. Goodson (2013) identified different depths of narrative reflection ranging from those who merely describe observations to those who use an analytical approach, the result of which is an influence on actions and practise. The latter

includes consideration of both oneself and others and these reflections could be described in the context of my study in terms of intercultural connections. Such connections necessitate agency developed through and reflected on within a critical approach to identity in order to continually 're-self' in new contexts. These new contexts, which we call classrooms, are the environment within which teachers have the power to either support learning of multilingual learners and marginalised children through provision of meaningful learning experiences building on FOK or perpetuate a deficit model of such pupils thereby restricting their progress in terms of intellectual capacity and achievement within the assessment system. The critical component of this equation is the teacher, whose approach will determine the learning experiences of pupils in their classroom. The necessity to develop this ongoing critical approach is vital, given that every class of pupils is unique, composed of learners with differing and unique cultural heritage, pre-school experiences and language learning needs.

I argue that critical thinking and narrative reflection result in a cycle which includes a perpetual revisiting and analysis of a teacher's intercultural understanding, their approach to inclusive pedagogy in any given classroom and engagement with active critical thinking which results in a sense of agentive pedagogy. Maloney and Oguru (2015) term this critical knowledge as teaching capital and I argue that through my study I have demonstrated validation of learning from a personal experience, influencing professional practise in a primary school teacher's classroom.

An approach of high-quality teaching is important from preschool, through the early years, into the primary school classroom and then on through secondary education in England. Some staff within these settings will have personally experienced a vast plethora of Funds of Knowledge, and many will bring with them a wide range of linguistic and cultural capital to be utilised in multilingual classrooms, if this capital is given the recognition that is deserved. Teachers, teaching assistants, headteachers, governors and all school staff who are multilingual should be encouraged to engage with their language learning in a positive, critical way; in this way the resources available to pupils within an inclusive and affirming school environment will be utilised to the full to support pupil progress. This view, based on the data from my study suggests the argument for active determination in recruiting the full

range of school staff who are multilingual with the desire to support linguist multilingual pupils to achieve highly.

Conclusion

Introduction

Today, more than 20% of pupils aged 5-16 years in UK speak in excess of 360 languages between them (DfE, 2024b; NALDIC, 2019). Vertovec, (2007, 2019) describes this as a 'super-diverse' society. Multilingual school pupils (termed 'EAL' in the literature) make a highly heterogeneous 'group', coming from backgrounds that may comprise new arrivals to the country along with those born in UK and joining the school system at the same point as their monolingual peers. Due to the construction of the education system, the language acquisition of these pupils is sometimes viewed as a deficit, labeling pupils as a 'problem' (Safford and Drury, 2013). This 'problem' can be visited at all levels of the education system in England, including HEIs.

Research Question and Design

Following the review of literature, the following question was posed: What can Initial Teacher Education (ITE) learn from trainee teachers who are themselves EAL, multilingual learners, to inform the preparation of teachers for a multilingual classroom?

Employing a novel approach, multilingual trainee teachers were invited to explore and reflect upon their language learning in the English education system and discuss the influence of these experiences on their developing pedagogy as a trainee teacher.

Narrative methodology was adopted for the study; methods included the use of unstructured interviews as a means of offering participants space to explore their experience of learning as an EAL pupil. The interviews were preceded by the making of a 'creative text' that represented participants' learning experiences; this 'text' was a multimedia resource that was not analysed as an artefact but used as an elicitation device for discussion during the interview. Through thematic narrative analysis of interview data, including a creative response by the researcher, themes were identified that powerfully illuminate the potential for future development of Initial Teacher Education (ITE). Themes were examined in relation to Bourdieusian concepts.

Summary of each chapter

Chapter One introduced the research problem and the aims and motivation for the study. ITE provision in England was contextualised within that of the broader UK education climate, highlighting significant variation in ITE provision regarding preparation of new teachers to meet the needs of EAL pupils. Key concepts in the literature were introduced and design of the project outlined.

In chapter two, literature pertaining to the policy and practice landscape of the education system in England were explored and critiqued, identifying systemic pressures and inequalities. Bourdieusian concepts were employed as a point of departure for this critique. This critique continued in chapter three through the exploration of empirical studies that focussed on the impact of current policy on multilingual learners at all levels of the education system, teaching staff and ITE HEIs. Empirical studies exploring key concepts such as translanguaging were explored as were those of two studies that had employed narrative methodology in a similar vein to mine.

Chapter four examined narrative methodology and thematic narrative analysis, exploring their application to this study. Included in this chapter is an acknowledgement of the many and varied approaches to narrative methodology, justifying the choices made for this study.

Findings were set out in chapter five including a vignette of each participant's narrative and identification of themes that were common across narratives. Chapter five concluded with the identification of broad themes identified in the findings and chapter six continued the analysis and discussion of these. Engagement with further literature pertaining to key themes was examined in this chapter and key concepts in the study were revisited in light of research findings.

Chapter seven draws conclusions from the project and makes recommendations to policymakers and the ITE context regarding preparation for teachers to meet the needs of EAL learners.

Answering the research question

The analysis carried out in this research project has illuminated the intersection and relationship between multilingual trainee teachers, language acquisition, the education system in England including schools and ITE and how this intersection is sometimes worked out in practice. Data have been examined through a Bourdieusian lens, illustrating the influence of power structures that impact and underpin creation of curriculum and pedagogy (Bourdieu, 1992). Data have illustrated the importance of the role of inclusive practice, specifically designed to support EAL learners in primary school settings and the multiple benefits experienced by pupils when inclusivity is achieved; additive and transformative pedagogies including the adoption of the FOK and translanguaging approaches have been drawn upon to demonstrate a helpful approach for the organisation of inclusive classroom teaching and learning (Li Wei, 2024). The strands of inclusivity that affect identity both as a learner and as an early career professional, their habitus and wellbeing have been highlighted. The developing area of translanguaging has been examined, along with some of the changes in this field in recent years (Garcia and Leiva, 2014; Creese and Blackledge, 2015; Li Wei, 2018, 2024).

It is the role of ITE to support trainee teachers in understanding the impact of inclusive practice for EAL learners, helping them to understand and examine the ideological framework of inclusive practice and the practicalities that make this practice possible. This is not a simple task for teacher educators, given the pressures inherent in the current UK climate; a climate that is marked by competition and comparison (see Rodriguez, 2013) and one where teachers are judged by the academic outcomes of pupils with little allowance given for attending to pupil's widely varying experience prior to joining the school system in England. The data from this study has potential for impact on future development of Initial Teacher Education, giving opportunities to reflect on the powerful stories of individual multilingual trainees.

Zara's observation and striking question "*I didn't feel that sense of belonging [in school] …I thought, do I have to be English then to belong*?" encapsulates a key theme arising from several of the narratives. Though worded differently, each participant spoke about the importance of being included in their group of peers and the understanding of friends and teachers about the lived experience of being EAL. In the discussion chapter, the focus on this theme of belonging and inclusion explored how inclusive practice may be made

manageable for teachers in a system where resource has been cut over decades of reduced formula-funding in English schools. The system in England has normalised 'mainstreaming', in part due to funding pressures (Monaghan, 2019) and whilst this often places all pupils in one class, it may also hamper some schools' inclusive vision. Data from this study also illustrates that these practices impact learner identity through feelings related to belonging and inclusion and exclusive language policies. This was illustrated by several narrators as they spoke of the importance of being known and understood by peers and teachers alike; this understanding included a recognition of intellectual capabilities of new arrivals.

Finally, there was very little recognition from participants that the skills they possessed to support pupils' learning through the deep understanding of language, heritage and customs, was of any real significance to their pedagogy. These findings resonate with those of Safford and Kelly (2010) and Cushing (2023) who similarly found trainee teachers reluctant to share languages in school, suspecting that this should or would not be permitted by those training them to teach. The work of Moll et al., (2005) and the classroom experience described by my participants suggests the importance of this sharing and this issue needs urgent exploration, to inform trainers and trainees as to the wealth and value of experience available to enhance teacher pedagogy for EAL learners.

Inherent in each of the themes identified lies the ongoing requirement that ITE providers reconsider curricular, and these themes answer the research question asked in this study. As Arnot et al. (2014) point out, without a robust policy and guidance on EAL support for teachers and leaders, the inspectorate and advisory staff, there is no consensus regarding expectations of classroom practice and individual ideologies persist.

Original contribution

One original contribution to knowledge is identified above; in 'hearing' the voice of an under-represented group, insights can provide a lens through which to make recommendations for revision of ITE curriculum, and classroom policy and practice. Additional methodological contributions to knowledge have been offered through creative elicitation devices through the use of a creative 'text'. This has enabled amplification of the voices of trainee teachers who are themselves multilingual and have experienced learning English during their education in UK. The use of the narrative approach to data analysis has

rarely been used with multilingual trainee teachers. Additionally, the researcher has demonstrated an original personal, creative response to the data.

Contributions have also been made to the theoretical framework of Bourdieu's concepts of cultural capital, habitus and field, demonstrated in considering the postmodern contribution of narrative methodology, drawing on the perspective that both individual and collective voices make up the socio-cultural context. This in turn invites us to consider Bourdieu's (1992) concepts afresh, in light of narratives that illustrate an individual's experience, whilst also offering insight of commonality across narratives.

Implications have been noted and recommendations made to policymakers, ITE and school staff to inform teaching at all levels of the education system in England. The current political climate, in the early stages of a new UK government offer ready opportunities for change across the system. Whilst such aims are far-reaching and would necessitate overhaul of the education system, more localised opportunities for change have been identified through the potential agency of individual teachers that may be enacted in everyday classroom activity, if teaching staff are trained to approach their daily planning with a critical and inclusive approach.

It is hoped that through this research, the resilience, aptitude and capabilities of multilingual trainees have been showcased and used as representative of the tremendous FOK brought to multicultural and multilingual classrooms, that in turn join the "heteroglossia of culturally situated voices that ventriloquate through the singular voice that is claimed by the individual" (Gudmundsdottir 2001, p235). It is hoped also that Jacob's experience of inclusion may become the expectation: *"When you feel like you're included you are actually doing what everyone else is doing and that is when you're starting to get the work done. You don't feel a separation, so mentally you feel a lot happier and you actually feel like you're part of the class and not someone who has just been put there and because you're doing the same no one else really noticed you as much because they don't know why there's a TA [teaching assistant] with you and so it's like you're not different than anyone else, you're just part of the class".*

Limitations of the study and future research

As outlined at the end of the methodology chapter, further research is necessary to explore the translanguaging approach in the classroom to offer insight into the use of this pedagogical approach in a range of settings. The scope of this project did not allow for an in-depth focus on translanguaging in and of itself. Research with multilingual primary school teachers is also in urgent need of development as an under-researched area.

Further limitations have been recognised in the small number of participants in this study; it is hoped that future research will gather data from a wider, more extensive range of participants.

Finally, whilst the curriculum of ITE has been briefly explored, school-based mentoring of multilingual trainee teachers has not been a focus of the study; this is an urgent area for research due to the influential role of mentor on the experience of trainees throughout the training course.

The following recommendations are made to stakeholders.

Recommendations to Policymakers for schools

Teacher Standard 5 (DfE, 2021) states that teachers must "meet the needs of all learners" and I argue that it is possible, appropriate and necessary to re-think assessment policies in England in order for teachers to fulfil this requirement. The EYFS states that teachers should be sensitive to children's cultural and heritage backgrounds (DfE, 2021), which resonates with Li Wei's (2022) assertion that it is more important that children develop a sense of self, than command fluency in the language of instruction. As long ago as 2008, Grosjean made the point that monolingual assessment was inappropriate in multilingual settings; with more than a million primary school pupils in UK speaking a range of languages; to adopt an additive discourse towards EAL pupils, it is essential that we look again at how to assess children's learning without requiring pupils always to write in English.

Especially in Early years and Primary classrooms, as educators we must approach communication and assessment of children's communication in a holistic manner. This includes gauging how children engage, using a range of semiotic and physical forms of communication, including movement and voice, not only verbal and written communication. There are assessment tools available that break down the stages of assessment in this way for EAL pupils, and I suggest that these tools should become mandatory for use with EAL learners in school. For older pupils, there could be far greater opportunity for assessments to be made in pupils' first language.

Early Years and Primary classrooms provide many opportunities for pupils to communicate in ways that use a multimodal and multimedia approach. As has been illustrated by this study and also in the work of Cummins (2000) multimedia approach to the concept of 'identity texts' can illicit meaningful communication regarding a child's understanding of themselves. Teachers need to be trained to observe and listen to pupils in ways that inform this holistic assessment, moving away from the model of assessing language use alone.

Insisting on the use of monolingual assessments using English alone constructs barriers for pupils that may take many years to overcome, given the value placed on test and examination outcomes throughout the education system (for pupils from the age of two years, in England) and many employment routes. In addition, they undermine a learner's sense of self, illustrated in Jasmin's narrative when she stated that she only realised that she was an able

student when she received her GSCE examination results. Arguably, had Jasmin been assessed in her first language, this realisation and confidence would have been part of her learner identity far earlier in her school career. Similarly, Jacob related his intense frustration that his intellectual capabilities were not recognised by teachers in primary school, due to the fact that he was not yet able to communicate these using English, saying: *"what I hated was at the start they just assumed I was stupid, not assuming I just don't speak the language."*

There are international examples of changes to assessment policy that could be helpfully considered in the UK. Mendelowitz (2023) and Ramadiro (2022) cite university courses in the global south that have begun to deliver teaching in languages that represent the students studying – in these cases, a range of formal and informal versions of isiXhosa and Afrikaans; the universities have provided multilingual assessments to ensure access across student groups. Academics calling for "linguistic justice" (Bhatt et al., 2022:426) suggest this presents "an opportunity to promote local languages at university [and] improve social equality". While the same policy may not work in all countries, I argue that this type of change may be considered to take account of more of the languages that make up the rich linguistic and cultural milieu of the UK.

Changes to the education system will not happen quickly or easily and it is for this reason that as teacher educators I argue we must espouse critical and agentive thinking with trainee teachers, ensuring that they become so familiar with criticality as a way of thinking, that they take up the baton for continually working towards change in school policy and practice. As Slee (2013, p895) pointed out, there has been a tendency in schools, brought about by the globally competitive standards agenda, to "sponsor those with strong academic prognoses and jettison those who present a risk of failure" and apart from the moral imperative to meet the needs of all learners, as already demonstrated EAL learners may inaccurately be perceived as lacking potential and thereby at risk of being 'jettisoned'.

At the present time in UK, we are moving into a potentially exciting political period, with a new labour government just elected (2024). During her first week in office, the new education secretary Bridget Phillipson wrote to all schoolteachers suggesting that the approach to change should be a collective effort and that politicians were keen to work with experts in the field. If this claim is more than rhetoric, teachers must be equipped through ongoing critical engagement with policy and practice, to provide information and call for

change that benefits all learners in all schools. In this way, systemic change is possible and the current deficit discourse surrounding EAL learners may be disrupted.

A clear and robust policy on EAL is required (see Arnot, 2014); mandatory continual professional development (CPD) for teachers in meeting the needs of EAL would be a helpful addition to the expectations laid out on the Teacher Standards, and accountability for this training could helpfully become a part of the school inspection framework.

One of the reasons that examination results are highly prized by neoliberal systems is that they provide quantitative data that can be used to measure 'successes' but Luk (2023, p310) reminds us that "behind those numbers, there are human faces and experiences that are the centre of the investigation". These are the pupils represented by participants in my study who articulated with great clarity, the effect that can be experienced on the receiving end of such values and I am reminded of Badwan's (2022) claim that language and literacies are "too white, too monolingual, too neat, too narrow". Similarly, Luk's (2023) words remind us of Cushing's (2023) claim that racism in education policy is exposed as very young pupils are assessed and may be deemed to have 'word gaps' as a result of early testing in primary school, being labelled as deficient due to being at an early stage of English language development.

My recommendation to policymakers is that as experts in the field of education, we work to find a way that we can assess children using a multilingual approach, viewing assessment through a multilingual lens and recognising the wealth of knowledge learned in a pupil's first language as well as English. I argue that we should be assessing pupils' quality of thought and comprehension, rather than their ability to communicate their thinking in a specific language (English); in the words of Otheguy et al., (2015, p299) "testing the proficiency of children in a language must be kept separate from testing their proficiency in language". By valorising a multilingual approach (Singleton and Flynn, 2022), we maximise pupil potential and as a country we benefit from the advantages of intellectually capable pupils, rather than allowing – potentially - more than a million children to believe that they are in some way deficient, due to their language acquisition. I am grateful that in my current professional role, I have opportunities to meet with and make recommendations to colleagues from the DfE Policy Campus, based in the city where I work. In the current climate of openness and as part of the revision of inclusive education policy, these discussions are a welcome part of my ongoing work.

The ethos of any school is created and curated by the leadership team. In the next section, recommendations are made for the emphasis that leaders must place on meaningful inclusion of EAL learners in their school. Training for headship (for example through the UK NPQH qualification) must include a full exploration of the concept of inclusion and the skill to reconsider and reconceptualise what inclusion means in each school setting, depending on the specific cohorts and communities served by that school. A commitment to support EAL pupils through intentional and systemic planning will result in pupils' positive sense of belonging in the school community and their understanding of the value they add to the school community, through cultural heritage and language as well as more individual personal attributes.

Recommendations for ITE and schools - culture

Menken and Garcia (2010) suggest that all teachers have agentive power in the classroom, and this is illustrated from my own examples of trainee teachers making real and meaningful change in the classroom. Making classroom practice inclusive and celebratory of individual's strengths and funds of knowledge, alongside adapting classroom teaching to meet the needs of EAL learners makes a difference daily to pupils' experience of school; we know that pupils' emotional wellbeing is immensely influential on their academic achievements (Bagnall 2020). However, to sustain change and embed new ways of working, school leadership teams must be determined to make time to consider the need for change and disrupt existing narratives where necessary (Ainscow and Messiou, 2018, p14). As Ainscow and Messiou's research shows, listening to pupil voice is not always a straightforward process and there may be resistance to change from some school staff; the process of change is a 'social process', where staff teams will need to support and challenge one another and find time to discuss the most effective way forward. Flynn (2015) suggests that schools often respond to local demands of school settings, more than to those made by official policy; in this way she highlights the agency enacted by teachers which calls for vigilant leadership by headteachers and school leaders. Skilful and effective leadership is essential in providing time and a school culture of openness, creativity and determination to meet the needs of *all* learners. To this end, regular training about the specific needs of all pupils, at all levels of school staff is recommended. Training may include annual attendance at specific conferences (for example NALDIC conference in UK) or training in listening to pupil voice. Regular sharing of the themes of these

training events should become habitual in staff meetings at all levels, giving the opportunity to explore solutions for pupils who experience barriers to the demands of the curriculum, assessment and organisation of school.

As part of the development of culture in schools and universities, leaders must continually reflect on the demographic of their community. It can be equally challenging to meet the needs of isolated EAL learners as larger numbers of pupils using a range of languages. As schools in England are very often part of federations or Multi Academy Trusts (MATs), there are many ways that colleagues can be supported in finding ways to resource developments. For example, training across MATs can be time and resource-saving as it may be delivered across several schools at the same time. Similarly, school improvement advisors that often make up the MAT structure, could be tasked with the responsibility to ensure that this training remains updated and adds value from school to school. One of my intentions post-research is to offer input to MATs in this way, in the region where I work. In my role of voluntary Director of one MAT, I have access to leadership across fourteen schools. This model is one that can be replicated with relative ease, given headteachers' willingness to make time for the training. Such training must critique the 'tips for teachers' approach that Slee (2013) argues can be part of the school training diet and instead offer opportunities for school leaders and teachers to consider the culture of their school and the community it serves and reflect on systems that engender meaningful change.

Similarly, each MAT should carefully consider the language demographic of teachers and teaching assistants employed. Multilingualism should be highly valued among the school workforce; I recommend that teachers and higher-level teaching assistants (HLTAs) who are skilled in languages other than English support colleagues in planning for lessons that make multiple language use the norm. One of the benefits of the MAT structure is that the skills of such multilingual staff could be shared across the Trust, ensuring cohesion and consistency across schools, in the same way that expertise in a specific subject area (such as Mathematics) is often shared.

There are examples of this type of good practice in some schools working in the region where I am fortunate to be placed. Through an organised MAT structure, it would be possible to share this good practice widely and quickly. Again, it would be the role of MAT leaders to

ensure that schools had the ongoing support they need to continually review the needs of their pupils. Aligned with this focus on embedding inclusive policy and practice, practical considerations include the curriculum of both ITE and schools.

Recommendations for ITE - curriculum

The recent focus on decolonising the curriculum in UK is a welcome priority, particularly but not solely in relation to EAL learners. As Zara pointed out, until her university course she had not considered the role of her ancestors in British history and as a result of this new knowledge, had committed to teach her pupils, a 'sense of self'. This focus is essential for schools, benefitting all pupils and avoiding the danger of a "white Eurocentric curriculum" (Arday, 2021, p4).

Alongside the subject content of the curriculum and building on the recommendations for policy and cultural change, my recommendations about use of pupils' first language/s in schools take a number of forms. Firstly, I suggest that in order to counter Guzula's (2022) recognition of the current position of 'Anglonormativity' in the education system, we need to reconceptualise the use of languages, adopting instead an expectation of 'Translanguagenormativity'; Singleton and Flynn (2022, p142) asserts that translanguaging "strives for inclusion". As part of this concept, schools normalise and celebrate multiple language use, recognising that the use of first language can both support and develop pupils' understanding of the curriculum. Afitska (2020, p154-156) created a helpful framework for classroom teachers, offering practical strategies that range from those which support all learners, such as context-embedded teaching, use of visuals and sentence starters through to embedded use of first language in the classroom. Afitska's framework promotes the positive contribution of first language in the classroom and reminds us of MacSwan's (2017, p170) assertion that it is the mindset of the teacher that determines whether first language use is seen as either a deficit or a resource. Careful planning to embed this ideal into ITE curriculum is needed to support trainee teachers in their understanding of implementation in schools. This requires a systematic approach to the ITE course, ensuring expectations that pupils will utilise all available language resources are written into every module on the course, rather than be examined in one or two modules that focus on all aspects of inclusive ideology.

Inherent in this requirement is careful thought about staffing of the ITE programme. Tutor understanding of the power of translanguaging and the benefits of a multilingual approach

are necessary to teach ITE students effectively; this results in the need for training across staff groups on the ITE programmes. My recommendation is that staff training is designed and delivered by experts in the field, co-constructed with multilingual trainee teachers such as the participants in my study who are encouraged to engage with self-reflexivity.

The data from this study suggests that content of ITE curricular should focus not only on subject specific 'knowledge' to support the development of Early Learning Goals (DfE, 2024c) and the National Curriculum (DfE, 2014) but of equal importance is a focus on the emotional wellbeing of pupils, their meaningful inclusion in the classroom and appreciation of cultural Funds of Knowledge (Moll, 1992). Fully inclusive practice, as highlighted through my participants' accounts, is not a straightforward request, given the hazards outlined by participants who experienced being labelled as part of homogeneous 'EAL' group of pupils which highlights acutely, the necessity that teachers understand the background of each of their pupils.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 (i) National Curriculum Inclusion Statement 1990

40. There will not be any general provision for the exemption of individual pupils attending county, voluntary or grant-maintained schools. But for a pupil who has a statement of special need under the Education Act 1981, it is proposed that the statement should specify any national curriculum requirements which should not apply. In addition, the Secretaries of State will be empowered to define in regulations circumstances in which the application of the national curriculum provisions might be modified for any foundation subject. For example, the modern languages regulations might indicate that pupils with severe difficulties in English should be introduced to a foreign language later than or on a different basis from most children.

Appendix 1 (ii) National Curriculum Inclusion Statement 2000

Pupils who are learning English as an additional language

6. 6 Pupils for whom English is an additional language have diverse needs in terms of support necessary in English language learning. Planning should take account of such factors as the pupil's age, length of time in this country, previous educational experience and skills in other languages. Careful monitoring

   of each pupil's progress in the acquisition of English language skills and of subject knowledge and understanding will be necessary to confirm that no learning difficulties are present.

7. 7 The ability of pupils for whom English is an additional language to take part in the National Curriculum may be ahead of their communication skills in English. Teachers should plan learning opportunities to help pupils develop their English and should aim to provide the support pupils need to take part in all subject areas.
8. 8 Teachers should take specific action to help pupils who are learning English as an additional language by:
    1. a developing their spoken and written English
    2. b ensuring access to the curriculum and to assessment.

Examples for C/8a – developing spoken and written English

Teachers develop pupils' spoken and written English through:

- ensuring that vocabulary work covers both the technical and everyday meaning of key words, metaphors and idioms
- explaining clearly how speaking and writing in English are structured to achieve different purposes, across a range of subjects
- providing a variety of reading material [for example, pupils' own work,

  the media, ICT, literature, reference books] that highlight the different ways English is used, especially those that help pupils to understand society and culture

- ensuring that there are effective opportunities for talk and that talk is used to support writing in all subjects

- where appropriate, encouraging pupils to transfer their knowledge, skills and understanding of one language to another, pointing out similarities and differences between languages
- building on pupils' experiences of language at home and in the wider community, so that their developing uses of English and other languages support one another.

Examples for C/8b – ensuring access

Teachers make sure pupils have access to the curriculum and to assessment through:

- using accessible texts and materials that suit pupils' ages and levels of learning
- providing support by using ICT or video or audio materials, dictionaries and translators, readers and amanuenses
- using home or first language, where appropriate.

Appendix 1 (iii) National Curriculum Inclusion Statement 2014

4. Inclusion

Setting suitable challenges

4.1 Teachers should set high expectations for every pupil. They should plan stretching work for pupils whose attainment is significantly above the expected standard. They have an even greater obligation to plan lessons for pupils who have low levels of prior attainment or come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Teachers should use appropriate assessment to set targets which are deliberately ambitious.

Responding to pupils' needs and overcoming potential barriers for individuals and groups of pupils

4.2 Teachers should take account of their duties under equal opportunities legislation that covers race, disability, sex, religion or belief, sexual orientation, pregnancy and maternity, and gender reassignment.

Note: Age is a protected characteristic under the Equality Act 2010 but it is not applicable to schools in relation to education or (as far as relating to those under the age of 18) the provision of services; it is a relevant protected characteristic in relation to the provision of services or employment (so when thinking about staff). Marriage and civil partnership are also a protected characteristic but only in relation to employment.

4.3 A wide range of pupils have special educational needs, many of whom also have disabilities. Lessons should be planned to ensure that there are no barriers to every pupil achieving. In many cases, such planning will mean that these pupils will be able to study the full national curriculum. The special educational needs and disability code of practice includes advice on approaches to identification of need which can support this. A

minority of pupils will need access to specialist equipment and different approaches. The SEN and disability code of practice is clear about what should be done to meet their needs.

4.4 With the right teaching, that recognises their individual needs, many disabled pupils may have little need for additional resources beyond the aids which they use as part of their daily life. Teachers must plan lessons so that these pupils can study every national curriculum subject. Potential areas of difficulty should be identified and addressed at the outset of work.

4.5 Teachers must also take account of the needs of pupils whose first language is not English. Monitoring of progress should take account of the pupil's age, length of time in this country, previous educational experience and ability in other languages.

4.6 The ability of pupils for whom English is an additional language to take part in the national curriculum may be in advance of their communication skills in English. Teachers should plan teaching opportunities to help pupils develop their English and should aim to provide the support pupils need to take part in all subjects.

Appendix 2 Teacher Standards

Teachers' Standards Guidance for school leaders, school staff and governing bodies DfE, (2012) Full document here: Teachers Standards Dec 2021.pdf

Preamble

Teachers make the education of their pupils their first concern, and are accountable for achieving the highest possible standards in work and conduct. Teachers act with honesty and integrity; have strong subject knowledge, keep their knowledge and skills as teachers up-to-date and are self-critical; forge positive professional relationships; and work with parents in the best interests of their pupils.

Part One: Teaching

A teacher must:

1. Set high expectations which inspire, motivate and challenge pupils
   • establish a safe and stimulating environment for pupils, rooted in mutual respect
   • set goals that stretch and challenge pupils of all backgrounds, abilities and dispositions
   • demonstrate consistently the positive attitudes, values and behaviour which are expected of pupils.
2. Promote good progress and outcomes by pupils
   • be accountable for pupils' attainment, progress and outcomes
   • be aware of pupils' capabilities and their prior knowledge, and plan teaching to build on these
   • guide pupils to reflect on the progress they have made and their emerging needs
   • demonstrate knowledge and understanding of how pupils learn and how this impacts on teaching
   • encourage pupils to take a responsible and conscientious attitude to their own work and study.
3. Demonstrate good subject and curriculum knowledge
   • have a secure knowledge of the relevant subject(s) and curriculum areas, foster and maintain pupils' interest in the subject, and address misunderstandings
   • demonstrate a critical understanding of developments in the subject and curriculum areas, and promote the value of scholarship
   • demonstrate an understanding of and take responsibility for promoting high standards of literacy, articulacy and the correct use of standard English, whatever the teacher's specialist subject
   • if teaching early reading, demonstrate a clear understanding of systematic synthetic phonics
   • if teaching early mathematics, demonstrate a clear understanding of appropriate teaching strategies.

4. Plan and teach well structured lessons
   • impart knowledge and develop understanding through effective use of lesson time
   • promote a love of learning and children's intellectual curiosity
   • set homework and plan other out-of-class activities to consolidate and extend the knowledge and understanding pupils have acquired
   • reflect systematically on the effectiveness of lessons and approaches to teaching
   • contribute to the design and provision of an engaging curriculum within the relevant subject area(s).
5. Adapt teaching to respond to the strengths and needs of all pupils
   • know when and how to differentiate appropriately, using approaches which enable pupils to be taught effectively
   • have a secure understanding of how a range of factors can inhibit pupils' ability to learn, and how best to overcome these
   • demonstrate an awareness of the physical, social and intellectual development of children, and know how to adapt teaching to support pupils' education at different stages of development
   • have a clear understanding of the needs of all pupils, including those with special educational needs; those of high ability; those with English as an additional language; those with disabilities; and be able to use and evaluate distinctive teaching approaches to engage and support them.
6. Make accurate and productive use of assessment
   • know and understand how to assess the relevant subject and curriculum areas, including statutory assessment requirements
   • make use of formative and summative assessment to secure pupils' progress
   • use relevant data to monitor progress, set targets, and plan subsequent lessons
   • give pupils regular feedback, both orally and through accurate marking, and encourage pupils to respond to the feedback.
7. Manage behaviour effectively to ensure a good and safe learning environment
   • have clear rules and routines for behaviour in classrooms, and take responsibility for promoting good and courteous behaviour both in classrooms and around the school, in accordance with the school's behaviour policy
   • have high expectations of behaviour, and establish a framework for discipline with a range of strategies, using praise, sanctions and rewards consistently and fairly
   • manage classes effectively, using approaches which are appropriate to pupils' needs in order to involve and motivate them
   • maintain good relationships with pupils, exercise appropriate authority, and act decisively when necessary.
8. Fulfil wider professional responsibilities
   • make a positive contribution to the wider life and ethos of the school
   • develop effective professional relationships with colleagues, knowing how and when to draw on advice and specialist support

• deploy support staff effectively
• take responsibility for improving teaching through appropriate professional development, responding to advice and feedback from colleagues
• communicate effectively with parents with regard to pupils' achievement

Appendix 3 Participant Information Sheet

Sheffield Hallam University

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

1. **Title of Project**
   Learning from multilingual trainee teachers to inform working with EAL pupils.

2. **Introduction**
   I invite you to be part of this project. This is a pilot study of the research that I am carrying out for my doctoral studies. I am interested to find out about your 'journey' as someone who has used English as an additional language, when a pupil in school. I would like to hear about whether you used your home language in the classroom and how you felt about this. I am also interested to hear about your experience on the ITE training course, in preparing you to teach EAL learners. This project also has a hands-on multi-media element which I hope you will find enjoyable and stimulating.

3. **Why have you asked me to take part?**
   You have been invited to be a participant because you are a bilingual/multilingual trainee teacher (Primary and Early Years) at Sheffield Hallam University.

4. **What will I be required to do?**
   - Once you have completed the consent form, I will offer to chat with you briefly about the project and answer any questions you may have.
     You will then be given access to art materials, cameras and audio recording and be asked to create something that represents your experience as a learner, learning through English as an additional language in a UK classroom. This can take any form you would like – it might be a picture, a photograph, a song, poem, cartoon, sketch or model (see ideas sheet attached for inspiration). I expect this to take you no more than one hour to create. If you would prefer to use your own materials, such as household objects or construction materials, you are free to do so.
   - After you have made this creative "text", we will meet together online for an unstructured interview where you will be given the opportunity to describe your "text" and what it represents for you. This interview will be recorded (audio only) and transcribed afterwards for later analysis. Your "text" will be photographed.

- Up to two weeks later, at a mutually convenient time, we then meet for a final time. You will be able to revisit your "text" (or photos of it if it has been dismantled) and talk about it further. You will also be asked a small number of questions, following your narrative account, to explore the impact of your experience on your professional practice as a teacher. Each of these interviews will take no more than one hour.

5. **Where will this take place?**
   This will take place online over zoom.

6. **How often will I have to take part, and for how long?**
   There will be two interviews, each of which will take up to one hour. The creation of the "text" is also expected to take up to one hour. This adds to 3 hours, in total.

7. **When will I have the opportunity to discuss my participation?**
   When you have read this information sheet, you will have the opportunity to ask any questions via email of telephone. You will also be given the opportunity to discuss your participation before and after the interviews.

8. **Who will be responsible for all of the information when this study is over?**
   The research data will be owned by the University.

9. **Who will have access to it?**
   The researcher (me) will have access to recorded interviews. These audio files will be stored securely at the University on an encrypted drive that can only be accessed using a password-protected computer system. These interviews will be transcribed (written up) and stored in the same way. All of the recordings and transcriptions will be anonymised. The photographs of your "text" will be stored in the same way. Part of the transcripts or photographs may be quoted in my assessed work or the thesis as part of my doctorate and thus may be read by my two doctoral supervisors and other staff involved in verification.

10. **What will happen to the information when this study is over?**
    The audio recordings, anonymised transcripts, photographs and scans will be stored securely for 10 years on the University server.

11. **How will you use what you find out?**

I will use the pilot study to inform how I organise the main study for my doctoral research. For example, whether participants enjoy the practical task, and whether interviews are the correct length. Anonymised data may be used as part of my assessed work, my doctoral thesis and possibly in future publications or conference presentations.

12. Will anyone be able to connect me with what is recorded and reported?

All data will be anonymised at the point of transcription. Participants and any people or schools who are mentioned in the data will be given pseudonyms.

13. How long is the whole study likely to last?

The interviews are planned to take place between May and July 2021.

14. How can I find out about the results of the study?

The results of the study will be written up in the assessed assignment that I submit in Autumn 2021. If you would like to read this assignment, or the final doctoral thesis in three years' time, please do let me know.

15. What if I do not wish to take part?

There is no obligation to take part in the study. Participation is entirely voluntary and you do not need to give a reason if you choose not to be involved.

16. What if I change my mind during the study?

You are not obliged to complete the study; if you choose to withdraw after the study has started, you will be free to do so and will not be asked to give reasons for your decision. If you would like to retract anything you say during interviews, you are free to do so up to 48 hours after the interview. If you wish to do this, please contact me via email (see below).

17. Do you have any questions?

Please feel free to ask me any questions. This can be via email or telephone conversation if you prefer.

18. Details of who to contact with any concerns or if adverse effects occur after the study.

Please see below for my contact details and those of my supervisors. If you have any concerns during or after the study, please feel free to contact any of these people via email.

If you feel that you require any emotional support after the study, the Education Support Partnership provides a free counselling service. They can be contacted via telephone 08000 562 561 or via their website: https://www.educationsupportpartnership.org.uk

You can also contact SHU Hallam Help via your Blackboard homepage.

Researcher:

Naomi Cooper: [redacted]

Supervisors:

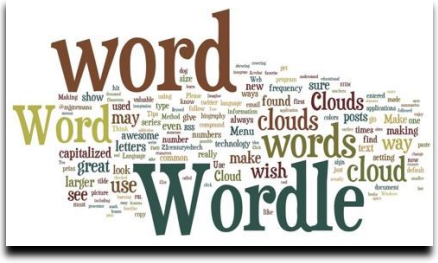
Roberta Taylor: [redacted]

Helen Donaghue: [redacted]

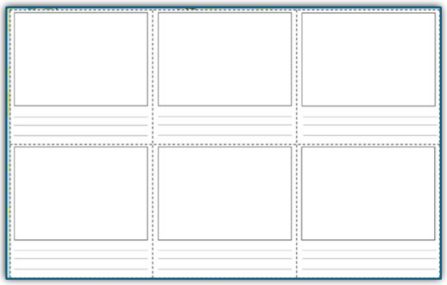
Sheffield Hallam University

Ideas for your "creative text"

A photo of a memory or a representation of your experience

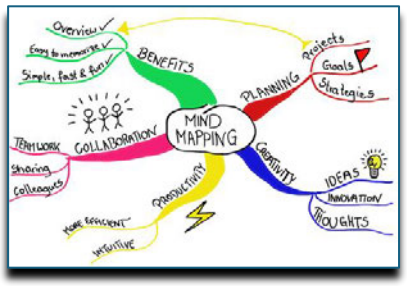


Write about your experiences and create a wordle here: https://monkeylearn.com/blog/word



A brief video/song – here is an example of a very short (and very funny) video which communicates a powerful message: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zy_y9yOr

Create a cartoon/storyboard



A mind map is a good way to connect thoughts in a visual way

Make a sketch or model

Appendix 4 Participant Consent form

Sheffield Hallam University

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF RESEARCH STUDY: Learning from multilingual trainee teachers to inform working with EAL pupils

Please answer the following questions by ticking the response that applies

	YES	NO
1. I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had details of the study explained to me.	☐	☐
2. My questions about the study have been answered to my satisfaction and I understand that I may ask further questions at any point.	☐	☐
3. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study within the time limits outlined in the Information Sheet, without giving a reason for my withdrawal or to decline to answer any particular questions in the study without any consequences to my future treatment by the researcher.	☐	☐
4. I agree to provide information to the researcher under the conditions of confidentiality set out in the Information Sheet.	☐	☐
5. I wish to participate in the study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.	☐	☐
6. I consent to the information collected for the purposes of this research study, once anonymised (so that I cannot be identified), to be used for the purpose of assessment and future educational conference presentations/publications.	☐	☐

Participant's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Participant's Name (Printed): _____

Contact details:

_____

Researcher's Name (Printed): Naomi Cooper

Researcher's Signature: _____

Researcher's contact details:

Sheffield Hallam University, Charles Street, Room 504, City Campus, Sheffield S1 1WB.
[redacted]

Supervisors contact details:

Roberta Taylor: [redacted] Helen Donaghue: [redacted]

Please keep your copy of the consent form and the information sheet together.

Appendix 5 Ethical Approval

Thesis chapter(s)	Research study	Ethics review reference	Approval date
Methodology	**Learning from multilingual trainee teachers to inform working with EAL pupils**	ER43176257	4.5.22

From: converis@shu.ac.uk <converis@shu.ac.uk>
Sent: 04 May 2022 15:07
To: Cooper, Naomi [redacted]
Subject: Converis - Ethics Review - Approval with Advisory Amendments

CAUTION: This message was sent from outside the University, purportedly from converis@shu.ac.uk .

Status change comment
DO NOT WRITE ANYTHING IN THIS NOTES BOX AS IT CAN BE SEEN BY ALL OTHER USERS. Proceed to select the workflow status and click Done.

- Dear Naomi

Title of Ethics Review: Learning from bi/multilingual trainee teachers to inform preparation for working with EAL pupils.
Ethic Review ID: ER43176257

The University has reviewed your ethics application named above and can confirm that the project has been approved.

The following advisory amendments were suggested, which you may wish to address:
(comments redacted).
You are expected to deliver the project in accordance with the University's research ethics and integrity policies and procedureshttps://www.shu.ac.uk/research/ethics-integrity-and-practice.

As the Principal Investigator you are responsible for monitoring the project on an ongoing basis and ensuring that the approve documentation is used. The project may be audited by the University during or after its lifetime.

Should any changes to the delivery of the project be required, you are required to submit an amendment for review.

If you have a query regarding your application, please contact your Faculty Ethics Administrator in the first instance.

HWB - hwbethics@shu.ac.uk
STA - STAfrec@shu.ac.uk
SBS - sbsethics@shu.ac.uk
SSH - SSH-ResearchEthics@shu.ac.uk

Wishing you success with your study

Kind regards,
Ethics Research Support

Appendix 6 Data Management Plan

DATA MANAGEMENT PLAN: NAOMI COOPER

1. What data will you collect or create?

- Field notes taken in interviews: Word documents
- Voice recording taken in interviews: mp3 audio files
- Photographs of multi-media artefacts: jpeg files

Approx. total storage required: 10gb

2. How will your data be documented and described?

The data in mp3 files, word documents and jpegs will all be clearly labelled with my details.

The written assessments (essays and thesis) where this data is quoted will be stored in the same place. This will all be stored on Q-Drive.

3. How will you deal with any ethical and copyright issues?

All data will be fully anonymised at transcription stage. Participants will be required to read an information sheet giving full details of how the data will be anonymised, stored and used. They will be required to sign a consent form, demonstrating that they are satisfied that data will be protected. They will be given opportunities to ask questions before, during and after the research.

No commercial products (for example Lego or Plasticine) will be offered as part of the multi-media resources. I will ensure that instead, non-branded products are offered in order to avoid copyright issues.

4. How will your data be structured, stored and backed up?

- Field notes taken in interviews: Word documents
- Voice recording taken in interviews: mp3 audio files
- Photographs of multi-media artefacts: jpeg files

Voice recordings will be transferred from the voice recorder to the encrypted Q drive on the SHU secure server, which is password protected. Following transfer, files will be deleted from the voice recorder.
Photos will be scanned and stored in the same way on Q drive, after which photos will be deleted from the SHU camera.
Each of the above, will be stored in a separate file for each participant. Each file will be labelled using a pseudonym.

5. What are your plans for the long-term preservation of data supporting your research?

All files listed in point 4 above, will be stored securely on the University Q drive for 10 years.

6. What are your plans for data sharing after submission of your thesis?

Doctoral thesis will be used to inform future publications and conference presentations.

Appendix 7 Acronym List

UK Government Education Department in chronological order:

- DfES: Department for Education and Skills (2001-2007)
- DCSF: Department for Children, Schools and Families (2007 to 2010)
- DFE: Department for Education (since 2010)

EAL: English as an Additional Language

ELG: Early Learning Goals

EYFS: Early Years Foundation Stage

FOK: Funds of Knowledge

NC: National Curriculum

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

PISA: Programme for International Student Assessment