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Exploring Teachers' Beliefs about the Reading Literacy Needs of EAL Pupils

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A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy

The University of Edinburgh

May, 2013

I certify that this thesis has been written by me and is my own work.

Yvonne Foley

Abstract

Across international boundaries, linguistic and cultural diversity among pupils present teachers with pedagogic challenges. Research on teachers' perceptions (e.g. Pajares, 1992; Woods, 1996; Farrell, 2005) suggests that the beliefs that teachers hold impact significantly on their classroom practices. This study adds to the existing body of international literature on teacher beliefs and literacy practices by exploring teachers' perceptions about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how these were met in Scottish secondary mainstream classroom contexts. In Scotland, policy specifies a Framework for Inclusion where pupils learning English as an additional language (hereafter EAL) are placed in mainstream classrooms. Schools are encouraged to play a key role in making sure that the needs of such pupils are addressed in an effort to raise achievement.

A sociocultural theoretical lens was used to examine the shared and divergent beliefs and reading literacy practices of sixteen mainstream English teachers; five EAL teachers; and five head/depute head teachers across three local authorities. Participants' responses communicated an undifferentiated understanding of the distinctive reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. The majority of teachers foregrounded reading as a set of universal skills that emphasised a knowledge of vocabulary and grammar. Ill-fitting policies and teachers' experiences within the varying school contexts appeared to mediate how EAL pupils' needs were constructed. Findings concerning the beliefs and practices of these teachers revealed that there was a lack of available ways of thinking about how to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils effectively; such a lack impacted on the quality and number of learning opportunities EAL pupils had as they faced the reading literacy demands of mainstream classrooms.

Teachers also highlighted their uncertainty about how to meet the reading literacy needs of such pupils effectively and this seemed to impact on how they constructed their identities as teachers within linguistically and culturally diverse classroom settings. In contrast, an overview of classroom

literacy practices revealed that teachers enacted confident identities as they operated out of a secure knowledge base for developing reading literacy in monolingual English speaking classrooms.

The study concludes with a discussion of the limitations related to the research design, and outlines the implications of the findings for policy, classroom literacy practices, and teachers' professional development opportunities. It is argued that Scottish schools are no longer monolingual, monocultural environments, but rather cross-cultural sites. It is recommended that policy needs to reconceptualise and broaden how second language development is framed within its documents. It is also suggested that secondary classroom contexts address the importance of multidimensional critical literacy practices as a way to challenge the dominant undifferentiated constructions that permeate teachers' beliefs about the development of reading literacy for pupils learning EAL. Such changes would position EAL pupils as legitimate participants in classroom literacy practices. The thesis concludes with a consideration of teacher identity and emphasises the need of ITE providers to provide a continuum of provision for pre-service and in-service teachers to enable them to develop the necessary knowledge and practices that would support the growing numbers of pupils learning EAL.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my husband Thomas Foley for his unequivocal support and for creating the time and space for me to engage in my studies. I also want to thank my children, Jessica and Luke, for being my loudest cheerleaders. I am very conscious of my indebtedness to my supervisors, Dr Charles Anderson and Dr Pauline Sangster for helping me to believe in myself throughout this process. Their time, encouragement and endless support (not to mention the laughter and endless cups of tea) were freely given. Finally, I would like to offer my sincere thanks to the teachers who gave of their time and welcomed me into their departments and classrooms, and to the local authorities who gave me permission. Without their help, this study would not have been possible.

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Chapter 1 Introduction to the Study

Background

This thesis reports on an investigation into teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of pupils learning English as an additional language (hereafter EAL pupils). There is an increasing number of pupils learning EAL in Scottish secondary schools and teachers play significant roles in shaping their educational experiences and successes. It was therefore important to explore what teachers believed about the needs of such pupils, and how they met these in classroom practices, as they worked in classroom contexts where a cultural and linguistic shift had taken place.

Borg's well-known review of research across language teaching contexts suggests that while some research has been undertaken worldwide into exploring teachers' beliefs about grammar, reading and writing, little has been carried out within state secondary school contexts (2006:274). Andrews' (2009) review of EAL research within mainstream schooling in the UK suggests that there is a gap in the wider research agenda that explores contexts servicing pupils within the 11-18 years age group, i.e. secondary schools. Thus the studies that investigate teachers' beliefs about issues associated with learning EAL in the UK are predominantly linked to primary level contexts (e.g. Franson, 1999; Smyth, 2001; Bourne, 2001; Conteh, 2007).

This means that subject teachers have rarely been the focus of a research agenda that explores the ways teachers perceive the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. While much research in the last three decades has explored teachers' knowledge and beliefs in L1 mainstream settings (e.g. Nesper, 1987; Richardson, Anders, Tidwell and Lloyd, 1991; Parajes, 1992; Grisham, 2000), what is markedly absent from research is an exploration of the beliefs and experiences of teachers who work in secondary classrooms where there has been a rapid growth in the number of pupils learning EAL (Reeves, 2010:131). Little is also known about how subject specialist English teachers, who have not been prepared to teach in linguistically and culturally

diverse classrooms, seek to meet the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. Borg (2006) proposes that an exploration of the factors that influence teachers' beliefs about the realities of schools and classrooms and how these beliefs underpin their classroom practices should be a key consideration for any future research agenda. This study addresses this gap.

In the light of these considerations, this study contributes not only to the research gap within the UK, but more specifically to the Scottish context at secondary school levels. Within Scotland, a structured research agenda appears to be lacking within the field of Second Language Teacher Education or Mainstream Education, that is specifically related to teaching and learning about reading literacy within linguistically and culturally diverse classroom contexts. This lack of research across Scottish teacher education in general, in comparison to the rest of the UK, was highlighted in a review of Scottish educational research (2008). This thesis therefore seeks to *bridge the discourses* (Gibbons, 2006) between Mainstream Education and Second Language Teacher Education in an effort to address these challenges and gaps.

Terminology

Terminology has been a challenge due to the variety of terms that are used to refer to both pupils and teachers nationally and internationally, such as, bilingual pupils/learners; English language learners (ELL); English as an additional language (EAL); English as a second language (ESL); limited English proficiency (LEP); bilingual support assistants/teachers; EAL teachers; bilingual teachers; bilingual teaching assistants. Such terms are often linked to different ideologies within specific contexts (Leung and Creese, 2010). 'Moreover, different policy trajectories have created a whole range of policy acronyms particular to national contexts...' (Leung and Creese, 2010:xviii).

It is important to recognise that EAL pupils cannot be described as a homogeneous group, but are a diverse population of learners who come

from a variety of social, cultural and linguistic backgrounds. I will return to this point in the discussion. I have drawn on Gibbons' (2009:8) descriptions of English language learners (ELLs) to help to provide a way of describing pupils learning English as an additional language in Scottish secondary schools. Some pupils are literate in their home language, while others may have limited literacy or are considered to have no literacy in any language; some pupils are refugees, while others are the children of migrants who have moved to Scotland to improve their economic situation. Some EAL pupils are new to Scotland, while others are second or third generation migrants who have not yet developed the type of advanced literacy skills needed to access the curriculum successfully. Some have developed fluency in English conversational skills and others have developed some literacies associated with reading and writing, but have no conversational ability. EAL pupils' socio-economic backgrounds are also diverse. Some pupils' parents have experienced tertiary education, while others are the first in their families to attend school (Gibbons, 2009:8). Within this thesis I have used the term EAL pupils to describe this wide population. This is not the term used in Scottish policy documents, but I have deliberately chosen EAL pupils as the term allows me talk about a commonality of issues that are linked to such a diverse group of pupils.

My definition of EAL pupils draws in part from Meltzer and Hamman's inclusive notion of English language learners and describes them as pupils who use two or more languages in their everyday lives 'and whose opportunities to fully develop English language literacy to grade level have not yet been fully realised' (2005:5). Such pupils may or may not receive EAL support from the support for learning (hereafter S/L) department or in the form of an EAL teacher within Scottish secondary schools. This term does not take into account the EAL pupil's English language proficiency level or their ability in reading in their first or additional languages. Finally, the term EAL pupil also allows me to focus on the fact that such pupils are learning subject content knowledge through English as an additional language. This focus foregrounds that such pupils require a specific EAL pedagogy which would provide them with equal opportunities for

developing the reading literacy required to access the mainstream curriculum successfully.

Personal Background

My own interest in this topic can be traced through my experience in teaching English as a second language (hereafter ESL) at an international school in Taiwan, which included pupils from Kindergarten to 12th Grade (5-18 years). The school implemented a standards-based American curriculum. During my time at this school I noticed that some pupils, who spoke English as a second or additional language, found reading texts in mainstream classrooms very challenging. Despite the fact that they had been successful in the admissions reading test, which indicated they had a basic proficiency in the English language, there were many instances during the school year where mainstream teachers reported that a number of these pupils were not necessarily able to cope with the mainstream reading demands. Some of the challenges noted by teachers included pupils having difficulty in analysing a written text, being able to synthesise information from various parts of the text, a lack of specific cultural knowledge related to the text and a limited ability to make inferences. These concerns were supported by pupil scores on tests designed by classroom teachers, which were used for formative and summative purposes throughout the academic year. I noted the recurring, unprompted comments from a variety of mainstream teachers, which caused me to consider the various views teachers held about the reading process for pupils who were learning to read in a second or additional language.

Later, I took on a role as a Director of Studies for the ESL departments across three international school campuses, where I was required to provide continued professional development (hereafter CPD) for mainstream teachers who were teaching pupils learning ESL. I found that teachers frequently commented on the lack of ability many of these pupils had when faced with the reading demands in mainstream classrooms. High school mainstream teachers across the three campuses spoke of a continued surface

level comprehension and the slow development of academic skills when they talked about these pupils, despite the fact that they had been attending the school for more than three years. The challenges these pupils faced became school-wide concerns and questions arose in staff meetings as to whether they should be tested for learning disabilities. Some teachers believed that a learning disability was a strong possible reason for the slow development of the pupils' academic skills in the English language.

School policy promoted both 'pull-out' and 'push-in systems'. In the pull-out system pupils learning ESL were extracted from, what were termed as *non-core* subjects, to attend group ESL classes. The push-in system provided opportunities for the ESL teacher to work alongside the subject teacher in the mainstream classroom in order to embed an ESL pedagogy within mainstream pedagogic practices. Although I was not consciously aware of it at the time, my interactions with mainstream teachers facilitated interesting discussions concerning the pedagogical beliefs and perspectives of both sets of teachers. These discussions focused mainly around the area of reading, because the American curriculum was heavily impacted by the use of textbooks. Some teachers' perspectives were assimilationist in that they believed the interactions with pupils around classroom texts should align with the views and attitudes within the textbook, while others appeared to be more inclusive and felt that the diversity of opinions enriched the lesson.

The various opportunities and challenges within these international school contexts nurtured a desire within me to explore this topic in more detail and I decided to pursue PhD studies that would have a specific focus on teachers' perceptions about the development of reading literacy for pupils learning English as an additional language in the UK. The journey of how the research aims for this particular study became more focused is detailed in chapter four.

Summary of the Study

This thesis reports on an interview study that took place within mainstream secondary school contexts in Scotland. The main aims of this study were to explore mainstream English and EAL (English as an Additional Language) teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of pupils learning English as an additional language and how they believed they met these in classroom practices. A subsidiary focus within the study observed the ways in which teachers meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in classroom practices as they learned subject content knowledge through English as an additional language. This contributory focus supported the main aims of the study, as it provided the opportunity to compare teachers' espoused beliefs with their classroom practices within particular teaching contexts. Post-observation interviews were also used to gain further insights into the choices teachers made within classroom practices, thus illuminating their beliefs in more detail.

Interviews and observations were conducted between February 9th and June 23rd 2009.¹ An important consideration of the sampling process was to explore how teachers framed their beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils rather than to criticise them for any possible lack of *appropriate* ways of thinking.

Initial interviews with twenty-six teachers were interactive and focused around specific topics related to the aim of the study. Such topics included: teachers' perceptions of policy and provision within the particular context; teachers' understandings of the reading process and of the needs of pupils learning EAL; and the methods and approaches used by teachers to meet such needs. There was little variation in the design of the initial interviews with mainstream teachers, EAL teachers, and head / depute teachers as the

¹ The work linked to the collection of data, data analysis and reporting has been carried out by the author of this thesis.

intention of the study was to consider similarities and differences in beliefs about reading literacy across different school contexts. The open-ended questions provided opportunities for all participants to share their knowledge, values and beliefs during the interview process.

Classroom observations (thirty-two) were undertaken to inform the subsequent interviews and provide deeper insights into how teachers met the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. These observations of classroom literacy practices allowed comparisons to be made between what teachers said and what they actually did. The observation study allowed for opportunities to highlight topics for further exploration during post-observation interviews. Post-observation interviews with sixteen mainstream English teachers served to provide further insights into the complex choices teachers made during classroom literacy practices as they enacted specific identities as teachers of reading literacy.

The data collection process within this study generated large sets of complex data. It was a key concern during the interview and observation processes to gain an in-depth understanding of how teachers perceived of, and met, the needs of pupils learning EAL. As a result, a detailed analysis of the findings associated with mainstream English teachers', EAL teachers' and head/depute teachers' beliefs was carefully reported and discussed.

The Organisation of the Thesis

Following this introduction, a review of the literature related to this study is presented in two distinct chapters. Chapter 2 is part one of the literature review and contextualises the present study by drawing on the literature and developments within Scottish education, mainstreaming policies, second language teacher education in school settings, and sociocultural theory. The aim was to situate the work of the study within a particular sociocultural context and to provide a theoretical lens through which teachers' beliefs and literacy practices could be considered.

Chapter 3 is part two of the literature review and begins with a discussion about the shift that has taken place in language learning theories. The chapter moves towards a social understanding of language development and foregrounds perspectives of language as social practice. Following this, an account is provided of the shift that has taken place in our understanding of reading, where wider notions of literacy are explored through a consideration of critical literacy and its relevance to literacy practices within diverse classroom contexts. The chapter concludes by examining sociocultural perspectives of teacher identity and links to how teachers conceptualise reading literacy and its associated practices.

Chapter 4 gives an account of the methodological procedures that were used, and the rationale that underpinned the choices that were made in relation to the research design. In particular, issues associated with my position as a researcher, conceptualisations of validity, approaches associated with the interviews and observations, the processes of analysis, and decisions about the reporting of the findings are discussed in detail.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the findings of the study. Chapter 5 analyses teachers' perceptions about the ways in which mainstreaming practices facilitate or prevent the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils being met. Following this, teachers' accounts about language acquisition and how EAL pupils develop the language needed to interact with mainstream classroom texts is explored. Observations within this study do not consistently reflect teachers' conflicted views about mainstreaming practices and language acquisition processes as they engage in undifferentiated literacy practices that expect all pupils to access classroom text successfully. Teachers' accounts and practices reveal the conflict within their beliefs and actions due to the mediating role of various *cultural tools* (Wertsch, 1991) operating within the school contexts. Consequently, among the key findings of this thesis is that current mainstreaming policy and practices need to change to make the distinct reading literacy needs of EAL pupils visible and a part of classroom *Discourses* (Gee, 2005).

Chapter 6 reports teachers' perspectives on reading literacy and how they engaged in specific practices to meet the needs of their pupils. The themes that emerged from the data are considered. It is proposed that teachers' views are shaped by contextual factors and that they hold an undifferentiated understanding of reading literacy. In addition, the findings revealed that teacher identity was conflicted as they engaged in reading literacy practices in diverse classrooms. It is argued that in the light of the findings of this thesis there is a need to broaden teachers' knowledge-base about how to meet the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL in culturally and linguistically diverse classroom contexts. Finally, the observation studies also revealed conflict in the ways teachers perceived how well they meet the needs of EAL pupils and the identities that they enact during literacy practices as mainstream English teachers. The chapter concludes by considering the implications for classroom practices in relation to reading literacy and foregrounds areas for change that are needed within pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes. Chapter 7 discusses the key findings that emerged from the various data sets and considers their implications.

The following chapter is therefore the first part of the literature review. Chapter 2 contextualises the study as a whole and considers literature associated with the Scottish educational context, the mainstreaming of EAL and the sociocultural lens which underpins the study.

Chapter 2 Literature Review (Part 1)

Introduction

The literature review is divided into two chapters, each serving different functions. The purpose of the first chapter is to introduce the context of the whole study to facilitate an understanding of the ways in which teachers framed their beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. The purpose of the second chapter of the literature review is to examine the literature associated with language learning theories and reading literacy which can be drawn upon to understand teachers' perceptions and practices and at the same time inform the context of the study.

Previewing the content of this first chapter, I present the policy context within Scotland in order to delineate the background in which the study is set. Following this, I explore the literature related to EAL to consider the perspectives and practices linked to mainstreaming policies and teacher education programmes across national and international boundaries. This body of literature influenced my understanding of the impact of policy, mainstreaming and teacher education within similar educational contexts. Next, I consider the literature that has shaped my understanding of teachers' beliefs within a sociocultural framework. In conclusion, I draw on sociocultural theory as a framing perspective for this thesis to foreground notions of mediation and Discourses which have guided my understanding of the factors that influenced the ways in which teachers thought and practised as they participated within specific social and cultural contexts.

Policies of Mainstreaming

Within Scottish education, policy documents outline axioms that promote equality and inclusion and a message that clearly communicates that *all* pupils should have equal access to the mainstream curriculum. Following the Education Scotland Act (1981), the key principle that guides

the education of EAL pupils is that: 'they should be educated in the mainstream classroom alongside their peers to avoid segregated provision and to guarantee equal access to the curriculum' (Harris and Leung, 2011:251). Similar principles apply in England following recommendations from the Swann Report (1985) and the Calderdale Education Authority review of EAL provision (1986). A variety of policy guidelines have been published over the last decade outlining the ways in which local authorities, schools and teachers are to implement mainstreaming policies. 'However, as Andrews (2009) notes, despite this series of successive legislative, curricular, advisory and quality assurance documents over the past two decades, successful mainstreaming of EAL students has not been achieved' (Foley, Sangster and Anderson, 2012:2).

The Standards in Scotland's Schools Act (Scottish Executive Education Department [SEED] 2000) requires local authorities to guarantee that schools meet the needs of all pupils, and that they achieve their full potential. Legislation specifies that it is the right of children and young people to receive additional support, if needed; and a number of additional curricular guidelines and arrangements have been designed to achieve this goal.

The Education (Additional Support for Learning – hereafter ASN) (Scotland) Act (HMSO 2004) provides a broad definition for pupils who require additional support. The ASN policy (2004) argues that for each child or young person with additional support needs, every local authority must make adequate and efficient provision for additional support as is required by that child or young person. The Act states that: 'Schools have a key role to play in maximising the potential of bilingual learners. . . and should be proactive in addressing the learning needs, and raising the achievement of bilingual learners' (2004: 27). There are specific guidelines provided by the Scottish Executive's *Supporting Children's Learning: Code of Practice* (SEED, 2005) for implementing the Act. At the same time the ASN Act became legislation, a number of curricular reforms took place within Scotland known as Curriculum for Excellence (hereafter CfE). CfE outlines a number of aspirational values and advocates that: 'the curriculum should enable all

young people in Scotland to develop as: successful learners; confident individuals; responsible citizens; and effective contributors' (SEED, 2004). Guidelines were drawn up in the form of the report, '*Learning in 2(+)* Languages' (Learning and Teaching Scotland [LTScotland], 2005) to support the implementation of CfE for pupils learning EAL. CfE recognises that in order to promote achievement:

Schools should build on pupils' learning and achievements, within and beyond school. Bilingual learners have a number of particular strengths including their experience of different languages. However, some will require additional support if they are to maximise their progress in school and achieve to their fullest potential.
(LTScotland, 2005:8).

A number of key principles are highlighted within this report in relation to working with pupils learning EAL. They should be provided with 'effective teaching and learning, communication with parents, valuing and promoting home language and staff support and development' (LTScotland, 2005:8). There is some recognition of the links between the development of literacy in a first/home language and the development of literacy in English.

In an effort to promote good practice, Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Education (hereafter HMIE) (2006) provides a series of guidelines to support a policy for inclusion. This document allows schools to self-evaluate how effective educational provision is for all pupils. These guidelines also include a set of quality indicators that relate to provision and classroom practices for pupils learning EAL (HMIE, 2006). Specific practices are highlighted as a way to indicate to local authorities and schools the types of provisions and practices they should be offering to meet the needs of such pupils. Key principles that suggest good practice and appropriate provision are outlined as follows: 'EAL and bilingual staff [should] work collaboratively with class teachers to ensure that all bilingual learners' needs are met' (HMIE, 2006:15). The document outlines key questions, such as: 'How effectively do EAL and bilingual support staff provide support to bilingual learners?' (HMIE, 2006:15). Schools are encouraged to use these documents, which align with the aspirations within CfE, on a consistent basis

as a tool to track their *Journey to Excellence*. To expand the description of the context of the study we now move to consider the training of mainstream, EAL teachers and bilingual teaching assistants (hereafter BTAs).

Teacher Education in Scotland

What is striking within current teacher education standards and policy guidelines is the omission of EAL as a required and distinct area of training for mainstream teachers. There is also a lack of specific standards in relation to the training of EAL teachers and the roles they enact within schools.

Mainstream secondary teachers in Scotland must have completed a first degree in a specialist area before they undertake a one-year postgraduate degree in secondary education (PGDE[S]). At the end of their initial training, they must demonstrate that they have met the benchmarks for initial teacher education (hereafter ITE), and again at the end of the probationary year those for Full Registration.

However, the Scottish educational system does not provide such benchmarks for EAL teachers. Universities do offer certificate or diploma level qualifications for current mainstream teachers who wish to pursue further professional qualifications to become an EAL teacher. Such qualifications are not compulsory for those wishing to work with EAL pupils, but they are the preferred routes advocated by local authorities.

In terms of BTAs, who work in the classroom with EAL pupils, there are no formal qualifications required. However, local authorities do require BTAs to have high language proficiency in the languages that they speak. This results in BTAs having a broad range of experience and qualifications, with only a few having an educational experience of teaching in formal contexts. Local authorities are responsible for the provision of induction and preliminary training for BTAs, but no formal mandatory national training or detailed specification of the role are given (Foley *et al*, 2012). BTAs often

work with a number of teachers and their role depends on how individual mainstream teachers conceptualise EAL and the needs of EAL pupils within their own classrooms. It is important to highlight that political and economic change on a global scale has impacted on the number of pupils learning EAL arriving in Scottish schools. Due to the changing nature of migration, it is safe to say that the majority of mainstream teachers will experience multicultural and multilingual classrooms at some point in their teaching career.

Scottish Teacher Education Programmes

The seven ITE providers in Scotland offer a 'combination of initial teacher education, continuing professional development for teachers, and a range of other activities' (Christie, 2008:819). Though the structure of the ITE curriculum across institutions is varied there are common elements: Curriculum Studies (study of subject areas); School Placements (practical school experience); and Professional Studies (comprises of theories associated with educational studies) which are usually taught in multidisciplinary subject groups. Most programmes offer a range of optional courses which allow student teachers to choose a specific area of interest to further their own development (Christie, 2008). However, in a similar way to England, while literacy across the curriculum at a secondary level is given much attention within ITE programmes across Scotland, EAL is not afforded the same status. Therefore, the development of language and literacy for pupils learning English as an additional language is conceptualised within an English monolingual frame of reference.

Language Policy and the Scottish School Context

Migration patterns over the years have increased the number of languages that are in daily use and these languages now recognised by the government include Urdu, Chinese, Italian, Polish and British Sign Language. The most

recent Scottish Government statistical survey that was carried out in 2011 reports that the most common language that is spoken after English is Polish followed by Punjabi and Urdu (The Scottish Government, 2011). These languages were closely followed by Arabic, Cantonese, French and Gaelic languages (The Scottish Government, 2011). The Scottish Executive Education Department's (SEED) school census indicates that 138 different languages are spoken in schools and that there is a growing plurilingual population (McPake, 2006). In the 2011 government consensus, it was reported that there were 24,555 pupils identified as learning English as an additional language, representing a continued increase from previous years (The Scottish Government, 2011).

Despite these language trends and current migration patterns, language policy within Scottish education remains predominantly English monolingualism. There is, however, provision for Gaelic medium education, but a discussion of such provision is beyond the scope of this study. This means that for EAL pupils in mainstream classrooms within Scotland, English is the medium of education.

Scotland has a decreasing population, thus inward migration has been a key government policy in recent years. The Scottish Parliament in 2000, in an effort to give due recognition to the range of Scotland's languages and to support the growing migrant population (who were defined as *The New Scots*), published the National Cultural Strategy (SEED, 2000b). This document seeks to prioritise key statements such as: 'ensure that through their initial training and continuing professional development (CPD) teachers are well prepared to promote and develop all pupils' language skills' (SEED, 2000b:13). At the same time it sets out to consider: 'how the languages of Scotland's ethnic minorities can be supported and how their contribution to Scotland's culture can be recognised and celebrated' (SEED, 2000b:12). Despite these aspirational values embedded within the document, its impact on teaching and learning environments in schools has been minimal. Instead, in a similar way to England, practices aim to assimilate pupils from linguistically and culturally diverse backgrounds into the

dominant culture of the school (Monaghan, 2010). Smyth's (2001) study in the primary sector within Scottish schools shows that teachers framed their understanding of literacy practices in terms of English rather than with reference to the languages and cultures that were a legitimate part of the classroom.

It is hoped that this study, which investigated teachers' beliefs and practices in relation to the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils within English medium educational contexts, will contribute to an understanding of the ways that diversity in language and culture can be valued and drawn upon as a necessary part of reading literacy practices. The following section widens the contextualization of the study across national and international boundaries.

The Mainstreaming of EAL

The policy of integrating pupils learning EAL into mainstreaming classrooms has been established since the 1980s, across all of the UK, and countries such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. Many parallels can be seen in the ways that mainstreaming values, principles and practices have been implemented across a number of local and global contexts. Across these varied contexts, mainstreaming is considered to be the most valued approach to promote educational achievement and to develop the language of pupils learning EAL. Leung draws attention to the fact that 'a common educational commitment has been realised by a whole host of different national and/or local policies and practices in terms of English (and other, minority community) language teaching' (2003:unpaginated). However, mainstreaming policies have been instrumental in positioning EAL pupils as similar to fluent monolingual English speaking pupils in terms of pedagogic practices (de Jong and Harper, 2005; Leung, 2012). This has resulted in an undifferentiated mainstream context (Costley and Leung, 2009:152; Leung, 2003). A description of mainstreaming policies and practices is relevant to this thesis as it gives insights into the wider influences that shape teachers'

beliefs. These policies and practices are discussed in the following sections.

Policy positions in relation to mainstreaming are also established internationally in linguistically and culturally diverse countries such as the US, Australia and Canada. For example, within the United States context, mainstreaming has been interpreted and implemented in various ways. Platt, Harper and Mendoza highlight that notions linked with inclusion and equal opportunity within the United States context are characterised by 'duelling philosophies' (Platt *et al*, 2003:105). Equal opportunity, according to Reeves has been linked to issues of outcome which is measured by 'parity in graduation rates, test scores, dropout rates, and college admittance' (2004:44). She suggests that other indicators, such as 'access to schooling' and 'equitable school financing' also have strong links to achievement and outcomes (Reeves, 2004:44).

Two approaches are in place within the United States to equalize educational opportunity, i.e. *differentiation* and *universalism* (Howe, 1997). Differentiation attempts to meet individual pupil needs by providing separate provision, or transitional models of bilingual education, or 'push-in' ESL programmes, where the ESL teacher team-teaches or offers in-class support for ESL pupils. In contrast, universalism is associated with equal access, but appears to *flatten differences*, thus differences in language, culture, ethnicity, and gender are often ignored (Reeves, 2004; Leung, 2012). Reeves' study proposes that both *differentiation* and *universalism* are inadequate and that broader links with the community, where EAL pupils can engage in authentic and participatory experiences, are needed as a way to ensure equal opportunity outwith of the constraints of the existing models. A universalist approach in the United States appears to share some similar features to mainstreaming across the whole of the UK and other countries, such as Australia and Canada (Cummins, 2000; Davison, 2001a).

Partnership Teaching

The initial goal of a policy of mainstreaming across the UK was not to replace EAL specialists within schools; rather the EAL specialist was encouraged to work alongside the mainstream teacher in the classroom, or provide remedial one-to-one tutorials when required for pupils learning EAL. Bourne and McPake suggest that the goal of EAL provision was to 'develop a curriculum response to the language needs and abilities of all pupils, whether monolingual, bilingual or multilingual' (1991:8). Leung (2005a) sheds light on the reasons why partnership teaching is promoted as a whole school approach for all learners. He suggests that the perceptions about EAL within schools are linked to the idea that 'EAL is seen as a supra-subject phenomenon; it is regarded as a general teaching and learning issue, and not a specific *language teaching and learning* issue' (Leung, 2005a:98, italics in the original).

Despite policy guidelines for partnership teaching, a report that considers ten case studies that were carried out in England shows that partnerships between the EAL teacher and the mainstream teacher were the exception rather than the rule (Wallace and Mallows, 2009). Liaison time between EAL and mainstream teachers is not easy to set up because of time constraints and the range of teaching contexts that have to be covered by the EAL specialist (Leung and Franson, 2001a). Therefore, opportunities to prepare jointly classroom materials, discuss appropriate teaching strategies, and engage in collaborative in-service training are not feasible (Leung and Franson, 2001a:169).

Edwards' work addresses the issue that collaborative partnerships are relevant across the whole-school as a way to address particular local conditions and highlight specific priorities (1992:106). Bourne's findings concur with such views and argue that schools need to engage in implementing elements of action research in relation to specific instances of how bilingual support is utilized within particular contexts. She states that implementing action research would involve whole-school approaches that

include lunch-time programme meetings of all staff, and in-service time to consider bilingual approaches to learning (Bourne, 2001:266).

While England is currently in a state of flux concerning state funded EAL provision and local authority services, Scotland continues for the most part to be centrally funded by local authorities in an effort to make mainstream schools an optimal learning environment for pupils learning EAL. This thesis highlights the impact mainstreaming practices have had on the ways in which teachers frame their beliefs and the reading literacy opportunities that are available across a number of Scottish schools for pupils learning EAL.

Bilingual Education

Critics have argued that the conceptualization of mainstreaming within many educational contexts does not promote pluralist societies because of the lack of specification and understanding of the ways an L1 facilitates the development of the L2 (Cummins, 1984, 2000; Baker, 2006; Garcia, 2008). MacKay and Freedman capture this failure well in relation to language and learning and state that there appears to be a lack of understanding of the 'important role that first language maintenance can have in both cognitive development and in the acquisition of a second language' (MacKay and Freedman, 1990:391). Cummins advocates that when making policy decisions, it is important to consider the wide range of research from other countries that supports notions of linguistic transfer. He notes that in terms of educational outcomes, pupils who have developed their L1 literacy skills make faster and more effective progress when developing L2 literacy (2000:75). Findings from studies in bilingual education report that the aim of two-way bilingual immersion or dual language programmes is to develop biliteracy (Menken and Kleyn, 2010). The argument within such literature emphasises that pupils learning EAL, who have the opportunity to develop their L1 literacy at the same time as their L2, outperform their monolingual English-speaking peers in terms of academic success (Baker, 2006; Thomas

and Collier, 1997).

The term bilingual education can take various forms depending on the local context. Baker argues that precision is needed as it is often a 'simplistic label for a complex phenomenon' (2006:213). He advocates that a distinction is needed between classrooms that use and promote two languages and provide formal instruction to promote bilingualism, and those that offer monolingual education for pupils from language minority backgrounds (Baker, 2006:213). Baker contrasts the aims of educational contexts that promote bilingualism with those environments that teach bilingual pupils, yet are monolingual in their practices and aims (2006:213). The term bilingual is often used within academic literature and policy documents to refer to both types of context. There are many varieties of bilingual education programmes internationally. Baker (2006) and Garcia (2008) provide detailed typologies to show how notions of bilingualism fit various environments. I have drawn on a few of Baker's examples to exemplify the concept on the next page (see table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Examples of types of bilingual programmes (Adapted from Baker, 2006).

Monolingual Forms of Education for Bilinguals				
Type of Programme	Typical Type of Child	Language of the Classroom	Societal and Educational Aim	Aim in Language outcome
Mainstreaming/ Submersion	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation / Subtractive	Monolingualism
Mainstreaming/ Submersion with withdrawal classes	Language Minority	Majority Language	Assimilation / Subtractive	Monolingualism
Weak Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilinguals				
Transitional	Language Minority	Moves from minority to majority language	Assimilation / Subtractive	Relative Monolingualism
Mainstream with Foreign Language Teaching	Language Majority	Majority language with L2/FL lessons	Limited Enrichment	Limited Bilingualism
Strong Forms of Bilingual Education for Bilingualism and Biliteracy				
Immersion	Language Majority	Bilingual with initial emphasis on L2	Pluralism and Enrichment. Additive	Bilingualism and Biliteracy
Mainstream Bilingual	Language Majority	Two majority Languages. Pluralism	Maintenance and Biliteracy and Enrichment. Additive	Bilingualism

It is clear from table 2.1 that when EAL pupils are placed in mainstreaming school contexts that the term *submersion* is coined to describe their experiences. Baker emphasises:

Submersion contains the idea of a language minority student [e.g. EAL pupil] thrown into the deep end and expected to learn to swim as quickly as possible without the help of floats or special swimming lessons. The language of the pool will be the majority language (e.g. English) and not the home language of the child (e.g. Spanish)

(2006:215).

This means that the pupil who is learning EAL is taught in the mainstream classroom all day in the majority language with pupils who are fully proficient in the majority language. In such situations the goal is English monolingualism. Garcia advocates that 'the teaching of language-minority children exclusively in the majority language can never be considered an

instance of immersion education, despite it being called so' (2008:126). Therefore, schools across Scotland and the rest of the UK are considered to be subtractive in nature because of the emphasis being on English-only at the expense of other native languages within the classroom (Menken and Kleyn, 2010). EAL pupils are expected to develop L2 literacy in submersion contexts yet at the same time they are paying a cost in relation to the continuing development of their L1 literacy.

Teacher Education

It follows that because EAL pupils are mainstreamed, both the mainstream teacher and the EAL teacher are responsible for meeting their language and literacy needs (Leung, 2001). However, the literature shows that despite the policy of mainstreaming since the 1980s, and opportunities for professional development that helps teachers to understand the language and learning needs of EAL pupils, not much has changed. One of the key issues that is recognised within the literature is that there is a need to investigate the reasons associated with why change is slow. Some researchers argue that in order to gain insight into this issue, there is a need to explore the perceptions and beliefs that underpin teachers' classroom practices (Franson, 1999; Borg, 2006; Gibbons, 2008; Johnson, 2009). Franson's (1999) study conducted in England recognises that while mainstream teachers have an important role in ensuring that EAL pupils are included in common classroom practices, teachers are daunted by such responsibilities.

Lucas and Villegas researching in the United States reported similar experiences to the UK. They found that despite changes to national policy and the emphasis placed on the inclusion of EAL pupils into mainstream classes, mainstream teachers had not been given sufficient preparation for teaching in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms (2001:40). Grant and Wong also raise questions linked to English language learners in mainstream schools and ask: 'Why do barriers continue to restrict access to full literacy for many language-minority learners in the United States'

(2003:386). Grant and Wong (2003) posit that the reason there is a lack of equality within school systems for English language learners is related to the failure of teacher education programmes to prepare mainstream and reading teachers to meet their specific needs. They also propose that a first crucial step to address these issues is to enable such teachers to become aware of their own linguistic and cultural deficit models (Grant and Wong, 2003:393). Tarone and Allwright (2010) also recognise that teacher education programmes have left out knowledge of second language learners and second language acquisition processes and that this has a direct impact on how needs are met within classroom contexts. Darling-Hammond, Chung and Freelow (2002) argue that research that explores the relationship between teachers' perceptions and the effectiveness of teacher education programmes is needed in order to promote more successful student achievement. De Jong and Harper follow this argument through and advocate the need for specific frameworks to be established that make the 'linguistic and cultural foundations of teaching and learning visible and explicit within the context of mainstream teacher preparation in order to influence mainstream classroom practices' (2005:118). There appears to be a consensus within the international literature that the knowledge base of teacher education programmes needs to expand to accommodate changes within school contexts.

Despite current shifts in policy, many schools still provide discriminatory experiences for pupils learning EAL. The source of this lack of equal treatment is captured well in the much cited *Lau vs Nichols* case in the United States where the judge delivered the decision of the court and stated:

There is no equality of treatment merely by providing students with the same facilities, textbooks, teachers, and curriculum; for students who do not understand English are effectively foreclosed from any meaningful education

(cited in MacKay and Freedman, 1990:399).

Both Cummins, (2000) and Hawkins (2011) suggest that while policy specifications and classroom practices are non-discriminatory in their intent,

and seek equal opportunity for pupils learning EAL, the lack of teacher knowledge in relation to EAL pedagogy often results in discriminatory experiences for these pupils. Such practices, as suggested by Reeves (2004), not only *flatten differences* (2004) within classrooms, but render the linguistic and cultural capital brought into such contexts as *invisible* (Bernstein, 1996). As a result, pupils learning EAL experience educational inequalities as they engage in literacy practices in mainstream classrooms. One way to limit discriminatory experiences within schools and classrooms is to include a critical dimension to language teacher education. Hawkins and Norton argue that language teachers are in 'a key position to address educational inequality, both because of the particular learners they serve, many of whom are marginalised members of the wider community, and because of the subject matter they teach – language – which can itself serve to both empower and marginalize' (Hawkins and Norton, 2009:32).

Teacher Education and Critical Approaches

These concerns raised in the preceding section could be addressed to a degree at least by drawing on insights from the literature linked to critical multiculturalism and critical pedagogy. Bartolome (2010) foregrounds the need for teacher education institutions to prepare teachers for the increasing population of diverse learners. She suggests that student-teachers do not only need a knowledge about second language acquisition theories and language-teaching methodologies, along with their subject specialist area, but a knowledge about how to implement the ideological dimensions of language teaching that includes a critical pedagogy (2010:47). She advocates that the implementation of critical pedagogy enables teachers to understand issues of power, culture and language in linguistically and culturally diverse mainstreaming contexts. Pennycook (2001, 2010) recognises that the classroom and the texts used within it are influenced by broader social, cultural and political factors. Bartolome (2010) argues that the inclusion of a critical pedagogy in teacher education programmes would 'give teachers the tools to create their own pedagogical structures that on the one hand will

enhance the learning of English academic discourses and, on the other, create spaces for students' voices to emerge' (2010:49).

Teacher education literature emphasises the relevance of these critical multicultural dimensions to teacher education programmes and suggests that such inclusions would allow teacher candidates to 'learn how to convert their knowledge of subject matter into compelling lessons that meet the needs of a wide range of students' (Bartolome, 2010:43). However, concerns about drawing on critical multicultural perspectives are foregrounded by Webster (1997) who argues that including them within education would have social and cultural consequences. Webster (1997) claims that a school curriculum that is designed to recognise or accentuate difference would cause further segregation among diverse groups within schools. Gore (1993), an opponent of critical pedagogy, argues that advocates of critical pedagogy do not practise a reflexive approach to their own stance. Johnson (1999), whilst stating that he implements a critical perspective within his pedagogy, raises concerns that critical pedagogy positions the political nature of education at the centre of how schools work rather than the moral and ethical dimension.

By contrast, Pennycook advocates that those who hold an apolitical understanding of critical thinking are misguided stating that 'any attempt to depoliticise the notions of critical work need to be resisted' (Pennycook, 1999:334). Pennycook strongly argues that any understanding of education 'must see pedagogy as a question of cultural politics; and the focus on politics must be accountable to broader political ethical visions that put inequality, oppression and compassion to the fore' (1999:334). Given the growing diversity within mainstream classrooms, the inclusion of a critical approach is highlighted as necessary within teacher education programmes by many writers (e.g. Pennycook, 1999, 2010; Hawkins and Norton, 2009; May and Sleeter, 2010; Bartolome, 2010).

Hawkins and Norton (2009) and Asselin (2000) address concerns about self-reflection and advocate that teacher educators need to provide opportunities

for teacher-learners to engage in reflective practices as a way to challenge their own 'internalized traditional discourses' (Hawkins and Norton, 2009:34). Hawkins and Norton propose that such 'self-reflection provides a window on the relationship between the individual and the social world, highlighting both constraints and possibilities for social change' (2009:34). Lucas' insights into teacher education provision in the United States argues that pupils learning EAL are unlikely to develop the language and literacy practices that they need to succeed in schools if there is not a conscious effort made by teacher educators and teacher education providers to incorporate bodies of knowledge associated with learning EAL into programmes (Lucas, 2011:4).

A review of the literature associated with policy, mainstreaming contexts, and teacher education demonstrates the need to consider the wider environment and the ways in which teachers' thoughts are shaped as they participate within particular situations (Johnson, 2009; Tarone and Allwright, 2010).

The following section draws on sociocultural theory to define how beliefs are conceptualised within the study. Implementing a sociocultural approach allowed a consideration of the ways in which contextual factors mediated teachers' perceptions and practices.

Theoretical Lens

Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how these are met in classroom practices. Gibbons notes the importance of such investigations by recognizing that teachers' beliefs 'are a major force behind most individual classroom decisions...and can have either enabling or constraining effects' on pupil learning (2008:13). Initially, I read many studies that explored and considered teachers' beliefs

as psychological constructs that underpin classroom decisions and practices. However, I also became conscious of literature that was linked to social contexts which influenced my thinking about the socially constructed nature of beliefs (e.g. Woods, 1996, 2006; Gee, 2005, 2008; Kalaja and Barcelos, 2006). Studies of this kind offer a rich understanding of the ways in which teachers' perceptions are influenced by various mediating factors that operate within specific contexts. An exploration of these studies provide insights into the ways in which teachers perceive the reading literacy needs of pupils learning English as an additional language and how they meet these in classroom practices.

The following section provides an outline of how beliefs have been conceptualised within this study.

Conceptualising Beliefs

It is important at this point to consider how the concept of beliefs will be defined and implemented throughout the study. Recent literature reviews linked to teachers' beliefs (e.g. Borg, 2006; Kalaja and Barcelos, 2006) have revealed the complexity associated with attempts to conceptualise the term *belief* and have reached the conclusion that there is no consistency in how the term is defined. This has resulted in a plethora of terms being used across a number of studies in an attempt to conceptualise teachers' *beliefs*, such as: propositions or constructs; values; cognitions; perceptions; knowledge; personal theories; assumptions and attitudes; judgements; decision-making; conceptions of the curriculum; personal practical knowledge; habitualised patterns of thought; personal working principles, and the list continues (Borg, 2006).

Apart from the differences in the terminology that are used, there are numerous theoretical understandings that underpin the concept and aid our understanding of such a layered construct. In a recent review of the literature carried out by Borg (2006) beliefs have been understood to include

attitudes and values related to the process of teaching and learning (Pajares, 1993); conscious or subconscious beliefs, concepts, meanings, rules, mental images and preferences concerning the discipline to be taught (Thompson, 1992); knowledge that is directly related to action and is readily accessible and applicable to real life contexts (Calderhead, 1988); contextually developed processes (Leinhardt, 1988); an ordered representation of objects, episodes, actions or situations that can be fitted into in a particular context (Carter and Doyle, 1987); often static and entrenched and resistant to change (Nespor, 1987); context-bound and influential (Kalaja and Barcelos, 2006); consciously and unconsciously held and associated with particular sociocultural groups and communities – these can be individual or shared (Gee, 2005) (adapted from reviews by Borg, 2006 and Kalaja and Barcelos, 2006).

Borg (2006) and Kalaja and Barcelos (2006) reveal the impact of the multiplicity of research approaches, terms and theoretical understandings that are linked to studies in teacher cognition in education and language teaching and chart the fragmentation of approaches as a prime reason for the field having difficulty in establishing a clear, systematic and dynamic research agenda.

The lack of a shared understanding associated with the terms and theoretical frameworks linked to teachers' beliefs means that it is important to provide a description of how the terms will be consistently defined and conceptualised throughout the thesis. Such an explanation grounds the study and establishes congruency between the methodological and theoretical approaches underpinning the study's design and analysis.

Rather than conceptualizing *beliefs* as individual constructs, this study drew on Gee (2005) and used a wider framework for consideration. I therefore conceptualised beliefs as a hybrid of individual and collective ways of perceiving, valuing, and knowing as teachers participated within various situated contexts. This notion proposes that beliefs include other affective

aspects and connotative meanings that have been mediated by specific *cultural tools* (Wertsch, 1991) operating within particular contexts.

In addition to employing aspects of Gee's notion of beliefs, I have drawn on Woods' (2006) understanding of the concept as this supplements our understanding of how Gee's notion is applied in the classroom. Woods defines an exploration of beliefs as a way of considering 'what teachers bring to bear on classroom practices' in (2006:204). Therefore, for the purpose of consistency and clarity throughout this thesis, the term *teachers' beliefs* will be conceptualised as an integrated notion of both Gee's (2005, 2008) and Wood's (2006) understanding of beliefs and is defined as follows: **the perceptions, values and ways of knowing and doing that teachers bring to bear on classroom practices**. This allows me to explore the ways in which teachers consciously or unconsciously use language to express their understanding of the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how they enact these beliefs within particular classroom contexts (Gee, 2005).

Situating beliefs within this broader sociocultural framework has allowed me to gain a clear sense of how teachers' beliefs have been mediated by the wider social and cultural environment. This approach resulted in a detailed understanding of the data as a whole and is one that recognised the cultural repertoires that were available within the discourse communities in which the teachers lived and worked.

The following sections consider specific features of sociocultural theory that are relevant to the study of teachers' beliefs. Following this, the discussion outlines the ways in which a sociocultural framework is a fitting theoretical lens for this study because it argues that theories of human learning and cognition have their origins in social life (Johnson, 2009:1). Aspects of cognition and agency are therefore explored as a way of providing an understanding of an individual's processes of thought as s/he engages in social activities. In conclusion Gee's (2005) notion of Discourses is discussed as a general notion of the wider contexts in which teachers' beliefs have been constructed.

A Sociocultural Approach

It is important to note at this point that there is no single theoretical lens associated with the utilization of a sociocultural approach. In line with the purposes of this study, I have chosen a sociocultural approach that mainly draws on Wertsch's (1991) expansion of Vygotsky's (1978) initial theories. Other writers who have drawn on sociocultural theory in language teacher education situations have also informed the ways in which I have conceptualised and considered this approach (Gee, 1990, 2005; Lantolf, 2000a; Kozulin et al, 2003; Gibbons, 2006; Johnson, 2009).

Sociocultural theory has its origins in the work of Vygotsky (1978) and provides insights into the relationships between the internal world of the human mind and the external world in which we live (Daniels, 2008). It also enables the exploration of the closely connected dimensions of the social, cultural, historical, physical, mental and institutional worlds of people as they engage in interactions and activities.

The Importance of Context

At the core of a sociocultural approach is the notion of context. Vygotsky (1978) posits that the development of human cognition stems from, and is shaped by, participation in social activities within situated contexts. Kalaja and Barcelos note that context is not a static concept, nor a mere recipient for social interaction (2006:20). Goodwin and Duranti (1992) also foreground such an understanding of context and conceptualise it as 'socially constituted, interactively sustained time-bound phenomenon' [where] 'each additional move within the interaction modifies the existing context while creating a new arena for subsequent interaction' (Goodwin and Duranti, 1992:5-6).

There is a distinct resonance here with Wertsch's perspectives where he characterizes a sociocultural perspective as one that 'aims to explicate the relationships between human mental functioning, on the one hand, and the cultural, institutional, and historical situations in which this functioning occurs, on the other' (Wertsch, 1998:3). These views contradict psychological notions of the mind that only focus on objective behavioural or cognitive aspects of learning. Cognitive and behavioural paradigms uphold the belief that there are universal constructs of human cognition that are completely distinct from their social, cultural and historical settings. However, what is clear within the findings of this thesis is that teachers' perceptions and knowledge are often linked to their experiences within particular contexts. It can be proposed therefore that the interactions that take place within these contexts are 'situationally conditioned' (Sakui and Gaies, 1999:48). As a result, context is depicted in the broader Deweyan sense and refers not only to concrete physical surroundings, but includes 'the interaction between human beings' and 'all that is necessary to life' (Barcelos, 2000:9).

The Mediated Mind

A core assumption concerning the development of the mind within sociocultural theory is that action is mediated and inextricably tied to the social contexts in which these actions take place (Wertsch, 1991:18). Vygotsky's (1978) study of the mind not only emphasizes the importance of sustained active participation within social contexts as an essential ingredient for the development of human cognition, but that this participation is mediated by the assimilation and appropriation of *psychological tools* (e.g. materials, signs, symbols, texts), which are also referred to within the literature as mediational means or semiotic artifacts (Wertsch, 1991; Johnson, 2009). Each culture has a set of psychological tools and contexts in which these tools are operationalized (Kozulin, 2003:16). 'Consequently, cognitive development is an interactive process, mediated by culture, context, language and social interaction' (Johnson, 2009:1).

Bakhtin's (1981) work also supports the perspective that human cognition develops within a social environment and he stresses the idea that 'voices always exist in a social milieu; there is no such thing as a voice that exists in total isolation from other voices' (Wertsch, 1991:51-52). The development and sharing of thought or meaning is therefore considered by Bakhtin (1981) as an active dialogic process. However, it is important to note at this point that the process of thought and the act of speaking are not one and the same thing. Neither does this mean that speaking and thinking are completely separate independent entities, but that these processes are intricately linked in a *dialectic unity* (Bakhtin, 1981) where 'publicly derived speech completes privately initiated thought' (Lantolf, 2000:7). This links well with the definition of teachers' beliefs used within this study where beliefs are shaped by interactions and ways of *being and doing* (Gee, 2005, 2008) within social settings. Thought, therefore, cannot be considered as fragmented atomistic units. Instead thoughts need to be understood in the light of how they have been expressed through language, and similarly verbal expressions of language need to be contemplated as 'manifestations of thought' (Bakhurst, 1991:60).

The understanding of *cultural tools* within this study draws heavily on Wertsch (1991). In a similar vein to Vygotsky (1978), Wertsch's (1991) explanation of the role of *cultural tools* links them with action. However, he differs in that he puts emphasis on the notions of *individual(s)-operating-with-mediational-means* and *appropriation* as a way of understanding how the agent utilizes a *cultural tool* (1991:63). Wertsch (1991) suggests that the agent must perceive that the *cultural tool* affords certain opportunities before choosing to use it. He explains that 'such perceptions' by the agent 'are not universal but culture and context-specific' (1991:63) - a view also shared by Kozulin (2003) in her explanation of each culture having its own distinct set of psychological tools.

Where Vygotsky tends to emphasise the empowering impact of these *cultural tools*, Wertsch (1991, 1998) extends the perspective by focusing on the potential within, or the quality of, *cultural tools* where they can have a

constraining or enabling effect on specific activities or actions (Dunn and Lantolf, 1998). This does not mean, however, that *cultural tools* are a collection of decontextualised and disembodied entities that individuals encounter and apply within specific environments. There is a cyclical and interactive role in how these operate where *cultural tools* are customarily the outcome or the products of human mediated activity (Daniels, 2008:13).

Wertsch (1991, 1998) draws attention to the relationship between *cultural tools* and what he terms an *individual(s)-acting-with-mediational-means*. He emphasises the role of human agency as individuals interact with the *cultural tools* that are available within the contexts in which they live and work. This is a particularly relevant notion when considering what knowledge, beliefs or practices are operating within this study. He recognises that people have choices that they manifest as they make decisions about ‘selecting a particular means for a particular occasion’ (Wertsch, 1991:94). These insights recognise that action is not merely a direct appropriation of the skills or knowledge that are operating within a given context, but rather, it is an internally mediated process that is controlled by individuals, at least to a certain degree (Wertsch, 1991; Johnson, 2009).

Wertsch characterises this type of relationship between the agent and mediational means as one that carries a dynamic tension between a variety of elements (1991:27). Taking account of the complexity within the interaction of the various elements within any given situation, Wertsch cautions against treating mediated action ‘as an undifferentiated whole’ (1998:26). He therefore proposes that to gain analytical purchase studies of either the agent or the *mediational means* are helpful in that they allow us to gain insights into the ways particular elements interact with the agent in order to produce particular mediated actions (Wertsch, 1998:30). Wertsch’s (1998) insights in general are particularly relevant when considering the things that influence teachers’ beliefs and how teachers deploy the various resources, or available ways of thinking, that operate within the schools in this study.

Human Cognition and Agency

As outlined in the preceding sections, it is important to consider *cultural tools* and how individuals interact with these tools within various settings. However, it is also crucial to consider more deeply notions of human cognition and agency in the exploration of teachers' beliefs. Vygotsky (1978) and Wertsch (1991) both emphasise the interrelated processes of the cognitive and the social in the development of human cognition. As discussed earlier, various *cultural tools*, language being the most powerful of these, are implicated in the ways humans construct meaning as they participate in social and cultural contexts. Looking closely at the particular linguistic repertoires that teachers employ enables us to establish how teachers as agents understand the various tensions or contradictions that operate within particular settings (Johnson 2009:82). *Ways of being and doing* (Gee, 2005) can therefore only be considered in the light of how language is used within these contexts.

The view of the individual from a sociocultural perspective rejects the notion of a 'disengaged image of the self' (Wertsch, 1991:120), and highlights the ways in which human cognition and actions have been mediated by socially situated environments. When the development of human cognition is considered as an essentially social phenomenon it raises the question as to how this external social activity becomes an internal tool for thought (Johnson and Golombek, 2011).

Vygotsky sees the development of thinking processes in two phases and addresses this question by differentiating between the external process of social activity (interpsychological) and the internal process of inner speech (intrapsychological). He proposes that the metamorphosis between these two phases of the thinking process is mediated by being part of a social and cultural environment. Therefore, the development of human cognition is more than incorporating or taking ownership of the social and cultural practices of a particular discourse community, but rather is an active process

that transforms and adapts these practices in ways that facilitate the integration of the agent's own prior knowledge, while at the same time responding to the demands and resources of a context. In formal schooling environments, teachers 'are positioned as individuals who both appropriate and reconstruct [the various practices and resources] that have been made available to them while simultaneously refashioning [them] to meet new challenges' within particular settings (Johnson, 2009:13). Therefore, the distinct boundaries between the individual and the social that seem to represent much of western thought are not characteristic of Vygotsky's approach (Wertsch and Toma, 1991).

A sociocultural approach, therefore, gives prominence to the role of human agency in the complex processes of cognitive development. It does this without contradicting its central theories which highlight the mediating role of *cultural tools* and the processes of people participating in social and cultural contexts. Individuals can therefore be considered as *acting-with-meditational-means* as they participate within these contexts. Thus, the construct *agency* can be linked to Wertsch's (1991) notion of *intentionality* and be understood as someone who actively exerts power with the intention of achieving an end result. Crucially, this exercise of agency will be enabled or constrained by the particular cultural tools that are available. This is an important concept within the study in relation to how teachers made sense of their work in linguistically and culturally diverse classroom contexts as it allowed me to address issues associated with their sense of agency and identity as these categories emerged from an initial analysis of the data. The findings chapter will exemplify how various elements operating in, or missing from, the context mediated teachers' construction of identity (see Chapter 6).

Thus the view of agency considered in the preceding paragraph takes us away from a static representation of human power and potential to one where the accent is on the importance of the mediating roles of both physical and symbolic (psychological/cultural) tools as people participate in social settings (Lantolf, 2000). Lantolf highlights the sense of agency and power

associated with these dynamic and interrelated processes as they not only allow human beings to change their world and the circumstances in which they live, but to affect and adapt their relationships with others (Lantolf, 2000:1). He also captures the ongoing, yet flexible, nature of these powerful mediating processes and acknowledges:

These tools are artifacts created by human culture over time and are made available to succeeding generations which can modify these artifacts before passing them on to future generations
(Lantolf, 2000:1).

Context is therefore not conceived as a static phenomenon, but as a domain that may facilitate change due to the mediating roles of the cultural tools operating and available within the context as people actively engage in dialogic activities.

The concepts above are relevant to the ways in which teachers' beliefs are explored throughout this study in that language not only mediates social activities within schools as teachers plan and make daily decisions, but language also mediates the intrapsychological thinking processes of inner speech (Gibbons, 2006). Beliefs in themselves function as a meditational means, or a psychological tool, to use Vygotsky's terminology. A sociocultural approach, however, does not propose that meaning is embedded within the language structures themselves, but rather in the ways language users attribute meaning to utterances that are grounded within specific social and cultural contexts. This view recognises and affirms the notion that languages continually change over time in order to meet the needs and purposes of various discourse communities and cultures. The conceptualization within a sociocultural perspective of language as sets of social practices is relevant to this study and will be discussed in the following sections.

In particular we will focus on Gee's account of Discourses to understand how participation in different social languages shapes beliefs, actions and identities. The following discussion considers these concepts.

Discourses

'Discourse communities' is a term that is frequently used within the literature (e.g. McCarthy, 1990; van Dijk, 1997; Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Lewis, Encisco and Moje, 2007) and is often understood to mean groupings of people who share similar ways of knowing, thinking, believing, acting and communicating (Lewis *et al*, 2007:16). Gee in his recent work (2005, 2008) refers to these as *Discourses*. Gee's (2005) work makes a distinction between Discourse with a capital 'D' and discourse with a small 'd'. In an attempt to bring clarity to this term, Gee defines discourse with a small 'd' as 'a stretch of language (spoken, written) that 'hangs together' which can take the form of an individual word, a short phrase, or longer dialogic utterances that make sense to particular social groups (2005:118). For example, these 'stretches of language' can be the contributions people make to conversations, discussions or stories (2008:115). He describes Discourse with a capital 'D' as:

Distinctive ways of speaking/listening...writing/reading *coupled* with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing, with other people and with various objects, tools, and technologies, so as to enact specific socially recognizable identities engaged in specifically recognizable activities

(Gee, 2008:155, italics in the original).

Therefore, from Gee's perspective, 'big 'D' Discourses are always language *plus 'other stuff'*' (Gee, 2005:26, italics in the original). From 'a language as social practice' perspective, he notes the importance of considering the various Discourses in which language is embedded as an appropriate way of thinking about the complex patterns within the things people say, the things they do and the ways in which they interact within sociocultural contexts (Gee, 2005:21). He puts forth the notion that when people interact and engage in activities within social and cultural contexts that there is much more than language being used to communicate and create meanings. Fairclough's (2003) consideration of discourses also aligns with Gee's wider

conceptualisation of the term. Fairclough (2003) emphasises that the notion of discourse is now widely considered across the humanities and social sciences, but not necessarily in the manner of analysing the language used in text, but instead as 'ways of representing aspects of the world – the processes, relations and structures of the material world, the 'mental world' of thoughts, feelings, beliefs and so forth, and the social world' (Fairclough, 2003:124).

Gee (2005) draws on an understanding of the notion of mediation and the role of *cultural tools* (Wertsch, 1991) as he considers what shapes and influences people within particular social and cultural settings. As a result, meaning is not established simply by decoding grammatical structures, but by understanding the ways in which people within different Discourses have used language as a resource in a particular way to participate in various activities and to project specific identities. Gee proposes that identity formation is not only shaped by encounters with language or participation in specific activities, but by an active engagement with other 'stuff', e.g. 'mind stuff, emotional stuff, and world stuff' (Gee 2005:52).

While Gee's (2005) account of Discourses is a helpful general notion, the concept lacks fine print and specification. His (2005, 2008) conceptualisation of Discourses can lead to the limited view that individuals are involved in a straightforward reproduction of a collective way of thinking and acting. Despite this, I have drawn on aspects of this theory throughout the study as a productive general notion with which to consider the wider sociocultural context in which teachers' beliefs have been constructed, shaped, refined and practiced. However, an integration of Wertsch's (1991) focus on mediation and agency has enabled a more interpretive approach of the context where Discourses can be considered as cultural repertoires or available ways of thinking that operate within sociocultural contexts. People can choose to draw on these as a resource in order to function in every day life.

Even when these weaknesses are taken into account, Gee's (2005, 2008) work still helps us to recognise issues of conflict that happen within Discourses, a

matter that will be returned to in the findings and discussion. This is particularly relevant when considered in light of the contexts in which this study is set. Not all pupils within schools have equal access to the social, cultural, linguistic and pedagogical practices that take place within these Discourses. Gee's notion of Discourses helps to conceptualise what Bourdieu (1982) terms as the lack of the social, cultural, and linguistic capital that is needed to be able to participate effectively within certain Discourses. Lewis *et al's* (2007) and Flowerdew and Peacock's (2001) work recognises that integrating critical perspectives into an exploration and understanding of Discourses helps to raise awareness about issues of power and identity. Lewis *et al's* (2007) work suggests that an additional critical framework needs to be applied to sociocultural theory, particularly when trying to gain an understanding of school environments. Lewis *et al* advocate that within schools a critical pedagogy is needed to understand fully the relationship between power, ideology and schooling, thereby, making issues of identity, agency and power visible (2007:3). Such notions would change the *norms* that operate within school literacy Discourses and ways of *being* and *doing* would become more accessible.

Lewis *et al's* perspectives argue that if we agree that teaching and learning involve more complex processes than merely participating in a context, then a consideration of the histories of participation that people bring to bear on specific acts needs to be included (Lewis *et al*, 2007:16). It is essential to recognise that the teaching and learning that take place within particular Discourses 'make[s] a mark on the participant' (Lewis *et al*, 2007:16). Such perspectives highlight issues of power and gaining access to particular Discourses i.e. 'distinctive ways of speaking/listening...writing/reading *coupled* with distinctive ways of acting, interacting, valuing, feeling, dressing, thinking, believing' (2005:155, italics in the original).

Critical perspectives and notions of Discourses are important issues to consider when exploring the ways in which teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils are mediated within mainstream classrooms. Teachers' specific ways of thinking, valuing, believing, and

knowing were often shaped by the cultural tools operating within school settings and these factors influenced their perceptions and pedagogic practices. Within this study, schools and the literacy practices within mainstream classrooms can be classified as Discourses or discourse communities where specific beliefs and acts of teaching and learning take place. It may be necessary to challenge or *disrupt* (Lewis and Ketter, 2004) perceptions about the development of language and literacy for pupils learning EAL within these Discourses in order to provide them with opportunities to explore how meanings are made as they engage with classroom texts.

This chapter has situated this thesis within the policy context of Scottish Education. A consideration of mainstreaming literature within the field of English as an additional language has drawn attention to similarities and differences across national and international contexts. Following this, a discussion of the literature linked to a sociocultural approach has served to contextualise the whole thesis within a theoretical framework. Now that this general framework has been set, the next chapter will review the literature linked to language learning theories, theories of reading and literacy practices, and teacher identity.

Chapter 3 Literature Review (Part 2)

Language Learning Theories

Introduction

The purpose of the previous chapter was to situate the thesis within the Scottish educational context and other work closely linked to the mainstreaming of pupils learning EAL. Attention then shifted to an exploration of the literature associated with teacher education which highlighted the need for the teacher knowledge base within teacher education institutions to be broadened. Following that, the literature linked to a sociocultural approach was explored and this was positioned as the overall theoretical framework for the study.

This present chapter examines some of the dichotomies that exist within language learning theories in L1 and L2 domains. A consideration of Krashen's theories about language acquisition helps to situate teachers' tacit understandings about the ways in which EAL pupils learn language as they engage in reading literacy practices. This chapter also discusses the shift in understanding within the literature where language is viewed as a social practice. Within this perspective language is not viewed as an abstract rule-governed system that is devoid of context, rather it considers the ways people use language in various settings to construct particular meanings. Such a view offers a more rounded account of the processes involved in learning English as an additional language and provides a basis from which to consider language learning as a relationship between language, text and context (Coffin and Donohue, 2012:65). In addition, language learning theories that operate within bilingual education contexts (e.g. Cummins, 1984, 2000; Hornberger, 2003, 2004) are taken into account. These provide an understanding of the ways in which some teachers' within this study conceptualise language learning for pupils developing reading literacy in more than one language.

Following this, attention shifts within this chapter to discuss theories associated with reading from L1 and L2 perspectives and considers how our conceptualization of reading has evolved from viewing it as a set of individual cognitive skills to literacy based perspectives. In conclusion, a discussion of teacher identity highlights that teachers' identities are constructed as they participate within the Discourses linked to their subject areas.

First Language Theories

When considering second language (hereafter L2) development, it is appropriate to start by considering first language (hereafter L1) development theories. There are a number of different theories linked to L1 language development. Behaviourist models of the development of language, originating from the early 20th century, proposed that children acquired their first language by repeating what they hear. Language acquisition was therefore linked to notions of habit formation, imitation and repetition (Skinner, 1957). Learning takes place according to this view without recognising internal mental processes and activities. However, behaviourist theories were considered to be limited by Chomsky (1959). He argued that children acquired language rapidly, formed expressions and used phrases that were not based on imitation or repetition, a phenomenon which he termed *lexical explosion* (Chomsky, 1959).

Chomsky's (1959) Universal Grammar challenged behaviourist perspectives and advocated that human brains were hard-wired and pre-programmed with a language acquisition device (LAD). Theories of Universal Grammar promote the notion that there are universal principles that form mental grammar (Ellis, 1994). Such beliefs proposed the view that language ability for children was an automatic process because all languages shared a similar set of properties (Ellis, 1994). Chomsky (1959) argued that if the input of a specific language is limited, these innate linguistic properties fill in the gap (Gass and Selinker, 2008:160). However, a contrasting perspective was

provided by Vygotsky (1962). Vygotsky (1962) foregrounded the social dimensions of language development and considered the development of language as an interactive process between the child and his/her environment. He argued that language was much more than its grammar.

Second Language Theories

Traditionally Second Language Acquisition theorists have drawn on L1 theories of language acquisition in order to understand L2 phenomena (Gass and Selinker, 2008:30). Chomsky's (1959) notion of Universal Grammar was influential in L2 theories of acquisition where the process of developing an L2 was considered to be similar to that of an L1, i.e. the learner had direct access to properties of Universal Grammar due to the involvement of the language acquisition device (Ellis, 1994). Therefore, mainstream second language acquisition theorists tended to view acquisition from a cognitive and individual perspective (Swain and Deters, 2007). Research studies were predominantly based on quantitative and experimental methodologies that were carried out in clinical and controlled settings, rather than being based on more ethnographic and qualitative approaches conducted in more naturalistic contexts (Swain and Deters, 2007:820).

Within second language acquisition research, distinctions are made between different pairs of concepts in an effort to understand better the language acquisition process. Contexts of language use often influence how language development is viewed and taught. Distinctions are made between *naturalistic* and *instructed second language acquisition*, where debates centre around whether language is learned incidentally through communication that takes place within naturalistic settings, or through the formal study of components related to the language system (Ellis, 1994:12). These different conceptualizations about language development are influential within a variety of teaching and learning contexts at this present time.

Other distinctions within the literature are made between *competence* versus *performance*. Chomsky's abstract notions of *competence* link to mental representations of language rules that comprise the learner's internal grammar, whereas *performance* is linked to notions of use and focuses on the production and use of language (Ellis, 1994). In an effort to move away from grammatical rule-based paradigms, *communicative competence* (Hymes, 1974) emerged within the field of linguistics and addressed issues of language education (Leung, 2005; Leung and Creese, 2010).

The work of other theorists in linguistics (Halliday, 1973; Hymes, 1974) facilitated a paradigm shift that introduced the *social* dimension to language development theories. This shift influenced how language development was conceptualised by joining a knowledge of grammar and a knowledge of language as a semiotic resource by which people create meaning (Leung, 2005). The concept of communicative competence was later expanded by Canale and Swain (1980). Their work was influenced by the work of Halliday (1973) and Hymes (1974) and provides a 'socially grounded perspective' (Leung and Creese, 2010:4) of language in use. Canale and Swain's (1980) conceptualization of communicative competence comprises four areas:

1. *Grammatical Competence*: this type of competence includes a 'knowledge of lexical items and rules of morphology, syntax, sentence-grammar semantics, and phonology' (Canale and Swain, 1980:29).
2. *Sociolinguistic Competence*: this dimension is associated with how language is used appropriately. A knowledge of the rules within this component is crucial for interpreting what people say in social contexts (Canale and Swain, 1980).
3. *Discourse Competence*: this component is concerned with intersentential relationships within texts (Shumin, 2002). Rules of cohesion and coherence are employed. 'Different types of texts, such as oral and written narratives, diaries, and scientific reports, tend to combine

grammatical form with selected meanings in particular ways' (Leung and Creese, 2010:5).

4. *Strategic Competence*: this is concerned with the verbal and non-verbal strategies that compensate for breakdowns in communication because of a lack of knowledge of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and discourse rules (Shumin, 2002:208).

Canale and Swain's (1980) framework of communicative competence has been influential in how language is conceptualised and taught within second/foreign language teaching contexts.

The following sections will consider how notions of language learning have been perceived and adopted in schools. Positioning these theories within a discussion of particular settings provides an understanding of their influence and how they have shaped teachers' beliefs.

Language Learning Theories in Educational Contexts

Within second language theories, further distinctions were made in relation to models of input and output, which influenced second language and foreign language teaching and learning environments (Leung, 2005). Steven Krashen's (1981) 'natural' approach differentiated between notions of *acquisition* and *learning*. *Acquisition* refers to the 'subconscious process of 'picking up' a language through exposure', similar to L1 development, and *learning* refers to the 'conscious process of studying it' (Ellis, 1994:14). Krashen (1981) claimed that *comprehensible input* was a key aspect of second language acquisition and that grammatical knowledge is acquired by the learner if there is sufficient input (Gibbons, 2006). Such understandings of language learning theories are relevant to this study in that such researchers have noted its influence within mainstream schools in a variety of ways (Davison, 2001b; Gibbons, 2006; Leung, 2012).

Leung (2012) recognises the impact of acquisition theories on school and classroom practices. He argues that 'learning by exposure and use' is implemented widely because mainstream school environments are considered to be 'rich in communicative potential' for pupils learning EAL, thus enabling language development to take place (2012:228). In addition, Leung's (2012) work also demonstrates the influence that Krashen's work has had on policy development in relation to pupils learning EAL. He argues that policy rhetoric emphasises the distinctions made by Krashen, where notions of *acquisition* are foregrounded and draw on an understanding of the similarities between first and second language development (Leung, 2012:229).

Gibbons' study recognises the influence of Krashen's theories within schooling in relation to the development of particular skills. She raises concerns that Krashen's views of language acquisition consider speaking as merely an outcome of learning rather than as factor that shapes and contributes to its development (Gibbons, 2006:45). Gibbons, drawing on Vygotskian perspectives of language development, proposes that *talk* is significant to language development and the learning process and argues that 'collaborative talk is not simply an outcome of previous learning, but the process of learning itself' (2006:45).

Krashen's (1981) theory of comprehensible input also promotes the idea that any input a learner receives in terms of language needs to contain structures that are just outside of the learner's current level of competence. He terms this concept as $i+1$. Other researchers (Long, 1983; Swain, 1995) have challenged and extended Krashen's notion of comprehensible input by emphasising the importance of the role of output. Studies into French immersion programmes in Canada demonstrate that despite vast amounts of comprehensible input, and classroom settings that were communicative in nature, learners did not necessarily develop proficiency similar to their native-speaking peers (Allen, Swain, Harley and Cummins, 1990). Allen *et al* state that after three months of conducting their study 'there were no

significant long-term differences between the groups that might be construed as support for the view that comprehensible input is all that is needed by immersion students' (Allen *et al*, 1990:69). Allen *et al* (1990) draw on Swain's (1985) notion of output within their exploration of classroom practices and suggest that L2 pupils need more opportunities to participate actively in classroom discourses than their native-speaking peers (Allen *et al*, 1990:75). Davison's views align with these insights; and she argues that the *incidental* and *implicit acquisition* processes emphasised within Krashen's comprehensible input model are insufficient to 'activate a subsequent automatic learning process' (Davison, 2001a:28). She advocates that pupils learning English as a second or additional language need expert intervention within the classroom as they progress through the various stages of learning and language proficiency (Davison, 2001a:28).

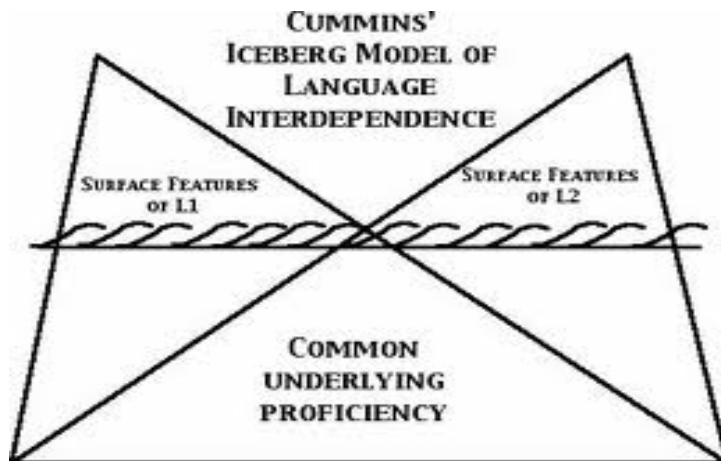
The work of researchers shows that policy and teachers' practices have been influenced by simplified accounts of second language learning theories. Understandings of language development appear to be associated with notions of exposure and the need for simplified language in the form of comprehensible input.

Bilingual Theories of Language Development

Other distinctions that are made in terms of language learning are captured within bilingual theories of language development. The work of Jim Cummins (1984, 2000) has enabled a better understanding of the theories associated with the development of bilingualism. The Common Underlying Proficiency model (Cummins, 1980), which is represented pictorially as two icebergs, suggests that if learners are provided with sufficient motivation and exposure to a language then an automatic transfer will take place between the two languages (Edwards, 2009). The two separate icebergs above the surface level demonstrate that although two languages can be visibly distinct, e.g. vocabulary and grammar, there is a core source of

thought operating below the surface (Baker, 2006; Edwards, 2009:59) (see figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Common Underlying Proficiency Model (Cummins, 1980)



Edwards explains: 'For this reason, information processing, literacy and other cognitive skills can be transferred from one language to another and do not need to be learned afresh for each new language' (2009:59).

The Threshold Theory (Cummins, 1976; Pertti and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977) suggests that there is a relationship between a learner's L1 and L2 where the development of the L2 is dependent on the competency achieved in the learner's L1 (Baker, 2006). This theory proposes that there are two thresholds pertaining to levels of language competence: the first threshold is a level that the learner needs to pass to avoid the negative consequences of bilingualism; the second is a level that needs to be reached so that the learner can experience the positive cognitive benefits of effective bilingualism (Baker, 2006:171; Edwards, 2009:58). 'The Threshold Theory relates not only to cognition but also to education', where a child may experience a temporary delay in learning if the curriculum is taught in the L2 (Baker, 2006:172).

The Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis was refined to consider in more detail the relationship between a learner's two languages (Cummins, 2000). Cummins (2000) advocates that the development of the L1 facilitates

the development of the L2, i.e. they are interdependent. The notion of a common underlying proficiency is frequently used to consider the 'cognitive/academic proficiency that underlies academic performance in both languages' (Cummins, 2000:38). Studies within the United States associated with cognitive reading processes indicate that reading skills in an L1 facilitate reading development in an L2, thus supporting the notion of a common underlying proficiency (Fitzgerald, 1995). Better language development will be apparent when languages are similar (Lado, 1964; Genesee, Geva, Dressler and Kamil, 2008). Current versions of this theory emphasise that languages that share similar structural features facilitate faster language development, as transfer from L1 to L2 is more likely to occur (Genesee *et al*, 2008). Ellis (1994) also proposes that transfer is linked to other features e.g. literacy and developmental processes. The insights gained from an understanding of a common underlying proficiency have implications for policy development and classroom practices.

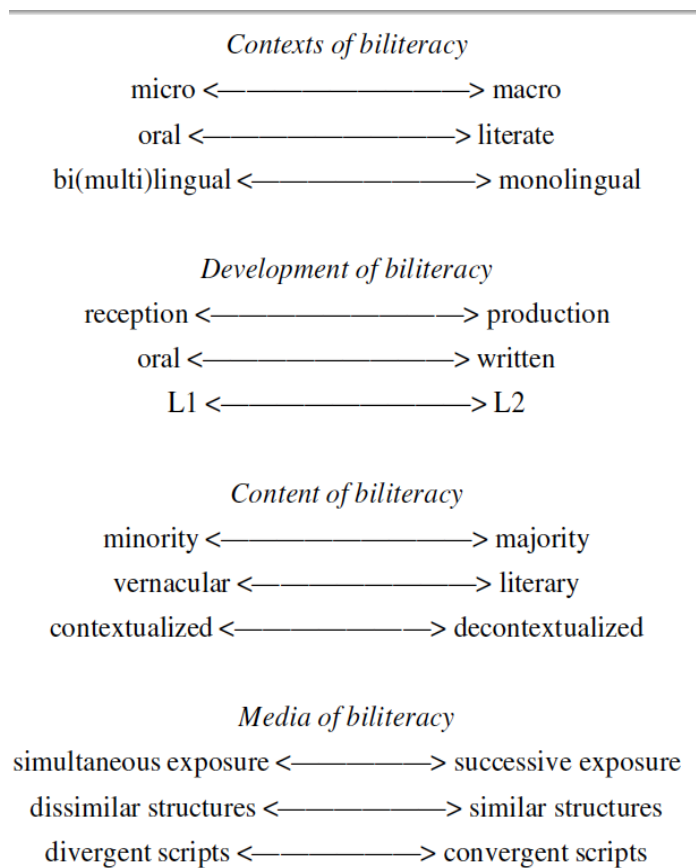
In addition, Cummins proposes a dichotomy between two types of language proficiencies. The first dimension is understood to be everyday communication skills known as BICS (Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills) and higher order skills for academic purposes termed as CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency). Cummins' (1984, 2000) claims that BICS tends to develop when there is contextual support, and CALP in academic situations. These dimensions show that 'the primary distinction between the two concepts rests in the extent to which the communicative act is 'context-reduced' or 'context-embedded'' (Carrasquillo and Rodriguez, 1996:27). Studies (Cummins, 1984; Collier, 1995) indicate that pupils learning EAL acquire conversational fluency in the everyday language of the society within one to two years. However, academic language needs a longer period of time to develop and studies suggest that a period of between five to eleven years is needed for pupils learning English as an additional language to catch up with their native speaking peers (Thomas and Collier, 1997; Cummins, 1984, 2000).

However, critics of Cummins' theory of language and cognition raise a number of concerns about this simple dichotomy (e.g. Genesee, 1984; MacSwan and Rolstad, 2003). Cummins' (1984, 2000) theory of BICS/CALP tends to position academic language and literacy skills that are used within schools as more valued, thereby giving the language of the educated classes special status (MacSwan and Rolstad, 2003). Such distinctions render alternative outcomes in school, e.g. creative thinking, social and emotional development, as less valued and important. In addition, the simple dichotomy of context-reduced and context-embedded is criticised for being too simple and critics argue that making a task context-embedded can also render it less cognitively demanding (Frederickson and Cline, 1990:26). MacSwan and Rolstad fiercely oppose the distinctions made by Cummins and argue that contexts shape how language develops and how it is used. They claim that schooling is not unique and that all of life's experiences lead to new and 'specialized vocabulary, new speech styles, and even structural changes' (MacSwan and Rolstad, 2003:7).

Biliteracy

Moving away from the dichotomies that exist in language learning theories, Hornberger (2004) draws together theories of bilingualism and literacy in more than one language and introduces the notion of a biliteracy. In a way that is similar to Cummins (2000), Hornberger (2003) considers bilingualism/multilingualism as a resource, yet recognises the complexities involved in developing literacy in two or more languages. She defines biliteracy within this model as 'any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing' (Hornberger, 2004:156). Hornberger (2003) explains these complexities in terms of a number of dimensions or continua associated with biliteracy. She uses different intersecting models with each area of the model representing extreme points on a continuum (see figure 3.2, page 51).

Figure 3.2 The Continua of Biliteracy (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003)



The first cluster relates to *context* and Hornberger explains, using this diagram (see figure 3.2), that society often places value on the macro, oral and monolingual end of the continuum (2003:41). Edwards provides a helpful example to illustrate these points: ‘at the micro end would be a Chinese-speaking child in Australia using a bilingual dictionary to learn new vocabulary in English; an example at the macro end would be the Gujarati-speaking Indian community in the UK where people make only minimal use of Gujarati in writing’ (2009:55). This cluster also considers the mode of language, *oral* or *written*, and which language is being used L1 or L2.

The second cluster focuses on *biliteracy*, referring to both the individual and the context. Society in this dimension places value on the L2, written, and production end of the scale. Schools evidence a preference for this weighting

in the use of standardized tests (Hornberger, 2003). Continuities between oral and written language can be exemplified when pupils learning EAL can read in their L2, but are still in the process of developing oral or written skills (Edwards, 2009:56).

The third cluster is concerned with the *content* of biliteracy and relates to issues surrounding language, culture and identity. Within this dimension, society generally places weight on the majority, literary and decontextualised end of the continuum. Hornberger states that the vernacular point on the literary-vernacular continuum, e.g. performing plays for friends, writing letters) is absent from school contexts (2003:51). In this part of the continuum language and meaning are foregrounded. Importance is given to notions of Discourses as a way of giving voice and a sense of agency to minority discourses (minority and majority) and genres (vernacular and literary). Discourses in Hornberger's (2003) sense is similar to Gee's (2005), where ways of being and doing are linked to social practices. The *content* of biliteracy also foregrounds *contextualized* and *decontextualised* aspects of the continuum where the intersection of personal experiences and school experiences is highlighted. The consideration of Discourses within this dimension is relevant to the study, particularly in relation to literacy. Multiple Discourses operate within society, yet access to them is not available to everyone. Hornberger (2003) suggests that critical literacy leads one to compare and contrast different Discourses and to explore the ways in which one Discourse may conflict with another.

The fourth cluster is concerned with the *media* of biliteracy and relates to the standard / non-standard debate (Hornberger, 2004). Consideration of these distinctions relates to how students are placed within bilingual programmes. The first two aspects of this dimension address the question about *simultaneous* versus *successive* exposure to languages and literacies (Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2000:113). The last aspect refers to standard and non-standard varieties of language. This dimension considers notions of power and who the beneficiaries may be in different programmes in relation to how minority and majority languages and literacies are

positioned. Hornberger (2004) suggests that 'weighting requires attention to simultaneous acquisition and to dissimilar, divergent, nonstandard language varieties' (2000:113).

Hornberger (2003) emphasises that each of these continua does not function as an independent dimension; rather, they are intersecting and nesting. This framework offers a way to consider language and literacy practices within diverse school contexts by taking into account the complex interactions on the continuum.

Relevance to Literacy Practices

Within bilingual theories, bilingual pupils are recognised as bringing an additional set of resources with them to school, yet at the same time facing challenges as they participate in literacy practices (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 1984). The resources that such pupils bring are linked to their L1 and culture, but these can also impact on the success of the development of literacy in an L2 if the classroom teacher is unaware of how to draw on and extend such resources. Baker (2006) emphasises that the reservoir of language, knowledge and experience that an EAL pupil brings to the classroom should be the starting place for all teachers. Edwards (2009) also highlights that in schools pupils learning EAL are often provided with some form of support until they develop conversational fluency (BICS). However, in 'classroom activities such as synthesis, analysis and evaluation, which demand higher-order thinking skills (CALP), the absence of contextual support is likely to place students operating in a second or third language at a disadvantage' (Edwards, 2009:60).

The following sections provide insights into language as social practice and demonstrate how language is used within particular discourse communities, thereby exemplifying the ways in which language and context are inextricably linked.

Language as Social Practice

The discussion of sociocultural theory in Chapter 2 centred on how the development of mind and the conceptualization of agency have been interpreted by a number of theorists (e.g. Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1991; Johnson, 2009). This section focuses more closely on a conceptualization of *language as social practice*, as it is broadly congruent with sociocultural theory, and, therefore, important to the theoretical lens used within this study. Language is at the core of sociocultural theory. Vygotsky defines language as the *psychological tool* that people use to express thought and to make sense of their own experiences and those they share with others. Sociocultural theory, not only foregrounds a theory of mind, but is congruent with theories of language that consider *language as social practice* (Halliday, 1978; Gee, 2005; Johnson, 2009; Gibbons, 2006). The view of language as social practice does not view *meaning* as being contained in the fabric or structure of the language, but in the ways in which language ‘gets recruited on-site’ (Gee, 2005:1). In contrast to a sociocultural conceptualization of language, second language teaching contexts draw on a Chomskian perspective, where language is viewed as an abstract, rule-based system that is often isolated from behaviour (Gibbons, 2009). Within such conceptualizations, language is considered a cognitive product that is represented in terms of its grammatical rules rather than how it is used within particular contexts.

Halliday’s (1978) and Gee’s (2005, 2008) exploration of *language as social practice* are approaches that help to broaden our understanding of the nature of language. Both conceptualise language as having meaning from the ways it gets *recruited on site* (Gee, 2005). Gee’s approach uses an analytical framework that not only considers how language is used, as people participate and attribute meaning to various social activities, but also allows an examination of the ways in which people ‘enact and recognise distinct social identities and activities within particular contexts’ (Gee, 2005:195).

Gee ‘seeks to balance talk about the mind; talk about social interaction and activities; and talk about society and institutions more than is the case in

other approaches' (Gee, 2005:6). He uses the analogy of 'mixing them into a new soup' and strongly advocates the need to 'get minds, bodies, social interactions, social groups, and institutions all in the soup together' (Gee, 2005:6). This approach guarantees a complex integration of *cultural tools*, i.e. language and various other tools/artifacts, within socially and culturally situated contexts. Both Gee (2005) and Wertsch (1991, 1998) argue that the use of such an approach enables an exploration and understanding of the ways in which language (a *cultural tool*) and other mediating means within particular sociocultural contexts are connected, rather than viewing them as fragmented and isolated concepts. Johnson discusses such notions on the nature of language in use and reports:

A language as social practice perspective reflects a dynamic constellation of sociocultural resources that emerge out of and are created within social and historical usage. Thus, any utterance creates a context of use, or genre (Bakhtin, 1981), in which the utterance typically belongs, conjuring up specific meanings, and inferences while simultaneously creating a space for one's own voice to be expressed
(2009:45-46 - italics in the original).

In the sociocultural theory formulation of language as social practice, the language-user is depicted as an active meaning-maker who makes particular choices based on the 'activities and...contexts in which they are participating' (Johnson, 2009:45).

Within this approach, Johnson and Golombek (2011) recognise that the things that teachers say and do are often influenced by ways in which language is used within particular discourse communities. Johnson explains this process in her own work by emphasizing:

People do not learn a 'language' per se, but instead they learn different 'social languages'. Each social language offers distinctive grammatical, semantic and pragmatic resources that allow users to enact particular socially situated identities and to engage in socially situated activities (Johnson, 2009:46).

Therefore, a *language as social practice* perspective has important implications for classroom practices, particularly in terms of developing reading literacy.

Social considerations of language development, as advocated by Halliday (1985), provide a framework for analysing how meaning has been constructed through the specific language choices that have been made (Wallace, 2003; Schleppegrell, 2004). Schleppegrell (2004) and Wallace (2003) suggest that systemic functional linguistics provides a foundation to analyse linguistic features within texts by demonstrating the ways in which particular aspects of language enable a text to communicate specific meanings.

Functional Language Analysis

Functional language analysis is based within systemic functional linguistics, a 'theory of language that highlights the relationship between language, text and context' (Coffin and Donohue, 2012:65). Systemic functional linguistics serves to explain the ways that people make meaning through the use of language and other semiotic tools and to understand the relationships between language and society (Coffin and Donohue, 2012:65). Systemic functional linguistics, which was developed by Michael Halliday (1978), offers a foundation for considering the development of literacy practices and allows an exploration of how language systematically relates grammar to meaning, function and context (Coffin *et al*, 2009:191).

People use language to make different kinds of meanings for a variety of purposes and within different contexts and draw on the language resources that allow them to do this (Schleppegrell, 2004; Derewianka and Jones (2010). Functional language analysis is therefore a helpful way to view language when developing a reading literacy pedagogy as the tools linked to it enable teachers to interact with real-world issues and challenges (Coffin *et al*, 2009).

Derewianka and Jones, drawing on Halliday's framework, illustrate its multidimensional nature, where the relationship of a number of features is considered a resource, i.e. a system for constructing meaning, which 'are brought together into a coherent whole' (2010:9). Halliday (1978) advocates

that within any given social situation there are three distinct *contextual variables* that influence the language choices people make, i.e. Field, Tenor and Mode. These three aspects jointly form the register of a text. Coffin *et al's* (2009:226) exemplification is helpful as a way to consider the register variables of these three aspects as they are systematically linked:

1. Field covers the following aspects of a situation:
 - The social activity taking place
 - The topic being discussed
 - The degree of specialisation
 - The angle of representation (the positioning of the agent)
2. Tenor covers the following aspects of a situation:
 - The social roles and relative social status in terms of power, expertise, or authority.
 - The social distance, i.e. the degree of connection or closeness
 - Speaker / writer / persona
3. Mode covers:
 - The degree of interactivity
 - The degree of spontaneity
 - The communicative distance in time and space from the events discussed, i.e. whether language accompanies action or constitutes the text
 - The role of language, i.e. the degree to which it interacts with other meaning-making (semiotic) resources such as visual, images, gesture, etc.

These three distinct areas constitute the three register variables of a text. A functional language analysis framework enables a consideration of the ways in which language is used to organise information in distinct ways (Coffin *et al*, 2009:224).

Halliday (1985) views language as social practice and argues that language use is functional and is linked to the social and cultural contexts in which people live. A further theoretical principle that underpins Halliday's functional framework is that language has three *metafunctions* (Coffin *et al*, 2009; Derieianka and Jones, 2010). These metafunctions distinguish between three areas of meaning in relation to how language is used, but operate simultaneously within sentences, thus providing various layers of meaning

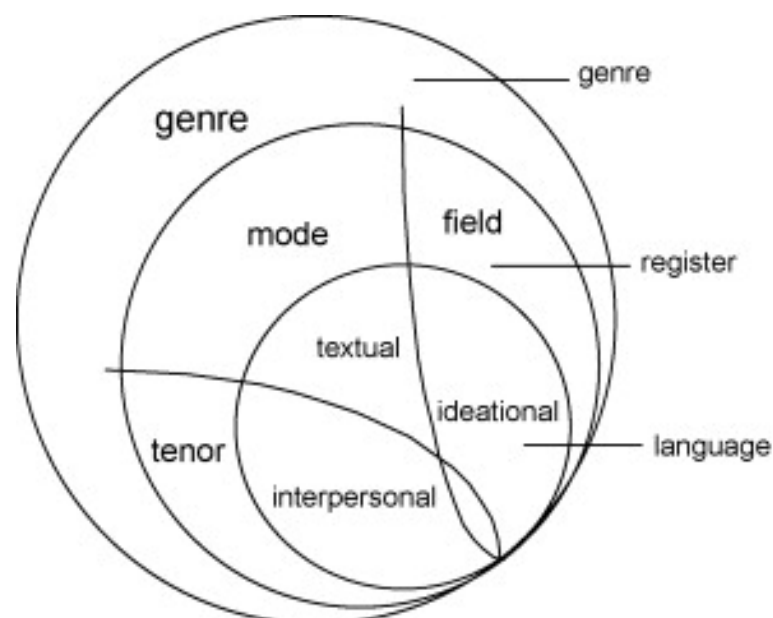
(Derewianka and Jones, 2010:9). There are therefore three functions that teachers need to understand in relation to how language works:

- enabling us to represent our experience of the world (the 'experiential' function);
- enabling us to interact with others in the world (the 'interpersonal' function); and
- enabling us to create coherent and cohesive texts (the 'textual' function).

(Derewianka, 2010:9).

Halliday suggests that text is language in operation and defines it as a semantic unit and concept. A functional language analysis framework is a comprehensive view of language that allows all of these aspects to be linked together to form a coherent whole. (Halliday, 1978:131). Figure 3.2 below provides a visual representation of how these various aspects and metafunctions are related and link together.

Figure 3.2 Functional Analysis Framework (Adapted from Martin, 1997:8 in Derewianka and Jones, 2010:9)



Halliday's (1985) functional language analysis framework therefore provides a tool for linking language and thought and helps the teacher to make explicit during classroom practices the ways in which meaning is constructed within texts that are used in their subject areas (Coffin, 2010). A systemic functional linguistics approach provides a contrast to the traditional view of language discussed in preceding sections. Rather than focusing on the rules of a language system at a word or sentence level, which is consistent with a focus-on-form perspective (Long, 1991), systemic functional linguistics offers a way of considering language and how it is used in the way people live and work. 'It emphasises the text or discourse as a whole in relation to the context of social practice...and provides a tool to investigate and critique how language is involved in the construction of meaning' (Mohan and Slater, 2006:304-305).

The notion of *register* within a functional language analysis approach is used to highlight the relationship between language and context. Wallace defines register as, 'the characteristic lexis and structure used in talking about particular topics' (1992:30), e.g. formal versus informal speeches. The language used 'reflects the social context of a text's production and at the same time realises that social context through the text' (Colombi and Schleppegrell, 2002:9). Systemic functional linguistics presents a particular conceptualization of genre which is defined as:

Genres are social events, not only in terms of the social roles and purpose of those who create them as speakers and writers, but because the communicative function of the resulting spoken to written text is recognisable to a particular community of listeners and readers.
(Wallace, 1992:30).

Both of these terms are socially constructed. In terms of register, pupils can determine the relationship between the language choices a speaker/writer makes and how the sociocultural context has shaped such choices. Through a consideration of genre, pupils can reach an understanding of how a text is organised according to its social purposes and how particular grammatical patterns are used to communicate these purposes.

Links to Reading Literacy Practices

A functional language analysis framework is particularly relevant to the development of reading literacy and the findings of this study as it enables teachers to think in a different way about how language is used within the texts linked to their subject areas. Janks suggests that a functional language analysis framework offers teachers a way to explore vocabulary and grammar (lexicogrammatical) patterns across texts where they can help pupils learning EAL to understand how words and grammatical patterns have been chosen by a writer to communicate specific social and cultural meanings (Janks, 2010). Lexical and grammatical options can therefore be considered by teachers as semiotic choices that were made by the writer/speaker which work together to form particular types of reality within texts (Wallace, 2003; Janks, 2010). Such a focus on literacy as a linguistic activity foregrounds the importance of language as a meaning-making resource for both emergent and more advanced readers (Colombi and Schleppegrell, 2002). Halliday's framework provides a theory of language that enables a full understanding of the demands that classroom texts place on EAL pupils as they participate in literacy practices.

In addition, a number of researchers (Wallace, 2003; Schleppegrell, 2004; Deriwianka and Jones, 2009; Janks, 2010) highlight that many of the challenges associated with accessing texts are linked to cultural contexts and the Discourses that operate within them. Literacy as a social activity is highlighted by Janks (2010) where she emphasises Gee's (2005) notion of Discourses and the ways that people use specific patterned ways of communicating about the world in which they live. Janks (2010) points out that people draw on the socially and culturally constructed repertoires that are available for establishing meaning within these Discourses (Janks, 2010). The implications of this for classroom literacy practices are important. It is therefore crucial to raise awareness of these matters when exploring classroom texts to ensure access for all pupils (Colombi and Schleppegrell, 2002).

Halliday's (1978) framework supports both an exploration of literacy as a social practice and as a linguistic activity (Colombi and Schleppegrell, 2002). His framework highlights, in functional terms, the relationship between language and the social context. Colombi and Schleppegrell advocate that: 'this way of thinking about literacy helps us understand how developing new ways of using language also leads to new ways of thinking and new forms of consciousness in students' (2002:10). Deriwianka and Jones (2009) state that Halliday's (1978) framework is multidimensional and provides multiple *entry points* that allow EAL pupils to analyse the social, cultural and linguistic features of text.

The previous sections have considered the various perspectives related to language learning theories and how these may inform the ways in which teachers often perceive literacy practices for EAL pupils in multilingual classrooms. I have drawn upon specific bodies of literature to show how theories about language learning have shifted from prescriptive formulations to perspectives that consider language as a meaning-making resource. However, a consideration of language learning theories is not enough on its own because of the demands within mainstream classrooms that require teachers to enable EAL pupils to become critical readers. Therefore, a consideration of how reading literacy develops and the ways that language is used to construct meaning in texts are essential. The following sections consider models of reading and how critical approaches to reading literacy promote inclusive and multidimensional practices. In addition, ways in which a functional language analysis can be integrated to critical literacy approaches as a way to meet the needs of pupils learning EAL is considered.

Reading Literacy

Background

In schools, learning to read is the ‘foundation for learning and academic achievement’ (Paris, 2005:184). While my own teaching experiences showed me that reading is a fundamental skill that a student needs to acquire in order to benefit from instruction in all content areas, my students taught me to consider reading as a much wider set of practices. At the beginning of my work on this thesis, PISA (OECD, 2000) studies influenced my thinking as they looked beyond the perspective of developing academic reading for the sole purpose of succeeding in school. Rather, they used the term ‘reading literacy’ to address the issue of reading development as an important set of practices for use inside and outside of the classroom. This helped me to explore an understanding of reading within the academic literature as a social, cultural, critical and interpretive process. However, at the same time, my own English language teaching background influenced how I conceptualised reading and I did not want to deny the cognitive, linguistic and comprehension processes involved. Based on such influences, my own views align with those of Janks, where she proposes that reading literacy ‘is both a set of cognitive skills and a set of social practices’ (Janks, 2010:xiii).

The varying theoretical perspectives on what defines the reading process and how it is acquired in both a first (L1) and second (L2) language (Alderson, 2000:1) makes it difficult to write a concise comprehensive view of what reading literacy is. It has therefore been necessary to make a decision to tie much of the discussion related to reading and its implications for pedagogic practice to particular pieces of research and theoretical perspectives that are directly applicable to the challenging context in which this study is set.

The following discussion serves to highlight how our understanding of reading has shifted to include wider notions of literacy. The following sections also seek to foreground some of the cross-linguistic differences that

EAL pupils experience as they face the reading demands of classroom texts. In conclusion, the ways in which identity not only shapes the reader, but influences how teachers conceptualise their own identities as they engage in literacy practices within diverse classrooms, is discussed.

Introduction to Reading Literacy

Our understanding of reading in a L1 and L2 has gone through various changes over the last few decades. In the years prior to the 1980s, reading was conceptualised as a predominantly cognitive process and set of skills. However, studies in the early 1980s suggested that 'reading involved flexible processing and multiple information sources, that depend on contextual circumstances' (Kong, 2006:19). Theorists at this time reached an agreement that reading was a complex process that not only involved the use of cognitive functions, but also included social and cultural dimensions. This conceptual shift concerning reading was due to the psycholinguistic work of various researchers (e.g. Goodman, 1967; Harste *et al*, 1984; and Snow, 1983) whose work drew attention to the idea that children's lives were rooted in real life communities, thus reading theory took on a broader perspective (Cairney, 1995:1; Janks, 2010). The foregrounding of the learner in the work of Vygotsky (1978) and Bruner (1984) highlighted the need to support pupils who are able and less able in terms of literacy development within classroom contexts (Cairney, 1995).

In addition, sociolinguistic theories played a role in reconceptualising notions of reading, where the work of Halliday (1973) and Hymes (1974) proposed theories that considered language as a resource for making meaning. These theories of language shaped the constructs of literacy where its development was linked to notions of purpose (which was often context-bound); relationships and communicative acts within societies; social and cultural patterns of interaction; and reactions and actions that people carry out (Cairney, 1995).

Theoretical disagreements, however, have remained, centering around binary representations of reading processes and pedagogies, e.g. bottom-up versus top-down; phonics versus whole language; or the mechanics of reading versus making meaning (Janks, 2010). The following sections explore such distinctions.

Models of Reading

Various models associated with the reading process have emerged over the last forty years, where each model rests on a specific interpretation of the nature of reading processes. The following sections outline some of the models and approaches that are linked to notions of reading.

Bottom-up Models

Our understanding of reading has gone through various changes over the years. As noted earlier, before the 1980s reading was conceptualised within the cognitive domain. Reading was viewed as a 'unidirectional' process, where the reader moved along a continuum of building up understanding which moved along a linear process from letter, to sound, to word, to sentence, to meaning (Gough, 1972). From this perspective, reading is described as a process where an individual is involved in the process of *identifying* and *having a knowledge of* words that were used in a sequence. Reading is described as a bottom-up process where the reader processes or understands a particular item, or specific instance, and moves along a continuum to gain an understanding of a text (Gregory, 1996). Reading according to this model is looked upon as a system of graphic symbols that are sequenced together to contain meaning. Meaning is consequently built up as the reader interprets and understands the system related to the graphic symbols on the page.

However, Rumelhart (1977) recognised the deficiencies in such mechanical views where reading is depicted as a linear process that is not impacted by the reader's background knowledge (Grabe and Stoller, 2002). If taken to its logical conclusion, this model assumes that words can be interpreted as a code and can be fully known irrespective of the surrounding context, or the background knowledge that an individual has brought to the reading process (Carrell, Devine and Eskey, 1988). A bottom-up model can be observed in many contemporary textbooks and classrooms as an approach used to develop reading. In more extreme bottom-up approaches, classroom practices focus on a detailed analysis of letters and individual words, where understanding is linked to the recognition of words at a sentence level. While we recognise that such extreme views foreground lower-level processing of a text at the expense of other perspectives, there are still elements of its influence within current early reading programmes e.g. synthetic phonics approaches.

Top-down Models

The influence of cognitive psychology facilitated a move away from a bottom-up model that relied on an ability to build up the knowledge of a word from its graphic features and sounds (Carrell *et al*, 1988). A top-down model of reading promoted the idea that in order for a learner to understand a text, the activation of prior knowledge was considered to be a necessary strategy that would serve to facilitate the formulation of a hypothesis about the text yet to be read. This model is based on the psycholinguistic model of reading by Goodman (1967) where the reader is characterised as an active participant during the reading process as s/he seeks to understand the meaning of an unknown text. Readers could be classified within this model as only *sampling* the reading text in order to determine whether it agrees or disagrees with a previously formulated hypotheses that is linked to the readers own background knowledge (Carrell *et al*, 1988). According to Grabe and Stoller (2002), within such a model of reading, inferencing is a key strategy that readers employ in order to generate expectations about the text.

These higher information processing stages are, therefore, seen as the dominant factor rather than the low level processing ones used by a bottom-up approach. Stanovich and Stanovich (1999) however, claim that such practices are not characteristic of a successful reader. They claim:

Developing phonological sensitivity is critical for early success in reading acquisition; and instructional programmes that emphasise spelling-sound decoding skills result in better reading outcomes because alphabetic coding is the critical sub-process that supports fluent reading

(1999:29).

Harrison (2003) links top-down models of reading to notions of memory and recognises the importance this plays during the process of reading. While he recognises that the role of memory is controversial within the field of cognitive psychology, he proposes that 'some of the most readily understandable and intuitively attractive theories of text comprehension (schema theory and script theory, for example) are 'top-down' models of how the brain functions...' (2004:53). By contrast, Gregory (1996) recognises the weaknesses inherent in an 'extreme' top-down model, where graphic symbols serve only to act as stimuli that enable the reader to access meanings that have been stored through previous experiences (1996:52). New meanings are therefore considered only in the light of the past knowledge the reader has brought to the text (Gregory, 1996:52).

Despite the limitations linked to top-down models of reading, such models provide some understanding about the role of memory and background knowledge as we consider the needs of pupils who are learning to read in another language. A fuller discussion of the role of background knowledge, memory and the differences in processing for pupils who are learning EAL are discussed in the following sections.

Interactive-compensatory Model

From the 1980s onwards L1 and L2 reading theories acknowledged that successful readers activate both top-down and bottom-up approaches when reading a text. The integration of both models is linked to Stanovich's 1980 model which is termed *The Interactive-Compensatory Model*. A key aspect of this model is that 'a process at any level can compensate for deficiencies at any other level' (Stanovich,1980:36). Researchers therefore reached an agreement that rapid, automatic and context-free word recognition, and the length of time a reader fixates on a word, are indicators of how fluent a reader is. This view is still current today in L1 and L2 research.

Reading is recognised in current research as a 'complex interactive process' that involves the use of cognitive functions working together at various levels to reach an understanding of a text. Stanovich emphasises the compensatory aspect of his model as he considers the interactive nature of the reading process:

Interactive models...assume that a pattern is synthesized based on information provided simultaneously from several knowledge sources. The compensatory assumption states that a deficit in any knowledge results in a heavier reliance on other knowledge sources, regardless of their level in the processing hierarchy
(Stanovich, 1980:63).

The compensatory-model recognises that fluent readers do not spend time consciously decoding written symbols on a page because word recognition has become automatised. This leaves time for other processes linked to the interpretation of the text. At the same time, the compensatory-model acknowledges that the fluent reader will still compensate by drawing on bottom-up resources for word recognition when necessary (Harrison, 2004:36).

However, when we consider the purpose of reading, to make meaning from texts, it is not enough to be able to recognise rapidly the written symbols on a

page. Other factors are important and involve knowledge about 'people, intentions, reactions, or events,' which is 'accomplished by thinking in the context of that print, thinking which may not only be reactive and meaning-taking, but also creative and meaning-making' (Beard, 1987:1). Alderson draws from L1 theoretical notions of reading to consider the assessment of L2 reading and states:

Thus the pendulum swings. It is clear that both bottom-up and top-down information is important in reading, that the two interact in complex and poorly understood ways, and that the balance between the two approaches is likely to vary with text, reader and purpose.
(Alderson, 2000:20).

Interactive models of reading are important considerations when we attempt to apply them to pedagogical practices. Some of these aspects are considered in the subsequent sections.

Schema Theory

Schema is a term that was introduced by the psychologist Bartlett (1932), as he studied how the mind stores information, and is relevant to notions of reading comprehension and how a reader interacts with a text. Schema theory suggests that the brain stores data in our memory in organised related patterns, called schemas (Armbruster, 1986; Carrell, 1988). Thus, we interpret the world around us by referring to the already stored schemata in our minds, which are formed from life's previous experiences. Armbruster's (1986) study in L1 schools draws attention to different types of schemas i.e. content schemas and text schemas. Her own words exemplify this well: '*Content schemas* contain knowledge about objects, events, and situations. The restaurant schema is one example. *Textual schemas* contain knowledge about the conventions of organized discourse' (Armbruster, 1986:254 – italics in the original). Rumelhart also refers to the concept of *textual schemas*, but terms it *formal schemas*. Both terms are used by different writers in relation to reading theory in L1 and L2 contexts. Armbruster exemplifies textual schemas as those constructs that 'include knowledge about discourse structures that are

common to most forms of text, such as paragraphs, as well as specialized discourse structures, such as those for stories or scientific articles' (Armbruster, 1986:254).

This would suggest that people's background knowledge is not just a collection of disorganized facts, but that it is categorised into specific constructs and ways of thinking. Harrison reports that text-based schemas function in a way that is similar to genres where 'the presence of a schema may be signaled at the phrase level, but operates at the whole text or macrostructure level' (Harrison, 2003:61-62). Given that pupils are expected to read numerous different genres, (e.g. narrative, reports, information texts, advertisements), teachers need to take into consideration how to activate schemas and fill in the gaps where relevant schemas are missing.

Studies in the United States explored the notion of text-based schemas within L1 school contexts and investigated the difficulties that pupils faced as they used information textbooks (e.g. Armbruster, 1986). Armbruster's (1986) work recognises that often when pupils do not have content schema related to a particular topic, they are unable to learn enough from a text 'to construct an appropriate schema' (Armbruster, 1986: 260). As a result, reading to learn is impeded, as pupils are not given the opportunities to construct new schemas, or update their existing ones. This is relevant to the school contexts within this study and has implications for planning in the classroom as pupils who are learning EAL engage with classroom texts. Schema theory provides important insights into the specific ways of thinking, knowing and ways of being that EAL pupils bring to bear on a reading text in mainstream classrooms. Such views align with Gee's (2005) notions of Discourses, as previously discussed, where he raises the question about *who we are* when we read and write. An EAL pupil's rich background knowledge and their socially situated identities have been shaped by the Discourses that they belong to and impact on how they interpret and engage with texts in mainstream classrooms. Schema theory is prominent in the literature associated with reading development and provides important insights as we

consider how to develop appropriate reading literacy pedagogies for pupils learning English as a second or additional language.

The Transactional Model

The work of schema theory moved an understanding of reading forwards and a number of interactive theories were developed in an attempt to explain the reading process. Theorists (e.g. Rosenblatt, 1969) drew on insights from linguistics, literary studies and semiotics to move beyond simple understandings of how a text was comprehended and a *transactional* model of reading emerged. Both schema theory and a transactional model of reading move us beyond seeing reading as a cognitive and linguistic process to one that includes the social dimensions of discourse (Kern, 2000:116). Deriving from L1 literary theory, the *transactional* model 'proposed that reading involves a transaction between a reader and a text which leads to the creation of a new text that is unique to each reader' (Cairney, 1995:3). In Rosenblatt's (1988) transactional theory of reading, she argues that the *meaning* established from reading a text is often greater than the potential meaning that the reader brings to the text, or that the author tried to communicate. Meaning is therefore evoked through the transaction that takes place between the reader and the text (Rosenblatt, 1988). Rosenblatt captures these interactional processes taking place within a context:

We need to see the reading act as an event involving a particular individual and a particular text, happening at a particular time, under particular circumstances, in a particular social and cultural setting, and as part of the ongoing life of the individual and the group.
(Rosenblatt 1985:100).

Within bottom-up models of reading, it is often perceived that the process of reading requires the reader to extract information or knowledge from a text to add to learners' existing knowledge. Freire (1974) refers to this approach as the *banking model* of education. Comprehension approaches to reading are often perceived in this way. However, Rosenblatt emphasises that the

personality of the reader and the views captured by the writer cannot be analysed separately within a vacuum. Meaning is therefore established through the *act of reading* (Rosenblatt, 1988).

Transactional theories also influenced the field of English language teaching. Those who advocated the use of literature in L2 teaching did so in an attempt to shift the learners' focus about language beyond a technical approach to language as a system (Hirvela, 1996). A communicative approach within English language teaching was a suitable vehicle for the introduction of approaches that included a more *personal response* (Carter, 1988). However, within a personal response approach, the literary texts served merely as a vehicle for learning English as a foreign language. Hirvela (1996) argues that such an approach was limited because the reader was positioned as someone who produces discourse about the meaning embedded within a text, rather than as someone who actively responds to the text. Transactional theories did not make much of an impact on the field of English language teaching due to the dominance of discourse-based approaches that saw the production of discourse as an end in itself, i.e. the end goal was to engage learners in tasks that involved speaking or writing in order to learn language. These narrower views concerning discourse-based approaches still operate within the field of English language teaching, but a sociocultural shift has taken place where notions of discourse have used a much broader lens. When language is viewed through a sociocultural lens it is conceptualised as a resource that learners use to make meaning based on their distinctive ways of being and doing in the world (Gee, 2005). This broader understanding of discourse and the response of the reader link to models of comprehension and raise questions about how a reader interprets text.

Comprehension

Comprehension-based models of reading suggest that higher and lower processing skills are involved during the reading process. When considering

comprehension in an L1, Kintsch's (1988) construction-integration model posits that the comprehension of text involves a combination of both top-down and bottom-up processing. He emphasises that comprehension cannot take place without both processes operating at the same time. Kintsch (1988) specifies two specific dimensions associated with comprehension: identifying lexical and grammatical information, while at the same time revising background knowledge within the mind. He proposes that readers extract information from the text i.e. the basic units of language vocabulary and grammar, which he terms the *textbase model*. Readers then engage in the more complex process of applying the information from the *textbase* to their understanding and knowledge of the world. He terms this as the *situation model*. Both of these operations work together as one comprehends a text.

Grabe (2009) also draws on Kintsch's models, when considering an understanding of text in a second language and proposes that comprehension is a basic, but influential purpose for engaging in the reading process. Grabe and Stoller (2002) foreground a number of essential components that contribute to an understanding of a text:

A skilled fluent reader, requires very rapid and automatic processing of words, strong skills in forming a general meaning representation of main ideas, and efficient coordination of many processes under very limited time constraints

(Grabe and Stoller, 2002:14).

Influenced by current cognitive models of reading in L2 contexts, they give prominence to the importance of efficiency in processing (Grabe and Stoller, 2002). They propose that due to the processing demands that are involved in reading longer texts, it may at times be more difficult to read for comprehension than to read to learn (2002:15). Such considerations link to Armbruster's (1986) concerns about reading to learn in the classroom, as previously discussed, when practices do not give prominence to the activation of appropriate content and text-based schemas.

The theories discussed above in relation to the reading process have informed both L1 and L2 reading contexts. A general understanding and application of these theories can lead to universal notions of reading across all languages. As a result, the distinct differences related to the reading process for pupils who are reading in English as a second or additional language are not recognised. Such knowledge and beliefs have implications for pedagogical practices within linguistically and culturally diverse classrooms. For example, as noted earlier, Swain (1995) argues that it is useful to consider notions of output and to provide opportunities in classroom practices for learners to engage actively in comprehensible output as this enables them to process the language at a deeper level than the internal processes involved in comprehension alone.

Reading Skills and Strategies

Comprehension is often associated with two terms in L1 and L2 literature, i.e. skills and strategies. Cognitive research has considered ways in which a reader processes information during comprehension (Harrison, 2004). Fluent adult readers, according to Markman (1978), recognise the things they do not understand when reading a text and employ specific strategies and skills to remedy any misunderstandings, whereas younger children appear to live with the inconsistencies in their understanding. This raises questions about the various processes and sub-processes that are employed during the reading process to monitor understanding and how the implementation of these cognitive processes are linked to developmental differences (Markman, 1978:653-654). Studies like this acted as a catalyst for further research that showed readers can be taught metacognitive strategies to monitor and improve their comprehension of a text.

Markman's study drew on a cognitive approach and argued that readers:

construct mental representations of what they read. These representations were stored in memory and contained the semantic interpretations of the

text made by the reader during reading. The memory representations provided the basis for subsequent use of what was read and understood. (National Reading Panel, undated: 4-39).

A review of Markman's (1978) study was conducted by the National Reading Panel which highlighted the shift in our understanding of reading. The report foregrounded other studies (e.g. Kintsch and van Dijk, 1978) that developed our understanding of the reader as one who, while engaged in cognitive processes, actively drew on background knowledge to interpret the meaning of a text. These processes involved the memory where the reader actively constructed mental representations of what had been understood. This knowledge was then held in the memory for use at a later stage, if required. Such findings led to strategy instruction to aid the development of reading. Miller and Faircloth point out that within such an approach:

Strategic reading entailed more than learning a new reading strategy: strategic readers selected the most appropriate cognitive strategy, monitored whether their reading goals were met, and made change along the way to ensure their success (2009:308).

Strategies can therefore be considered as deliberate actions that a reader intentionally employs to achieve a particular goal. Drawing on L1 and L2 reading theories, examples of reading strategies are outlined by Grabe and Stoller:

1. Specifying a purpose for reading
2. Planning what to do/what steps to take
3. Previewing the text
4. Predicting the contents of the text or section of text
5. Checking predictions
6. Posing questions about the text
7. Finding answers to posed questions
8. Connecting text to background knowledge
9. Summarising information
10. Making inferences
11. Connecting one part of the text to another

12. Paying attention to text structure
13. Rereading
14. Guessing the meaning of a new word from context
15. Using discourse markers to see relationships
16. Checking comprehension
17. Identifying difficulties
18. Taking steps to repair faulty comprehension
19. Critiquing the author
20. Critiquing the text
21. Judging how well objectives were met
22. Reflecting on what has been learned from the text

(Grabe and Stoller, 2002:16).

The difference between skills and strategies is a contested area in both L1 and L2 educational literature. In L1 educational research, Paris, Waskik and Turner define skills within the cognitive domain as *informational processing techniques* and consider them to be automatic and unconscious processes that a good reader employs when reading a text, e.g. summarizing a text, recognising letter sound correspondence (Paris *et al*, 1991:611). Strategies, on the other hand, can be considered as intentional decisions that readers make in order to understand a challenging text. Grabe recognises the link between skills and strategies and concludes that strategies are 'cognitive processes that are open to conscious reflection but that may be on their way to becoming skills' (2009:221). The lines between these terms are often blurred, but such distinctions are helpful when considering classroom practices and the process of developing reading.

In terms of teaching and learning, Dole, Nokes and Drits (2009) conclude that skills are often taught in classrooms where it is believed that the repeated practice of specific skills helps students to internalize them and apply them to other unknown texts. As a result, teachers often conceptualise the process of comprehension as the employment of a set of separate skills. It is clear from the literature, however, that such theoretical notions about the development of comprehension do not transfer easily from research into

practice. Classroom practices often provide opportunities for pupils to carry out activities that merely practise such skills rather than involving the teacher in being intentional in *teaching* them (Durkin, 1978-79).

This section has considered various models associated with the reading process. It has considered how reading develops in an L2 and how it draws heavily on L1 theory. It has demonstrated a shift in understanding of reading away from its traditional conceptualisation as a set of cognitive processes that removed it from its sociocultural context and from human relationships (Gee, 2008). The following sections consider the distinct differences between reading in a L1 and reading in a L2 as a way to highlight the challenges that pupils learning EAL may experience as they face the reading demands of mainstream classroom texts.

L1 and L2 Reading Differences

As discussed in the previously section, early studies that conceptualised reading as a single unitary process have been challenged. Bernhardt, writing from an L2 perspective, reports that reading research has been marked by overgeneralisations that L1 and L2 reading are the same (2003:112). She emphasises that while many reading processes appear to be similar at a surface level, the route of how meaning is constructed is not often taken into consideration (2003:112). She states: 'The mere existence of a *first-language* (regardless of whether it is only oral, or oral and literate) renders the *second-language* reading process considerably different from the first-language reading process because of the nature of information stored in memory' (Bernhardt, 2003:112). Thus, for EAL pupils, the fact that there are two or more languages involved in the process of interacting with a text in English means that there are distinct differences and challenges, along with the potential for opportunities, operating during reading literacy practices.

Therefore, it is helpful to draw on the work of cross-linguistic theories in an effort to shed light on some of the distinct differences learners have when

they face L2 reading texts. While this requires a focus on the cognitive aspects of reading in an additional language, it does not consider such differences as separate from a sociocultural perspective to the development of language and literacy.

Discourse Processing

A text is not a sequence of disconnected words and sentences. Rather, it is 'visual communication transmitting the author's intended message' (Kern, 2000:123). Therefore, understanding text, as previously discussed, involves the reader in the process of interpreting the meaning that the writer intended, while at the same time constructing meaning by bringing his/her own social and cultural understandings to the text. Studies indicate that memory plays an important role during a reader's interaction with a text as it requires the reader to store and process information concurrently (Kern, 1994; Bernhardt, 2003; Koda, 2005). Accordingly, some models of comprehension draw on notions of meaningfulness at the whole text level. Such models propose that 'what is formed in the reader's mind during comprehension goes well beyond the literal meaning of the explicit text statement, encapsulating the real-world situations as the reader perceives them' (Koda, 2005:124). These perceptions are the outcome of inference generation while processing text. This means that the space afforded by the working memory is critical as it engages in sets of complex interrelated processes and stores knowledge related to decoding the written/spoken word; drawing on background knowledge; synthesizing semantic connections between words, statements or across texts; generating inferences; reprocessing of L2 words, phrases, or sentences into the L1 in order to build meaning (Kern, 2000; Koda, 2005).

The van Dijk and Kintsch (1978) model of comprehension advocates that there are multiple levels involved in the processing of text. These three distinct levels include surface forms (linguistic based), propositional textbase (meaning-based, semantic text information) and situation model (real-life

situations). This theory describes a developmental cycle of comprehension that puts emphasis on an understanding of the meaning *in* the text. Based on this theory, the reader first evaluates the words in the text, i.e. the surface forms. After this, the textbase is created where the semantic content of the words in the text is constructed. The textbase does not necessarily include the exact words on the page. 'For example, the sentences, "John bought the sofa" and "John purchased the couch" have different surface structures, but essentially the same textbase (meaning)' (Raney, Obeidalla and Miura, 2002:166, 167). Following this, the situation model integrates the textbase and the general background knowledge of the reader in relation to the topic of the text. However, in relation to comprehension, it is recognised that such models do not provide a comprehensive explanation of why the same text, e.g. *Jane behaves like Madonna*, can have different interpretations, despite having the same surface form (Koda, 2005:126). In a similar way, it also does not explain why a text that has similar propositional or semantic meanings loses its core meaning when translated into different languages (Hutchins, 1980).

Despite these constraints, Koda (2005) suggests that the situational model offers insights into the nature of interpreting texts, as it allows us to foreground the ways in which a reader's background knowledge and experiences frame different understandings of the language used in the text. Bernhardt (2003) also recognises the important role of memory and schema in relation to the situation model when she suggests that L2 learners may understand a word, e.g. *breakfast*, but carry different representations of the semantic fields associated with the term. Therefore, comprehension and interpretation are linked to more than decoding the surface linguistic forms of a text, or the information explicitly stated, but require the reader to 'envison real-world situations inferred from the text statements' (Koda, 2005:127).

Coherence

Coherence is built in various ways through the surface features of a text; for example, recognising connectives or devices that signal the relationships between words, and across sentences and paragraphs are essential for the successful understanding of a text. In addition, inferencing can be defined as the reader *reading between the lines* (Cairney, 1995; Koda, 2005). Other definitions are in use, for example: inferencing is information that the reader activates in order to resolve unanswered questions or to make sense of information that is not explicitly stated within a text (van den Broek, 1994:556). *Bridging inferences* are concerned with the reader's ability to recognise the 'underlying semantic connections between two seemingly unrelated statements' and are necessary in propositional textbase construction when the reader is trying to establish causal relationships across text statements (Koda, 2005:132). *Elaborative inferences* are concerned with the reader's intention to elaborate and expand on information that is explicit within the text (Koda, 2005). To be successful in this kind of inferencing, the reader has to possess the kind of content-knowledge that is relevant to an understanding of the text. Koda provides a helpful example to compare these different types of inferencing: 'Narrative comprehension, therefore, can be described as the process of asking a series of 'why' questions about story events [bridging inferences], and elaborative inferences are analogous to answering these questions' (Koda, 2005:133).

The various processes in the previous paragraph outlined present challenges to learners when reading L2 texts. Not all languages have the same possibilities of establishing coherence across texts. For example, the surface linguistic features of a text may use ellipsis or certain pronouns to build local and global coherence across a text, but the equivalent construction in another language may not be allowed. Therefore, the knowledge of how these lexicogrammatical features make meaning within the language is not necessarily transferrable across all languages, thus cross-linguistic variations make this process challenging. For example, the grammatical subject in conjoined sentences need not be included in English and Spanish: *Nancy ran*

into Jack and [] complained about a neighbour. English may permit the addition of the subject pronoun in such a sentence without a change in meaning, e.g. *Nancy ran into Jack and she [Nancy] complained about a neighbour.* However, the same construction is not possible within Spanish as such an addition indicates a change in subject which means that another person did the complaining rather than Nancy (Koda, 2005:140). Such discourse features often demand conceptual as well as linguistic manipulations for the learner. Such notions are particularly relevant in relation to languages that are distinctly different in terms of their syntactic, semantic, morphemic, graphophonic, and pragmatic features.

Furthermore, the lack of common content or cultural knowledge linked to a text is often a major cause for difficulty in understanding. Cultural knowledge is not necessarily shared across different languages. These differences can leave large chunks of text semantically disconnected as the demand for culturally specific knowledge in the text increases (Bernhardt, 2003; Fitzgerald, 2003; Koda, 2005). Misunderstandings can also occur when learners draw on L1 cultural knowledge and apply it to the interpretation of L2 texts. For example, lexical inferencing is crucial to making meaning from a text and real life experiences can impact on how a word is interpreted during this process. The word *war* can activate different meanings, images and emotions for an EAL pupil whose family has fled to the UK from Iraq as refugees compared to a monolingual English speaking pupil who has grown up in the UK all of his life and shares common experiences with the dominant cultural group within the class. Such experiences conjure up different social and cultural understandings and interpretations of the world and link to Vygotsky's (1993) notion of the *sense* of a word. It can be argued therefore that 'the first-language provides a cocoon that wraps around the interpretation of the second-language text' (Bernhardt, 2003:10).

Through the use of a sociocultural approach, researchers have gained important insights into L1/L2 comparisons. Bell's (1995) important diary study showed that exploring notions of literacy development in another language cannot be measured by using large-scale psychometric testing of

the reading skills of school pupils. Street (1996) proposes that ethnographic work inevitably shows that literacy is not neutral, nor an autonomous set of skills, but rather a developmental process that is shaped by 'culture, ethnicity, gender, class and ideology' (1996:23). The following sections therefore consider the wider notions of reading and discuss more contemporary views where reading is conceptualised as a set of literacy practices.

Literacy

Within contemporary society there are competing definitions associated with the notion of literacy that are closely linked to economics, culture and political agendas. It has been argued that literacy is the essential element within civilized cultures and is often associated with intelligence at an individual level (Janks, 2010; Gee, 2008). However, the field of *New Literacy Studies* (Gee, 1996) has moved away from the traditional notion of literacy as merely a cognitive process to one that embraces a sociocultural approach. Lankshear and Knobel state that:

Developments from a range of social theory perspectives have progressively chipped away at the virtual monopoly over educational research of text-based practices previously exercised by psychologists of one type or another.

(Lankshear and Knobel, 1997:95).

Street draws a distinction between the more technical and cognitive notions of reading, which he termed the *autonomous model* and the *ideological model* which characterises literacy as social and cultural in nature (Street, 1996). This shift in perspective has embraced the plural and discursive nature of literacy and integrates ways of being and doing in the world (Luke, 1995; Gee, 2005). Social perspectives align with the theoretical lens used within this study. Therefore, the term *reading literacy* has been used throughout this thesis as a way of recognising reading as multidimensional in nature involving cognitive skills and a set of practices that take place within

sociocultural contexts. Bernhardt (2003) states that failure to recognise both the cognitive and the social perspectives within the field of reading research limits an adequate understanding of reading performance. She concludes: 'Only a wedding of the perspectives – that reading is both cognitive and social; that one does not follow the other, but co-occurs- [will] push the field forward' (Bernhardt, 2003:4). Such perspectives are relevant to linguistically and diverse classrooms where pupils learning EAL are required to participate actively in literacy practices that are part of Discourses that have been constructed by the new culture in which they now live. The following sections explore key perspectives linked to literacy and its associated practices.

Orientations to Literacy

Within the literature there is a range of models associated with literacy which are often linked to socially and culturally constructed teaching contexts (e.g. Luke and Freebody, 1990; Street, 1995; The New London Group, 1996; Janks, 2010; Luke and Dooley, 2011; Kucer and Silva, 2013). Despite the various contexts and orientations to literacy, each model recognises the need for readers to:

- decode the text;
- make meaning from the text;
- interrogate the text.

(Janks, 2010:21-22).

Within the literature, *decoding the text* is linked to traditional notions of reading, as outlined in the previous sections, and requires the reader to have proficiency in the language of the text. *Meaning making* draws on higher order cognitive skills and processes that facilitate an analysis and evaluation of a text (Janks, 2010). The *interrogation of texts* is associated with critical literacy and encourages the reader to *read against the text*, and to recognise and understand that texts position them as readers (Freebody and Luke, 1990; Wallace, 2003; Janks, 2010).

In current models of literacy, notions of discourse are foregrounded. The work of structuralism has been influential in this shift and has extended our understanding of language and literacy (e.g. Saussure, 1974) to include notions of discourse. Gee (2005) argues that all literacy practices are linked to specific Discourses. Thus the ways in which we think, know, read and write are shaped by being apprenticed into social groups (Cairney, 1995; Gee, 2005). Meaning is therefore considered to be socially constructed.

Writing from an L2 theoretical perspective, Kern's work also draws on Gee (2005) and promotes the idea that reading and writing need to be conceptualised within the broader notions of Discourse. He recognises the importance of this in a global context by stating: 'Preparing students to communicate in multiple cultural contexts...means sensitizing them to discourse practices in other societies and to the ways those discourse practices both reflect and create cultural norms' (Kern, 2000:2). Reading literacy therefore cannot be defined as monolithic, but rather as complex and varied. It is not just about language or being able to read words on a page, but about social practices (Kern, 2000; Wallace, 2003; Johnson, 2009). Kern (2000) captures the conceptual shift that has taken place in relation to literacy. He states:

It is essential to understand that literacy is more than a set of academic skills, more than inscribing and decoding words and more than prescribed patterns of thinking. It involves an awareness of how acts of reading, writing and conversation *mediate* and *transform* meanings, not merely transfer them from one individual or group to another. Literacy is neither natural, nor universal, nor ideologically neutral, but culturally constructed. It is precisely because literacy is variable and intimately tied to the sociocultural practices of language use in a given society that it is of central importance in our teaching of language and culture

(Kern, 2000:23, italics in the original).

Viewing literacy as social practice means that it can also be used to engage in a critical reflection and examination of social practices. The term *critical literacy* is closely associated with the work of Paulo Freire. Freire (1974), in

his concern for a social justice pedagogy, proposes that an important element of literacy is that it allows an exploration of the language that is used to shape the ways our experiences within the world are represented (Freire, 1974). Freire and Macedo acknowledge the dynamic nature of the links between language, literacy and the world in which we live. They state:

Reading the world always precedes reading the word, and reading the word implies continually reading the world.... In a way, however, we can go further and say that reading the word is not preceded merely by reading the world, but by a certain form of writing it or rewriting it, that is, of transforming it by means of conscious practical work. For me, this dynamic movement is central to the literacy process.
(Freire and Macedo, 1987:35).

Such perspectives stem from the influences of the field of critical pedagogy which embraces the wider context of schooling and society (Wallace, 2003). Bartolome suggests that critical pedagogy enables us to understand better the various links between ideology, power, cultural and language within diverse classrooms (2010:47). Critical pedagogy links to notions of social change and social justice and is influenced by aspects of critical theory. McLaren emphasises the dialectical nature of critical theory and states:

Critical theory enables the educational researcher to see the school not simply as an arena of indoctrination or socialization or a site of instructions, but also as a cultural terrain that promotes student empowerment and transformation.
(McLaren, 2009:62).

McLaren's (2009) perspective positions school sites as places that are not only places of domination, but places of liberation. Such notions are important and relevant to this study when one considers that pupils in linguistically and culturally diverse classroom contexts are often positioned during reading literacy practices as *cultural outsiders* (Kern, 2000; Wallace, 2003).

Giroux (1979) helps us to consider how critical pedagogy provides a way of enacting critical theories within classrooms. Institutionalised schooling has traditionally engaged in the role of preparing people with the skills needed

in the workplace and embarking on the process of creating homogeneous groups of citizens (The New London Group, 1996). Giroux (1979) recognised the force of such perspectives and practices and considered ways of facilitating change in two distinct ways, i.e. the implementation of micro and macro objectives in terms of classroom teaching. Micro objectives are characterised by the course content, e.g. a knowledge of the content of a reading text, the structure of the course, or the skills associated with learning how to read – the *how to* techniques. This element aligns with Street's (1996) notion of the *autonomous model* of literacy. Edwards also refers to such skills as 'being part of a 'neutral' cognitive process; there is no discussion of social or power dimensions' (2009:54). Macro objectives are associated with enabling students to link the course content with the wider social world. This facilitates the process of students developing a broad world-view. These objectives link more to Street's (1996) *ideological model* of literacy which 'sees literacy as social and cultural in nature, an integral part of people's daily lives' (Edwards, 2009:54). Critical literacy is a powerful mediator in this process of development of Giroux's (1979) two types of objectives, as it not only enables pupils to decode, comprehend and interpret text, but it allows them to become critically aware of the world in which they live, thus meeting the aspirational aims of the new Scottish CfE.

Viewing literacy through such a lens establishes a clear link between the reader and the world. Such perspectives align with Gee's notion of Discourses, as outlined in the previous sections, and lead to a number of implications for developing reading literacy. The following sections will discuss critical literacy practices as a way of integrating such notions into diverse mainstream secondary classrooms. (It is important to note at this point that the following sections focus on the literature related to literacy that is beyond the initial stages of reading development).

Critical Literacy

Luke and Dooley define critical literacy as: 'the use of texts to analyse and

transform relations of cultural, social and political power' (2011:856). They emphasise that the main aim of a critical literacy approach is:

The equitable development and acquisition of language and literacy by historically marginalized communities and students, and towards the use of texts in a range of communications media to analyse, critique, represent and alter inequitable knowledge structures and social relations of school and society

(Luke and Dooley, 2011:856).

Some of the key concepts linked to critical literacy theory are outlined below to aid in our understanding of how this concept applies to diverse mainstream classrooms.

Texts

Within a critical literacy approach texts are conceived as cultural tools or human designs that are used within particular sociocultural environments. A text is therefore regarded as an item that carries meaning. According to Janks (2010), all texts are visible representations of something that is abstract within society. Text can therefore be written, visual, multimodal, spoken, digitally communicated or on paper. It is therefore important to learn how to deconstruct and understand text and the implicit ways in which the discourses of power are negotiated within them (Pratt and Foley, 2011:67). Morgan and Ramanathan suggest that schooling is moving away from traditional notions of text where literacy is being reconceptualised in the light of new digital capacities (2005:152). As a result, critical educators promote a 'pluralized notion of literacies and multiliteracies to help students negotiate a broader range of text-types and modes' (2005:152).

Genre theory and Hallidayan systemic functional grammar perspectives recognise the social nature of texts. Texts are socially constructed and, therefore, their structural shape and their social function are socially and culturally varied (Wallace, 2003:15). By implication therefore it is not appropriate to conceptualise genres in terms of a set number of rigidly

defined forms. Kamler, 1997 captures the constraints in practice that arise from viewing genres solely in terms of fixed templates. He argues that:

The practice of the instructional genre becomes difficult for [the teacher] to identify because she is so firmly fixed on specifying textual characteristics and linguistic features...In order to produce a more critical reading, the teacher needs access to other discourses, rather than more sophisticated understandings of the analytic templates of systemic linguistics

(Kamler, 1997:292).

A contrasting view of genre emerges from Bakhtin's (1981) concept of intertextuality, where the nature and boundaries of texts are more fluid, which means they can be read against each other across genres (Wallace, 2003; Gee, 2005). From this perspective genre is not only considered in terms of its internal features, but in how it has been constructed within specific domains. Fairclough also argues that while texts may have a well-defined or predictable generic structure, there is 'a limit to how far we can really talk about structure in a tight sense' (Fairclough, 2003:74). He recognises genre mixing or the hybridity of genres and suggests that this is due to the influence of social relations and practices, the purpose(s) of the writer/designer and the technological change that has taken place (Fairclough, 2003). He therefore notes that within any given text there are sets of other voices, or sets of other texts, that are relevant or potentially embedded within a text (Fairclough, 2003:47). Texts are therefore considered to be multigeneric in nature. Overall, a consideration of text suggests that it has fluid boundaries and carries meanings that have been shaped by specific contexts. In addition, the reader brings his/her own social and culturally shaped interpretations, which suggests that texts are continually being reshaped.

Power

As noted earlier, Giroux (1979) drawing on neo-Marxist theories of power foregrounded the idea that dominant groups in society often have power

over those who are marginalised or at least are subordinate to the dominant group. This thesis draws on a critical literacy approach as it 'makes clear the connection between knowledge and power' (Shor, 2009:298). It also recognises that knowledge is socially constructed and linked to the values and norms that serve particular interests within a society (Shor, 2009). A critical literacy approach therefore enables a critique of these social and cultural constructions and provides both pupils and teachers with conceptual tools that enable them to explore how specific meanings have been created in any given text.

Janks reflects on the use of the word *critical* within a critical literacy approach and states: '*Critical* as used in post-structuralist, neo-Marxist discourses requires that analysis is put to work to reveal the hidden ideologies of texts' (2010:35). Texts used in society are often persuasive in their nature and position their reader in particular ways. Therefore, questions such as, 'Who has the power? Who benefits from the way this text is constructed?' help to make power relationships visible and to 'denaturalize 'common' sense assumptions (Janks, 2010:36). Such an approach seeks to reveal the ideological meanings within texts.

One way to explore repertoires of thinking and the ideology that is within texts is to identify the linguistic and non-linguistic cultural tools that are used to create specific ideological meanings (Wallace, 2003). McLaren (2009) also draws attention to the notion of ideological meanings and recognises that they are not only within political discourses, but within the ways in which society communicates its ideas, beliefs, values, and the actions that accompany these. In other words, ideology is a production of meaning and a way of viewing the world that is classified as common sense (McLaren, 2009:69). Attending to power and ideology in classroom reading literacy practices raises questions about the types of interactions and cultural and social knowledge that is considered to be legitimate and the *norm* within multilingual and multicultural classroom settings.

Failure to acknowledge and implement changes to classroom literacy practices based on such considerations can lead to the silencing of marginalised groups within the dominant culture (Wallace, 2003; Janks, 2010).

Gaps and *silences* are important concepts within a critical literacy approach. *Gaps* in a text can mean that a particular race, culture, ideology, gender, individual or identity is left out or is not recognised and this links to issues of marginalization (Luke, 2000). *Silences* may mean that individuals who are located within the fabric of the text, do not have a role or a vocal presence and, as a result, they are silenced (Pratt and Foley, 2012:69). These notions are particularly relevant to this study as the knowledge base of the teacher in relation to such theories, and his/her role during literacy practices, are crucial to ensuring that pupils from different social and cultural backgrounds are positioned as valuable and legitimate participants in the classroom.

The Role of the Reader

The role of the reader is also an important consideration in critical literacy practices. Traditionally structuralist views promote the autonomy of the text, where the reader extracts meaning from the text. The reader is considered to be active in his/her pursuit of the meanings that are embedded within the text. However, contemporary views within L1 and L2 educational contexts have shifted from the traditional stance to one where there is an understanding that the reader *brings* meaning to the text, which is equally important (Janks, 2010; Wallace, 2003; Morgan and Ramanathan, 2005). At the same time, other writers have recognised that within some environments, institutional factors, or individual choice, may preclude some readers from having the freedom to interact with such liberty (e.g. Kress, 1985). Morgan and Ramanathan (2005) acknowledge such constraints and suggest the implementation of a *sensitised pedagogy* that takes into account the challenges within the context of the reader.

In addition to this, Wallace (2003) and Kern (2000) foreground the challenges a reader may have when interacting with a text. Features such as the characteristics of the text, the authorship, the writer's imagined readership, or the classroom can serve to marginalise the reader in accessing the text and misshape the kinds of interactions that can occur (Wallace, 2003:16; Kern, 2000). Wallace emphasises that 'if you are not part of the writers' imagined readership, the effect is of eavesdropping on a dialogue' (2003:26). This has important implications for classroom literacy practices, where readers can be continually positioned as *overhearers* (Kern, 2000). This can be a result of the cultural bias in the discourses within certain texts; consequently a suspension of identity for the reader (e.g. an EAL pupil) and the postponement of normal interaction patterns that are part of engaging with a text are experienced (Wallace, 2003:17). These issues are relevant to the study in that these types of barriers within a classroom disadvantage pupils learning EAL. Such experiences are linked to issues of power, as outlined in the preceding discussion, where EAL pupils are unable to participate with equal status during literacy practices, compared to those who are members of the dominant monolingual English speaking group. Practices that provide opportunities to develop the cognitive, sociocultural and linguistic knowledge that is needed to access classroom texts are discussed in the next section.

Implications for Classroom Practices

The conceptual development that pupils need to demonstrate in order to be successful readers within an 'academic' environment, emerges out of the ways in which teachers link their everyday knowledge, their subject knowledge and their theoretical understandings of how reading literacy develops for the purposes of understanding texts. Therefore, the teacher's knowledge of reading and its associated practices play an important mediating role in the process of developing reading literacy as s/he interacts with the student on a daily basis (Kozulin, 2003).

A number of researchers have addressed the need for the implementation of critical literacy or transformative approaches into diverse mainstream classroom contexts (Cummins, 2000; Wallace, 2003; Fang and Schleppegrell, 2008; Edwards, 2009; Janks, 2010). These works have influenced my thinking in relation to reading literacy practices. Morgan suggests that in terms of classroom practices, the aim of critical educators is to create spaces for agency (Morgan, 2009). He recognises that a teacher who utilizes a critical reading literacy approach not only gives pupils learning EAL access to powerful forms of language, but creates an educational space that implements the mechanisms for inclusion. Janks (2010) provides insights into the role of power in a critical reading literacy approach and the access it provides to various influential audiences and networks. She values the importance of including a critical approach to the teacher of literacy and states:

How we teach literacy can make a significant difference to the ways in which the cultural and linguistic capital, associated with powerful discourses, dominant languages, elite varieties and elite literacies, are distributed

(Janks, 2010:133).

Such perspectives associated with classroom practices align with Gee's notion of Discourses, on page 37. Gee's combinations of 'saying (writing)-doing-believing-valuing' (1990:142) view literacy as a social practice. He recognises that speaking, and writing cannot be separated from:

action (doing), ways of thinking and understandings of truth (believing), and ethics (valuing). And this is also true when listeners and readers make meaning from texts. We bring who we are and where we come from to the process of production and reception of spoken, written and visual texts.

(Gee, 1990:142).

An integration of these ideas into literacy practices would enable the teacher to help pupils to understand that the language used in texts is not an abstract system, but instead a resource for making meaning. The inclusion of Halliday's functional language analysis approach, as proposed by a number

of researchers (e.g. Wallace, 2003; Janks, 2010), into a critical reading literacy approach allows an exploration of the way in which text positions its readers and helps pupils to understand that each text is only one way of seeing the world. The next section considers the strengths that Hallidayan functional language analysis brings to a critical reading literacy approach and is discussed in the section which follows.

The Inclusion of Halliday

While one of the goals of an approach to critical reading is to 'avoid the imposition of a single unequivocal interpretation of an event or situation portrayed' (Wallace, 2003:63), it is challenging for EAL pupils to recognise such portrayals unless there is a specific EAL pedagogy that helps them to discover such uses of language (Schleppegrell, 2004).

Ira Shor (2009) foregrounds the importance of questioning and suggests that an explanation of how language is used to portray specific messages within texts is needed. He proposes that an exploration of how language is used to create meaning provides opportunities for counter discourses to be established. He asks: 'How have we been shaped by the words we use and encounter? If language use is one social force constructing us...how can we use and teach oppositional discourses so as to remake ourselves and our culture?' (Shor, 2009:282).

The integration of Halliday's (1978) functional linguistics approach brings a useful dimension to critical literacy practices, where it enables an exploration of the type of language used by the writer/ designer to establish the Discourses highlighted by Wallace (2003). An inclusion of this kind is relevant to this study as it allows subject content to be made accessible to pupils learning EAL. Halliday's (1978) systemic functional linguistics approach uses text as the starting point for exploring meaning. Text is therefore recognised as something that can be analysed objectively, from a social semiotic perspective, i.e. where a text is fluid and is an interactive

event (Wallace, 2003:12). He accomplishes this through the framework of *Field, Tenor* and *Mode*. Schleppegrell suggests that a functional analysis of language within these dimensions offers a framework to teachers that helps EAL pupils to understand how meaning is structured within complex grammatical patterns in specific subjects (2008:105). This approach enables teachers to introduce a metalanguage to pupils learning EAL that enables both teachers and pupils to be explicit about how language constructs meaning. This raises awareness about three kinds of meanings within any given text: *ideational* (comprising experiential and logical meanings); *experiential*, (representing and making sense of the real world); *interpersonal* (participants in the world, enabling people to act on their surroundings through their interactions with others) (Gibbons, 2006:31). An example from Wallace (2008:15) exemplifies how these three kinds of meanings are represented within a text:

FIELD: ideational meaning: who does what to whom (participants and processes) , as in BROWN WILL CUT TAXES vs TAXES WILL FALL

TENOR: interpersonal meaning: how the reader is addressed, (personal pronouns and modal verbs) as in BROWN WILL CUT TAXES, HE CLAIMS vs BROWN MAY CUT TAXES

MODE: textual meaning: what information comes first and how ideas are linked (connectors)
CAMERON CHALLENGES CLAIM THAT BROWN WILL CUT TAXES vs CLAIM OF BROWN TAX CUTS CHALLENGED BY CAMERON

However, the inclusion of this Hallidayan framework is not enough on its own; it needs to be integrated within a coherent sequence of classroom tasks that allow students to speak, listen, write, interact, and engage in project work (Gibbons, 2009; Fang and Schleppegrell, 2008). Fang and Schleppegrell (2008) draw on their understanding of the importance of schema and background knowledge and suggest that classroom practices need to provide opportunities for EAL pupils to develop an understanding of the text by

relating it to other texts (intertextuality) and experiences that they may know or have gained. Such considerations provide multiple *entry points* (Norton, 2000) in reading literacy practices within the classroom.

Differentiated classroom practices that provide spaces to accomplish these types of practices help EAL pupils to analyse and recognise the choices that are available within the language system in relation to ways of establishing meaning within specific contexts. Therefore the inclusion of activities that engage EAL pupils in talking about what patterns of language they see within a text furnishes them with 'tools and strategies for independent reading and writing' (Fang and Schleppegrell, 2008:106). This integrated approach to critical reading literacy allows for the inclusion of what Giroux (1979) refers to as *macro* and *micro objectives* within classrooms as it not only facilitates the *technical* processes involved in reading and analysing text, but enables pupils to link the meanings established from an interaction with the text to the wider social world. The development of the cognitive, linguistic and sociocultural dimensions of reading enables EAL pupils to develop the language needed for participating inside and outside of the classroom. Janks (2010) foregrounds the importance of specific and intentional classroom pedagogies that enable EAL pupils to develop the language needed to participate as legitimate members of society. If such practices are missing from schools, the lack of social, cultural and linguistic competence that results from this positions EAL pupils as outsiders to the Discourses that operate within society. Bourdieu addresses such experiences and states:

The competence that we have to produce sentences that are likely to be understood might be quite inadequate to produce sentences that are likely to be *listened to*...Speakers lacking the legitimate competence are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required

(Bourdieu, 1991:55, italics in the original).

Classroom practices that continually draw on simplification strategies to support EAL pupils in mainstream classes restrict access to the nature of academic language, thus inhibiting opportunities for learning (Harper,

2008:5). Harper (2008) suggests that practices that rely on simplification strategies constitute a constraining pedagogy that produce unequal outcomes because EAL pupils are not given access to the opportunities that are necessary for the development of language skills.

These views of learning and the development of critical literacy are considered by Street (2003) to be inextricably linked to notions of identity and ways of being and doing. Street emphasises:

The ways in which people address reading and writing are themselves rooted in conceptions of knowledge, identity, and being. It is also always embedded in social practices, such as those of a particular job market or a particular educational context and the effects of learning that particular literacy will be dependent on those particular contexts. Literacy, in this sense, is always contested, both its meanings and its practices, hence particular versions of it are always 'ideological', they are always rooted in a particular world-view and in a desire for that view of literacy to dominate and to marginalize others.

(Street, 2003:78).

An important consideration is how teachers view their own identities as they develop reading literacy within multilingual and multicultural classrooms. The following sections consider teacher identity and how this is linked to their participation within particular Discourses.

Identity

Teachers' beliefs cannot be explored without considering identity (Golombek, 2009; Miller, 2009). Miller states that teachers' 'thinking, knowing, believing, and doing are enacted in classroom contexts in a way that cannot be separated from identity' (2009:175). Traditional perspectives on teacher identity have drawn on cognitivist views. While there is a variety of theoretical frameworks linked to exploring teacher identity, current views have shifted away from psychological processes to more social processes that are rooted in a context. In a way that is similar to studies linked to teachers' beliefs, a vast array of terminology is linked to notions of identity, e.g. social

identity, ethnic identity, cultural identity, linguistic identity, sociocultural identity, teacher self, the self and voice (Miller, 1999:150). Previously considered as a static phenomenon, identity is now conceptualised as fluid, and in continual flux (Giroux, 1979; Hall, 1996; Gee, 2005; Miller, 2009).

Vavrus (2002), whose working hypothesis is that identities are produced through participating in particular discourses, asserts that 'a teacher's identity is influenced by ideological values of dominant social institutions' (2002:4). These are important insights when considering the context of this study. As discussed within Chapter Two, a policy of mainstreaming shapes many English-speaking countries. Schools and teachers are required to implement local and national policies and they are held responsible for carrying out such value-laden practices. However, in Varghese *et al's* study individual teachers often felt conflicted in their beliefs because of the influence of the setting. Teachers in Varghese *et al's* (2002) research agreed with the ideological values linked to policies for bilingual education, yet at the same time they held conflicted views about how it was being implemented within the school district. Recognising the impact of the ideologies operating within specific schools, while at the same time considering the reality of teaching environments, allows an understanding of the complexity in the way teachers' identities are formed (Varghese, 2002). Such insights are relevant to this study in that teachers' beliefs and identities are shaped by mainstreaming contexts where Discourses of inclusion operate. These Discourses promote equal access to the curriculum, yet at the same time, do not have the structures in place to prepare teachers for such diverse contexts. I will discuss the implications of this within the Discussion chapter.

In schools Clandinin and Connelly (1996) foreground the need to consider teacher knowledge and identity within the context of teachers' working lives. Their study illuminates how teachers' professional environments shape effective teaching in the classroom and the development of teacher knowledge. They suggest that 'what teachers know depends on the school stories and stories of school that constitute their landscape' (1996:29). In a

similar way, several other studies foreground the influence of subject areas or departments and consider these as distinctive contexts or subcultures that are characterised by different norms, values, beliefs and practices (Siskin, 1991; Grossman and Stodolsky, 1995). Such findings align with Gee's (2005) notion of Discourses where being a member of a particular group(s) shapes the ways people engage and interact and this in turn impacts on how they build their own identity. Arkoudis' study clearly demonstrates the impact that subject disciplines have on beliefs and identity formation. She recognises that there are specific canons of knowledge that teachers have and that such knowledge is crucial to the ways in which their subject area is defined (Arkoudis, 2006). Participation in the social routines and conversations associated with such Discourses forge specific ways of thinking about teaching and learning. Arkoudis (2006) promotes the value of engaging in cross-disciplinary conversations as a way to facilitate change in repositioning the ways in which teachers have constructed their sense of self and their pedagogic knowledge and practices.

Hall's (1996) work aligns with such views of identity and argues that identity formation is discursive in nature. He states that 'because identities are constructed within, not outside, Discourses, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices by specific enunciative strategies' (1996:4). Such studies suggest that teachers are subject to the prevailing discourses within their subject discipline (Masuda, 2012). These studies reveal that an investigation of local sites and the Discourses that operate within them is therefore crucial in gaining an understanding of how teachers' identities are shaped.

Identity in Classrooms

Street (2003) and Gee (2008) argue that the ways in which people engage in reading and writing are rooted in specific ways of knowing, being and identity formed within particular social contexts and Discourses. How

teachers consider their identity in relation to the ways they enact reading literacy practices in their classroom impacts on the opportunities that are made available for EAL pupils to establish new identities and engage in the wider society (Freire, 1974; Wallace, 2003; Janks, 2010; Masuda, 2012). Ball argues that teachers' views about reading literacy practices are often built on the dominant Discourses within their professional contexts and often determine what counts and what doesn't count (Ball, 1993). As a result, certain types of reading practices are enacted that may not reflect the diverse views of the pupils (Masuda, 2012).

Masuda's study demonstrated that teachers' identities were shaped from drawing on professional development and learner Discourses that positioned teachers as autonomous, self-directed and competent practitioners. However, teachers in Masuda's (2012) study felt frustrated because they were not able to implement changes to their practices due to curricular constraints. Teachers in the study also reflected on current classroom literacy practices and positioned themselves as capable practitioners in the light of their subject area and the knowledge they had in relation to that. Masuda's (2012) study revealed that despite professional development input related to a critical literacy approach, teachers did not engage in such practices within their classrooms as critical literacy was not considered to be a legitimate reading practice within the subject areas to which they belonged. Masuda (2012) claims that despite the needs of the learners within the classroom, engaging in a critical literacy pedagogy would 'disrupt an identity construction of the teacher-as-professional' (2012:239).

The picture that emerges from the studies reviewed in this section is that individual contexts and the Discourses that operate within them shape teacher identity. Masuda's (2012) study aligns with Simons' (1995) formulation of *identity as pedagogy*. Identity as pedagogy draws on Cummins recognition that to achieve authentic educational reform it is not enough for policy and educational structures to change. He claims that to change patterns of school failure, educators, both collectively and individually, need to redefine their roles in relation to linguistically and culturally diverse

students and communities (2001). Simon (1995) states a paradigm shift is required, where teachers move from a view of 'teacher identity *and* pedagogy' to 'teacher identity *as* pedagogy' (Morgan, 2004:178). Cummins (2001) synthesis of identity negotiation and language learning is in keeping with such a perspective (Morgan, 2004:178).

Norton's (2000) study explores issues of identity in relation to immigrant women in Canada. Norton (2000) draws on poststructuralist conceptualisations of identity and suggests that identity is *multiple, a site of struggle* and *subject to change*. Her insights about the experiences of language learners are relevant to this study as she highlights the impact of historical and sociocultural factors on how learners are positioned within classrooms. She proposes that the pedagogy and identity that a teacher adopts within the classroom impact significantly on the number of *entry points* a learner has to the curriculum and how they participate within the classroom. She argues that unless the teacher creates conditions that facilitate social interaction within classroom practices and in the wider society, learners will not feel they have the right to be active participants within either context (Norton, 2000:142). Such insights recognise the link between power and identity, where the lack of an appropriate pedagogy in second language learning contexts serves to marginalise learners. When considered in the light of other studies discussed earlier, it is reasonable to infer that the ways in which teachers consider their own identity are closely linked to the opportunities for identity formation that are available to pupils learning EAL, both within classroom literacy practices and the wider community.

The picture that emerges from the studies reviewed in this section is that individual contexts and the Discourses that operate within them shape how teachers construct their identities as they enact classroom practices.

Conclusion

This chapter explored the shift that has taken place within second language acquisition theories to a language as social practice perspective. In a similar way, the move towards wider and more critical notions of literacy have been considered. Specific pedagogical approaches that have been shaped by *critical literacy* and *language as social practice* perspectives have been outlined. An account has also been given of teacher identity from a sociocultural perspective. A discussion of the literature brought into view studies that have direct relevance to an exploration of teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL and how these were met in classroom practices. The following chapter, Chapter 4, provides a rationale and discussion in relation to the methodological arguments; the choices that were made; and the approaches that were utilized within the study.

Chapter 4 Methodology

An Overview

The overarching aims of this current study were to explore mainstream and EAL teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in Scottish secondary schools and to consider the approaches they used to meet these needs. In addition to this, the study considered the relationship between these beliefs and observed classroom practices. To achieve this aim, it was therefore, necessary for this study to straddle two fields i.e. looking at how reading literacy was conceptualised and taught in Scottish secondary schools and also within the field of Second Language Teaching. The following research questions were designed to explore the main aim of the study:

1. What reading literacy needs do mainstream and EAL teachers perceive EAL pupils to have when they face the reading demands of mainstream English classes?
2. How well do mainstream and EAL teachers believe they meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in mainstream English classes?
3. What approaches and methods were mainstream and EAL teachers observed to use in relation to meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in mainstream English classes?
4. To what extent is there a match between what teachers perceive as the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and those practices I observed within the classroom?

The journey involved in forming the research questions and the methodologies used to explore the topic progressed through a number of phases. This chapter sets out the steps taken to achieve *methodological congruence* (Morse and Richards, 2002). Within qualitative research, the research philosophy needs to be congruent with the research methods and the theoretical framework (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013). Methodological congruence is therefore achieved by ensuring that the research questions, the

data, and the processes involved in the subsequent analysis, are consistently woven together with the overall aims and philosophical approach of the study (Morse and Richards, 2002:35). The notion of congruence is also identified by writers (e.g. Morgan, 1997; Morse and Richards, 2002; Savin-Badin and Major, 2013) in a way that requires the role of the researcher to take on a particular form of being and acting. Such perspectives therefore acknowledge that the research process cannot be a rigid system, but is instead a flexible, interactive process of thought:

Methodological congruence refers to the fact that projects entail congruent ways of thinking. The researcher working with phenomenology must learn to think phenomenologically if the fit of purpose, method, and data is to work well
(Morse and Richards, 2002:35).

These perspectives therefore suggest that there is a difference between methodological congruence and the mere sequencing of different parts of a study. Such notions are achieved by ensuring that any investigative methodology is congruent with the broader theories that frame it (Morgan, 1997:111). Pursuing the goal of methodological congruence within this thesis has been matched by adopting a reflexive presentation strategy which allows the reader to view the research as a cohesive whole rather than a series of disconnected parts.

First, this chapter discusses the exploratory steps that were taken in order to gain an understanding of the issues within the Scottish school context that subsequently led to a more tightly-focused research design being devised. Secondly, it considers the overarching research paradigm and the specific methods used to gather data that flow from the decisions of using such approaches, along with a detailed outline of the local authorities, schools, participants, considerations related to validity and reliability, and ethical issues within the study. Thirdly, the chapter focuses on the approach to analysis and interpretation of the collected data.

En Route to the Research Design

This section first sets out the decision-making processes that preceded a research design for this study. I had worked in Asia within the international school system for fourteen years before returning to the UK to begin doctoral studies. I was interested in research related to the broad topic of reading literacy, which was based on my own experience of teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in international schools, and my knowledge related to the shift within classrooms in Scottish schools as linguistic and cultural diversity within mainstream contexts continues to grow. The education system within Scotland had changed significantly during my time overseas. I decided, therefore, that it was important to engage in an initial exploration of the field in order to gain conceptual clarity about the area I hoped to investigate within the Scottish school context. I am reluctant to call this a pilot study, as I did not approach it with a fully formed research design. Rather, before I formed an overarching design to the study I aimed to engage in exploratory work that would allow me to gain a clearer sense of the context.

I decided to visit two schools within two different local authorities with the aim of developing a set of purposes for the study. I wanted to talk with teachers in order to facilitate how I might explore my main interests, which were related to an understanding of the challenges associated with the development of reading literacy in linguistically and culturally diverse classroom contexts at secondary level.

Initially, I wanted to determine how realistic it would be to interview EAL pupils within schools. I carried out informal chats with these pupils about their experiences in reading within the mainstream classroom, but found this quite a difficult task. The English proficiency levels, in terms of speaking skills, of many of the EAL pupils within these particular schools was quite low and the attempts I made to talk with them did not provide the kind of rich interactive data that would allow me to understand the particular challenges that they faced as they engaged in the reading process in

mainstream classrooms. I was able at one point during my visit to a particular school to include a bilingual interpreter as I engaged in exploratory talk with an EAL pupil. However, being immersed in the Scottish school context as a researcher, I grew to understand that this strategy could not be consistently sustained across all schools and local authorities. This meant that I would not be able to rely on the presence of an interpreter for each of the various languages represented within all of the schools and areas that I would visit.

Given the difficulties that the early research visit revealed in interviewing pupils, I therefore, decided to pursue the research solely with the teachers. I began informal talks with teachers from various subjects, such as Science, Maths, English and English as an Additional Language (EAL) around the topic of reading literacy in both schools. This allowed me to listen to the specific challenges some teachers felt EAL pupils faced when reading in English, in addition to the challenges they faced as practitioners during the process of teaching and developing reading. It became clear during discussions that the EAL teachers believed EAL pupils found the subject English very challenging in terms of reading. Examples given by EAL teachers described a lack of particular strategies being used during the reading of dense texts in English classes, such as the use of visual images to facilitate comprehension, the provision of chapter summaries to support comprehension of the main points of a text, and the fact that pupils were not permitted to use dictionaries in English exams. Mainstream subject teachers felt that English as a subject presented more of a challenge in terms of reading because much of the subject was based on dense written texts. They compared this to the reading required within their own subjects, e.g., Maths having an international code (numbers) that EAL pupils could access more easily, or Science, which was more 'hands-on' in terms of carrying out experiments and had more visually supported texts that included pictures and diagrams.

Mainstream English teachers appeared to agree, in part, with the view that English as a subject presented more of a challenge to EAL pupils, but

attributed different reasons for this. They focused on the lack of proficiency in English being 'problematic' and they specifically talked about the lack of vocabulary as being the main barrier to comprehension. They also noted that EAL pupils were not permitted to use dictionaries in exams for their subject and perceived this to be unfair. In addition to this, mainstream English teachers expressed a sense of inadequacy as they tried to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. Many examples given by mainstream English teachers related to their desire for further training that would enable them to meet more effectively the reading literacy needs of pupils for whom English is an additional language.

Comments from teachers and the opportunity to be a guest within Scottish schools for two weeks sensitized me to the main challenges represented within these contexts in relation to my topic. The discussions I had with mainstream English teachers allowed me to gain insights into some of their thoughts about the kinds of reading literacy needs they perceived EAL pupils to have, and to develop an understanding of the ways in which teachers believed they met these needs in their classroom practices. An exploration of the literature related to teachers' beliefs concerning the needs of EAL pupils revealed that this area was under-researched within Scottish secondary schools and more generally. In an effort to learn more about how to pursue this neglected area of research, I turned to studies by Richards and Farrell (2005); Smyth (2001); Parajes (1992); and Nespors (1987) which alerted me to the ways in which underlying beliefs impact on the practices of teachers. Given the dearth of studies in this area, it seemed appropriate to undertake an exploration of teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils to gain deeper insights into the mainstream classroom contexts within Scottish schools. Gibbons notes the importance of considering teachers' beliefs and suggests that they are 'a major force behind most decisions in individual classrooms' and they have either 'enabling or constraining effects' on the teaching and learning processes (Gibbons, 2009:13). Current literature emphasises the importance of exploring teachers' beliefs and suggests that these beliefs have a direct impact on the learning opportunities for EAL pupils:

It is crucial that, as educators, we closely examine the theoretical backgrounds of our beliefs to determine how mainstream values affect educational opportunities for the linguistically and culturally diverse students in our classrooms

(Williams, 2001:1).

The literature review (see Chapter 3) has discussed Cairney's (1995) recognition of the importance to sensitising teachers to the cultural and linguistic differences within mainstream contexts by explaining that students will automatically draw on their own individual cultural experiences and associated meanings as they engage in classroom practices. He places value on the various meanings that students construct as they read and write and he acknowledges that 'these meanings reflect who they are, what they have experienced, and what they know about language and the world' (Cairney, 1995:13). Such insights raise questions about whether teachers explore student perspectives sufficiently during classroom reading literacy practices. In the light of these challenges, exploring teachers' beliefs became a clear direction for the study. The following sections provide a rationale for the decisions that were taken in relation to the overall design for the study. They outline key areas that emerged from my visits to schools and demonstrate the thought processes that influenced my decisions.

Practical Constraints

As noted above, one of the influences on the direction of the study was related to practical constraints. The lack of available bilingual interpreters within the school system, and the consideration of the possible personal costs that would be involved in hiring an external interpreter to help me interview EAL pupils, had a significant influence on the research aims. In response to these constraints, a further review of the literature directed my focus to the specific matters that teachers had highlighted during my visits. The goal of investigating teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils became an even more important consideration as I reflected on the ways in which teachers had defined the needs of these pupils. However, I did not

want to explore teachers' beliefs in an individualistic manner, or through large-scale quantitative surveys, but preferred a more contextualised approach that would allow me to consider their beliefs within social settings.

A Focus on Language

Another insight gained from discussions with teachers was the importance they placed on vocabulary as they considered the reading process. These teachers suggested that an EAL pupil's *lack* of vocabulary knowledge in English was directly linked to his or her inability to comprehend a text successfully. Such considerations raised questions about how teachers conceptualised reading literacy and to what extent classroom practices enabled EAL pupils to develop the language necessary to access classroom texts. A reflection on the ways teachers talked about the needs of EAL pupils, and my own personal considerations of the literature, influenced my thought processes as I made decisions about how to take the study forward.

Teacher Identity

Traditionally, mainstream teachers were trained at secondary level within initial teacher education programmes to develop the pre-existing literacy skills of pupils who were mainly white, monolingual and monocultural native speakers of English. As a result of globalisation, secondary mainstream classrooms have changed rapidly and the pupil population has become more linguistically and culturally diverse. The literature recognises that these changes present both challenges and opportunities, which are not only present within Scotland and the rest of the UK, but also across international boundaries (Leung and Creese, 2010). Conversations with mainstream English teachers revealed that they were experiencing a sense of being disempowered within their own area of expertise when faced with culturally and linguistically diverse classroom contexts. I found these comments to be of particular interest and worth exploring within the main

study. An engagement with the literature related to teachers' beliefs, and an understanding of the cultural and linguistic shifts that have taken place within schools, helped me to reflect on how effective teachers believed their practices to be as they faced the complex pedagogical demands of diverse classrooms. Such considerations impacted on the design of the research questions outlined in a later section (see pages 109, 110).

EAL Teachers

It also became apparent during discussions with all the teachers that EAL teachers played an important role in meeting the needs of EAL pupils. The rationale for including them in the study is quite simple in that I was aware that EAL teachers were encouraged at local authority and national levels to work collaboratively with mainstream teachers to meet the language needs of EAL pupils and to enhance their learning opportunities within the classroom. Both teachers would be responsible for meeting the needs of the same EAL pupils, potentially playing distinctive roles. Analysis of the findings from the present study revealed the extent to which both mainstream and EAL teachers were able to do so (see chapter 4). I was also seeking to establish whether the EAL teachers had different understandings of what it means to develop reading literacy when learning English as an additional language in mainstream classrooms; this influenced my decision to include them in the study.

The insights gained from this initial exploration of the two schools enabled me to bring together many of the matters that were raised by mainstream English and EAL teachers during preliminary discussions. Therefore, I decided that the aims of the study would be to explore: the implicit and explicit beliefs of mainstream English and EAL teachers about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils; and to consider how well both sets of teachers believed they met these needs in their classroom practices. In addition, I felt it was important to determine, through the observation of classroom practices, what approaches or methods these teachers used in order to meet

these needs. This new direction within the main study would also allow me to investigate the extent to which the EAL teachers' beliefs were similar or different to those held by mainstream English teachers.

Overall, the insights I had gained during informal discussions with teachers concerning some of the challenges they faced, influenced my decisions regarding the overarching aims of the study. The research questions became sharper in focus in response to the matters that seemed important to the teachers. A focus on how both mainstream English and EAL teachers defined the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils became an important issue as I considered the possible impact that beliefs have on pedagogical practices and decision-making processes within the classroom. Research question number one took shape in relation to these considerations:

1. What reading literacy needs do mainstream and EAL teachers perceive EAL pupils to have when they face the reading demands of mainstream English classes?

Based on my conversations with mainstream English teachers, who appeared to feel disempowered when attempting to meet the needs of EAL pupils, I decided to investigate how well teachers believed they met these perceived needs. This informed and shaped research question number two:

2. How well do mainstream and EAL teachers believe they meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in mainstream English classes?

Research suggests that teachers' beliefs are context-bound and predictors of how teachers enact classroom practices (Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). Often a teacher's spontaneous action within a classroom is based on 'deep-rooted implicit beliefs that may never have been articulated' (Williams and Burden, 1997:56). These insights from the literature show that some studies suggest that teachers' beliefs and classroom practices align, while others show a mismatch, I decided to observe classroom practices as a way to enhance the data I would collect from research questions one and two.

I, therefore, set out to discover the approaches and methods that were used by both sets of teachers to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. Research question number three was designed to explore teachers' classroom practices in this way:

3. What approaches and methods were mainstream and EAL teachers observed to use in relation to meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in mainstream English classes?

Finally, I considered the extent to which the mainstream English and EAL teachers' beliefs matched their practices. As discussed within the literature review, the ways in which teachers implement their knowledge and beliefs within classroom contexts is highly interpretive, socially negotiated, and continually restructured within classrooms (Freeman and Johnson, 1998:400). It can therefore be inferred that various factors may influence the relationship between beliefs and practices. Research question number four was designed to explore the match between what teachers stated in relation to research questions number one and two and what they did in actual classroom practice (research question number 3) to meet the reading needs of EAL pupils:

4. To what extent is there a match between what teachers perceive as the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and those practices I observed within the classroom?

The conceptual understanding of teachers' beliefs that influenced the design of the research questions for this study does not adhere to a more traditional framework where beliefs are seen as discrete entities. Rather, teachers' beliefs were investigated from a *social constructivist* perspective where they were viewed as being interconnected with the characteristics of behaviour; context-bound where they were socially structured through interaction; and linked to the cognitive dimensions of thought and action (Woods, 2006). Woods states that a *social constructivist* view of beliefs enables us 'to develop

a more process-based and dynamic orientation to research into...the role of beliefs' (2006:208). Such an approach allowed me to take into account the social and cultural factors that were active within the Scottish school context and that may mediate teachers' beliefs as I engaged in an interpretation of the data. The following sections discuss the ways in which a qualitative paradigm is *fit for purpose* (Silverman, 2004; Creswell, 2007) to explore mainstream English teachers and EAL teachers' implicit and explicit beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, how well they believe they meet these needs, the practices they enact to meet these needs, and the extent to which these beliefs match their practices.

Research Design - Rationale

The various debates that surround paradigms within research have influenced my understanding of and the choices made in relation to the research design of this study. In this section, I discuss my understanding of the various research paradigms in order to demonstrate the choices I made in relation to the overall research design. Social scientists face various challenges when deciding on an appropriate research methodology through which to explore human behaviours and beliefs. In traditional terms within the social sciences, *research* has been described and understood as 'true and objective knowledge' that follows a scientific approach (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:1). Many who conceive of *research* in this way within the social sciences still consider naturally occurring data as 'unequivocal imprints of reality' and hold this view no matter whether they are investigating objective, natural and visible facts (social facts) or exploring people's 'subjective or intersubjective experiential worlds (meanings)' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:1). These types of underlying beliefs have commonly been termed as *positivism* and they are closely linked with a quantitative approach to research. This approach has often been defined as an objective way to explore social reality using methods generally associated with the natural sciences in order to verify scientific laws rather than a consideration of the meanings that people bring to social life (Walliman,

2006:15; Silverman, 2006:38). The dominant view within a *positivistic* perspective puts forward the notion that there are realities in the world that can be studied, and made sense of; this view emphasises the relationships between particular variables using scientific procedures rather than the processes that impact on how meaning is made.

However, it is clear, as Silverman notes, that not all quantitative researchers embrace a wholly *positivistic* approach since many assume that science has moved on in its views concerning the ways in which 'valid' research is defined (Silverman, 2006:38). Criticisms of *positivism* led to what is commonly referred to as the *postpositivist* (Silverman, 2004; Creswell, 2007) perspective. *Postpositivists* accept that the observations made within a study are impacted by the views of the participants and the researcher(s); these are, therefore, considered important during the research process (Anderson and Arsenault, 1998). Creswell, further defines *postpositivism* as a perspective that still imposes a scientific approach to research and is usually implemented by those who have previously engaged in scientific research practices (2007:20). The views associated with this paradigm propose that subjective reality is something that needs to be considered within the research process. A post-positivist approach starts with a theory and then employs rigorous levels of qualitative data analysis without surrendering a more scientific basis for exploration. Creswell notes that the results of this type of research are written in the form of scientific reports, in a structure similar to that found in quantitative studies, and are often 'couched in terms acceptable to quantitative researchers and funding agents' (2007:20). It is clear that this view still imposes certain epistemological perspectives upon the data. Thus, the confines of such an approach mean that the nuances associated with diverse, individual accounts of specific experiences, which are often negotiated within particular contexts, will remain unknown.

In terms of what I wanted to find out, a quantitative paradigm was not *fit for purpose* (Silverman, 2004). However, qualitative research places value on the complex processes and meanings that individuals construct and demonstrates the ways in which reality is socially constructed and

constrained by specific contexts (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:8). This paradigm was considered to be appropriate for the overarching aims of the study as it sought to explore mainstream English teachers and EAL teachers' implicit and explicit beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, how well these teachers believed they met these needs within their own pedagogic practices, the approaches and methods they were observed to use in the classroom to meet the needs, and to what extent their observed practices matched their stated beliefs. As outlined above, these beliefs and practices were situated in social contexts and were, therefore, *context-bound* (Woods, 1996). A qualitative approach was therefore fit for the purposes of this study.

Social Constructivism and Sociocultural Theory

Barbour (2008:12) emphasises the strengths associated with qualitative research by advocating the ways in which it successfully illuminates *process* within particular contexts. This qualitative alternative, therefore, seeks to obtain closer access to the participants within their natural settings in order to gain insights into the multiple and changing ways in which they bring meaning to, or understand, particular experiences. *Social constructivism*, within a qualitative paradigm, recognises that the *human world* is different to the *natural and physical world* and advocates that it should therefore be considered in a distinct way (Guba and Lincoln 1990). Barbour also draws attention to this paradigm as one that places value on the participants' individual accounts of the context, as these views are usually negotiated within social environments and, therefore, formed through interactive experiences (2008:14). Social constructivism is often closely linked to concepts of postmodernism, which includes many variations within its perspective. Although *postmodernism and constructivism* are distinct conceptually, both perspectives question the modernist view that believes scientific research has the capacity to reach a definitive *truth*; the challenge to this modernist idea of generating 'truth' is built on an alternative belief that sees human interaction and communication as dependent on language.

According to this viewpoint, language is considered as a limited medium for defining *objective truth* because of its fluid and indeterminate nature.

Language cannot provide direct and clear insights into 'reality' because it is 'inherently built on the assumptions and worldviews' of its users and, is therefore, shaped within the contexts in which it is used (Patton, 2002:100).

Levitt's (1998) viewpoint considers constructivism as a symptom of postmodernism and notes that if these views and practices are taken to an extreme, nothing can be considered as *real*. While this is a valid criticism within a positivistic perspective, the social constructivist approach, which may not necessarily lean towards what some describe as the 'extremes' of a postmodern perspective, still challenges such notions of 'objective truth or reality'. Educational research often draws on constructivist theories to demonstrate that the belief in a universal 'truth' denies the diversity of the human experience and, therefore, requires a shift in the notion of how knowledge is constructed (Hartas, 2010:44).

As I reviewed the various perspectives, I considered sociocultural theory to be an appropriate approach as it draws heavily on Vygotskian theories where teaching and learning are seen as relational and embedded within particular communities; such views are particularly relevant to how this study has been designed as it considers how teachers' beliefs are constructed and how the development of reading literacy takes place (see Chapter 2 for an account of sociocultural theory).

It is important to remember that even within the interpretive practices in the social sciences, investigations into observing people's behaviours can be viewed differently depending on the disciplinary focus. For example, anthropologists, sociologists, linguists, psychologists and educationalists may approach the exploration of a particular context, focusing on the ways in which people engage in conversation, through a variety of different theoretical lenses (Silverman, 2006:12,13).

Qualitative inquiry, therefore, is not a singular homogeneous approach to research. Qualitative research enables numerous diverse views and

meanings, associated with the varied experiences of different people, to be conveyed (Patton, 2002:76). The key point here is that no single perspective is 'correct'. This is particularly relevant and important to the approach used within this study as it draws upon the view that within postmodern perspectives there is a growing emphasis on the 'importance of authorship and readership'. 'Claims to 'truth' are perceived as rhetorical expressions, which can be constantly opened up to alternative interpretations' (Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:201) by both the researcher and the reader. It is important to recognise that human behaviour is multidimensional and it is impossible for a single description to define fully the complex nature of what is taking place within any particular context. Therefore, a sociocultural account of learning where attention is given to a more interpretive inquiry, has the capacity to present a complex and multifaceted account of the dynamics that are part of a particular context that is being investigated. This allows for the inclusion of 'multiple voices and stories', which in turn facilitate the construction of the picture as a whole (Creswell, 2007). This paradigm fitted this study well in that it explored the diverse accounts of teachers within situated contexts through the use of semi-structured interviews and observational techniques in order to construct a picture that represented their beliefs, experiences and practices in diverse classroom contexts. Such considerations allowed me to establish *methodological congruence* where there is a fit between the various components of the research process to ensure consistency between the purpose, the method and the data analysis (Morse and Richards, 2002:35).

Reflexivity

While there are debates within qualitative research relating to issues of whether a specific paradigm or approach is wholly adequate to explore particular contexts, it is important to consider the assumptions and overarching beliefs of the researcher within the process. The importance of reflexivity is foregrounded within the research literature. Reflexivity is when the researcher analyses the presuppositions, beliefs and assumptions that

may underpin theoretical and methodological choices made within research (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005). My own concerns for social justice, where inequalities are addressed in the classroom, influenced my approach to the study. A social justice perspective pays attention to issues of power as it relates to 'race, class, culture and language, and the need to make these issues visible in classroom practices' (Hawkins, 2011:105). These perspectives influenced my decisions about the research design and the analysis of the data.

Positioning myself as a professional *insider* (Savin-Baden and Major, 2013) within schools allowed me to gain close access to the ways in which teachers perceived and met the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. I recognised that it was important to provide a secure forum for teachers to talk about their views and enact them during literacy practices. At the same time, I monitored my own position as a teacher researcher in order to maintain a clear research focus. As I began to analyse the data, the *self-reflexive process* (Roulston, 2010) allowed me to become consciously aware of my own views in relation to how reading literacy could be developed within multilingual classrooms. In addition, I engaged in deductive reasoning which allowed my own understanding to be informed by academic literature. My interaction with the literature shaped the ways in which I conceptualised reading literacy and the distinct needs of pupils learning EAL. Engaging in the reflexive process in these ways allowed me to attend to how I had designed the study, engaged with the literature, employed various methods, and analysed and interpreted the data. Alvesson and Skoldberg capture the impact of such notions well and state:

In reflective empirical research the centre of gravity is shifted from the handling of empirical materials towards, as far as possible, a consideration of the perceptual, cognitive, theoretical, linguistic, (inter)textual, political and cultural circumstances that form the backdrop to – as well as impregnate – the interpretations
(Alvesson and Skoldberg, 2009:9)

Creswell agrees with these sensitizing notions and characterises the interpretive nature of qualitative inquiry as one that involves a consideration of the study within the 'political, social and cultural context of the researchers, the participants, and the readers of a study' (Creswell, 2007:36).

It is not easy for the researcher to remain impartial to particular issues that are being explored even though those from a strict positivist tradition might claim that this is something that can be achieved. 'Every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretive community, which configures, in its own special way, the multicultural, gendered components of the research act' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:23). I am aware that within this thesis, my own Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (hereafter TESOL) background forms part of my own interpretive community and this has impacted on how I engaged with the data and the study as a whole.

Engaging in a reflexive process has also allowed me to consider the nature of interpretive inquiry in a study of this kind more fully. Interpretive inquiry grounds the researcher within the world that is being explored and allows multiple views of the situation, from the perspectives of the researcher, the participants within the study and the readers of the study, to emerge (Creswell, 2007:38). Multiple views are presented in the Findings Chapters and acknowledge the prior notions and ideas that have sensitized me during the design and implementation of the study. Charmaz notes the influence of these matters and emphasises the need to remain sensitive and open-minded to what can be seen and learned within each context by quoting Dey, 'there is a difference between an open mind and an empty head' (Dey, 1999:251 cited in Charmaz, 2006:48). Alvesson and Skoldberg also draw attention to the interconnectedness between the processes that construct knowledge, the context in which these processes take place, as well as the person who produces the knowledge (2009:8). They describe the meshing of these processes as an opportunity rather than a weakness and note:

Empirical research in a reflective mode starts from a sceptical approach to what appear at a superficial glance as unproblematic replicas of the way reality functions, while at the same time maintaining the belief that the study of suitable (well thought out) excerpts from this reality can provide an important basis for a generation of knowledge that opens up rather than closes, and furnishes opportunities for understanding rather than establishes 'truths'

(Alvesson and Skoldberg, (2009:9).

I believe that this kind of reflexive process has been achieved within this study as I engaged in visits to schools, discussions with teachers, and gained new knowledge and ideas from a close examination of current literature as the research design was being considered. In addition to this, reflexivity has also been a part of the data analysis process. I considered the assumptions that informed the ways in which I interpreted teachers' perceptions about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how these were met in classroom practices. Within this thesis it is important to recognise that the interpretation and reporting of data were joint constructions of knowledge which were produced through interaction with teachers' accounts and how I made sense of them (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003:424). In order to achieve a transparent account of the data analysis process and the reporting of the findings, I adopted a critical approach, as I paid conscious attention to the sociocultural context and the conditions and constraints under which teachers communicated their beliefs (Mauthner and Doucet, 2003).

Multiple perspectives and links to literacy

As discussed in an earlier section, the present study explored teachers' implicit and explicit beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, how well these teachers believed they met these needs, how they were observed to meet these needs in actual classroom practices and the ways in which their pedagogical practices matched their stated beliefs within various secondary school contexts. It is, therefore, entirely appropriate to adopt the interpretive procedures associated with a sociocultural approach within a qualitative paradigm to explore these phenomena. Creswell captures the philosophical approach that allows the researcher to investigate multiple perspectives within qualitative research and notes:

We conduct qualitative research when we want to empower individuals to share their stories, hear their voices, and minimize the power relationships that often exist between a researcher and the participants in a study

(Creswell, 2007:40).

In addition to this, Creswell highlights that another reason for engaging in qualitative research is to gain a detailed understanding about the complex issues that certain populations are facing (2007:40). He points out that this is difficult to achieve when using more quantitative measures because statistical analyses do not easily capture the uniqueness of individuals or enable a detailed understanding of sensitive issues, such as race, class, or gender (2007:40). Creswell's (2007) insights capture well the nature of the present study as it set out to explore the perceptions of teachers within particular contexts. The research methods used within the study allowed the researcher to recognise and capture the multiple versions of *reality* that were linked to teachers' knowledge, values and beliefs as they worked in classroom contexts marked by pupil diversity. A qualitative research paradigm not only *fits* with the purpose of the research, but is congruent with how reading literacy has been conceptualised within the study.

The acknowledgement that there can be multiple versions of reality is also associated with contemporary, critical approaches to reading literacy. Such approaches draw on sociocultural theory where reading literacy is conceived of as a social process that 'demands that we see meaning in the world and in texts as situated in learners' experiences' (Gee, 2000: unpaginated). Drawing on a qualitative interpretivist paradigm and models of critical literacy allowed me to demonstrate the concept of multiple socially constructed realities; such perspectives enabled me as a researcher to view the study within a coherent and systematic framework that ensured *methodological congruence* throughout.

In conclusion, while some researchers from a more positivistic world-view may feel that the diverse representations of social reality within the data of a qualitative study may lead to spurious interpretations, it is essential to recognise that the personal and cultural experiences of individuals cannot be merely analysed and quantified into statistical representations. The personal and cultural experiences of individuals are shaped by participating in particular discourse communities. An account of such diverse experiences is

not easily reduced to numbers and values, or categorised into *fixed truths* but instead needs to be expressed and described using words (Walliman, 2006:54). Therefore, it needs to be recognised that the characteristics and richness of qualitative data can 'lead to great insights into human society' (Walliman, 2006:55). These views are particularly relevant to the focus of this study because of the ways in which a sociocultural approach, within a qualitative framework, allows for what Charmaz defines as an '*interpretive portrayal of the studied world*' (2006:10, *italics in the original*). Therefore, the world views and actions associated with the manner in which mainstream English and EAL teachers perceived the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, and the ways in which they met these needs in classroom practices, were considered within the study as 'constructions of reality' (Charmaz, 2006:10). This approach served to recognise the assumptions and voices of all of the participants within the study. However, the study also used a top-down approach where a review of the literature linked the study to existing theories; such an understanding enabled me to take themes from the literature to the design of the study.

It is clear from these considerations that a qualitative approach enabled a number of *interconnected methods* (Silverman, 2006) to be utilized and allowed naturally occurring phenomena to be considered, defined and contextualised within local environments (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998; Silverman, 2006). The following section considers matters related to validity in the light of the overall research paradigm.

Validity in Research

Concepts of validity and reliability are often linked and defined in positivistic terms that are more related to a quantitative approach to research (Kvale, 2007:122). These concepts are, however, not only related to positivistic frameworks of research, but are rooted within epistemological beliefs about the idea of objective knowledge (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:242). The term objectivity is valued within quantitative approaches to research and implies

unbiased knowledge that has been rigorously checked and controlled against any distortions that have been imposed on the data by the researcher and the context. The more traditional conceptualisation of the terms validity and reliability within the scientific domain has brought much criticism to qualitative research because it does not apply the strict rules and procedures normally connected to scientific experiments (Mishler, 1990). The problems associated with the term validity are also due to the varying sets of assumptions carried by researchers when they approach a study. With this in mind, it is clear that the terminology traditionally used to conceptualise validity within quantitative research was insufficient as it did not accurately define the distinct features and characteristics of interpretive inquiry; an alternative conceptualisation and more fitting terminology was needed.

As a consequence, various researchers (Mishler, 1990; Wolcott, 1994; Lincoln and Guba, 1995; Silverman, 2007) raised questions about the significance of validity within a qualitative paradigm; in an effort to bring clarity they use everyday language to consider the ways in which validity is defined, and the procedures that are used to establish it within the parameters of specific research contexts (Creswell, 2007:202; Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). Validity as a term has, therefore, been reconstructed and replaced with terms relating to notions of 'trustworthiness, credibility, dependability, and confirmability' (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:244).

Mishler notes the importance of key elements within interpretive research as being able to gain insights into, and understanding of, the ways in which people interpret specific events and experiences, rather than the extent to which their accounts agree with how the researcher defines *objective reality* about such experiences (1990:427). This view, therefore, reconstructs the concept of validation and suggests that the validity of the claims made by any piece of research is based on the evaluations and *trust* extended by other investigators in relation to the *craft* and skills of the researcher. The grounds for this *trust* are based on what Mishler terms 'the visibility of the data' as a process where a complete set of the tapes, the transcripts, the fieldnotes, in addition to the coherence within the methodologies, the methods, and the

interpretive processes which were used to establish the findings, are accessible to the scrutiny of other investigators (1990:429). The notion of validation would therefore be determined by an affirmative answer to the following types of questions:

Would [other researchers] be able to determine how my findings and interpretations were 'produced'? Could other investigators make a reasonable judgement on their adequacy? Would they be able to determine how my findings and interpretations were 'produced, and on that basis, decide whether they were trustworthy enough to be relied upon for their own work?

(Mishler, 1990:429).

It is important within this particular study to consider the term validity and to discuss it using language that is appropriate to the type of data collected during interviews. Mishler argues that 'validation is the social construction of knowledge' (1990:417). This is a view also shared by Holstein and Gubrium, when referring to interview studies, who suggest that participants within a study are not merely passive vessels of information, but are 'active constructors of knowledge in association with interviewers' (2004:141). These conceptualisations demonstrate a more fitting approach:

One cannot expect answers on one occasion to replicate those on another because they emerge from different circumstances of production. Similarly, the validity of answers derives not from their correspondence to meanings held within the respondent, but from their ability to convey situated experiential realities in terms that are locally comprehensible

(Holstein and Gubrium, 2004:145).

These insights shift the consideration of the nature of validity from a traditional quantitative positivist understanding of the concept to an alternative vision, which views *objectivity* within its social world. This world is socially constructed through discourse practices, which are continually being reshaped as ideas and routines change through time (Mishler, 1990). Ideas and claims about *truth* are, therefore, not considered in isolation, but as experiences embedded within social practices.

This discussion has relevance to the approach used within this study. The overarching aims do not set out with a view to discover an objective reality that is consistent among the number of teachers who are interviewed, but instead seeks to understand the beliefs and actions of specific sets of teachers who are embedded within their own teaching contexts. In addition, allowing the data to be made available to other researchers within the field aligns with Mishler's (1990) reformulation of the concept of the validity, where the *visibility of the data* permits the data to be scrutinized or used by others and, therefore, open to other interpretations. 'With this reformulation, the key issue becomes whether the relevant community of scientists evaluates reported findings as sufficiently trustworthy to rely on them for their own work' (Mishler, 1990:417). Therefore, in an effort to ensure that the data within this study is *visible* to the reader I have provided a detailed account of the procedures and processes that were involved in the research design and included various samples of data within the appropriate sections in order to justify the interpretations I have reached as I engaged in a systematic exploration of the research questions.

I have demonstrated caution as I have considered the relevance and generalisability of this study to a wider population. I became aware of the need to be cautious as I considered the sampling procedures that were adopted for the teachers who took part in the study (these are outlined in the sections that follow). Some debates replace conceptualisations of generalisability that are more associated with positivistic traditions, where laws of human behaviour are context-free and applied universally, with postmodern perspectives that emphasise the 'heterogeneity and contextuality of knowledge' (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:261). The emphasis placed on heterogeneity and contextuality shifts our understanding of the concept from generalization to contextualisation (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:261).

However, within this study I have drawn on an understanding of *analytical generalization* (Stake, 1978). This view involves making judgements about the similarities and differences between two situations (Stake, 1978). Firestone, in a similar way defines it as the researcher 'striving to generalise a particular set

of results to a broader theory' (1993:17). From a consideration of interview studies, Kvale and Brinkman (2009) make the distinction between researcher-based and reader-based analytical generalizations. I have drawn on the reader-based understanding of generalization for this study, where 'the reader who, on the basis of detailed contextual descriptions of a...study, judges whether the findings may be generalised to a new situation' (Kvale and Brinkman, 2009:262). Firestone (1993) suggests that provision of rich and detailed descriptions by the researcher, also known as *thick description*, enables the reader to make informed inferences about the similarities and differences between an original study and a current study. Based on such understandings, this thesis draws the reader's attention to precedents that can be generalised to other situations, while at the same time exercising caution that it does not make general claims about all classroom contexts.

Research Design: overview of the study

In order to fulfill the aims of the study and answer the research questions, semi-structured interviews were considered an important method within this study as these enabled me to explore teachers' knowledge and beliefs about how they perceived the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how well they felt they met these in their classroom practices. The interviews were the main source of data for the study, but at the same time, these were also informed by close observations of the same teachers to support the interpretations emerging from the interview data. The use of observations as a data gathering tool helped me to answer research question 3: *What approaches and methods were mainstream and EAL teachers observed to use in relation to meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in mainstream English classes?* One of the limitations of using observations as an approach is that participants may not demonstrate the knowledge they have in relation to reading literacy practices. A reason for this may be that the full repertoire of their literacy practices may not be captured during each observation, which is essentially a snapshot of what teachers know and do. However, the observations allowed me to explore the methods and approaches

mainstream and EAL teachers used to meet the reading needs of EAL pupils at that time and to consider whether the teachers could do more than they were able to articulate during the process of interviewing. To achieve these aims, the overall study consisted of five distinct parts:

- in-depth initial interviews with 16 mainstream English teachers in secondary schools;
- in-depth interviews with 5 EAL teachers who serviced the secondary schools within the study;
- observations of 16 mainstream English teachers who were interviewed.¹
- post-observation interviews with the 16 mainstream English teachers whose classes were observed.
- in-depth interviews with 1 Head Teacher and 4 Depute Head Teachers drawn from the 7 schools that participated in the study.²

The data collection took place over a five-month period from the 9th February 2009 to the 23rd June 2009. I wanted to avoid approaching the present study from a deficit perspective where the agenda was to criticize or pinpoint the absence of *appropriate* beliefs about how the needs of EAL pupils should be met in mainstream classrooms. Instead, I was aware that the challenges within the changing classroom contexts in Scottish schools were complex and that teachers' beliefs would be constructed and embedded within these situated contexts. Accordingly, it was necessary to engage in dialogue in order to understand the beliefs, behaviours and situations of mainstream English and EAL teachers to 'construct explicit accounts of the basis of the informant's experience and tacit knowledge' (Knight and Saunders, 1999:144). The use of interviews and observations to collect data were instrumental in shaping my

¹ The EAL teachers were not always present within classrooms due to a change in roles, being called to other schools at this time, or not actually working with those pupils during the semester that I visited the schools.

² It was not possible to interview a Head Teacher or Depute Head Teacher from each school as the Depute and Head Teacher from Schools 2&3 declined the invitation to take part in an interview.

analysis as I had different sets of written records by which to investigate similarities and aspects of difference within teachers' beliefs and practices thereby broadening my own understanding in relation to the aims of the study. Knight and Saunders articulate well the rationale for using such an approach by stating:

Where evaluation and research do not use methods of enquiry that tease out informants' subliminal understandings, there is the danger that the results will be both incomplete and too neat — hardly a good basis for policy formation or other decision-making

(1999:144-145).

An in-depth description of how the methods used within the study were designed, and the sequence in which they were implemented, is provided in the sections that follow. A rationale for the research design and the decisions taken in relation to the implementation of the various stages of the design will also be offered.

The Interviews and the Observations

The Interview Process

Interviewing is often used as a data gathering method within the social sciences. Given that I wanted to explore how teachers framed their beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, and how they met these needs in practice, the interview was chosen as a necessary method for this study. Holstein and Gubrium's conceptualisation of the interview process moves away from more conventional views where interviewees are portrayed as 'passive *vessels of answers*' to whom the researcher directs questions' (2004:144, italics in the original). They conceive of the interview as an active process and note that researchers need to consider not only *what* knowledge is produced, but *how* knowledge is constructed (2004:142). This conceptualization of interviews very much guided my practice of interview and process of analysis.

Stake (1995:64) highlights the uniqueness of the narrative experiences that can be elicited from interviewees. He suggests that interview questions can be used as a catalyst to help the researcher engage in conversations that allow specific descriptions of teaching episodes to take place, which can then link to particular explanations of certain issues (Stake, 1995:65). Knight and Saunders emphasise the importance of this dialogic event and acknowledge 'the role of individual agency and mind in constructing meaning' (1999:146). This rejects the notion that everybody within a specific culture or teaching context shares identical ways of considering an issue or viewing the world in which they live and work. Kvale and Brinkmann acknowledge the shift from modernist thinking to more postmodernist perspectives in the process of conducting research and note the importance of the interview process as one that is open to 'qualitative diversity [and to] the multiplicity of local meanings' (2009:52). They also suggest that 'knowledge is perspectival, dependent on the viewpoint and values of the investigator' (2009:52). These perspectives on the nature of the knowledge that one may gain from interviews foreground the complex ways in which participants and researchers construct meaning within particular contexts.

Bechhofer and Paterson (2000) highlight that there are different types of interviews, each of which has its own inherent strengths and weaknesses. Walliman (2006) provides a useful summary of the various types of interviews that are often used in research:

- Structured interview – standardised questions read out by the interviewer according to an interview schedule. Answers may be closed-format.
- Unstructured interview – a flexible format, usually based on a question guide, but where the format remains the choice of the interviewer who can allow the interview to 'ramble' in order to get insights into the attitudes of the interviewee. No closed-format questions are used.

- Semi-structured interview – one that contains structured and unstructured sections with standardised and open-format questions (Walliman, 2006:92).

Because of my desire to explore teachers' knowledge and beliefs in some depth, I chose the semi-structured interview as a way of providing opportunities for both me as the researcher, and those being interviewed, to raise questions during the interview process.

Despite the various strengths of the interview as a data gathering approach, it is not without its limitations. Some researchers (Bechhofer and Paterson, 2000; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009) highlight problems associated with carrying out interviews such as time constraints and the impact that inexperienced researchers can have on the quality of the interview data. I realised that I experienced both of these challenges during the post-observation interviews within this study, which I have reflected upon in the Discussion chapter (see page 260).

The insights gleaned from these writers resonate with my own purposes for this study and helped me to engage in an active dialogue with teachers about how they perceived, and met, the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL.

The Interviews: general issues

It is noted within the literature that there are additional factors to consider during the interview process. The practice of interviewing is not a natural or common way of interacting. Initially I found the experience of engaging in the interview process quite challenging as I felt a great sense of responsibility in relation to helping teachers to explore their beliefs and to articulate how they met the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. Although I had a professional background in teaching, I had not taught in Scottish schools and I was aware that I had a different set of experiences and theoretical

background which influenced the ways in which I initiated questions and determined which topics I would follow up during the interviews.

It is also recognised in the literature that there are potential power relations within a typical interview, where the respondent is often in the subordinated position (e.g. Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). Researchers appear to conduct interviews from a position of power because they determine the topic, set the questions and are in control of the recording of the dialogue that takes place (Brenner, 2006; Kvale and Brinkman, 2009). However, by engaging in an interactive manner I was able to establish a good rapport with the respondents within the study and my own professional background as a teacher seemed to be a distinct advantage as I formed a more equal relationship with the respondents. Despite having to forge these relationships quickly, an interactive interview process created a space where participants could step back from their everyday teaching routines and reflect upon their experiences (May, 2002). Participants drew actively upon a repertoire of personal knowledge and experience and brought this to bear on the discussions that took place. My own efforts to engage in an interactive fashion during the interviews allowed me to establish a good rapport with teachers and helped me to overcome any imperfections that may have been a result of my own inexperience during the process of interviewing.

The Interviews: content

Turning now to consider the structure of the interviews that I designed, the review of the literature, together with the main aims of the study, influenced the topics I chose for the first set of interviews. Kalaja and Barcelos (2006:20) make it clear that there is often a relationship between the environment and the ways in which beliefs are shaped. Therefore, the interviews aimed not only to encourage participants to discuss aspects of reading literacy, but also included a consideration of the wider context where questions associated with policy and provision were foregrounded. The similar design of the questions across the first interview set enabled a comparison of the

similarities and differences in relation to how teachers' framed their beliefs across the whole study. Despite the similarity in the designs of the questions, the open-ended ways in which the questions were written, and the dialogic style that I adopted during the interview process, allowed teachers to reflect on their own beliefs and specific experiences as they considered the needs of EAL pupils. The *dialogic* and *flexible nature* (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004) of the interviews meant that there was the possibility of teachers contradicting previously made statements. This was viewed as a reflexive, co-constructed and interactive process that served to enrich the data rather than as a 'psychologically inaccurate' account of teachers' beliefs (Knight and Saunders, 1999).

The pre-observation interviews with mainstream teachers and then EAL teachers in this study, therefore, became 'the main road to multiple realities' (Stake, 1995:64) and allowed me, together with the teachers involved in the study, to engage consciously in a reflexive process with the topics under discussion. The choices I made as the researcher in terms of the design of the pre-observation interviews allowed teachers to reflect on their beliefs about the overall topic associated with the main questions; the role of sub-questions under each main question facilitated a continuation of their discussion and enabled teachers to explore their wider understandings of the topic in more detail.

In order to explore participants' beliefs in some depth, the study used a pre-observation interview, which lasted approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. This allowed mainstream English teachers, EAL teachers, head teachers and depute head teachers to have their own distinct voice about the ways in which they conceptualised the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, and how well they felt these needs were met in classroom practices across the school as a whole. I designed three similar, but distinct, interview schedules for these different groups. Each semi-structured interview used open-ended questions, and included the following topic sets: Biographical information, Provision, Reading, and Methods and Approaches. A review of current literature linked to the field of English as an additional language and reading

literacy, along with my own beliefs as a researcher, shaped the topics set for the interview schedules. The various topics within the interview schedules are detailed in the following paragraphs.

The first section (questions 1-9) was designed to construct a biographical profile of each participant. This provided information about each participant and allowed variables or patterns within the participants to be considered in relation to the categories and themes that emerge from the data. The second section (questions 1-3) focused on drawing out teacher perceptions of policy and provision within the local authority and the school as a whole.

The third section explored conceptualizations of the reading process and of the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. Teachers were also asked within this section to indicate how these needs might be similar or different to those of pupils who are monolingual speakers of English. The purpose of these questions was to investigate in an interactive manner teachers' knowledge about the specific types of reading literacy needs that they had identified within their classroom practices and experiences or that they had considered EAL pupils to have when they were faced with the reading demands of the mainstream English classrooms. The fourth section focused on the methods and approaches teachers used within the classroom. Questions here sought to elicit specific examples of the ways in which teachers felt particular needs were met within their classroom practices and probed the extent to which teachers felt their pedagogical practices were achieving this goal. The final question provided all teachers with the opportunity to raise any other areas for discussion if they so desired. During each interview, teachers were given adequate time to respond to the questions and to elaborate further if they felt it necessary (see appendix 1 for indicative interview questions).

The first set of interviews took place during the school day in classrooms that were available at the time of the interview with the exception of EAL Teacher 1, who was interviewed at her home because of constraints on her time during the day. The interviews with the EAL teachers, head teachers and depute head

teachers took place at a time that was convenient for both me as a researcher and their own schedules.

The first set of interviews with mainstream English teachers was carried out whenever possible before the observation of reading lessons. There was one mainstream English teacher (Mainstream Teacher 7) whose first interview had to be scheduled after the first observation because of unforeseen circumstances within the school and teacher absence. Responses to the questions were documented in the form of written notes and were digitally recorded. These recordings were transcribed at a later stage in the study to provide a full account of what the teachers said and to allow the coding processes, implemented during the analysis of the interviews, to be carried out in detail. A discussion outlining some of the issues associated with the transcription process is provided in the sections that follow.

Piloting the Interview

Bechhoffer and Paterson (2000) also note that the interview used for carrying out research does not resemble a straightforward conversation. Therefore, the design of an effective interview cannot be achieved by merely reading books or putting together a well-structured interview schedule. They advise emerging researchers to pilot any interview that will be used in any given study. I therefore piloted the interview schedules with a few mainstream and EAL teachers that I knew in schools who were not connected to this study. This process helped me to recognise that initially I was tied to the semi-structured interview schedule and felt nervous that if I veered away from the pre-determined questions I would not gather the type of data that was needed for the next stage of my research. However, piloting the interview schedule helped me to recognise this and gradually to relax during the process. Teachers commented on how helpful they found the questions and that they had not reflected on such topics before. The dialogic nature of the interview seemed to encourage teachers to talk about their experiences

and the challenges they faced as they sought to meet the reading needs of EAL pupils in diverse classroom settings.

Despite having highlighted the limitations of using the interview as a research method, the process of engaging with teachers about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils led to very detailed and interesting discussions. At the beginning of the interview process, I was aware that my own beliefs had been influenced by more conventional or standardised approaches to interviewing. I did not want my own stance to colour what teachers had to say, but at the same time, I recognised that the interview process did not involve a distanced and uninvolved stance from the interviewer. While my own viewpoint was kept firmly in the background, I was alert to the need to engage actively and supportively with teachers. I learned, through the process of interacting with the teachers, that the interview was an active, meaning-making process and that 'meaning is not merely elicited by apt questioning' [rather] 'it is actively and communicatively assembled in the interview encounter' (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004:141). I believe my interview techniques improved as I progressed through the data collection process and that this provided the study with data that allowed an in-depth analysis of teachers' knowledge and beliefs.

Classroom Observations

The overall research design specified above foregrounds the interviews with the teachers as the main focus of the study. This section, however, draws on existing research literature to provide a rationale for including classroom observations within the research design.

There is now a long history associated with the use of structured observations (Flanders, 1970) and less structured observations (King, 1978, 1984). There has been considerable debate over the years about the best way to capture classroom practices. For the purposes of this study observations were used to gain insights into the beliefs that had been elicited during the

initial interviews and to compare them with the actual practices those teachers employed in the classroom (Wragg, 2012). In addition, the observations were used as the basis to guide discussion topics during the post-observation interviews with the same teachers to further my understanding of the complex choices teachers make within such contexts. Simpson and Tuson (2008:16) emphasise the notion that rich data can be gathered by carrying out observations. They can be used in various ways, either as a main source of data, or to enrich data that were collected using other research methods (Wragg, 2012). While the initial interviews were the main focus of the study, it is important to remember that 'any tool for data-gathering provides only one picture of the social world, and matches and mismatches between data gathered by different techniques help to enrich understanding of what is going on' (Simpson and Tuson, 2008:16). Employing this method provided the necessary opportunities to collect data to answer research question three.

In addition, classroom observations served to highlight further topics that could be explored during the post-observation interview with the same teachers. The observations allowed me to understand in more depth the beliefs that teachers enacted in the classroom in relation to the issues that were foregrounded during the interviews. This was an important decision that shaped the design of the study. I considered it to be important that the study provided a *thick description* (Geertz, 1973) because of the complexity of the growing challenges within the various school contexts. However, these notions are also disputed within the research literature, as there are limitations with any data gathering technique. According to some, the possible limitations of using such a combination of approaches is that there will not be one singular voice of *reality*. Those participating in the study may not have communicated a complete account of what they know about reading literacy and how they met the needs of the pupils, while the interpretation of the classroom observations may not match what teachers know and do during reading literacy practices that take place when I am not there as a researcher. Despite these possible limitations, both data gathering

techniques are concerned with achieving greater rigour and allow for a fine-grained analysis of the data.

Classroom Observation Procedures

Each mainstream teacher was observed teaching reading lessons on two separate occasions. These observations were carried out in the majority of cases after the pre-interview, with the exception of one mainstream teacher. The focus of the observations was determined by the aims of the study and the research questions detailed earlier. Each teacher was informed by email before the data collection process began, and again at the end of the pre-interview, that the main aim of the classroom observations within the study was to look at the ways in which teachers meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. All teachers were, therefore, asked to teach lessons that focused on the development of reading literacy during the classroom observation phase.

The procedures used to collect data during the observation stage were also informed by the school visits. In an effort to limit pre-conceived assumptions or structures being placed on the investigation about how reading *should* be taught, and to allow for an opportunity for the data to have its own voice, I took detailed field notes. This technique allowed me to write a continuous-record of the lesson, and also provided a sequence of specific interactions or episodes that took place, particularly in relation to how reading literacy was developed, and how EAL pupils' needs were met, during each lesson. I also annotated my in-depth field notes which allowed me to highlight specific areas that I could discuss with the classroom teacher during the post-observation interview stage.

All teachers agreed to wear a digital recorder as this provides a clear recording of what teachers are saying during each lesson. This protected the teachers and the data against occasions when I might have lost concentration, as it provided a simple recording of each lesson that proved to be useful when the interview data was analysed in the later stages of the research. Not only did

this provide an additional systematic, continuous record of the lessons that were observed, but it also enabled checks to be implemented at the analysis stage of the study as a safeguard against any uncertainties or indecipherable comments that arose within the handwritten field notes. How this was implemented and considered at the analysis stage is explained in a later section of this chapter.

In order to manage the observations, I arrived five minutes before each lesson started in order to check with the teacher that it was still feasible to observe the class, to allow the teacher to seat me in a place where I could observe in a non-participatory fashion, and to set up the use of the digital recorder which was worn by the teacher. At the beginning of each observed class, the teacher introduced me to the pupils and explained that I was attending the lesson merely to observe.

The field notes were written on previously designed booklets that had a detailed front page in which to record relevant information related to classroom layout, length of the lesson, time the lesson began and ended, gender of the teacher, number of pupils (including EAL pupils), year and level of the class, displays on classroom walls and resources being used. The additional pages in the booklet were blank, except for a single column down the left side of the page, in which to record 10 minutes segments of time as the field notes were written (see appendix 2). Despite the fact that records of this type do not necessarily need to record time at set intervals, time was noted at 10 minute intervals in order to document the details as it would later help to build a descriptive, detailed picture after the event (Simpson and Tuson, 2008:49). This allowed the record to show incidents, for example, where an EAL pupil may have been sitting looking up a word in a dictionary for 15 minutes without help, or to describe the length of particular stages of the lesson, which may be significantly linked to the particular strategies or methods the teachers used.

Post-Observation Interviews

A post-observation interview was conducted with only mainstream English teachers when the classroom observation phase was concluded. Each of the post-observation interviews was digitally recorded. Notes that were taken during classroom observations informed these interviews. Therefore, questions within the post-observation interviews were based on incidents or features associated with reading literacy practices that occurred during the lessons that were observed. This resulted in these interviews having a more open-ended structure than the initial interviews. Interactions with teachers during this phase helped me to gain insights into the decisions teachers had made during lessons in relation to meeting the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL.

Despite experiencing some difficulties in carrying out these more unstructured interviews, this approach to interviewing provided data that allowed me to review teachers' perceived beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and determine whether these stated beliefs matched the methods and approaches they employed during practice.

Triangulation

Traditionally research has placed high value on the concept of triangulation. This process is usually demonstrated within a study by using various methods e.g. observations, questionnaires or interviews to explore a given topic and to 'validate' the results. Employing such methods, however, carries 'the assumption that there is a 'fixed point' or 'object' that can be triangulated' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:358). Denzin and Lincoln suggest that a different conceptualisation of triangulation is needed, particularly when analysing social contexts, as there are many perspectives from which to approach the world (1998:358). Therefore, rather than considering the methods used within this study (interviews and observations) as two *rigid* perspectives from which to view *fixed objects*, an approach that has a less

fixed view of the structure of knowledge has been utilized. To achieve this, non-participant observations have been included to enhance the interview data and allow the researcher to consider the context from various viewpoints. Denzin and Lincoln term this notion as *crystallization* rather than *triangulation* for the following reasons:

Crystals are prisms that reflect externalities and refract within themselves, creating different colours, patterns, arrays, casting off in different directions. What we see depends on the angle of our repose...crystallization provides us with a deepened, complex, thoroughly partial understanding of the topic. Paradoxically we know more and doubt what we know
(1998:358).

Thus applying Denzin and Lincoln's (1998) notion of *crystallization* enables 'varying representations of the participants' views, feelings, intentions, actions,...context and structure of their lives' (Charmaz, 2006:14) to be recorded and, as a result, establish a picture of the situation. This approach aligns itself with the overarching aims of this qualitative study; as a result, insights and additional understandings into the ways in which teachers constructed meaning within their own social worlds were achieved. Such notions allowed me to obtain the goal of ensuring 'methodological congruence' within the various parts of the research design and allowed the construction of a detailed portrayal of the *high-challenge* (Gibbons, 2009) classroom contexts in which the study is set.

Sampling of Local Authorities, Schools and Teachers within the Study

Local Authorities

Factors that influenced the decisions taken in relation to sampling within the study are justified in the following sections. The local authorities in which the schools were situated within this study were chosen based on the realisation that no empirical research related to the topic of this thesis had

been carried out within them and because there were known EAL families settled within the areas. These sites were, therefore, considered fresh ground for an exploratory study of this kind. The deliberate decision to choose the local authorities within the present study resulted from my exploratory visits to schools 'en-route to the research design', as outlined in earlier sections. These visits sensitised me to the suitability of particular areas and I learned that there was the potential within these local authorities to explore my research interests.

Each local authority had a 'gatekeeper'. It was therefore necessary to contact the Directors of Education in Local Authority 1, 2 & 3 to gain permission to visit secondary schools within their specific areas. Permission was granted in all three authorities and each Director confirmed that many schools had pupils learning EAL, but also made the point that some did not.

Research literature includes many references to the various kinds of sampling approaches and notes that the boundaries between them are often blurred. Traditionally sampling is often considered in ways that advocate a particular systematic approach is used to secure a representative sample across particular populations. Patton (2002) describes convenience sampling in particular as flawed because of systematic and structured planning and points out that the criteria used to make decisions about sampling in this case are merely based on the fact that there is ease of access to the population. Caution is advised by some researchers (Mason, 2002; Patton, 2002; Shank and Brown, 2007) when considering convenience sampling as it is not considered a robust and purposeful approach for selecting sites. Such views consider this approach to sampling as one that raises questions about the generalisability of the data collected.

The study set out to reflect complexity in terms of teachers' varying beliefs within different teaching and learning contexts and to gain an multifaceted understanding of the conditions in which these beliefs operate (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:204). This focus provided opportunities for comparisons to be made across and within various sites and populations of similar nature

(Barbour, 2008:53). However, representativeness across carefully chosen sites was not the driving force behind the sampling process as the purpose of the study was to look closely at specific contexts. Thus the nature of the sampling process was to gain a deeper understanding of the *what, how, where, when, and why* certain conditions operated within particular social contexts (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:204). In addition to this, the emphasis within the study was not driven by a concern to establish conventional answers that were replicated across various contexts; rather, the focus was on the ways in which the participants within these diverse local contexts constructed their meanings (Holstein and Gubrium, 2004:145).

There were a number of advantages in sampling more than one local authority. The inclusion of three local authorities enabled the data to be collected from a greater number of schools and teachers for comparison and contrast across authorities and schools. While a larger sample would have allowed an even wider range of teachers' beliefs and classroom activities to be explored, the aim of the study was not based on the need to match formally teachers' responses across a large number of cases. Instead, the aim was to provide *thick description* across diverse contexts that would provide the reader with the opportunity to recognise essential similarities between this study and those that interest them (Firestone, 1993:18). Generalisation, as discussed in earlier sections, is therefore considered as more *naturalistic* (Stake, 1978:7).

Sampling of Schools within the Chosen Local Authorities

The strategy used for sampling changed as access to schools and teachers was considered within each local authority. The visits to schools in the 'en-route to the research design' informed this decision-making process as it had been difficult to access schools and arrange specific times to interview teachers and observe lessons when there was no central contact person at the schools with whom to liaise. It also became apparent during my initial visits

to schools that they were very busy places and teachers had commented that their schools were often used as sites for research and various other activities. This meant that access to certain schools could prove difficult and needed careful planning. Again, similar to the approach used to make decisions in relation to the local authorities, a purposive sampling technique was used to select the schools within this study. Denzin and Lincoln describe this as 'seek[ing] out groups, settings and individuals where ... the processes being studied are more likely to occur' (quoted in Silverman, 2007:307). Bryant and Charmaz, in their acknowledgment of sampling being a developmental or layered process, which is often influenced by the context and needs within the study itself, state, '*...purposeful samples* are selected to maximise variation of meaning, thus determining the scope of the phenomena or concepts' (2010:236, italics in the original).

This approach helped not only to locate those schools, but teachers who had pupils learning EAL within their classes. It became clear that the EAL pupil population did not span across every year within secondary schools which was something that I was not necessarily aware of at the time of planning. The field of Teaching English as an Additional Language (EAL) is a relatively new phenomenon in some parts of Scotland and not every school or teacher had experience of teaching pupils learning EAL within their classrooms. In order to work within the constraints of the context and to fulfill the purposes of the study, a variety of schools ranging from those who had small numbers of EAL pupils to those who were classified as having many, was chosen. The rationale for this decision is based on what is seen as a variant of purposive sampling i.e. a *boosted sample*. Gorard advocates the use of boosted sampling, as it includes those schools who might be otherwise defined as *excluded* from a sample because they may not be as experienced in working with particular pupils, or that there are relatively smaller numbers within the school when compared to schools in other local authorities (2003:71). This allows the study to demonstrate appropriate representation, where the schools that took part were representative of the areas I visited, thus allowing those schools with larger numbers of pupils learning EAL and those with smaller numbers to be included in the sample. Such an approach enabled the study to 'meet

the demands of social inclusion' (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007:115). I had originally hoped to enlist three schools in each local authority to take part in the study. However, not all schools in the smaller local authorities (1 & 3) claimed to have EAL pupils once I had contacted them. The number of schools chosen within each local authority was therefore based on a decision only to include schools that reported to have EAL pupils as this would support the purpose of the study.

Sampling: Mainstream English Teachers

Once specific schools were selected, it seemed more effective to use a volunteer approach to sampling when considering teachers who would be involved, as this would provide willing participants and make access to classrooms more effective within the study. This decision was also informed by my visits to schools as I experienced difficulty in tracking down teachers to talk to who had EAL pupils within their classes. Therefore, I relied on my PhD supervisor to help me make initial contact with English departments within the selected schools. This made access to schools easier and allowed me then to liaise directly by email (see appendix 3) with Principal Teachers (hereafter PT) of English in each school. Initially, I sent a formal letter to each PT of English and to the Head Teacher of the school requesting permission to gain access to the school and classes to carry out the interviews and observations. Each PT followed protocol by discussing my proposal with the Head Teacher. Once permission was given by the Head Teacher, the PT invited the specialist English teachers within the department, who taught pupils learning EAL, to volunteer to take part in the study. Following this, the PT contacted me to provide the email and telephone information of those teachers willing to take part in the study. I subsequently contacted these teachers to negotiate dates and times for carrying out the interviews and observations. It is important to note that the constraints of my own working commitments during the year impacted on the times when I could be the most flexible to travel to schools to collect data. This meant that some

of the observation data in School 1 was influenced by the Scottish exam timetable and two of the reading lessons focused on exam techniques.

However, there are limitations to using volunteer sampling, as it is difficult to make claims about the data being representative of the teaching population within the school or department (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007:116). In the case of this study, limitations were apparent, as not every class had pupils who were learning EAL; this impacted on the number of teachers who were able to participate in each school. As a result, some schools had three teachers who could participate, which was my original intention, but other schools had only one or two.

Sampling: EAL Teachers

The EAL teachers who participated were contacted directly as they were not timetabled through the school system, but through the local authority services. I wanted to interview the EAL teachers who worked with the schools and mainstream teachers I was interviewing in order to build a detailed description of how they met the reading literacy needs of the EAL pupils within that particular context. I was not informed before entering the schools which EAL teacher supported the schools in which I was carrying out the research. Therefore, I chose to use purposive sampling at this stage by asking the mainstream teachers how I could contact the EAL teacher who worked with them to meet the needs of the EAL pupils within the classes I was observing. According to Warner (1991), this approach to sampling provides 'descriptive-contextual validity [because the] interpretations connect with people's lived experience and minimize researcher impact' (cited in Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:205). However, critics of this approach argue that it has serious limitations, as it does not necessarily represent the general population of teachers, because the sample was not random (Bryant and Charmaz, 2010). Despite these criticisms, this sampling approach fitted the purpose of the study as it sought to acquire in-depth information from

those who were informed about the challenges within particular contexts (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2007).

In preparation for the study, it was anticipated that the focus would be on English teachers who taught classes in S1 and S2. The rationale behind this decision was based on my own previous teaching experience in international schools and from anecdotal data from mainstream teachers in Scotland, where teachers believed that these were the most difficult years for EAL pupils as they transitioned from primary schools to a more demanding content-based learning environment. However, due to the varying numbers and the patchy clustering of EAL pupils spread across various years within schools, I could not consistently depend on S1 and S2 classes having EAL pupils within them at each school. It was, therefore, necessary to broaden the sample within the study to include teachers who taught EAL pupils from S1 to S6. This change to the initial research sample benefitted the study, as there were many instances of EAL pupils entering secondary schools in S3-S6, who had limited exposure to speaking or hearing English. This provided data as teachers described their varying experiences of, and beliefs about teaching EAL pupils who were either classified as emergent readers, or more advanced readers, in their additional language (English). This decision offered an opportunity to collect rich descriptive data about the multifaceted challenges that teachers face every day.

It is important to note at this point that, while Depute Head Teachers and Head Teachers may not necessarily engage directly in classroom practices in order to develop the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, I believed that it was important to include them within the study. The assumptions behind this decision were related to my own beliefs as a researcher that there can be a direct link between how well teachers believe they are able to meet the needs of EAL pupils (research question two) and how these needs are conceptualised and met across the wider context of the school. The Head Teacher is a force within the context who can impact on the ways in which reading literacy is conceptualised and practised in school classrooms. Dean concurs with this view and claims:

Whatever the situation – of a department, of a school, or within an individual teacher’s classroom – ideas about reading, what it is and what it is for, will be a force within the institution, will influence practice and are quite likely to be deeply ingrained

(2000:48).

The number of local authorities (3), schools (7) and teachers that took part in the study (26 in total), were selected using a variety of sampling techniques. All participants within the schools were made aware that they could withdraw from the process at any time if they felt uncomfortable; none of the participants chose to do so.

Participant Details

The study involved seven secondary schools in three different Local Authorities in Scotland. For the purposes of confidentiality, an agreement was made with each local authority and school that their real identity would not be disclosed, and that a pseudonym or a number would be given to each context, teacher, and to any pupil who was referred to by a teacher.

During the transcription process I assigned each participant and context a code name rather than using their actual name. The three local authorities that participated are referred to as Local Authority 1, 2 & 3. The schools visited within each local authority were numbered 1-7. I separated teachers into the various roles that they enacted within each school and assigned them a number. All schools within the study were state schools and followed the Scottish National Curriculum, i.e. Curriculum for Excellence (hereafter CfE). Table 4.1 on the following page outlines the codes used for each participant:

Table 4.1: Codes assigned to participants within the study

Participant	Abbreviated Code
Local Authority	LA1, LA2, LA3
State Secondary School	Sch1, Sch2, Sch3, Sch4, Sch5, Sch6, Sch7
Mainstream English Teacher	MT1, MT2, MT3, MT4, MT5, MT6, MT7 MT8, MT9, MT10, MT11, MT12, MT13 MT14, MT15, MT16
EAL Teacher	EALT1, EALT2, EALT3, EALT4, EALT5
Head Teacher	HT1
Depute Head Teacher	DHT1, DHT2, DHT3, DHT4

Table 4.2 indicates the number of schools, the type of school, and the number of mainstream teachers, EAL teachers and Depute and Head Teachers who participated in the study within each local authority and school. Schools 2 & 3 did not have a Head Teacher or a Depute Head Teacher who was willing to be interviewed and School 4 did not have an EAL teacher working with the English department at the time of the study.

Table 4.2: contexts and participants within the study

Local Authority	Secondary Schools	Teachers	School Type
Local Authority 1	School 1	MT1 MT2 EALT1 EALT2 DHT4	State School
	School 2	MT3 EALT1 EALT2	State School
Local Authority 2	School 3	MT4 MT5 EALT 3&4	State School

	School 4	MT6 MT7 MT8 HT1	State School
	School 5	MT9 MT10 MT11 EALT3 DHT1	State School
Local Authority 3	School 6	MT12 MT13 MT14 EALT5 DHT 3	State School
	School 7	MT15 MT16 EALT5 DHT2	State School

Local Authority 1 is classified as a small authority and has 6 secondary schools and 35 primary schools. Two of the secondary schools (School 1&2) within Local Authority 1 participated in this study. At the time of the study, Local Authority 1 employed one full-time EAL Teacher (EAL Teacher 1) and one generic outreach teacher (EAL Teacher 2) who worked with EAL pupils on a full or part-time basis across nursery, primary and secondary schools. EAL Teacher 1 reported that there were one hundred pupils learning EAL within the authority, but that not all pupils received support. Support appeared to be given on a more ad hoc basis rather than employing a more planned strategic approach. The EAL teachers who worked in this larger local authority supported EAL pupils across Nursery, Primary and Secondary sectors.

Local Authority 2 is a much larger authority and has 23 secondary schools and 87 primary schools. This authority has a separate EAL service that works in partnership with schools in the area and employs its own Head Teacher and Depute Head Teacher of English as an Additional Language. At the time of the study, the service employed 27.6 full and part-time EAL teachers and 11 full and part-time Bilingual Support Staff. None of the teachers within this local authority were required to work across all sectors, as there was a larger number of teachers employed to meet the various needs that arose.

Local Authority 3 is also considered to be a small local authority and has 6 secondary schools and 30 primary schools. At the time of the study this local authority employed one full time EAL teacher (EAL Teacher 5) and one temporary, part-time EAL teacher, and one part-time bilingual assistant. However, by the end of the study, the local authority had appointed the part-time EAL teacher on a permanent basis, which brought the total to two full-time EAL teachers and 1 part-time bilingual assistant. The EAL teachers working within this local authority supported 200+ pupils learning English as an additional language and worked across the three sectors of schooling.

All EAL teachers, who took part in the study worked peripatetically with schools across various sectors i.e. Nursery, Primary and Secondary. A description of the teacher participants in the study is discussed in the following sections in order to provide a more detailed picture of the participating population.

Overview of Biographical Details

Appendix 4 provides a profile of each teacher that was drawn from the biographical information in section 1, questions 1-9, within the initial interview. This exemplifies the range of experiences and expertise that the sample of teachers has and also represents commonalities that may be present within the wider population across other local authorities and schools within

the study. The table in appendix 4 illustrates the length of teaching experience and the qualifications each teacher within the sample had and indicates whether they had personal experience in learning a second or additional language.

The following section provides a description of the participants who took part in this study and a rationale for including the varying roles each played in the research strategy. Twenty-six teachers in total participated in in-depth interviews; however, there was a variety of roles represented within the total number. Sixteen of the participants were mainstream English teachers, five were EAL teachers, one was a Head Teacher and four were Depute Head Teachers. None of the participants was known to me before the study.

Mainstream English Teachers

It will be seen from appendix 4 that mainstream English teachers had various experiences in teaching, ranging from those who were in their probationary year (Mainstream Teacher 11), to a teacher with 31 years teaching experience (Mainstream Teacher 6). Sixteen of the teachers across the whole study were female and ten were male and all described themselves as being of British or Scottish nationality. All teachers in the study had pupils learning EAL in their classes; the classes observed ranged from S1 (first year in secondary education) to S5 (5th year in secondary education). Class sizes ranged from 11- 35 pupils and the numbers of EAL pupils within the observed classes ranged from one to nine. In terms of speaking a second or additional language, three of the nineteen mainstream teachers described themselves as having high school French or German and one teacher knew primary sign language. All teachers were qualified at postgraduate certificate or diploma level in teaching English (PGCE/PGDE) with the exception of Mainstream Teacher 6 who had a Bachelor of Education degree.

EAL Teachers

The EAL teachers who participated had varying degrees of experience in teaching English as an additional language. All teachers were female and functioned in the role of Principal Teacher (PT) of English as an Additional Language within their context with the exception of EAL Teacher 2, whose role was wider and included other needs related to more generic challenges such as hospital visits and special education needs, and EAL Teacher 4, who did not have any biographical details recorded, because she joined the study unexpectedly part-way through an initial interview with Mainstream Teacher 4. EAL Teacher 4 contributed to the discussion that took place during Mainstream Teacher 4's initial interview. This unexpected contribution could not be considered as a full interview. However, her stated beliefs provided important insights towards the aim of the study and, were therefore, included as part of the study.

Head Teachers and Depute Head Teachers

The head teachers and depute head teachers who took part came from a variety of subject specialist backgrounds before undertaking their current roles as either head teacher or depute head teacher. Three of these participants were male and two were female. It was not possible to interview the Head Teacher or Depute Head Teacher from schools 2 & 3 as they did not respond to the invitations to be interviewed, despite being approached at three different times. This could possibly have been due to the timing of my visits as these visits coincided with exams or the end of the school year. Each participant was interviewed in his or her office.

Ethical Considerations

It was essential to consider the key principles relating to ethical practices, and how they were followed, in a study of this kind. Silverman (2006) states that

research is not merely about choosing an appropriate methodology and approach to analysis, but about the relationships within the research i.e. the interactions that take place with real people within specific contexts. It was important, therefore, to ensure that the research was seeking to contribute to relevant issues that are present or have emerged within the field of study. Issues related to research such as, 'privacy, consent, confidentiality, deceit, deception and harm' have, therefore, been considered throughout this thesis, not only to protect the identity of the participants and schools that took part, but also to ensure a transparent and *trustworthy* account is given (Bryant and Charmaz, 2010:425). Any unexpected difficulties during the data collection process and the subsequent analysis of the data is discussed openly within the appropriate sections and chapters. This illustrates the various challenges that presented themselves from both the perspective of the researcher and from those being interviewed and observed within the study.

In order to keep teachers' comments and insights confidential, the names of the participants, the chosen sites, and any pupils that were mentioned during the interviews are not used throughout this thesis. I entered into a binding agreement with each teacher to conceal his or her identity before the study was carried out. Preserving anonymity was not problematic for the purposes of this study because it set out to investigate teachers' beliefs and practices by generating a detailed picture across a number of local contexts.

I believed it was important to protect the identity of each of the participants within the study as I had asked them to be vulnerable and share their stories with me and allow me to observe their classroom practices. Such a relationship requires trust. Denzin and Lincoln (1998) cite Lightfoot (1983) to remind researchers that ethical issues are of great importance; they emphasise that because our research methods and approaches 'involve 'real' people and not just texts, we need to pay the closest attention to the aftermath of the research' (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:169). I endeavoured to take these things into account during the study.

Transcription

It is agreed that the aim of any kind of social research is to provide a detailed and accurate, representative description of a social world (Perakyla, 1997:201). Despite this aim, any description will in varying degrees be impacted on by the researcher's own perspective as s/he can only hope to achieve a particular interpretation of what has taken place rather than an exact reproduction (Perakyla, 1997:201). Transcribing the interviews was a 'transition between the fieldwork and the analysis of this study' (Patton, 2002:441). However, transcription is not a straightforward process and there are various challenges associated with it.

Those who propose a full verbatim transcript as the most effective way of facilitating the process of analysis do not often recognise other ways of recording data (e.g. Poland, 1995). However, other perspectives consider having a full verbatim transcript as a luxury during the research process as they are aware that the majority of research projects are carried out under various time constraints (Barbour, 2008:192). Barbour, however, notes that she is 'not convinced that full transcripts are always fully mined in analysis...and that it is perfectly acceptable to rely on indexed recordings and notes...that have been systematically produced' (Barbour, 2008:192).

Mishler (2003) views the process of transcription, not merely as a mechanical process, but as an interpretive one. He recognises that language and meaning are not transparent and that the relationships between these are complex, particularly when oral language is transcribed into a written form (Mishler, 2003). Kvale and Brinkmann note that it is possible for transcripts containing the exact same written words to convey different meanings depending on who is interpreting them, or on how the transcriber has used punctuation (2009:185). Kvale (1996) notes that challenges in interpretation arise if someone other than the researcher transcribes the recording; the lack of social, cultural, and contextual knowledge that is missing can be influential in how meaning is interpreted. Kvale (1996) advocates therefore that instead of looking for a complete account, which is difficult to achieve, researchers should consider:

'What is a useful transcription for my research purposes' (1996:166). I considered such advice as I took decisions about how to handle the data.

Taking these issues into account, I chose to hire a reliable and experienced typist to transcribe a full account of the interviews related to the study. This decision was based on the constraints that I encountered as I tried to transcribe the data, while at the same time teach full-time at the university. While some researchers emphasise that it is best for the researcher to carry out the transcription process him/herself as it allows them to get to know the data well, others recognise the time factors involved in this and the various constraints that may prevent such practices. Most researchers see the transcription of the data as an important part of the research process, where repeated listening to the audio tapes helps the researcher to build a picture by recognising patterns that may be slightly different to the insights gleaned from the printed page (Silverman, 2004).

Because my main purpose in the research was to explore teachers' beliefs, I believed it was important to have a full and detailed account of what teachers had communicated. The typist involved in transcription included recognition of pauses, laughter, sighing and any parts of the interview that seemed unclear on the recording. Upon receiving the transcriptions, I engaged in the process of reading through the interview transcripts to get a sense of the recordings and to listen at the same time for any discrepancies that were on the written script due to poor quality recordings, misinterpretations, or the mishearing of something that was said (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009:184). I made notes on the script of any anomalies between the recording and the transcribed script and also made short comments about any insights I had gleaned during this process. Lapadat and Lindsay (1999) cite Kvale's (1996:166) views about the process involved during transcription and recognise that initial interpretations are made as one begins to engage with the data, thus 'analysis begins during transcription.' Once satisfied that I had an *accurate* record of the interviews, I proceeded to a more structured and formal stage of analysis and began annotating the transcripts. The following sections discuss how the process of analysis continued from the transcriptions stage.

Approach to the Analysis of the Findings

In chapter two of this study, I discussed sociocultural theory which foregrounds notions of mediation (Wertsch, 1991). This perspective informed my thinking as I considered the various factors that may have influenced teachers' beliefs and practices as they sought to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. Furthermore, second language teaching theories influenced my thinking as I considered the specific kinds of knowledge that were missing in terms of second language development. I therefore drew on aspects of systemic functional linguistics as a way to challenge the existing language acquisition metaphor that operated within schools (Halliday, 1978; Schleppegrell, 2002, 2004; Janks, 2010). In addition, I reviewed first and second language reading theories and critical literacy approaches in order to inform the ways in which I considered reading development and reading literacy practices for diverse mainstream classrooms (Shor, 1992; Cairney, 1995; Kern, 2000; Grabe and Stoller, 2001; Wallace, 2003; Janks, 2010). A consideration of such theories about reading literacy not only informed my thinking as I analysed teachers' beliefs and practices, but also helped me to consider ways in which content and language might be integrated. Finally, I examined theories relating to teacher identity which enabled me to consider factors that mediated identity formation as teachers live and work in shifting educational contexts (Clandinin and Connelly, 1996; Duff and Uchida, 1997; Gee, 2005; Miller, 2009).

The theories that I have drawn upon in relation to the various aspects of the study are congruent with the approaches used to frame the research design of the study. The qualitative methodology within the study uses both inductive and deductive approaches as ways in which to analyse qualitative data. The exploratory nature of an inductive approach allowed for an interpretive paradigm and approach to be used which enabled me to provide an 'interpretive portrayal' of the context (Charmaz, 2006:10). An inductive approach fits the main purpose of this research as it allowed the generation of

theories that were grounded in the data (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). However, a deductive approach was also helpful because it allowed me to *ground* (Charmaz, 2006) my understandings and interpretations in the wider debates within the academic literature. Adopting both of these approaches during the process of analysis allowed a complex interaction to take place between the data, my developing understandings and emerging questions and the debates within the literature. As a result, I brought themes from the academic literature to the data, but at the same time allowed themes to emerge from the data. Charmaz refers to this process as 'inductive and deductive reasoning' within a grounded theory approach (2006:103). The following sections discuss how such reasoning was achieved and how this helped me to answer the research questions.

Discourse Models

To demonstrate methodological congruence further, I considered carefully which theoretical perspective I could use to explore teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in a way that would fit the purpose of the study. At the beginning of the process of data analysis, I drew on Gee's (2005) formulation of Discourse models. Gee's ideological understanding of *Discourse* was helpful in conceptualizing the expression of beliefs and identity. However, his conceptualization of *Discourse models* did not bring enough clarity to the data analysis process as I tried to identify whether some beliefs were shared or more individual. Initially, the strengths of Gee's (2005) model fitted the purpose of the study because Discourse models do not merely focus on discrete units of language, but they have a direct relationship with language and its social contexts. In addition to this, they are not tightly bound to cognitive or abstract ways of thinking about teachers' beliefs, but instead enable us to explore the possibilities of integrated patterns and a plurality of beliefs across particular social settings. However, as I progressed through the initial stages of the data analysis, I began to realise that despite the various strengths associated with Gee's (2005) Discourse model approach, there were

also a number of limitations, which did not allow the full story to emerge from the data. These reflections are outlined below:

- Discourse models do not promote an in-depth understanding of the ways in which a variety of cultural tools operating within the context mediate and shape teachers' thoughts and beliefs, although Gee's theory alludes to this notion more generally.
- Gee's exemplifications of Discourse models are often built around familiar or shared schemas that operate within or across societies or contexts. Discourse models can therefore tend to be considered as a 'product' of beliefs or assumptions across a context and do not allow a detailed analysis of the 'process' associated with beliefs within linguistically and culturally diverse school contexts.
- Despite Gee's (2005) recognition of the flexible boundaries between Discourse models, where they can be labyrinthine in nature, it is difficult to determine how collective or how individual a Discourse model is. The complexity and intricacies within textual expressions make it difficult to apply a Discourse models approach.
- There is a lack of clarity about how to explore a sense of teacher agency in relation to the Discourse models that operate within a context and what might constitute an individual Discourse model – therefore indicating a teacher's sense of agency.

While Gee (1996, 2005) makes general reference to the concepts of individual experiences and mediation, where people can be part of a number of different discourses, his framework does not provide a well-defined conceptual basis that can be used to investigate the intricacies and complex patterns that are inherent in shared or individual Discourse models within changing educational contexts. Aligning the methodology of the study with an appropriate analytical lens is very important. Therefore, I decided to employ a qualitative thematic analysis, as I believed that using this approach would allow me to illuminate the complexities within teachers' beliefs and practices more fully and successfully. Thomas refers to this approach as the *constant comparative method*, and suggests that such an approach is 'the basic analytic method of the interpretative researcher...' (2009:198).

A thematic analysis engages the researcher in an iterative process, where the data are visited again and again to explore repeated patterns of meaning.

Such an approach offers a set of guidelines to follow when analysing data and provides the flexibility needed to engage with complex data sets. In this approach the identification of themes, which serve to summarise the content of the data, is important, as these themes form the building blocks of the analysis (Thomas, 2009:198).

It is important to clarify the understanding of the word theme when using such an approach. Braun and Clarke neatly capture key elements of a theme in the following quotation:

A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set
(2006:82).

A theme can therefore be considered in terms of how it captures a particular element of the data in relation to the research questions or as something that is an individual occurrence across the data sets (Braun and Clarke, 2006:82). As with any analytical process, consistency in applying the principles during analysis is key. Rather than only showing patterns across the data sets, a thematic analysis involves interpretation where the researcher is involved in exploring the ideologies or concepts that underpin the content of the data (Bryman and Burgess, 1994). Thus, a strength of using a thematic analysis is that it is a data-driven process that at the same time acknowledges the interactions that take place between the participants, the researcher and the context.

Some researchers do not consider a thematic approach as a method in itself, but rather see it as a generic skill that is part of other *mainstream* approaches e.g. grounded theory (Boyatzis, 1998; Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz explains that grounded theory utilises *constant comparative methods* (Thomas, 2009) and that this, combined with a grounded theory approach, helps to advance the researcher's understanding of the data as s/he treats the data with rigorous scrutiny (2006:178). She also depicts the *constant comparative method* (Thomas, 2009) as a tool within a grounded theory approach which works to allow the

researcher to engage in, and rely on, *myriad interactions* with the data, which emanate from his/her world-view (Charmaz, 2006:179).

However, for the purposes of this study, I have chosen to draw on Braun and Clark's (2006) perspective that views thematic analysis as a method in its own right which 'works both to reflect reality and to unpick or unravel the surface of 'reality'' (2006:81). Such a perspective is compatible with sociocultural theory and critical literacy approaches to reading in that it engaged me as a researcher in a critical dialogic process with the data, and its flexibility allowed me to consider the context and what was missing from the data i.e. the gaps and silences – thus demonstrating *methodological congruence*.

The Process of Analysis

It has been noted that, analysis began during the transcription phase as I listened again to each of the interviews and compared them with the typed scripts. I became very familiar with the content of the interviews and this allowed me to gain an overall sense of teachers' beliefs. For example, when listening to one of the teachers talk about her own lack of confidence in meeting the needs of EAL pupils, I recognised her sense of frustration from the tone and the pauses within the recording. I acknowledged my own inexperience from this episode as my response to reassure the teacher by stating, *'I'm sure you do meet some of the needs'* tended to close that part of the conversation down. A more experienced interviewer might have been able to draw out more from the teacher around this topic and allow her to reflect on such issues more carefully.

Coding

Ongoing analysis continued as I considered how to synthesise the large amount of data within this study. The process of qualitative coding, as

proposed by Charmaz (2006), was used as an initial step to explore and understand the possibilities within the interviews. Charmaz's (2006) approach to qualitative coding is helpful in that it captures social processes across groups of people and allows a comparative method to be used at varying stages of the process of analysis. I understand coding to be a labelling process that is often used within qualitative studies. To begin the coding process I started by reading through each of the transcripts for each teacher interview. I found it helpful to draw on Charmaz's (2006) three distinct approaches to coding to make sense of the data, i.e. initial coding, focused coding and theoretical coding. I began this process by employing a segment-by-segment coding technique using electronic comments on my computer.

However, at times I was worried that I was not carrying out this process correctly as I found it to be repetitive as I frequently summarised or repeated something similar to what teachers had said during the interview. I also found myself carrying out the three different levels of coding at the same time as I found the data very engaging. At the same time, I made links between the data and the academic literature I had read. Despite these concerns and challenges, I found it helpful, as the goal of this initial sweep of the data was to gain a general understanding of what was happening within each context and to achieve an overall sense of what teachers believed about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils as they faced the reading demands of mainstream classrooms.

The initial coding phase enabled an identification of statements within the interview transcripts, where key words and sentences were attached to pieces of text. I was guided by Charmaz's statement that 'initial coding should stick closely to the data' in an attempt to avoid superimposing pre-existing categories onto what teachers were saying (2006:47). During the initial coding phase, I also engaged in this process by looking for similarities and differences across the teacher interviews (Charmaz, 2006). I began to make notes in a notebook about the patterns that were starting to emerge as I

engaged in these processes and how these insights related to the research questions I had designed.

Focused Coding

Focused coding framed the second stage of coding where I selected significant codes within the data and synthesized these to consider larger sections of data (Charmaz, 2006:57). This helped me to engage in the process of considering earlier codes that I had highlighted and to begin linking them together. Sorting through the codes in this way allowed me to see further patterns across the transcripts and facilitated an understanding of what teachers were communicating across the interviews. I also employed the constant comparative method (Thomas, 2009) to ascertain whether teachers' beliefs within the same interview and across the data sets could be appropriately captured within the codes. I used the electronic comment function to record these additional insights into the data. The focused codes were still closely associated with what teachers said, but they functioned as a way to condense the data to make it more manageable. They also served to illuminate 'new threads for analysis...and check[ed] my preconceptions about the topic' (Charmaz, 2006:59).

Theoretical Coding

Charmaz considers theoretical codes to be at a more sophisticated level of coding and defines their role as one that specifies possible relationships between categories that have been developed during the focused coding stage (2006:63). These codes enable the researcher to provide a coherent analytical story and direct it towards a more theoretical domain. Charmaz notes that 'through coding, you *define* what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means' (2006:46, italics in the original). Further engagement with the *constant comparative method* (Thomas, 2009) at this stage

enabled me to consider how widespread certain beliefs were across the data sets and which teachers seemed to communicate a more individual account of collective matters. I was able to recognise conflicts within teachers' beliefs and compare their perspectives against current literature. I recognised at this stage that I went to the literature with existing themes in my head as I tried to make further sense of what teachers were saying. These combined processes helped me to reflect on the specific ways teachers thought about learning EAL and classroom literacy practices.

Thematic Categorisation of the Findings

Following this, the processes of coding operated as a scaffold to support the categorisation process that allowed for a 'thematizing' of the statements, topics, phrases or ideas that emerged from the data. The coding processes enabled the data to be organised into specific conceptual clusters or categories which were then grouped together into common overarching themes and sub-themes associated with the beliefs teachers held about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how these were met in practice. A list of the themes and equally important sub-themes is outlined on page 163. Categorising the data into themes allowed an overall view of the large number of interview transcripts to emerge and continued to facilitate constant comparisons within the data (Kvale, 2007). The ongoing constant comparative method was employed throughout each coding stage as an iterative *tactic* to generate a sharper understanding of what teachers were saying and doing within the data and to bring an organisation and integration of the various themes to the data analysis process (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:187).

Following this, the process of analysis moved beyond what Kvale terms as a *reductionist technique* to a more critical interpretation (2007:107). This is a common approach used within the social sciences where the researcher 'recontextualises the statements [in the text] within broader frames of reference', where inductive and deductive approaches are utilized during the

coding processes. (Kvale, 2007:107). Kvale notes that this allows meanings that are not obvious within the texts to be made visible where the interpretive process 'lead[s] to text expansion, with the outcome formulated in far more words than the original statements interpreted' (Kvale, 2007:108).

Such inductive and deductive approaches moved the whole process of analysis along in stages. It began with more concrete meanings of what teachers said, at the initial coding stage, to more abstract interpretations, at the theoretical coding stage, where the analysis was situated within the literature, the global meaning of the interviews, and the wider sociocultural context (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:186; Miles and Huberman, 1999). This allowed me to consider the various factors that might have influenced teachers' beliefs and practices, as I applied Wertsch's (1991) conceptualisation of mediation, and I began to see the data as a cohesive whole.

In addition to this, classroom observations and post-observation interviews, as previously discussed, formed important parts of the wider study. Insights gained from these were brought to the process of analysing the initial interview data. I colour coded the field notes by linking aspects of the lessons and post-observation interviews that related to the themes that had emerged from the initial interview data. For example, the main theme of *Reading Development* was identified during the analysis of teachers' initial interviews. I collected sub-themes related to the main theme in an electronic folder and gave each theme a colour and each sub-theme a letter:

3. Teaching Reading and Literacies

- a. Vocabulary and Grammar*
- b. Universal Needs in Reading*

This allowed me to colour code the collected data from the observations and post-observation interviews, using numbers and letters, and to compare these with the themes that had emerged from the initial interviews. This process allowed me to adopt a more inductive approach to the data where I

identified the patterns, themes, consistencies and inconsistencies that emerged.

This process of engaging in systematic coding and categorisation of the textual data identified a number of themes and important sub-themes. The themes showed sets of shared teachers' beliefs operating across all of the interviews and associated classroom practices as teachers reflected on the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. The use of the constant comparative method across the data sets enabled me to revisit each of the interviews and observations to look for examples of the themes and sub-themes that had emerged. This necessary process not only affirmed clear links across the themes, but highlighted the ways in which teachers' espoused beliefs and practices were mediated by the *cultural tools* (Wertsch, 1991) that were operating within the various sociocultural contexts. For example, it became clear that a policy of mainstreaming, which operated as a *cultural tool* within school contexts, influenced the ways in which teachers believed language developed and how they met the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL in their classroom practices. The following list serves to highlight the dominant themes and closely interlinked sub-themes that have emerged from the data:

1. Inclusion, Immersion and Isolation
 - a. Social Isolation
 - b. Cultural Isolation
 - c. Pedagogical Isolation
2. Language Learning Theories
 - a. Assumptions about Language Development
 - b. Planning and Differentiation
3. Teaching Reading and Literacies
 - a. Vocabulary and Grammar
 - b. Universal Needs in Reading
4. Shifting Identities
 - a. Teacher Identity
 - b. Teacher Professional Development

Organising the Data

During the constant comparative analysis of the data it became clear that some themes were dominant within all of the teacher interviews while others appeared to be the focus in only some of the transcripts. It was also noticeable that a number of close and complex connections emerged across the themes. This meant that there were instances where sections of meaning within the textual data were categorised under more than one theme. For example, 'Inclusion, Immersion and Isolation' emerged as a theme from the data as many teachers talked about EAL pupils experiencing social, cultural and pedagogical isolation. In addition, there was evidence of teachers drawing on their own understanding of *immersion* under the theme 'Language Learning Theories' as they talked about how EAL pupils acquired the language that was needed to access classroom texts. The observation studies also supported the influence of *immersion* practices where the majority of teachers implemented an undifferentiated pedagogy that assumed EAL pupils would 'pick up' the language needed to understand the text.

The complexity of the data and the labyrinthine nature of the themes and sub-themes meant that it was therefore necessary to make choices about how to construct a plan that would allow me to tell the story within the findings chapters and to allow the findings chapters to demonstrate the ways in which notions of mediation (Wertsch, 1991) impacted on the data.

I made a decision to discuss within the findings chapter that would move from the macro-context (e.g. the policy, local authority and school contexts) to the micro-context (e.g. classroom and teacher) in order to provide a sequence to the data, and to establish clearly the links that were apparent across the emerging themes. It was my hope that this would allow me to tell the *story* in a coherent manner.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the decision-making processes involved in establishing the research design for the study and how an analysis of teachers' beliefs and practices in relation to the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils was carried out. The rationale for using a sociocultural approach within a qualitative paradigm, along with the theoretical and analytical frameworks that were implemented in the study, has been explained in an effort to establish methodological congruence. I have sought to be as transparent as possible in the reporting of the challenges I have faced during the data gathering and analysis phases of the study. Teachers' beliefs were interconnected in complex ways and this meant that the process of analysis and subsequent writing of the findings chapters was challenging. My goal has been to provide a reflective and *trustworthy* (Mishler, 1990) account of the perspectives and practices of the teachers who took part in this study. In order to ensure clarity of exposition, two separate chapters will report on the findings of the study. Chapter 5, therefore, will offer an exploration of the themes 'Inclusion, Immersion and Isolation' and 'Language Learning Theories' for the purposes of presenting teachers' views within the analytical frameworks that have been established within this chapter.

Chapter 5 The impact of inclusive policies: isolation and exposure

Introduction

The purpose of the next two chapters is to report on the findings that were obtained from an analysis of the interviews and observations within this study. It was necessary to use both an inductive and deductive approach in order to establish an understanding of the complex data sets within the study. The use of an inductive approach allowed me to ground my interpretations of what teachers said and did within the data. This sensitized me to the ways in which teachers talked about the needs of EAL pupils and how they met these in classroom practices. At the same time, a deductive approach enabled me to interact with the debates within the literature and provided a foundation for interpreting and evaluating teachers' perspectives and practices. A number of key themes and their important sub-themes emerged from an analysis of the data:

1. Inclusion, Immersion and Isolation
 - a. Social Isolation
 - b. Cultural Isolation
 - c. Pedagogical Isolation
2. Language Learning Theories
 - a. Assumptions about Language Development
 - b. Planning and Differentiation
3. Teaching Reading and Literacies
 - a. Vocabulary and Grammar
 - b. Universal Needs in Reading
4. Shifting Identities
 - a. Teacher Identity
 - b. Teacher Professional Development

Within each of these themes mainstream English teachers, head teachers', depute head teachers' and EAL teachers' beliefs are reported. In addition, an analysis of the factors that shaped such perceptions across the various school contexts are discussed. Fine-grained analysis of the data allowed me to see that teachers' classroom practices did not consistently match with how they talked about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. The findings within this study reveal clearly that established schooling lacks the cultural repertoires that are needed to facilitate effective ways for EAL pupils to establish and maintain reading as a social practice (Schleppegrell and Colombi, 2002:12).

This chapter begins by providing teachers' accounts of the ways in which inclusive policies and an *immersion* approach impact on EAL pupils' educational experiences where they experience social, cultural and pedagogical isolation. The chapter then reports on how classroom practices and schools are limited in their ability to meet the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL because of ill-fitting policies and a lack of knowledge that recognises their distinct social and cultural needs. The chapter concludes by exploring the assumptions that underpin teachers' beliefs about language learning. Teachers' accounts highlight the presence of an acquisition metaphor that assumes EAL pupils acquire language by being exposed to meaningful input in mainstream classrooms. An exploration of classroom observations demonstrates the influence of such beliefs which resulted in a lack of differentiated planning to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils.

The Findings chapters are written in a narrative form, and key examples are inserted from the original data in order to highlight and demonstrate the beliefs that have emerged. While only fragments of data are used within the chapter to illustrate key findings, all of the excerpts that have been used to exemplify particular points have been considered within the framework of the whole interview to secure a contextualised understanding of the beliefs that teachers held. Where appropriate additional words have been inserted

inside square brackets in order to contextualise and to facilitate a better understanding of the extracts used.

Inclusion, Immersion and Isolation

The rhetoric within the policy statements outlined in chapter 1 has led to particular ways of thinking about equality and inclusive education within the Scottish school context. As noted in chapter 1, a policy of inclusion operates within Scottish education, but there are those who call into question the practicalities of these inclusive aspirations. Gee (2008) conceptualises such notions as *master myths*. According to Gee a *master myth* is an idea or an aspiration that 'is foundational [in] how we make sense of reality' (2008:51). Gee stresses that these *master myths* may not necessarily be 'an accurate reflection of that reality [and may not] lead to a just, equitable and humane world' (2008:51). The findings within this study highlight the ways in which policy as a *master myth* negatively impacts on the educational experiences of EAL pupils in Scottish schools.

In the Scottish educational context EAL has no status within the national curriculum, Curriculum for Excellence (CfE). This is similar to EAL in England, and is due to the fact that EAL 'is understood to be a teaching and learning issue' (Leung, 2001:34). As outlined in chapter one, the Scottish mainstream classroom is considered by the Scottish Government to be a pedagogical space where all pupils, including pupils learning English as an additional language, can develop the type of reading literacy that is needed to access a common curriculum. Policy guidelines emphasize:

The learning of a second, or additional language happens most effectively when the focus is not on learning language, but on learning something else through that language

(Languages for Life, 2006: 26).

The same policy document highlights how children learn language within such pedagogical spaces and claims that English as a second or additional

language develops in a way that is similar to an EAL pupil's mother-tongue i.e. through an immersion approach:

Children discover how English works through exposure to the language in meaningful contexts.... The process of acquiring English as an additional language in younger learners is broadly similar to the process involved in acquiring the first language they have learned.
(Languages for Life, 2006: 28).

Within the official discourse of policy documents, there is a general recognition that EAL pupils have language and learning needs and that these require 'certain conditions and sustained support...not unlike the conditions necessary for native speakers of English' (Languages for Life, 2006: 22). Such policy aspirations and values are commendable, but there is a distinct lack of detail in terms of the specific social, cultural and linguistic needs that EAL pupils have. Such vague policy statements assume that learning English as a second or additional language happens automatically when pupils are immersed, or placed in meaningful and supportive mainstream classroom environments.

The lack of detail within policy documents about the distinct needs of pupils learning EAL means that the kinds of knowledge that teachers need in order to meet the social, cultural, linguistic and learning needs of EAL pupils are missing. There is also a lack of specificity in terms of the language that needs to be learned so that EAL pupils can develop the skills needed to meet the reading demands of the mainstream classroom. Within such a policy vacuum, mainstream teachers have the responsibility for ensuring that EAL pupils develop the specific reading literacy skills that are required to access a wide range of reading texts. Teaching within such environments resulted in participants within this study emphasizing the isolation that EAL pupils experience when they are immersed in Scottish mainstream classrooms.

Immersion was a term that was frequently used by teachers when I visited schools en route to establishing a research design for this study and it was therefore included in the interview questions. When participants within this

study were asked how using an *immersion* approach within the context enabled them to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, I naïvely expected a variety of responses to this question rather than the message that emerged from the data. Most teachers appeared to embrace mainstreaming as a way of enacting inclusive policies for all pupils, but they did not view it as effective and were uncertain about how it was meeting needs of EAL pupils within the current educational structures.

Isolation was a key theme that emerged from the data sets, but teachers talked about this concept in different ways. The majority of teachers spoke about EAL pupils experiencing isolation socially, culturally, or pedagogically due to the lack of provision in the form of the EAL teacher. Such beliefs operated across all local authorities, despite the presence and implementation of valuable, inclusive policies that sought to prevent such experiences. Teachers seemed to draw on their understanding of the broader policy context in relation to inclusion and mainstreaming to communicate their experiences of teaching within multilingual and multicultural classrooms.

Social Isolation

Interestingly, teachers within the study associated concerns about isolation with the implementation of an ill-fitting *immersion* approach as a way to mainstream EAL pupils. There is consistency within the extracts that while teachers generally supported mainstreaming EAL pupils, there was also evidence that suggested that they did not think mainstreaming by means of an immersion approach in its current form was working. The following accounts capture teachers' collective beliefs about immersion as an approach for EAL pupils and highlight the negative connotations they associated with such an approach: *'I think it [immersion] helps. I think as a sole strategy then it's woefully inadequate'* (Mainstream Teacher 4); *'No! Has anyone ever said yes to that? You are saving money by throwing these kids in...'* (Mainstream Teacher 3);

'*thrown into*' (Mainstream Teacher 1); or '*in at the deep end*' (Mainstream Teacher 15).

Within the study, an ill-fitting immersion approach functions as a *cultural tool* that appears not only to mediate teachers' beliefs, but also the educational opportunities for EAL pupils. As previously stated, teachers aligned their perceptions about the negative effects of immersion practices as a way of mainstreaming EAL pupils with concerns about isolation in terms of the pupils' social experiences, cultural knowledge, and pedagogical opportunities. The integrated nature of how teachers talked about EAL pupils experiencing isolation was typical of most teachers within the study. The following extracts demonstrate how teachers framed these beliefs within their understanding of an immersion approach and these can be classified as typical responses from the majority of teachers within the study:

Mainstream Teacher 1: ... I think Gopa definitely does need support! Em in many ways, I mean firstly she's finding it really, really hard to integrate with other children and that's creating a lot of problems. She's not in school very much now. At the beginning of the year she attended...her attendance was great and it's really dwindled and that's because she's very unhappy in school and she's had a bit of bullying with some of the other girls. Em and she's finding...I think she's becoming more and more isolated and more and more introverted because of experiences...I do know she is getting help from a Learning Support teacher.... Well, she's doing work to support Gopa with... kind of...peers.... I don't know if she's [EAL pupil] really integrating with people. I don't think she's really speaking to people at lunch time and em I think she feels quite, almost sort of intimidated in a classroom setting, so that's probably going to hamper ... just her immersion in others' language.

The EAL pupil referred to in this extract did not receive additional support from an EAL teacher or BTA. It is noticeable that teachers often talked about EAL pupils experiencing isolation in more than one way. Mainstream Teacher 1 clearly felt that this pupil had language needs that should be addressed in order to support her educational development, but such pedagogical experiences were missing which resulted in the pupil experiencing isolation in terms of provision as well as social isolation. There was also evidence of a concern within the views of this teacher as she

highlighted the affective domain of this pupil's lack of attendance and isolation within the school setting. Despite the aims within current educational mainstreaming policies being linked to social integration and inclusion, Mainstream Teacher 1 raised concerns that some EAL pupils were not experiencing such outcomes; she linked this challenge to her belief about the effectiveness of mainstreaming by means of immersion for EAL pupils.

While Mainstream Teacher 1 foregrounded the limitations within the context she also thought that EAL pupils have a responsibility to integrate actively with other pupils. This teacher proposed that reluctance on the part of the EAL pupil hindered the '*immersion*' experience in terms of learning a language. It could be argued that the pupil is positioned in a way that suggests *she* is responsible for '*fit[ting] in*' to the existing social *norms* within the context which raises questions about the types of structured social opportunities that are in place within school and classroom environments that promote a positive transition experience for such pupils.

The social isolation of EAL pupils is a common belief across a number of teachers within the study for a variety of reasons. One teacher linked her perception of this issue to the EAL pupil being taken out of class by a BTA: '*They do one-to-one work, but I feel they are segregated from the rest of the class* (Mainstream Teacher 11). Such beliefs are clearly linked to this teachers' understanding of the implicit assumptions within policy documents that mainstreaming leads to inclusion. She perceives that any separation from the class is a non-inclusive practice. Other teachers framed their beliefs in terms of the social aspects that are linked to classroom experiences: '*When Michael makes a mistake he found that hard to deal with...he doesn't participate. They [the class] are used to it. He doesn't participate in the whole class*' (Mainstream Teacher 13); '*Serge was getting to work with others in a group, but sometimes native speakers of English make jokes and get carried along in one line of speech. Serge can be sometimes left alone...the group work gives me feedback. I assume it's good for him*' (Mainstream Teacher 15); '*Ania chooses not to speak in English. Other teachers say she was unhappy about coming to the UK*' (Mainstream Teacher 13).

Teachers appeared to have no definitive way of talking about how to meet the social needs of EAL pupils in their classes. The lack of an informed way of thinking about the social experiences of such pupils within classroom environments constrains the types of social and cultural activities that are available, and necessary for them to learn English successfully. Gee (2005) echoes such insights and recognises that language learning is a social dialogic process where people build and enact new identities. He proposes that teenagers in particular use different discourses to build socially situated identities and worlds in which they actively participate. Classroom practices are therefore key to providing appropriate social spaces where EAL pupils can engage with texts in ways that allow them to consider who they are and what they think within their new environments.

Social Isolation at a School Level

In a similar way, social isolation was a theme at a school level in some of the interviews with Head Teachers and Depute Head Teachers. They drew on the wider school context to talk about such issues. Their views also linked closely to their perceptions of an inclusive policy and the implementation of an immersion approach. From the following extract it is easy to see the tension within the stated beliefs, as this Depute feels that Polish students within this school appear to isolate themselves socially:

Depute Head Teacher 1: I mean research certainly seems to indicate that that's the most successful way of doing it is just total immersion and we try to encourage them, for example, we might get quite a few Polish people start, children starting at the same time...you're sort of swayed between do we put them in the same class to support one another, or do we put them in separate classes? Because there is a tendency sometimes for them to stick together and talk to one another in class in Polish and where in actual fact they would be better paired up with somebody whose first language is English to help them develop it. They do tend to socialize with one another, at break time, at lunch time. We don't see that quite so much with the Asian children, but the Polish children certainly seem to.

Depute Head Teacher 1's views about Polish EAL pupils '*sticking together*' revealed a limited way of viewing and thinking about the socialization processes of pupils arriving from other countries. Her comparison between pupils from different ethnic backgrounds indicate that she feels it is essential for EAL pupils to assimilate into the dominant system in order to 'fit-in' socially and achieve the main goal which was to improve their English. The use of their home language is viewed as a hindrance to social integration.

A depute head teacher foregrounded social issues as a theme, but communicated a more individual notion of his belief which appears to be based on his wider experiences within the school. Initially he spoke in very general social terms, but later his beliefs seem to capture the idea that it is important for schools to be inclusive, rather than exclusive, and to engage socially with customs and products from other cultures. His interpretation of inclusion appears to relate more to the opportunity for EAL pupils to experience a 'common curriculum' (Leung, 2005a) in the classroom, or to the notion that pupils need to assimilate into the participatory processes within the school's social scenes. Such comments highlight the lack of understanding that EAL pupils need a specific EAL language teaching pedagogy that has been successfully integrated into the mainstream curriculum (see Leung 2005a for a fuller discussion):

Depute Head Teacher 4: On the one hand they want to be like everyone else at the school and they don't necessarily want to be taken out...I suppose it comes back to a flexible approach, I think you do need immersion. You know, youngsters will learn a language not just in a classroom but learn it in the playground, they'll learn it in social scenes. I remember two years ago we had a couple of German, Swiss/German boys that were here, who knew very little English and within three, four months one's coming through the canteen door '*Whit are you doin' Saturday nicht?*' And I suppose it's a bit like some of the adverts we get about the Glasgow Pakistani family, who are talking in a broad Glaswegian accent. I have great, I'm not one ... I'm not a kind of nationalistic kind of person but I like countries to have their own culture and you know, I think in terms of their understanding and the reading, you know, people need to take that on, so it's more than just reading, it's about accepting the culture, it's art, it's music, them bringing their qualities to us too, in terms of food and whatever. So getting back to your question, I think it is a balance

between immersion, where they can cope with that ... I have a girl called Anshi, Indian girl, who gets no support in her English at all and will be one of our top students. Whereas we've got other youngsters, like Nara, who is a bright young man but needs a bit of support in terms of one to one and all we do is take him out of a subject, which isn't going to harm him at the end, it's going to help him. So it really comes back to the needs of the individual.

There is no clear framework for thinking about diversity within the extract above. Depute Head Teacher 4's beliefs seemed confused and contradictory at times throughout the interview. On the one hand, his interpretation of successful social integration was described in terms of EAL pupils adopting a Scottish accent, yet on the other hand, he recognised that pupils from other cultural backgrounds bring something of value to the school. His confused views linked issues relating to reading literacy and an immersion approach; his tensions lay between supporting an inclusive policy and in trying to meet the individual needs of EAL pupils by extracting them from certain subjects. He appears to recognise that being immersed in a mainstream classroom for some EAL pupils is challenging and that it depends on what they are able to 'cope' with before decisions to extract them are implemented. Such perceptions positioned EAL pupils as being responsible for their development in English so that they could succeed in the mainstream classroom, rather than the emphasis being placed on a need for the ethos in the school or classroom context to change in order to foster a more critical multicultural experience for all pupils.

Awareness of how an immersion approach not only impacts on educational integration, but on a pupil's social experiences was also echoed in Head Teacher 1's understanding of the challenge:

Head Teacher 1: I think it must be really scary for the youngsters...we ask a heck of a lot from these young people...the reality is eh...the social integration is just as important as the educational integration

Later in the interview Head Teacher 1 linked such notions to social isolation by referring to an issue that was termed as being problematic within his

school. He talked about the school having '*periods of tension*' (Head Teacher 1) between particular minority groups and the '*core*' student group. His beliefs communicated a limited way of thinking about diversity as he noted that within the school, social integration: '*became more of an issue as the Muslim group increased in size and as a result they tended to associate with each other*' (Head Teacher 1). Such beliefs align with those of Depute Head Teacher 1 who, it will be recalled, noted above: '*They [Polish pupils] do tend to socialize with one another*' and considered this as problematic to their social integration and language development.

Notions of assimilation into the dominant culture appear to inform Head Teacher 1's beliefs and can be interpreted as problematic within schools that serve linguistically and culturally diverse communities. His beliefs framed the social isolation between certain ethnic groups as a school-wide challenge that required '*a fair bit of intervention*' (Head Teacher 1). A significant part of this Head Teacher's interview focused on social and cultural differences within the Muslim community. He refers to these pupils as Muslims rather than by making any distinctions in relation to ethnicity or language. He perceived that Muslim pupils needed to develop confidence before they feel able to come and speak to him directly due to the hierarchical relationships that were embedded within their family systems. He also drew attention to the need for those in the Muslim community to feel valued and for the school to establish the kind of relationship with them that allows them to talk about issues associated with the social isolation that they often experience. However, his use of the term '*core*', when referring to pupils who speak English as a mother-tongue, positions those from other linguistic backgrounds as '*non-core*' or as cultural or linguistic '*others*'. Mainstreaming EAL pupils within an educational context where policy is ill-defined and non-specific appears to mediate the available ways teachers are able to think about such important issues within school contexts and the need for more effective links to the wider community.

What is clearly evident within the data presented above is that the theme of social isolation operated at a classroom level within the excerpts from

teachers, and at a wider school level, which was expressed in a different way in the accounts of head teachers and depute head teachers. As individuals these teachers have varying roles and responsibilities, but there appeared to be no common or coherent understanding of what should be done. It is important to remember that EAL pupils are not a homogeneous group nor a 'single...nonethnic one' (Garcia, 2002:103) yet, they were often positioned as linguistic or cultural 'others' by the participants in the study.

The following section considers teachers' beliefs about social isolation beyond the classroom where an EAL teacher also draws attention to such issues within her experiences as she works within schools across a local authority. A limited number of EAL teachers took part in the study, which is a finding in itself, as very few EAL teachers worked within two of the local authorities within the study (see chapter 3). However, it is interesting to capture how the theme of isolation impacts on the experiences and constraints of EAL teachers who work within smaller local authorities.

EAL Teachers' Experiences

EAL teacher 2 situated her beliefs and experiences within the wider local authority community and established how the school and local authority structures associated with provision can be guilty of engaging in practices that socially isolate EAL pupils. She communicated her views about such isolation as she discussed the ESOL exam that was, and is available for EAL pupils at Higher and Intermediate 1 and 2 levels. Other interview data with mainstream teachers evidenced that the ESOL exams are not viewed as having the same status as other subjects. It is therefore not considered to be economically viable to run classes for the ESOL exam in schools where class sizes would be too small. Because of such constraints, EAL Teacher 1 within Local Authority 1 tried to arrange classes that would enable EAL pupils to prepare outside of their school time for the ESOL exam. EAL Teacher 2's account of her attempts to arrange such opportunities for EAL pupils

reflected her beliefs about the social, and at the same time, educational challenges that such constraints presented:

EAL Teacher 2: You're unlikely in a school like this to have more than one or two students every year who would be taking the subject [ESOL exam] up and you don't offer subjects for one or two students. It's not economically viable. EAL Teacher 1 tried to do a Lakeside High School and Riverside High School course, to get the ones from Lakeside High School bussed, bussing down to Riverside High School. But the problems of changing your school and location are ... for young people are tremendous. They are not welcomed outwith their local areas and they just find it really difficult. So it didn't work.

In this account, EAL Teacher 2 uses the phrase, '*they are not welcomed outwith their own areas and they just find it really difficult*' as a way to highlight issues related to provision and equality to describe the social difficulties EAL pupils might face within a smaller local authority. Provision in this context seems to limit socially what is possible in terms of pupils being received in schools within other areas. While policy has made provision for EAL pupils in the form of ESOL exams, schools do not have the manpower or financial resources to be able to make them accessible for every pupil. It seems that the lack of flexibility in terms of travel within and across local authorities restricted EAL pupils from being received by other schools and at the same time limited the educational opportunities of such pupils. It would appear that there are differences within the 'culture' of some schools and the practices within smaller local authorities that appear to restrict certain provisions being made fully accessible to pupils. This is also recognised within the adult ESOL community where ESOL teachers note that denying access to such resources within the school and the wider community is a fundamental barrier to learning for EAL pupils (ESOL Manifesto, 2012:4).

Garcia (2002) stresses the need for education systems to think about social issues carefully and this can be applied to the Scottish context. She reports that within the United States minority status may lead to considerable variability in socialization experiences. She claims:

Enlightened understanding of diverse student cultures cannot be founded on the Americanization strategy of taking all who are not 'American' and making them 'American'. We will gain a clearer picture of the future for culturally diverse students...if we set aside issues of Americanization and instead concentrate on examining the nature of social variables and their relationship both to 'cultural differences' and to educational practices and outcomes
(Garcia, 2002:141).

Throughout the study, teachers communicated other collective beliefs that drew attention to EAL pupils' experiences of cultural isolation.

Cultural Isolation

Teachers within the study talked about EAL pupils experiencing cultural isolation in various ways while being immersed in mainstream lessons. Mainstream English teachers discussed notions of cultural isolation as they focused on the reading literacy needs that EAL pupils had when they faced the reading demands of the mainstream classroom. The following accounts exemplify such findings:

Mainstream Teacher 2: We did First World War poetry and for most of the class, you know, they'd all heard about the First World War but I suppose a lot of it's cultural as well, so he [EAL pupil] didn't know anything about it really and China's involvement. Also we studied capital punishment and obviously China have got a really poor human rights record, so that was a bit of a kind of ... a bit of a touchy subject. And then we looked at some work by Bernard McClaverty and he's [EAL pupil] not really aware of the trouble in Northern Ireland. So I think sometimes it's really the kind of cultural background information and that ties in, I suppose with the vocabulary

In a similar manner to many other teachers in the study, Mainstream Teacher 2 was aware of some of the ways in which EAL pupils are culturally isolated when faced with some English texts that are used in the classroom. This teacher gives an empathetic account as she describes the cultural knowledge that is required for an appropriate understanding of specific texts. When EAL pupils are *immersed* in mainstream classrooms, where closely supported

and EAL-minded practices are limited or missing, they may not be able to access the cultural nuances and appropriate frames of reference that are often embedded within lessons and texts.

In Scottish secondary schools the close reading exam requires students to demonstrate their understanding of main points, to analyse how language or literary techniques generate specific meaning within the text, and to evaluate the effectiveness of the text by demonstrating an awareness of the writer's purpose (SQA, 2012). The extracts below capture how other teachers within the study have referred to the cultural challenges that EAL pupils face when they are asked to read short reading texts:

Mainstream Teacher 10: Car boot sales, that's one of them and I thought ... I remember doing it with a class and thinking 'Do some of these kids understand what a car boot sale is?' they've probably never seen one, so there are challenges there in terms of cultural differences and being able to ...

Such insights into the beliefs that teachers hold align with Kern's (2000) emphasis on the view that reading literacy events are 'not a matter of transmitting 'authorized' knowledge to students (what Freire (1974) calls the 'banking' concept of education). Rather, teaching must always begin with the students' own lives and culture' (Kern, 2000:36). A review of the literature in chapter two highlights how cultural knowledge and understanding are situated in homes and communities (Gee, 2008) and these insights are reflected within the extracts above.

Mainstream Teacher 5 identifies similar challenges when reading events focus on much longer texts. It is easy to see how working in this changing classroom context has shaped her response. Elements of reflective practice are evident as she discusses the impact that some classroom texts have on a student population that is no longer monocultural:

Mainstream Teacher 5: We did 'Ship of Ghosts', which was quite suitable. But I do sometimes wonder what on earth do the EAL children make of this? I sometimes think they must just be totally lost

because you know, even there's a kind of cultural ... there's a culture based on 'Ship of Ghosts', you know it's about pirates and you don't know what culturally what connection do Polish [children] have with pirates because Poland's a landlocked country for a start. Isn't it?...Em so sometimes I do...it's not all about language; sometimes it's about cultural contextualisation.

Researcher: Do they ever share what it's like from their perspective, in their country when you're talking about a book?

Mainstream Teacher 5: I don't think I've ever invited it, to be quite honest

Mainstream Teacher 5 reflected well on her own classroom practices and choice of text. What is interesting is that while she recognised that some pupils were excluded from understanding the cultural elements within some texts, she had not considered inviting contributions that were different from the dominant cultural perspectives that were within the class. For EAL pupils to achieve an understanding of a text, they must be able to gain access to the range of cultural perspectives and expectations that the writer may hold; additionally, they need to secure an understanding of how such perspectives and expectations can be communicated through varieties of language in use. In a critical multicultural reading pedagogy teachers regularly 'teach concepts through two or more groups' viewpoints and experiences...the central concept [would therefore be] developed through multiple sociocultural groups' knowledge' (Grant and Sleeter, 2011:186). Like most other teachers in the study, Mainstream Teacher 5 stressed the need for more support to be given to her so that she could meet the needs of EAL pupils more effectively; this was a recurring theme that is discussed in detail in the section *Shifting Identities* in the following chapter. Such clearly articulated accounts raise questions about how existing pedagogies can be transformed to include the experiences of diverse groups of learners.

EAL Teachers' Insights Concerning Cultural Isolation

In a similar way to mainstream English teachers', EAL teachers also gave prominence to the concept of cultural isolation. What is noteworthy is that

the role of the EAL teacher operated across a range of different schools within a specific local authority compared to mainstream teachers as they considered the experiences of EAL pupils. An example of cultural isolation related to reading texts is illustrated in the accounts below:

EAL Teacher 2: Oh-when Fang Yi did the one [close reading text] on Who Flung Dung, we were just both almost legless with laughter because he couldn't understand about this racism business at all! He says 'But these people were Japanese, why did they think they were Chinese?' I said 'Because we're too thick to tell the difference!' He said 'Who Flung Dung, that's not Chinese!' 'No, I know it's not Chinese but they thought it sounded like Chinese!' Oh no, I couldn't get that at all.

EAL Teacher 5: or if there's a subject matter that is just alien to them- But I do feel for the ones who get-they had an English passage in one of the-was it Higher? Oh a few years ago, a really bright girl who could not get her Higher English, em and there were an awful lot of cultural references from the seventies in the passage; she just couldn't, she couldn't access it at all. There was nothing she could do. She just couldn't-whereas native, you know, people who were born and brought up and have never lived anywhere else, might be thinking em I don't know, Fools and Horses, and flares and you know what I mean? The Robin Reliant. They might be able to access all of that, whereas this girl was brought up in Iran, had no idea! No idea at all. So you know-and that's really the difficulty they would have with literacy, it's accessing the content of it.

The views that EAL teachers communicated link to what Wallace (2003) refers to as the social role of the reader. Wallace (2003) asserts that specific cultural characteristics within a text can isolate or marginalise a reader and therefore impact on the quality of their interaction with the text. She captures such experiences well by acknowledging the challenges that EAL pupils face if they 'are not part of the writer's imagined readership, the effect is of eavesdropping on a dialogue between the writers and their readership' (Wallace, 2003:16). This also aligns with Rosenblatt's (1969) *transactional model* in which she acknowledges the act of reading as a social event where meaning is evoked through the interactional processes that take place between the reader and the text. Within mainstream Scottish classrooms gaining an understanding of such culturally embedded meanings within texts has implications for teaching practices. Gaining access to the texts used

in classrooms requires all teachers to implement a culturally sensitive pedagogy that enables the reader to move from being a 'cultural outsider' to a 'culturally 'inside' reader' (Kern, 2000:94, 95). Policies therefore need to reflect a multidimensional critical literacy approach to text and classroom practices in order to secure inclusive and equitable reading experiences for such pupils.

Variations of commonly held views relating to cultural isolation were expressed in different ways as EAL Teachers considered the experiences of EAL pupils across the wider school context.

EAL Teacher 1: ... there's a lot of things that even you have to explain to them about Red Nose Day and this Dressing Up Days and they all turn up in their school uniform because ... you know and everybody else is in different clothes; and to try to help to avoid them being embarrassed or not understanding what's going on.

EAL Teacher 1's perceptions outlined above are sensitive to the well-being of the EAL pupil within the school context as a whole. She recognised that inclusion within the school context is not only related to accessing academic content within the curriculum, but includes other social aspects related to how to participate in the events within the school community.

It is important that a supportive and sensitized school climate is established that enables EAL pupils to become active participants within the ongoing cultural events that operate across the wider school context.

Perceptions of Cultural Isolation at a School Level

As head teachers and depute head teachers within the study talked about the activities that took place in the wider school, it was easy to see a contrast in how cultural isolation was framed. Head teachers and depute head teachers gave accounts that suggested certain minority groups within the school were culturally included. Despite this contrast, it was apparent that there was

continued confusion within the stated beliefs about how to talk about the cultural practices and customs of pupils from non-Scottish/British cultural and linguistic backgrounds. Head Teacher 1 in the extract below identifies some pupils in terms of their religious affiliation rather than their ethnic or racial heritage. Despite this, he talked about his leadership practices seeking to establish a broader cultural consciousness and inclusion across the school by celebrating festivals and by opening the school premises to evening classes for Arabic speaking pupils. He noted:

Head Teacher 1: Over the time I've been here we've continued to support a Saudi Evening School. So we have the confidence of the Arab Speaking Community, that we are proactively looking to support them. Some schools have either directly or indirectly put up barriers to that type of involvement. You will know that we are looking specifically at supporting the youngsters through Ramadan and through the celebrating [unclear] in having a party, which is attended by both the Muslim speaking youngsters and also their non-Muslim friends.

Depute Head Teacher 1 also shows conflict in her beliefs about how to engage or support various cultures within School 5:

Depute Head Teacher 1: I mean part of the problem is we've got so many languages that we speak here. I mean apart from the resources that I've seen in places like Home Economics, where they've had key words translated, I don't think we do and I think the reason for that is because I think immersion is probably-we've got Polish-you know they use-we've got dictionaries that they obviously they use in their own language but I think by providing them with resources in their own language we might be encouraging them-or discouraging them to learn English. I mean we may have some books in the Library, I'm not sure but it's certainly not sort of policy in the school to do that. But we've got a large number of Asian pupils here and we do-we run things like Ramadan Clubs and provide them with opportunities to pray during Ramadan and there's often assemblies or you know, there's a lot of cultural things are done, although it's not specifically in their language.

What is interesting in this excerpt is that when Depute Head Teacher 1 was asked if the school had multilingual resources that EAL pupils could draw upon, she drew attention to what she believed was the effectiveness of EAL Teacher 4's advice to the Home Economics teacher to translate key words for

pupils with a Polish linguistic background. However, conflict can be discerned within her account as she notes her uncertainty about whether resources in the EAL pupils' L1 could be a barrier to learning English. On the one hand, she seems to conceptualise the linguistic diversity within the school as a '*problem*', yet on the other hand, in a similar way to Head Teacher 1, she notes the importance of celebrating religious festivals across the school for EAL pupils who are Muslims. She appears to have limited options for thinking about EAL and multicultural issues.

As outlined in chapter one, the societal change to the pupil population within Scottish school contexts means that classrooms have become 'cross-cultural meeting sites' (Grant and Sleeter, 2011:134). It is noteworthy that all Head Teachers and Depute Head Teachers within the study communicated their beliefs about the importance of promoting cultural diversity as a whole school approach. However, as acknowledged by May and Sleeter, such practices are often benevolent attempts that simply 'recognize and celebrate differences' rather than ones that operate from an informed understanding of how to analyse 'the role of institutionalized inequities' that are present within the wider school and classroom contexts (May and Sleeter, 2010:10). This is particularly relevant as EAL pupils attempt to access the cultural and linguistic demands of the mainstream classroom (May and Sleeter, 2010:10). While head teachers and depute head teachers seek to provide culturally inclusive contexts, specific knowledge about how to envision and establish the wider school environment as a 'cross-cultural meeting site' (Grant and Sleeter, 2011:134) is missing within the data. It would appear that a more informed and cohesive policy framework is needed in order to provide effective social, cultural and pedagogical mainstreaming contexts for EAL pupils. Such a framework would constitute an appropriate mediational means to shape the views and practices of all teachers across the school.

Pedagogical Isolation

As discussed within chapter 2, policy statements clearly specify that EAL pupils are entitled to support in the form of an EAL teacher or bilingual support in order to help them succeed in the mainstream classroom.

However, teachers' accounts stressed that they did not see the EAL teacher on a consistent basis and that this lack of support within a mainstream, immersion context resulted in EAL pupils experiencing isolation in terms of provision.

It is clear to see the commonality of issues operating across all of the schools and local authorities that were linked to the provision of an EAL teacher. The majority of teachers reported that they did not work on a consistent basis with the EAL teacher and stated: '*Well obviously I'd like to see her more often ...she's very pushed for time...*' (Mainstream Teacher 3), '*Em I've had a quick chat with the lady... I'm going to be really ignorant because I can't remember her name*' (Mainstream Teacher 1), '*She's eh, she has a very limited amount of time within the school, one period a week*' (Mainstream Teacher 12), '*When she's here she is very helpful*' (Mainstream Teacher 16), '*I've had close working relationships with some and others not, I do find it's quite personnel dependent*' (Mainstream Teacher 5), '*I have ... personally I have a period on a Tuesday with my Third Year*' (Mainstream Teacher 6), '*Just the time that's allowed for these people to come in is just not enough*' (Mainstream Teacher 7), '*I don't get the opportunity to work with EAL Teacher 3 as much as I'd like*' (Mainstream Teacher 11).

Mainstream English teachers throughout the study freely communicated the shared view that *immersion* as an approach in its current form is inadequate. Their espoused beliefs on such matters were associated not only with the needs of EAL pupils, but also with their own sense of need as they sought to provide effective classroom practices. Within the Scottish context, from a policy and local authority perspective, the role of the EAL specialist functioned as a support person for EAL pupils and classroom teachers. However, the presence of this role was limited and far from ideal. Again it is clear from teachers' accounts that the lack of such provision meant that

informed ways of thinking about linguistic and cultural differences were missing; such a lack appears to have impacted on teachers' beliefs and their depth of knowledge about what is needed to ensure the success of EAL pupils within the mainstream classroom.

It is interesting to note that Mainstream Teacher 4 had a more individual notion of this shared belief and felt that she had a close working relationship from time to time with EAL Teacher 3. While there appeared to be specific times where they made a conscious effort to plan lessons, the shared perspective that time was limited or fragmented was also evident within her account as the interview progressed. The excerpt below gives insight into such perceptions:

Researcher: How closely would you say you worked with the EAL Teacher?

Mainstream Teacher 4: Very closely...So we made an effort to get together, to plan collaboratively. We do that for classes that she works with of mine but also we've decided this year, that we would like to create a unit of work for teaching Standard Grade Close Reading, to support all students but mainly to support bilingual learners.

Researcher: Does she support the class that I'm going to see?

Mainstream Teacher 4: She doesn't support them. She did in Third Year, I think once a week but now in Fourth Year not at all. But I do get Urdu bilingual support system once a week for one period out of five, to support one particular girl; and I also have em ... it's a bottom set class so I have a learning Support Teacher with me at all times but he's not an EAL specialist... it's really trying to find opportunities to have that dialogue and it doesn't always happen if I'm honest.

Mainstream Teacher 4's account is typical within the study as all teachers noted that the support that was available within the classroom was often time limited to one period a week and support that was available more frequently was in the form of TAs who did not have EAL specialist training.

Mainstream Teacher 5 communicated a more individual notion of these shared perspectives relating to local authority provision of EAL teachers. She had particularly strong feelings throughout the interview about her

experiences of teaching within a context that implements immersion as a mainstreaming approach for meeting the needs of EAL pupils. While it is evident that Mainstream Teacher 5 believed that immersion in its current form was inadequate, she reported what might be considered as a more individual stance on this shared belief. Only one other teacher within the study (Mainstream Teacher 6) demonstrated a similar perspective on this collective matter. Mainstream Teacher 5's excerpt neatly captures both of these teachers' positions by stating that the support available from the local authority in the form of the EAL teacher would be better channelled to develop the expertise of the mainstream teacher if the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils were to be met:

Mainstream Teacher 5: I don't really understand what's to be gained by an external teacher coming in for like three Mondays in a row. I don't know how that makes any difference to what I'm giving them. It may, for those three periods, help them, but I don't for a minute think that there's a long-term gain. I can't imagine that they are dispensing some words of wisdom in those three periods that are coming to transform that child's performance. It might be better if those words of wisdom were actually given to me because then I could reinforce them from like constantly. So I think sometimes, you know, the EAL teacher is often sharing their expertise with the child, not the teacher. Actually, the teacher is where the longer-term gain would be em felt.

Both Mainstream Teacher 5 and Mainstream Teacher 6 believed that because provision in the form of an EAL teacher is patchy, it would be better for the EAL teacher to share their expertise with mainstream teachers as a way of meeting the needs of EAL on a more consistent basis. What is interesting about these more individual positions is that they see the EAL teacher as the one who has an important and empowering role in how the needs of EAL pupils are met. Such beliefs indicate a sense of agency from both of these teachers where the lack of adequate provision within the context in the form of the EAL teacher has fuelled in them an understanding that the expertise would be better given to them in order to allow better inclusive educational experiences for EAL pupils. While both of these teachers recognised that EAL teachers had constraints on their time and were unable to develop close working relationships with mainstream teachers, they perceived that the

time available for them to come into the school would be better spent empowering and developing the mainstream teachers. These perspectives are consonant with the main thrust of the findings of the study that broadening the scope of mainstream English teacher knowledge would result in better and more effective teaching and learning opportunities for teachers and pupils.

Limited Opportunities for Provision

EAL teachers also perceived a lack of provision within the local authorities. They noted that the lack of funding and resources constrained how they were able to meet the needs within their local school contexts:

EAL Teacher 3: Our support with the growing numbers of bilingual learners in the city and not having the corresponding increase in resources means that our approach is becoming 'more strategic' I suppose you could say.

EAL teachers reported that they are being forced to consider how to provide '*more strategic*' pedagogical support for EAL pupils across the various local authorities. In particular, Local Authority 2 had made a decision at the time of the study to adopt a consultancy role rather than go into the class to support EAL pupils. Schools then had to take responsibility and opt-in to such structures of provision rather than the EAL service trying to cover a large number of pupils over a wide range of schools with the limited resources that were available. In contrast, the other two local authorities continued to provide one-to-one tutorial support or in-class support as the number of EAL pupils was smaller.

A different form of pedagogical isolation is referred to by EAL teachers within the study. Some schools make their own decisions about meeting the varying needs of EAL pupils by sending them to units or withdrawing them frequently where pupils experience isolation from the mainstream curricular context. While standard practice was mainstreaming, there were exceptions to this:

EAL Teacher 4: Some practice has been where children have been sent to a unit, you know, for six weeks and in fact that's actually illegal to do that but, you know, there have been incidences of where schools have done that and the child is learning in isolation and if you like there isn't a context for that child, you know, other than being in with another child with the same language.

The funding constraints across local authorities result in a variety of practices being implemented within multilingual school contexts. EAL teacher accounts highlight how some mainstream teachers' beliefs are still rooted in practices and notions of learning English as an additional language that stem from the 1980s (Bourne, 1989). EAL teachers within the study reported that secondary mainstream teachers' expectations are to *'take them out and fix them and give us them back'* (EAL Teacher 2). Such pedagogical notions and practices in terms of support are situated within changing contexts where there is a continual lack of resources in the form of EAL teachers and finances to provide consistent support.

School-wide Perspectives about Provision

Head teachers and depute head teachers within the study also referred to the limited options for EAL provision for EAL pupils:

Depute Head Teacher 4: We've got nineteen youngsters that are identified as being bilingual but only five are ... would work with EAL Teacher 2, basically because of ... well the reasons behind that are the amount of time that's available to the school and we also need to prioritise because you know, if we've got youngsters that are able to cope with their level of English to start off with, then we're not going to make a referral for them.

Depute Head Teacher 2: Frustration is often felt by staff as pupils arrive with no English. The students are then left to sink or swim

The word *'cope'* was a frequently used word within participants' accounts when they referred to EAL pupils' experiences of being immersed in mainstream classrooms. The term has connotations linked to those of immersion where pupils are either learning to *'sink or swim'* i.e. the agency is

firmly with the EAL pupil. In a similar way to the EAL teachers, head teachers and deputies are working within local authority constraints and the impact of such constraints on the educational experiences of EAL pupils would seem to be significant.

The excerpts above demonstrate that most teachers have similar notions about an *immersion* approach, which is linked to a policy of inclusion, as being only partially effective within current educational structures and practices. Relationships with EAL teachers range from being reported as helpful, tokenistic, and inconsistent to completely non-existent. These views do not appear to be related to the size of the local authority. It is therefore fair to say that tensions and contradictions within teachers' beliefs in the various contexts are mediated in part by the interpretation of what policy requires, the provision of EAL teachers from the local authority, and teachers' own perceptions of the experiences they have with EAL pupils within their classrooms. Such interpretations of the interview data are supported when considered in the light of the observation data.

Classroom Practices

It is also clear within the observation data sets that the policy context impacted on teachers' beliefs and practices. In a way that is similar to the interview study, the observations and post-interviews revealed the ways in which notions of an *immersion* approach and other practices operating within the context influenced *how* the needs of EAL pupils were met. The observation of classes revealed an *ad hoc* approach to the provision and support for EAL pupils as they were immersed in mainstream classrooms across the various schools in the study. There seemed to be no systematic or coherent framework for providing EAL support or for placing EAL pupils in particular sets or classes. Schools appeared to make decisions about placing EAL pupils based on numerous factors such as: the rationale that the bottom-set classes use word banks and work at a slower pace, or that bottom set classes are smaller so the teacher can get around to talk to everybody, or that

top set classes provide good language models; or that particular resources were available, or not.

The majority of classroom observations aligned with the stated beliefs of teachers within the study and revealed the social, cultural and pedagogical isolation for EAL pupils. None of the lessons that were observed exemplified collaborative teaching partnerships between the mainstream English teacher and the EAL teacher or BTA. All pupils were *submersed* in mainstream lessons without specialist EAL teacher support and only a few lessons comprised 20-30 minutes of individual or small group support from bilingual support assistants or Support for Learning Teaching Assistants. Decisions were made by schools and teachers based on the resources that were available.

During a post-observation interview with Mainstream Teacher 4, pedagogical isolation was referred to as she discussed the lack of EAL teacher provision when there was a large number of EAL pupils. During the post-interview I asked why the EAL pupils within her class had been placed in an Access¹ class as there were four who were put into this bottom-set Access class with no hope of sitting exams that would provide academic opportunities for them outside of the school context. Within this particular school [School 3], I observed a bottom set S1 class that had twelve pupils in total; nine of these were EAL pupils. Placing EAL pupils in bottom sets seemed to be common practice within this school. Mainstream Teacher 4 confirmed:

Mainstream Teacher 4: We don't automatically put EAL pupils in a supported or bottom set...we make a distinction between EAL and bilingual because of resources... Often EAL pupils are put into supported classes [bottom sets] because they will use word banks as a practice. Those whom we term EAL pupils don't have adequate language to access the curriculum, but they only have access to an

¹ Access 1, 2 and 3 are a suite of units within the Scottish national qualifications framework and are designed to help secondary pupils who have moderate to severe learning difficulties gain access to qualifications. These often replace the Standard Grade exams that pupils take at the end of S4.

EAL teacher two periods a week. We have had to put a bid in for extra support [to EAL Services] to ask for an EAL teacher as there are only two EAL teachers, one is bilingual [Urdu speaker], and one Polish BTA, when there are approximately 80 EAL pupils.
(Mainstream Teacher 4, post-interview).

The practice of mainstreaming had shaped practice in School 3 in terms of providing EAL pupils with equal opportunities and the right to attend the mainstream classroom, but the frequent placement of such pupils into bottom sets and the lack of consistent support from an EAL teacher appeared to disadvantage them. This school's practices were common across all local authorities and schools. It is important to consider Garcia's perspective that despite schools holding values associated with equal opportunity, practice often reveals that in many contexts policies that acknowledge equity and pluralism do not address the cultural and linguistic challenges of diversity (2002:99).

Socially, the majority of EAL pupils, with the exception of a few, were passive within the mainstream classroom and seemed reluctant to take part in any whole class discussions. The few who did participate orally could be classified as having more advanced English language proficiency levels and were referred to by their teachers as the few '*success stories*', or pupils who were more extroverted than the majority of others and had made friends successfully. Within the study many teachers noted that they felt accent and racial differences were some of the reasons they believed EAL pupils did not want to participate orally or were isolated within the classroom. The following teacher's account during a post-observation interview was a response to my own observations that the EAL pupil had been very quiet and did not participate during either of the reading literacy lessons that I observed. She linked this lack of participation to his previous social experiences within the school:

They made fun of him [the EAL pupil] in 3rd year. He picked up a dialect and they made fun of his accent. There was a Jamaican girl last year, they laughed at her too. I told them about someone who had a Chinese takeaway and choked on a bone. The Scottish students said it

was Fang Yi's fault – they were trying to be funny! Fang Yi said, 'I'm sorry!' in a facetious way, instead of getting upset. But he's a year older. He was put back a year. They put him into 2nd year and he doesn't integrate with them

(Mainstream Teacher 2, post-interview).

School 1 chose to hold this student back and put him in a year lower than was appropriate for his age. Such structural attempts to meet the language needs of Fang Yi appeared to isolate him socially from the rest of his class.

The classroom observations also established the cultural isolation that teachers communicated in their beliefs during the initial interviews. Many of the reading literacy events shared common practices where pupils took turns reading aloud around the class. Words that may be unknown, or important to an understanding of the text, were discussed orally. Few lessons implemented group work or differentiated practices and there were many instances across the observation data where the cultural references within the text e.g. '*brim of the pith helmet*', or the related classroom discussions e.g. '*Margaret Thatcher and line-dancing*' were challenging. Excerpts from the observation data exemplify such cultural challenges:

Extract from a text being read aloud: 'A look of shocked injury crossed Berkshire's face. And his eyes under the brim of the pith helmet were darker than the Ganges river.'

(Mainstream Teacher 16, Observation 1).

Mainstream Teacher 11: If I say the word hell what image appears in your head?

Pupil: Margaret Thatcher

Mainstream Teacher 11: ...Now they are going to do something cool like watching Kevin's parents do line-dancing...

(Mainstream Teacher 11, Observation 1).

Two other teachers drew on an expanded notion of *reading text* and moved beyond a more traditional understanding of text as something that involves reading print to one that includes a variety of written and spoken texts that are reflected within society. Kern concludes that these might include 'advertisements, political speeches, letters, films, newspaper and magazine articles, music videos, etc' (2000:6). Within these classes reading was a

meaning-making event using a variety of different genres and modalities to engage pupils. Pupils were therefore required to use visual, oral and aural processing skills to analyse the text; increased cognitive demands were placed on pupils when the visual reading of such texts did not match the aural sounds that were heard. The process of engaging with such texts not only placed cognitive demands on EAL pupils, but their content also often included cultural demands. Examples of cultural isolation were evident within the data from one of these reading events, where EAL pupils were not included in a discussion about the symbolism related to colours, e.g. 'Yellow belly', which may have different connotations for other cultures, or where cultural references such as '*lilo*' were used:

Mainstream Teacher 9: We'll look in detail about how the director build up the scene...What colour is the lilo, his mother's hat?

Pupil: Yellow

Mainstream Teacher 9: What does yellow symbolize?

Pupil: Yellow belly

The account of the reading practices observed indicates that many classroom contexts are limited in their scope to meet the needs of EAL pupils effectively during the reading process. While there is some recognition within the interview data sets that EAL pupils who enter schools have diverse social and cultural backgrounds, there seems to be insufficient recognition or knowledge of how this impacts on the reading process as pupils interact with classroom texts. Reading practices appear to conceptualise the class as culturally homogeneous where assumptions are made that all pupils will interpret cultural features within a text in a similar way.

Language Learning Theories

Another theme that emerged from the data was linked to notions of how a second or additional language develops. This is closely tied to the preceding finding within theme 1 where policy highlighted that simple exposure to English in meaningful contexts facilitates the acquisition process; such views

have shaped teachers' beliefs and practices about how English as a second or additional language is developed. An analysis of the data highlighted that there was conflict within teachers' perceptions as they talked about the ways EAL pupils were expected to 'pick-up' the language necessary for participating in reading events by being immersed within mainstream classrooms. However, despite tensions within their espoused beliefs, practice had limited options as teachers unconsciously implemented the assumptions that underpinned the assimilatory practices of an immersion approach.

A close analysis of the data allowed an identification of certain lexical and semantic relationships that indicate the presence of shared beliefs about the process of developing a second or additional language. Within the data it is easy to see the integrated nature (Woods, 1996) of the positions that teachers hold as they link concepts related to second language acquisition to their experiences and the active beliefs operating within their teaching contexts. Teachers within this study used language in a particular way to place value or significance upon certain concepts or notions that they held about the language acquisition process. Certain linguistic expressions point to the presence of an active shared belief that EAL pupils simply acquire or *pick up* English as an additional language. These shared beliefs were often linked to the acquisition metaphor that is associated with an immersion approach.

Many teachers provided similar accounts to the examples outlined below to describe their perceptions about how EAL pupils develop language while being immersed in a mainstream classroom. Examples such as, *'I mean the brutal truth is that for most of these kids it's a sink or swim... ones that em do well just learn to swim... they develop social strategies that allow them to survive'* (Mainstream Teacher 14); *'he's bright and he's picked up things quickly'* (Mainstream Teacher 2); *'the advice I got was that he would be learning by osmosis'* (Mainstream Teacher 16); *'dropping them in at the deep end and expecting them to swim...foreign language pupils would mimic the good practice and clear writing of the bright young pupils'* (Mainstream Teacher 15); *'they are going to need different kinds of support and different kinds of ways to pick up'* (Mainstream Teacher 13); *'There is maybe a point reached where they can't kind*

of absorb any more' (Mainstream Teacher 7). These metaphors were widely shared across every local authority within the study. Other mainstream teachers communicated similar notions of pupils developing reading literacy without structured linguistic input, albeit without employing such metaphors. Mainstream Teacher 9 captures this well by stating: *'I would just be hoping that their comprehension would just become as good as any native speaker'*. All mainstream teachers within the study believed that EAL pupils within the current system are expected to *'just learn'* the language needed to read text successfully. When teachers talked about the development of language within mainstream contexts they spoke in ways that positioned the EAL pupil as independent and as an individual who is responsible for acquiring the language needed to *'survive'* or *'cope'* within the classroom.

More individual notions of this shared belief operating within the context about language development can be seen in Mainstream Teacher 6's account. Uncertainty about the effectiveness of such practices surfaced as his interview continued and he grappled with the notion of whether a more language-focused pedagogy was needed:

Mainstream Teacher 6: ...I mean the connotations of immersion, em, which can be very positive, but I also think that you know, it also suggests that if you're immersed for a very long time you know if... can be fatal. So I can understand in some sense the theory behind it and I think it is amazing how much [language] they do *pick up*, em people do *pick up*, but I don't know whether that the entire answer or whether there should, alongside that be... some more structured input.

In addition to this, other more individual notions of the collective views about second language acquisition were evident as other mainstream English teachers reported that EAL pupils are encouraged to draw upon their home language in order to make sense of the language used in classroom texts. There was no sense of teachers having an understanding of the differences between languages and how this might impact on cross-linguistic transfer as pupils attempted to comprehend the linguistic choices made by the writer. Despite the recognition that an EAL pupil's home language is a resource when learning a second or additional language, Mainstream Teacher 3 still

alluded to the notion that the *child's brain* automatically acquires the language that is needed to access the curriculum:

Mainstream Teacher 3: what she is encouraged to do is to translate into her own language ... so if she's translating then she's relating it to an existing language. I mean I would say it's kind of a bit of both, isn't it? Like I suppose when a child's learning a language they're hearing new words around them and their brain's learning it. So I suppose Martha is doing that, probably more with like informal words that she hears the kids using, you know expressions that are repeated, she's going to pick up on things the kids say in the classroom,

Mainstream Teacher 3 above also noted differences between formal and informal language as she recognized that EAL pupils often '*pick up*' language expressions used in every day talk in the classroom. This aligns with Cummins' (1984) dichotomy (basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP)) that differentiates between different types of language use and proficiency as outlined in the Literature Review (Leung, 2012 - see chapter 2 for a fuller discussion). It was clear that there was a strong emphasis within these contexts that the processes for learning a first and second language are similar or that words in each language can have a direct translation. Rightly, some teachers consider translation as a valuable strategy for pupils who are acquiring the language needed to engage with reading texts. However, such an overarching approach to learning EAL is inadequate and does not take into account the impact of the sociocultural context of language in use. Mainstream English teachers appeared not only to lack an understanding of how a second or additional language develops, but also the knowledge of a 'language model [that would allow them] to scrutinize language itself. [This would allow teacher to] reflect on how language is being used in teaching and learning processes, to assess students' language and literacy learning, and explicitly plan for its development' (Gibbons, 2006:20).

EAL Teachers' Perceptions about SLA

Interestingly, most of the EAL teachers demonstrated similar sets of beliefs to mainstream English teachers in terms of the acquisition metaphor, yet there was also evidence that they held more informed sets of beliefs about how a second or additional language develops. As noted in chapter 3, all of the EAL teachers within the study had previously taken, or were currently undergoing, further studies related to supporting EAL pupils in the classroom, and this significantly impacted on their beliefs. When they were asked whether EAL pupils learned language in a similar way to pupils whose home language is English they stated that there were similarities and differences. This is exemplified in the excerpt below:

EAL Teacher 2: They learn the language in the same and in a different way. Because they already have a language system! Here's Cummins and his iceberg! Em, so they can use their knowledge about language in order to learn a new language but they're coming at it from a completely different starting point for the most part. For the ones that I'm thinking about just now, they're coming at it from the point of view that they're beyond the age where they can acquire it naturally by listening to it for five years before they utter a word. So they're not able to take that length of time over it, so they have to actually use their intellect as well in order to learn it, so they haven't got time just to acquire it. They will use what they know about language to slot it into place but they must actively learn it, they haven't got time just to gad about and let it drift in!

It is easy to see a much more informed way of thinking about language development within the EAL teacher interviews. However, there is still a strong emphasis within the EAL teacher interviews, in terms of agency, of EAL pupils being positioned as responsible for doing most of the work to learn the new language. While there were strong beliefs connected to immersion as an effective approach for pupils learning English within mainstream classrooms, most EAL teachers recognized that this was not enough in itself. The majority of EAL teachers within the study emphasized the need for EAL pupils to experience appropriate language support and an effective pedagogy within mainstream settings. In addition to this, an understanding of Cummins' (1984) Common Underlying Proficiency theory

was evident in all of the interviews with EAL teachers and this concept was drawn upon frequently as they talked about the needs of EAL pupils. An awareness of critical age theory and time constraints for secondary pupils learning English as an additional language was also noted by EAL teachers. Such beliefs align with acquisition research and studies carried out in ESL contexts in the United States (e.g. Harklau, 1994). Harklau's study acknowledges that time is a crucial factor in the development of the academic language needed to access mainstream curricular content (see chapter two for a fuller discussion).

EAL teachers also talked about the acquisition of English in relation to reading. Their views of language acquisition processes drew upon bilingual theories where literacy in the first language facilitated the development of reading in a second or additional language. The development of reading literacy was conceptualised as a universal process where reading practices simply transfer from one language to another. EAL teacher 2's comments were representative of other EAL teachers within the study:

EAL Teacher 2: His [EAL pupil] first language skills are so good that he doesn't need any encouragement to read for meaning, so because he's already got higher order language skills in one language, the transfer is very well to the other and he understands metaphor and hypotheses and all the rest of it.

Despite value being placed on the home language of EAL pupils', the notion of additive bilingualism was not strongly emphasized within the interviews with EAL teachers. The home language was mainly talked about as a tool to develop the dominant language of the classroom, i.e. English. Again notions of assimilation into the dominant culture predominated.

A contrasting individual perspective of the language acquisition process is visible within EAL Teacher 5's account. Compared to other EAL teachers, who recognised the need for appropriate language learning experiences for EAL pupils, this teacher was a fierce advocate for implementing an

immersion approach and de-emphasised the need for more structured linguistic input.

EAL Teacher 5: Well yes but I'm a very kind of immersion person, you know, so the grammar just happens.... Everybody can learn a language by immersion, which is how we learn our first language... Kids learn their first language by immersion, which in theory would mean that we can all learn a second language by immersion... Because if you have say two bilingual kids, say they arrive at the same time, similar language backgrounds, one is able to learn from a book [formal language learning], one can only learn from immersion. If you teach them both from a book, one of them will fail. If you teach them both by immersion, they will both succeed. Do you see what I mean? You know, like once they're in and they're settled [in the mainstream classroom] and happy, happy's my thing! They've to be happy.

What was noteworthy during EAL Teacher 5's interview was the way she emphasised her views about the effectiveness of an immersion approach in comparison to her beliefs about learning language more formally or in a more structured way; she acknowledged that she did not believe that a structured approach to language learning was helpful or appropriate for every pupil. Her account seemed to draw on a general understanding of Krashen's (1983) theories in terms of unconscious and independent acquisition processes and was similar to the ways in which many mainstream English teachers viewed the development of language. She also drew attention to the affective domain, highlighting that feelings can impact on how successfully EAL pupils acquire language. Again, the influence of Krashen's (1983) affective filter theory may be evident within EAL Teacher 5's beliefs; such notions are often outlined in the literature within the field of second language learning. For example:

The affective filter is a metaphor that describes how a learner's attitudes can affect the success of language acquisition. Emotional states such as learning anxiety, stress, low self-confidence and lack of motivation are like a filter that acts as a barrier to effective language acquisition.

(Gallagher, 2008:46).

While most researchers would agree with the impact of such factors in teaching and learning contexts it is important that there is not an over-reliance on narrow acquisition theories which exclude a broader view of

implementing a participatory pedagogy that makes meaning explicit (Gibbons, 2002).

Overall, most EAL teachers drew heavily on bilingual and acquisition theories; barriers related to culture and background knowledge were also foregrounded by EAL teachers as factors that often prevented EAL pupils from accessing classroom texts successfully. However, EAL Teacher 5 communicated an awareness of language in use at a discourse level, which contrasted with most other EAL teachers, who tended to conceptualise language as a more formal system [vocabulary and grammar] that needed to be acquired through the use of specific pedagogic strategies within a meaningful environment that promotes 'good practice'. When such perceptions are compared to the current EAL literature, there is a need to broaden the knowledge base of EAL teachers about the ways in which language can be learned through the process of developing reading literacy.

Senior Management's Beliefs about SLA

Given the wider range of responsibilities that head teachers and depute head teachers have it was not surprising that they did not feel able to talk in an informed way about the language acquisition processes. They often deferred specific questions about pedagogy and language development to the EAL specialist or The Support for Learning Department. Comments such as: *'I'm not sure actually. Because I'm not in the classroom I don't know if I could answer that effectively'* (Depute Head Teacher 1); *'There are various materials which have been translated and are accessible through the EAL Service, again that's the kind of specialist question that you'd need to maybe speak to someone like Nora about'* (Head Teacher 1); *'I couldn't comment on that. I would take advice on that from the EAL teacher'* (Depute Head Teacher 2); *'Eh, I'm not sure! I could see that [using L1 resources] would maybe be helpful for the pupils, but really I'm not sure about this'* (Depute Head Teacher 3).

While the majority of head teachers and depute head teachers deferred to EAL specialists or Sfl staff when asked about how EAL pupils develop the language needed to access the curriculum, Depute Head Teacher 2 made passing reference to the shared belief that operated within his context that language is *picked up*. He stated, *'The assumption is that young people pick up language. They'll come in and they'll pick up the language'* (Depute Head Teacher 2).

Other perspectives that alluded to the notion of language acquisition were apparent within the interviews of a few head teachers and depute head teachers as they discussed EAL pupils' use of their L1 within the school context. Despite official guidance clearly stating that the home language is a valuable resource for pupils learning EAL, Depute Head Teacher 4 revealed some uncertainty when discussing such matters and tended to prioritise the importance of EAL pupils assimilating into the existing school norms. He noted: *'I think the focus is on them getting settled in, to be able to be educated in English, rather than in their own language'* (Depute Head Teacher 4). It is clear that there is no understanding here of how a first language can facilitate the development of a second or additional language.

However, as the interview with Depute Head Teacher 4 progressed, he also revealed an implicit knowledge about the different types of language proficiency that he has observed as he talked about the reading literacy needs of such pupils:

Depute Head Teacher 4: I think young people that come to this country and come in to State education, they can have very good conversational English, it's the depth of their English that they need help and support with. There is a clear difference between being able to converse and being able to do say Standard Grade Credit, or Intermediate 2 and moving on to Higher level courses. That can only be developed through reading, or reading's a major part of that development. So we need to be made aware of their developmental needs and the chunks that have been missing in the past.

Beliefs about the development of an additional language seemed to operate within a context where there was no clear understanding of the complexity

of the process for pupils and teachers. Depute Head Teacher 4's beliefs demonstrated that he was influenced by what he observed in terms of the different types of language proficiency, but he also had notions that pupils needed to fit into existing norms to be classified as successful learners. It is clear that his beliefs were conflicted.

Knowledge about the importance of translation as a language learning strategy was also evident within Depute Head Teacher 1's interview. Despite such recognition, her lack of understanding about the development of a second or additional language was evident and closely linked to her beliefs about immersion, where she considered an immersion approach to be helpful when there are many languages to cater for within the school (see theme 1). Like Depute Head Teacher 4, assimilation into the context was considered important. The uncertainty about the benefits of functioning as a bilingual pupil positions EAL pupils as being responsible for making progress towards the ideal monocultural norm.

The limited knowledge about matters related to EAL of most Head Teachers and Depute Head Teachers is significant as EAL is a complex and challenging curricular issue within schools across the country. While there seemed to be some understanding of cultural differences and the value that these can bring to all pupils across the school, there was no clear understanding about how EAL develops within mainstream classrooms apart from the acquisition metaphor. EAL is not solely a classroom issue, but is a school-wide phenomenon and it is important for the leadership within multilingual and multicultural schools to be able to articulate whole school approaches related to the development of language and reading literacy.

Planning and Differentiation

The beliefs that teachers held about how language develops appeared to impact on how they thought and talked about classroom practices in terms of planning and differentiation. Their beliefs about acquisition theories and

policies relating to equality influenced how they considered the aims and planning for each lesson. The majority of mainstream English teachers within the study considered it important in terms of equity that the learning aims for all pupils should be the same. This contrasts with the views of EAL teachers where the fact that they were confined to a supportive role within the mainstream classroom meant that they did not talk about setting learning aims for EAL pupils. Mainstream English teachers emphasised:

'Em I would say they're [the lesson aims] the same... em I don't think a bilingual pupil's any different' (Mainstream Teacher 1); 'I think they're the same' (Mainstream Teacher 2); 'Em, they're the same. I don't think we are really encouraged to give them different outcomes and aims' (Mainstream Teacher 5); 'There's a tendency to try and immerse them and just make them part of the teaching that everyone else is receiving' (Mainstream Teacher 7); 'They would be the same as for the rest of the class' (Mainstream Teacher 10); [The learning aims are] 'the same' (Mainstream Teacher 14); 'Em [sigh] as far as planning's concerned, it doesn't really have to impact too much upon the planning' (Mainstream Teacher 15); 'Yes they're the same' (Mainstream Teacher 16).

While the majority of teachers stated that the learning aims for EAL pupils would be the same as those planned for the rest of the class, a few qualified their statements and reported that while the learning aims would be the same, they would differentiate either the task itself or the outcome of a whole class task for EAL pupils. Reports about how this kind of planning was achieved in classroom practices are exemplified in the interview extracts below:

Mainstream Teacher 3: they're learning aims are all the same, em but I guess it depends on what ... it would change by what they produce, so Martha produced a personal account of going to a spooky castle and walking in and going with her friends and then running away and being frightened, whereas the rest of the class were asked to do the description, set the scene and do much more but she's only just started.

Mainstream Teacher 7: I might ... not publicly but I might tailor their objectives slightly more on a one to one kind of basis, you know. So once the class are working I might kind of refine what I'm expecting them to do... I would try to kind of tailor it slightly. But that would be kind of on a lesson to lesson basis, you know, it wouldn't be a kind of a yearly thing. So little provisions like that I think

Mainstream Teacher 13: I have created different essay plans for them, ones that are more supported and you'll see that with Serge and Alisha as well...Em I make sure I explain things in different ways, or put what I'm saying up on the board, so that it's clear...So even understanding instructions, I try and keep them as simple as possible but in terms of specifically reading, even instructions on the board you know. I'm trying to break it down for them.

Mainstream Teacher 16: I will try and give Casmir a more simplified comprehension task, maybe working with his dictionary to try and figure out some vocabulary and so on. So *[sigh]* that's the truth really.

From the majority of the preceding extracts it is noticeable that when teachers talk about how they meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils there is a focus on simplifying lesson content, the outcome of the task, the language of directions, or the structure of the task itself. Such practices are helpful and link closely with the emphasis within policy and teachers' beliefs, where making curriculum content understandable is 'an important condition to the development of EAL' (Leung, 2012:232). Leung's (2012) study argues that Krashen has strongly influenced EAL pedagogy within mainstream contexts in England. He reports:

Krashen's arguments on the importance of comprehensible input for additional language development, allied to his pedagogic preference for acquisition and not learning, have been used to provide theoretical and pedagogic legitimacy for mainstreaming EAL in the particular form that prevails in the English school system.

(Leung, 2012:232).

The findings within Leung's (2012) study are similar to those of this study where an acquisition metaphor and notions of comprehensible input tend to be relied upon despite the sincere efforts that some mainstream English teachers engage in when implementing differentiated practices. The development of EAL is therefore conceptualised as a by-product of enacting

simplification strategies within reading events. Such notions of language development do not align themselves with a language as social practice perspective within a sociocultural approach.

The Role of the EAL Teacher

From a contrasting perspective, EAL teacher interviews focused less on beliefs about their learning aims and more on differentiation practices; their own support role within the classroom meant that they did not set or work in collaboration with the mainstream teacher to design specifically the learning aims and outcomes for the EAL pupils. EAL Teacher 2 captures this practice and states: *'I would just be trying to promote the learning outcome of the referring teacher'* (EAL Teacher 2). Such positioning of the EAL teacher within the mainstream classroom aligns with Bourne's (1989) survey, which was carried out across local education authorities in England. Bourne's (1989) study suggests that EAL teachers often engage in a *remedial role* which constrains collaborative opportunities between the EAL teacher and the mainstream teacher and results in only one source of expertise guiding the type of activities that are designed for the EAL pupil. It could be argued therefore that due to inadequate policy and of provision structures, EAL teachers are often positioned or constructed as a support structure rather than a specialist whose 'content area' has a legitimate part within the aims of the curriculum.

In addition, all of the EAL teachers reported that they frequently used chapter summaries and simplification strategies in order to enable EAL pupils to access mainstream classroom reading texts. This kind of differentiation meant that EAL pupils were encouraged to read a summary of the chapter that would be used in the lesson before the class took place. The following excerpts demonstrate that most EAL teachers positioned themselves as being responsible for producing such summaries to enable the EAL pupil to access mainstream classroom texts: *'I might work to adapt or produce summaries or chapter summaries...'* (EAL Teacher 1); *'I would try and get hold of the novel and write chapter summaries for Fang Yi, specially for him to read*

before the chapter was read in class; although that sounds not as exciting but it really helps' (EAL Teacher 2); *'I might offer would be chapter summaries of the novel for the student to read, or to have with them; but also I would encourage them to read that before they read the full chapter in class'* (EAL Teacher 3); *'I sometimes simplify novels, or I use the Internet a lot for novel synopses'* (EAL Teacher 5).

The description of these actions outlines how EAL teachers engaged in routinised simplification strategies to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and is relevant to research question 2. Such accounts highlight that the main focus of EAL teachers' practices is to facilitate the lesson of the mainstream teacher. It would appear that within these accounts, in a similar way to Arkoudis' (2006) study, that the relationships between mainstream teachers and specialist teachers are complex and that there is a need for a specific policy that outlines how teachers can reach a shared understanding, and way of practising, that enables them to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils more effectively.

What is interesting within the data is that EAL and mainstream teachers draw on similar simplification strategies as a way to foster the development of English as a second or additional language. While chapter summaries are broadly helpful as a strategy, the key assumptions are again built on Krashen's comprehensible input theory where EAL pupils acquire language by having access to simplified content or texts in English that they can easily understand. Schleppegrell and Colombi (2002) note such invisible pedagogies also operate within US contexts and state:

Influenced by Krashen's theory of comprehensible output as the primary motivator of language development, pedagogical approaches to second-language teaching have tended to focus only on immersing students in meaningful input, de-emphasising or even advising against focus on form in language teaching.
(Schleppegrell and Colombi, 2002:13).

What is also significant within the data and is that reading literacy practices were aimed towards EAL pupils understanding the content of the text in which the rest of the class were engaged. Such undifferentiated practices were clearly linked to *immersion* as an acquisition metaphor. EAL pupils

were therefore positioned as ‘overhearers’ of the reading event rather than as active participants who co-construct an understanding of the text with more able peers in a highly differentiated classroom. Instead we have ‘naturalised’ the monocultural classroom as the preferred norm where EAL pupils are positioned as the linguistic and cultural other. Such dominant beliefs and routinised practices do not help to provide spaces that allow the development of a critical approach that integrates the multiple dimensions of reading literacy which are necessary for developing successful advanced reading in another language.

Drawing on the findings of theme one, it is reasonable to infer that EAL pupils may not be given chapter summaries on a consistent basis unless there is the provision of an EAL teacher working with the mainstream teacher. Thus, EAL pupils may not have the opportunity to access the meaning of the reading texts being used in the class unless the mainstream English teacher produces these summaries for them as part of her/his own differentiated practices. Some EAL teachers are not necessarily confident that such differentiated practices take place within mainstream classrooms and use tentative language to indicate ‘hope’ or to highlight that some mainstream teachers may not have planned anything that would enable the EAL pupils to access curriculum content. This is captured in the following statements:

EAL Teacher 5: we [EAL Services] don’t have distinct materials, so in the majority of classes they will be using their own materials hopefully with some differentiation or an adaptation.

EAL Teacher 1: Secondary it’s not so easy because you’re not usually in the classroom, you have to then meet with the teacher and discuss with them and they may not have planned at all for the pupil.

As foregrounded in theme one, the lack of time that EAL teachers spent with mainstream English teachers influenced how effectively needs were being met in terms of pedagogic practices. Due to such constraints, it is clear within the data that many EAL teachers do not have a clear notion of how they can work to mediate the ways in which mainstream English teachers think about the development of EAL. While it was noticeable that when compared to mainstream English teachers, EAL teachers had a more

generally informed understanding of SLA and bilingual theories in relation to language development, their knowledge base needs to be broadened to include a functional language analysis perspective. Such a view moves beyond the use of simplification strategies within the classroom, where the EAL pupils only have opportunities for peripheral participation during reading literacy practices, to a perspective that sees language development as a social process, where reading literacy practices implement a participation metaphor and critically analyse the language choices that people make to communicate particular meanings within texts. A secure understanding of how a second or additional language develops is crucial to the ways in which teachers' practices are shaped. Gibbons' work stresses the importance of such mediating factors:

Particular views of the nature of language, language learning and literacy, and the social purposes for these, will influence how a second language is taught and assessed. Particular epistemologies, what kinds of knowledge are privileged and how it is acquired, are reflected in the content and teaching process of the curriculum
(Gibbons, 2006: 65-66).

These findings demonstrate the need for teachers to continue to develop their knowledge about effective planning and highly differentiated practices when developing reading literacy within multicultural and multilingual classrooms. Such knowledge and associated practices are crucial to the frequency and quality of learning opportunities EAL pupils will experience in Scottish schools in comparison to those who are white monolingual English speakers; these inequalities are clearly linked to issues of social justice.

Classroom Practices

Richards and Farrell (2005) reason that the ways in which teachers conceptualise the process of learning English as an additional language determines how they will shape the teaching and learning environment. Although the analysis of the observation data within the study did not set

out to evaluate or critique individual teachers, the study evidences some of the ways in which the beliefs that teachers held about the second language acquisition process were intricately woven into the choices they made in the classroom when developing reading literacy. The majority of mainstream English teachers did not engage in specific planning or differentiated practices to accommodate cultural and linguistic diversity within the lessons that were observed. As noted under the previous theme, the majority of reading events shared a common reading pedagogy where the first part of the lesson consisted mainly of monolingual English speaking pupils taking turns reading parts of a chosen text aloud.

Mainstream English teachers frequently reported that they often did not choose EAL pupils to read aloud as they did not want to embarrass them or put undue pressure on them while they were in the process of developing the language. Such shared beliefs are captured in Mainstream Teacher 16's post-observation interview when he reports: *'It's not fair to ask Casmir to read. I've been told that immersion and hearing good practice will help him to learn the language'* (Mainstream Teacher 16, post-observation interview).

During the reading aloud phase of the lessons, mainstream English teachers often highlighted key words within the text and orally discussed these using question and answer strategies with the whole class to draw out the meaning of the word within its context. In addition, the teacher often corrected pronunciation as the text was being read aloud and periodically stopped the reading of the text to engage the whole class in summarizing what had happened and to synthesize earlier parts of the text with later events. In such lessons all pupils within the class were exposed to the same reading texts and teaching practices. Individual and whole class work were the main strategies that were used in most classes with only a few lessons using structured group work.

It can be inferred that the beliefs that underpinned such practices assumed that EAL pupils would unconsciously acquire the necessary language needed to understand the text in a way that was similar to pupils who were

monolingual English speakers. Mainstream Teacher 15's account during a post-observation interview captures common perceptions and practices: '*I didn't adjust it [the lesson] for Serge's benefit. It's just breaking it down to deconstruct it*' (Mainstream Teacher 15). Oral simplification strategies were used by mainstream English teachers when they monitored all pupils during individual work related to the text being used in the lesson.

In a few of the reading lessons, where a bilingual support assistant was present within the mainstream classroom, translation strategies were used to help EAL pupils understand the content of the text and the activities that the teacher had set up for the whole class. One of the problems with planning or implementing practices where all pupils are treated *equally* by having *access* to the same lesson content is that there are 'inequitable outcomes' (Gibbons, 2008). Gibbons captures this well by stating:

One of the most unequal things we can do is to treat all children equally...it is through different scaffolding that we can make differentiations in the curriculum in the nature and the amount of support that we offer...treating all children equally just about guarantees that at the end you are going to have unequal outcomes (Gibbons, 2008:4).

However, in contrast to the dominant reading beliefs and pedagogy that operated within many of the lessons described earlier, three mainstream English teachers implemented visibly differentiated and scaffolded practices during reading events. One of these lessons consisted of differentiation by task where the EAL pupil was given a gapped organisational writing framework to help her demonstrate comprehension of the text that had been analysed during the lesson. The other two lessons used bilingual strategies where EAL pupils were allowed to read or write in their home language to achieve the outcome of the lesson.

The use of bilingual strategies and scaffolding techniques within these lessons is worth noting; such practices were significantly different in their approach to the other lessons within the observation data. These lessons contrasted with the simple *immersion* approach normally used within

classrooms. Mainstream Teacher 16 implemented such strategies as a way to help the EAL pupil within his class write a persuasive essay to demonstrate comprehension of electronic reading texts; such an approach was based on his belief that the pupil still engaged in translation strategies within his head. He noted in the post-observation interview that translation was a personal strategy that worked for this particular pupil: *'In many ways it [the strategy being used] contextualises language that he is reading. He contextualises it into something that he knows about. He knows a lot of Bulgarian websites'* (Mainstream Teacher 16, post-observation interview).

In a similar vein, Mainstream Teacher 5 engaged in the use of bilingual strategies and scaffolding techniques to support a bottom set class of twelve pupils. This class consisted of seven EAL pupils and five monolingual English-speaking pupils. This teacher drew on the help of a Polish bilingual teaching assistant, who supported the class on that day, to work with a group of five Polish pupils to write a reflection on a text that had been read in the lesson. At the same time, Mainstream Teacher 5 read and discussed a printed text with another small group that consisted of two EAL pupils and three monolingual English-speaking pupils. Despite such differentiated practices Mainstream Teacher 5 noted frustration about how things had turned out. She stated:

I asked about how we could support the writing because obviously it was a task that they hadn't seen, it was a task that they wouldn't necessarily automatically have the vocabulary to express their ideas. So...I discussed [it] as a strategy [with the bilingual teaching assistant] to let them write in Polish first so that they do all the thinking and then the intention was ... and it all kind of fell apart because I didn't really kind of monitor it closely enough, the intention was that they would then highlight any key language that they needed in order to then write a response and then they would just use the vocabulary to then start writing. But in actual fact, what seemed to happen was they sat with their Polish dictionaries and they tried to translate it word for word and in actual fact they oughtn't to have even been using a dictionary. So that kind of didn't quite work out as I would have hoped because I didn't want it to be a word for word translation because that then makes for ... that does create further frustration because again it becomes more a challenge of saying exactly how they want to say it, rather than saying it how they're able to say it
(Mainstream Teacher 5, post-observation interview).

Mainstream Teacher 5's reflections on the lesson indicated a lack of knowledge about how to monitor diverse classroom practices in a multilingual classroom. In addition to this, her own beliefs and experiences about how a first language facilitates the development of a second language were conflicted. The conflicts she struggled with are exemplified within her account as she acknowledges the value of EAL pupils being able to use their L1, yet at the same recognised that such strategies did not achieve the outcome she had hoped. Her lack of knowledge of how to manage the use of the L1 and L2 effectively within a lesson was communicated. It would appear that she saw the use of the pupils' L1 simply as a vehicle to learn English to complete classroom tasks. Mainstream Teacher 5's reflections on classroom practices closely align with the concerns that she noted earlier during the initial interview where she recognised the need for more support as a classroom teacher so that she could meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils more effectively.

Most teachers had limited options for practice as they unconsciously implemented the theoretical assumptions that underpinned concepts of *immersion* and second language acquisition theories. Only two mainstream teachers seemed to recognise overtly that the EAL pupils within their classrooms were not monolingual and, therefore, drew on the pupils' home language as a resource within the reading lessons (Garcia, 2009). Such findings align with Smyth's study in Scottish primary schools where she states that within such contexts, 'bilingual pupils need to become monolingual in order to succeed; (2001:133). This raises questions about why there have not been more significant shifts within teachers' beliefs from 2001 at the time of Smyth's study to the present. Despite evidence that there were some tensions within teachers' beliefs about the effectiveness of the current *immersion* approach for developing English as an additional language, teachers still unconsciously encourage assimilation into the existing dominant curricular norms. Policy seems to legitimize such beliefs and practices. In commenting on such contexts, Garcia emphasizes that it is

important to recognise that 'the teaching of [linguistic]-minority children exclusively in the majority language can never be considered an instance of *immersion* education...but rather what has been called *submersion* or *sink or swim*' (Garcia, 2009:126). The findings of this study reveal that such educational experiences are a common experience for pupils learning EAL.

This chapter began by discussing the ways in which teachers talked about the social, cultural and pedagogical isolation that EAL pupils experience within submersion contexts. The focus also considered teachers' accounts of the literacy practices they engaged in to meet the needs of such pupils. The findings revealed that teachers had an undifferentiated understanding about the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. In presenting these findings, I also drew on observational studies which demonstrated that most teachers' beliefs aligned with their classroom literacy practices as they implemented a one-size-fits-all approach to developing reading literacy. The chapter concluded by discussing teachers' perceptions about how English as a second or additional language develops within mainstream classrooms. The findings revealed that teachers relied upon the dominant acquisition metaphor that was emphasised within policy and schools where language developed as a by-product on EAL pupils being submersed in mainstream classrooms. Classroom observations demonstrated that EAL pupils were positioned as linguistic and cultural others during undifferentiated reading literacy practices. These findings revealed the lack of equal opportunity that was available to pupils learning EAL as they engaged with classroom texts. In the following chapter an analysis will be offered of teachers' perceptions and practices in relation to the development of reading literacy and the ways in which their identities have been impacted by shifting educational contexts.

Chapter 6 Teachers' views about EAL pupils' reading literacy needs; and their impact on teacher identity formation

Introduction

In this chapter, a discussion of the findings that emerged from the interviews and observations with teachers continues. The chapter begins by providing an account of how teachers' framed their perceptions about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. The focus then shifts to report on the ways in which teachers enacted their understanding of such needs during classroom literacy practices. The chapter concludes by analysing teachers' perceptions of their identity as they work within multilingual and multicultural classrooms and the impact of the wider sociocultural context on teacher education.

Teaching Reading and Literacies

Pennycook rightfully acknowledges that the various sites in which teachers work have become places of struggle as they actively engage within 'complex sociopolitical and cultural political space[s]' (2004:333). This is particularly relevant when considering the development of reading literacy, which is not a culturally or politically neutral term. As noted in Chapter 5, Gee refers to literacy as a *master myth* within our society which 'is foundational to how we make sense of reality' (2008:51). The particular notion that teachers had of reading literacy practices could be seen to constrain teachers' collective and more individual beliefs and practices as they sought to meet the needs of EAL pupils. All teachers within this study agreed on the importance of developing reading literacy and often drew upon their classroom teaching practices to exemplify their perceptions about the needs of their pupils. The following sections reveal that the most active beliefs communicated by teachers, as they considered the reading literacy

needs of EAL pupils, were those that foregrounded the importance of having a knowledge of vocabulary and grammar.

Vocabulary and Grammar

A collective belief about EAL pupils' reading literacy needs was that vocabulary and grammar were key to comprehending successfully a reading text and for academic performance. This recurring belief is exemplified in the following interview accounts when mainstream English teachers were asked what they believed the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils were: *'It's the learning of the vocabulary essentially that they need to build up'* (Mainstream Teacher 15); *'I think for me, I've got quite a narrow sense of it being about vocabulary...it's just the linchpin of it all'* (Mainstream Teacher 5); *'Yeah, well, there's certainly issues with encountering vocabulary they don't know'* (Mainstream Teacher 12); *'Oh acquisition of vocabulary really...'* (Mainstream Teacher 13); *'She [EAL pupil] has issues with vocabulary'* (Mainstream Teacher 1); *'We find the vocabulary's like the biggest hurdle for him'* [EAL pupil] (Mainstream Teacher 2); *'To be general, just simple comprehension and a lack of vocabulary, generally speaking. I'm not sure what other challenges there could be'* (Mainstream Teacher 16); *'Yes, understand the associations, the connotations of words, the affects they could have'* (Mainstream Teacher 3).

Mainstream English teachers acknowledged that vocabulary is a key factor in the development of reading literacy and showed that they were aware that there is a strong relationship between a knowledge of vocabulary and the comprehension of a reading text. While there was recognition among teachers that knowing the dictionary definition of a word and the ways context at a sentence and discourse level shape the meaning of a word, they did not communicate a wider knowledge of the *sense* of a word as proposed by Vygotsky (1993:244). Gregory draws on Vygotsky's seminal work within her own understanding of reading and defines the *sense* of a word as 'the feeling called up by a word to an individual or a cultural group' (Gregory,

2008:28); she notes that words are often grounded in experiences and can conjure up various emotive experiences 'for individuals within a cultural group' (Gregory, 2008:28).

It appears that mainstream English teachers only identified a straightforward linear progression between vocabulary and successful comprehension. It is possible that teachers' had more informed ideas about how such processes were linked or developed, but these understandings, for the most part, remained implicit during the interviews. The collective expressed beliefs within the interviews not only appeared to lack an understanding of the cultural and individual role involved in knowing the *sense* of a word, but also showed a limited or inconsistent awareness of the cognitive processes involved in learning vocabulary while reading. Such interrelated processes, according to Koda (2005), requires a second language reader to 'construct a context, access stored information through visual word displays, selecting relevant meaning based on contextual information, evaluating the appropriateness of the chosen meaning in subsequent sentences' (Koda, 2005:48). An understanding of the complex interrelated operations involved in the reading process of 'what it means to know a word, how the knowledge contributes to comprehension, how such knowledge is acquired through the reading process, and how the vocabulary and reading relationship may vary among L1 and L2 readers' (Koda, 2005:48) were also missing from the data.

However, different views about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils were equally evident within the data. Although there was reference to pupils '*coming across words*' that were unfamiliar to them, a few teachers drew on their experiences of teaching EAL pupils in their classrooms and made reference to grammar being a component of the reading process:

Mainstream Teacher 9: an EAL pupil would often, in a text, be coming across words they'd never heard of before. Whereas I think native speakers who suffer from difficulties in reading, it's a big difference, sort of for a different reason and the EAL student will also be struggling with the structure of a sentence, whereas a native speaker wouldn't.

Mainstream Teacher 9's varied notion of this shared understanding draws attention to how she conceptualises the differences between an EAL pupil's needs and those of a '*native speaker*' in terms of '*the structure of a sentence*'. The few mainstream English teachers who did refer to grammar and syntax playing a role in the reading process did not seem to be able to articulate fully the reasons why they were essential components.

Mainstream Teacher 3 brought in a different focus on vocabulary and grammar. This teacher described pupils' needs in a way that emphasized her subject specialist knowledge where she gave prominence to the importance of understanding the connotative meaning of words, metaphor and image, while at the same time promoting imagination, as important in the process of understanding text:

Mainstream Teacher 3: It's all to do with the sort of imagination and the sort of ... it's the imaginatory side, it's very sort of focused on this is what actually happened and you can't ... descriptive language and language for effect, all that kind of stuff is ... seems to be really difficult for them.

While meaning was emphasized, and reading beliefs appeared to be text-based, it was not evident within teachers' accounts how an in-depth meaning could be achieved to develop the kind of advanced reading literacy ability that is needed within mainstream classrooms.

Teachers' Talk about Pedagogic Practices

Mainstream English teachers also drew on examples of their pedagogic practices to demonstrate how they met the needs of EAL pupils within the classroom. Their accounts provided further insights into the most central belief that operated within the context in relation to reading literacy development. Thus, the need for EAL pupils to develop a greater knowledge of vocabulary in order to meet the reading demands of the mainstream

English classroom successfully was foregrounded. However, some mainstream English teachers also linked a knowledge of syntax and the need for the development of particular reading skills, as they discussed classroom practices. Teachers' experiences within the classroom context appeared to filter how they communicated their beliefs about the linguistic needs of pupils who have a home language other than English. The example below reflects this pattern:

Mainstream Teacher 5: Although I do try to take more time with EAL students in terms of actual vocabulary and you know em structure of sentences; and also just making sure that they are aware of how to pick up inferences within the text and you know the kind of level to which they can guess in a question.

In a similar way, Mainstream Teacher 12 below notes the importance of providing time to help EAL pupils learn vocabulary and develop cognitive skills associated with the reading process, especially those demanded in exams. She provides an example of how she believes this presents particular challenges and reports:

Mainstream Teacher 15: ...making sure that they are aware of how to pick up inferences within the text and you know the kind of level to which they can guess in a question. If, for example, they're asked ... I remember one recently that was about the significance of describing a bear that had been shot with arrows as bristling like a porcupine and of course they didn't know what a porcupine was. And sort of trying to sort of set up a way for them into that question that they could attempt an answer that wouldn't necessarily lead to them not getting any marks in that question. So there's certain things that I try to be aware of that, you know, specific vocabulary like that can be quite hard.

More variation in teachers' understanding was noted as they reflected on their practices and experiences within the mainstream classroom. These variations were linked to how they conceptualised second language development, as discussed in the previous chapter (theme two, see page 195). A common understanding among teachers about the role of translation and the use of other strategies is illustrated in the examples below:

Mainstream Teacher 4: Em, defining key vocabulary and empowering pupils so that they have an expectation of what they're going to encounter and so already you've set them up with kind of success, even if that success is that they're able to find the five words as they are used in whatever you are reading, you know find ... locate them in a dictionary and then show understanding of whether it's then that they translate that back into their own language or whatever.

Mainstream Teacher 3: Well, I mean what I've done is use the word banks, getting kids to tell each other what's going on, em getting them to look up in their various dictionaries; um pictures, use a lot of pictures and things; actions, clowning around!

Translation and the use of bilingual dictionaries were key notions that underpinned the ways in which some teachers considered the second language acquisition process. However, the use of visuals, gestures and group work were also noted as effective in meeting the reading needs of such pupils. In addition, affective factors were foregrounded by some teachers as they felt it was essential for EAL pupils to have a sense of achievement when reading.

Individual teachers highlighted different practices that they considered to be important when developing specific reading skills. Mainstream Teacher 12's account suggests that reading with expression and consciously raising awareness about the role of punctuation is important for the whole class. She stated:

Mainstream Teacher 12: ...and I try to encourage reading aloud in the *class*. One of the things that I've started trying to push this year is reading with a bit of expression and paying attention to punctuation; because I think it's often the case that a lot of meaning is lost because people don't realise the role that punctuation is playing within that.

In a similar way, Mainstream Teacher 4 recognised the importance of decoding and pronunciation, but felt that this needed to be in place before meaning could be established:

Mainstream Teacher 4: Em...because they have the hurdle of actually decoding the language in terms of pronunciation, etc before they even get to the level of meaning.

However, despite the significant amount of emphasis placed on the development of vocabulary in the ways teachers' defined needs and practices there continues to be a limited understanding about the multifaceted nature of knowing a word and the cognitive processes and social aspects of reading in a second language. Despite the dominant emphasis within British society on the development of literacy, the majority of teachers tended to construe the reading needs of pupils learning English as an additional language as a set of skills where language is viewed as a code to be learned (i.e. vocabulary and grammar). It can reasonably be inferred that such beliefs are mediated by curricular documents where some of the experiences and outcomes for reading are specified in the following way:

Through developing my knowledge of context clues, punctuation, grammar and layout, I can read unfamiliar texts with increasing fluency, understanding and expression
(ENG2-12a/ENG3-12a/ENG 4-12a, Curriculum for Excellence:8).

Such curriculum guidance around the teaching of vocabulary as a tool for reading appears to be limited in its description. While curricular documents specify generic literacy Experiences and Outcomes that can be demonstrated through reading, writing speaking or listening, there appears to be an absence of the cognitive, linguistic, and sociocultural knowledge. Such knowledge would help teachers to understand adequately how to achieve the intended learning experiences and outcomes in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms. As expected, mainstream English teachers draw on the national curriculum to shape their practices and their theories about the development of reading. It is difficult for teachers' beliefs and practices to accommodate the emerging needs within diverse pupil

populations when policies appear to be ill-fitting and uninformed around such issues. This raises questions about the ways in which curricular documents, initial teacher education, in-service and CPD courses could provide opportunities for teachers to expand their knowledge base. Changes within these areas would enable teachers to reconceptualise language and culture in ways that allow them to place the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils at the centre of classroom practices.

EAL Teachers' Perceptions of Reading Literacy

EAL teachers' views on the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils revealed some similarities with those of mainstream English teachers in that vocabulary was believed to be a key ingredient in the process of comprehending text: *'Em well they are often things like extending their vocabulary'* (EAL Teacher 1); *'obviously the [unclear] the vocabulary isn't there'* (EAL Teacher 2); *'I keep going on about it but the kind of vocabulary that's going to be repeated over and over and reinforced without anybody even thinking about it'* (EAL Teacher 5). What is interesting in EAL Teacher 5's comment about vocabulary is that it aligns with her conceptualization of how language is acquired, where EAL pupils automatically *pick up* the language that is necessary to be successful in the mainstream classroom. She alludes to the importance of high frequency words that pupils will repeatedly hear as being essential to acquiring new vocabulary. These beliefs are representative of the views that other teachers hold about reading and appear to have a powerful influence on the way that teachers conceptualise language and literacy practices. It can be assumed, therefore, that beliefs 'have a filtering effect on our thinking [and play] a critical role in influencing our perceptions and behaviours' (Johnson, 1994:440).

However, EAL teacher 2 communicated a more specific linguistic focus at the sentence or discourse level in comparison to other EAL teachers and mainstream English teachers. EAL Teacher 2's account was more detailed

about the ways in which words or phrases link together to make meaning. The extract below captures her thinking about reading effectively:

EAL Teacher 2: we might do something like look at connectives, look at sequencing, we might look at pronouns, you know specific language issues or verb tenses is always a favourite one and just kind of see how they work to stick language together as [unclear] as I usually say. And then areas of vocabulary too that he might not be familiar with.

EAL Teacher 2 recognises that a lack of grammatical or discourse knowledge within academic contexts impacts on how effectively a pupil can access a text. Grabe and Stoller (2002) note the importance of such concepts by drawing attention to the fact that EAL pupils lack the tacit knowledge of grammar that L1 readers will have acquired by the time they begin to read. EAL pupils therefore 'need some foundation of structural knowledge and text organisation in the L2 for more effective reading comprehension (Grabe and Stoller, 2002:43). Despite a broader understanding of the needs of EAL pupils being present within EAL teachers' interviews there is still a need for such thinking to be embedded in a more multidimensional view of reading literacy; such a view embraces a more critical theoretical framework for reading literacy and engages with its labyrinthine nature as a set of cognitive skills and a set of social events. A more encompassing framework, such as this, would allow teachers to provide EAL pupils with the 'tools for deconstructing texts, sentence by sentence..., process unfamiliar discourse patterns and talk about how meaning is constructed through language choices' (Fang and Schleppegrell, 2008:9).

EAL Teachers' Talk about Classroom Practices

EAL teachers' accounts showed some similarities with those of mainstream teachers. These were evident as EAL Teacher 4 foregrounded the dominant belief operating within the study that vocabulary knowledge is necessary before comprehension can take place. At the same time, EAL Teacher 4

emphasized the need for new words to be presented within a meaningful context and drew attention to the importance of scaffolding for such pupils:

EAL Teacher 4: A scaffolding [unclear] for the bilingual learner and you know, putting it [vocabulary] into a context that's meaningful for ... and I think any ... and also I think it's just good practice. It applies to any child

Significantly, although the majority of teachers talked about the important role of vocabulary, none of them articulated an understanding that there is a complex relationship between having a knowledge of vocabulary in order to be able to read a text, and the process of reading being the primary route through which vocabulary is learned. According to Koda, such competencies are functionally interdependent (Koda, 2005:68). The beliefs about reading development that are missing from the data highlight that the focus within the majority of reading events centred on the text and the meaning embedded within it. EAL teachers foregrounded the idea of giving EAL pupils the language, in terms of vocabulary, that they will need to assimilate into the reading events and their associated practices within the subject area.

EAL teachers' perceived roles impacted on how they talked about meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. EAL Teacher 3 alluded to her role as a consultant – a shift in approach that took place within the EAL Services within Local Authority 2 at the time of the study. She reported:

EAL Teacher 3: ...but I'd like to see a lot more pre-teaching and pre-reading activities. Em and they can be ... I remember I did this with another teacher who I haven't worked with on a regular basis in this way but she was about to start reading a short story, Lamb to the Slaughter, with a Third Year class I think it was and I suggested to her that it would be good to do a prediction activity... it meant that they were exposed already to the sort of the key names, the key vocabulary, key ideas in the text that they were about to read. They also had an opportunity to develop their talking skills through giving ideas to each other, so building confidence for group discussion.

EAL Teacher 3's suggestions for the use of specific strategies to activate prior knowledge aimed to provide EAL pupils with more access to the text and to encourage the mainstream English teacher to structure the lesson in such a way that staged learning, thus providing more opportunities for active participation. While such general principles were part of the training within initial teacher education programmes, EAL Teacher 3 believed that such practices were not often implemented in mainstream classrooms and part of her role was to operate as a consultant to help mainstream teachers develop pedagogies that would actively draw on the knowledge related to text that EAL pupils already possessed.

In contrast to this, EAL Teacher 1 defined her role in a different way to EAL Teacher 3 as her working context within the various sectors afforded different opportunities for practice:

EAL Teacher 1: I always think with younger ones [Primary level] it's quite useful to spend quite a long time just with stories quite often, story telling and build up their oral skills.

Researcher: In terms of Secondary students, you were saying that you wouldn't necessarily get the opportunity to do that extensive oral discussion with them.

EAL Teacher 1: No.

Researcher: What's the reason for that?

EAL Teacher 1: Well if you were in a class, you can't ... you know, the class, the teacher usually wants people to be reading quietly, so you know [*laughing*], that's why it would be better to take them out...I try to give more support and in a visual form, usually in a form of say a worksheet or something that they can focus on.

It is reasonable to infer that EAL Teacher 1 above felt constrained in terms of how she could support EAL pupils within the mainstream classroom at a secondary level within a smaller local authority. She clearly noted the importance of what she perceived as the link between oracy and the development of reading literacy, but that such practices mainly took place at a primary school level. Such understandings of language development may be derived from EAL Teacher 1's own educational background as a Modern

Foreign Language teacher as she emphasized a communicative approach to teaching throughout the interview.

Overall within this theme, vocabulary was strongly foregrounded as a key to reading literacy development in the majority of teacher interviews. These perceptions operated widely despite the acknowledgement by teachers of the importance of various cognitive components related to the reading process; the importance of developing specific skills (e.g. speaking) while reading; or as noted in theme one, the importance of understanding the cultural knowledge embedded within a text. Although other aspects of reading were alluded to there were distinct limitations in the stated beliefs of EAL Teachers and Mainstream English teachers' about how to develop consciously and adequately reading as a process for pupils learning EAL. Such limitations or seeming contradictions may not only have been influenced by the ways in which teachers conceived of the reading process, but were possibly shaped by teachers' uncertainty of the distinct differences between reading in an L1 and an L2. Such perceptions are discussed in the following section.

Universal Needs in Reading

Analysis of teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils revealed that most teachers noted similarities between pupils who were monolingual English speakers and pupils learning EAL. As previously discussed, these beliefs seem to have been impacted by the active acquisition metaphor that frequently operates within *submersion* contexts and are a direct result of ill-fitting and vague inclusive policies.

The majority of mainstream English teachers' views about whether EAL pupils' had distinctive needs in comparison to monolingual English speaking pupils when learning to read in English were framed by an emphasis on vocabulary learning. Examples such as: '*In some respects they'll [the reading*

literacy needs] be the same because I suppose problems with vocabulary' (Mainstream Teacher 1); *'But I mean all the kids are needing to improve their vocabulary, so that's important'* (Mainstream Teacher 2); *'Just the kind of the extent of their vocabulary...That's true of many of the pupils in this class as well'* (Mainstream Teacher 4); *'I would say that eh there's always em most pupils have problems with certain em understanding certain words'* (Mainstream Teacher 8). Other accounts captured effectively the uncertainty of how to distinguish between the different needs EAL pupils have in comparison to monolingual speakers of English are outlined below:

Mainstream Teacher 13: Well it's difficult to say actually because I honestly think that a number of the native speakers have as limited a vocabulary as they [EAL pupils] do. I really, really do. I think obviously my sentence structure is different to their sentence structure in their own language. So that would be a challenge as opposed to a normal native speaker but I think the challenges they face are exactly the same as other people in the class.

Mainstream Teacher 10: Yeah, probably because they've [EAL pupils] maybe not been exposed to that word enough. I think ... well it's prob... no, that's probably the same for native speakers as well, it's just a lack of ... sometimes a lack of understanding of the word; and also an inability to say why it's particularly effective within that context.

Mainstream Teacher 10's account not only drew attention to the importance of vocabulary, but it functioned to exemplify how such perceptions drove his consideration of classroom practices. This clearly placed an emphasis on the need for pupils to understand why a word operates within specific contexts as a way to communicate particular meanings. It is also clear from the lexical cue *'exposed'* within this extract that this teacher drew on the other dominant belief in relation to second language acquisition (see theme two) and linked the lack of exposure to a word as the reason for a EAL pupil's lack of understanding. However, tensions are also apparent when she compared the notion of exposure to monolingual English speaking students; her account aligns with those of other mainstream English teachers and shows the conflict within her stated beliefs as she tried to articulate the specific needs related to EAL pupils, while at the same time recognise some similarities that

may exist for other pupils. Participants in this study often conceptualised reading as a universal set of skills. These conceptualisations link to the findings in chapter 4 (see theme two) where notions of transfer from a L1 to a L2 are foregrounded because many teachers believe learning to read in one language is similar to that in another. Grabe recognises that there are ‘a number of very basic cognitive and linguistic universals’ that influence the reading process in all languages (2009:122). However, he also acknowledges that there are limitations to such notions of transfer (Grabe, 2009).

A more individual perspective of the reading literacy needs of all pupils is linked to only one teacher. Mainstream Teacher 7 did not seem to be able to articulate distinct differences between the needs of EAL pupils and those of monolingual speakers of English. He was the only teacher interviewed who gave prominence to the notion of memory in relation to the cognitive processes of reading. He associated memory with sentence complexity and reported how he believed this to be influential in relation to comprehension:

Mainstream Teacher 7: there will be different reasons why they can't access the complexity of the sentences. A lot of kids I have, they ... perhaps they'll be reading aloud from a novel and you can see that they've got to a point where the sentence is kind of still continuing but they're having trouble remembering what's gone before and putting it into context

While it is clear that this teacher was aware of certain universal principles related to the reading process, it is not evident how he conceptualises or meets the distinct reading literacy needs for pupils whose home language is not English in relation to memory and sentence structure. He stated later in the interview that he believed EAL pupils also had this similar need in terms of sentence structure and memory. Harrison (2003) draws attention to the ways in which elements of sentence structure and the organisation within text (story grammars) impact on how memory functions. When this is viewed through a language as social practice lens it adds another dimension to how language is used to construct meaning within particular contexts. Competent users of a language are accustomed to familiar and predictable

grammatical and organizational patterns that are used to communicate specific messages within particular genres; such language use is situated within the social and cultural contexts of that language. However, EAL pupils are faced with distinct challenges when learning to read in English when the structure of the language or the organisation of the text does not follow a pattern with which they are familiar in their L1. The implications of this will be discussed within the following chapter.

Mainstream Teachers' Talk about Classroom Practices

The majority of mainstream English teachers in talking about how they met the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils emphasised vocabulary and grammar and conceptualised reading as a universal set of skills. However, there was also evidence of these same teachers drawing on particular activities to support the development of reading which gave insights into their broader understanding of the process; this was evidenced as they considered talking and the use of multimedia as helpful tools which allowed EAL pupils to gain access to meaning. The following accounts capture such notions and practices:

Mainstream Teacher 13: ...eh, worksheets on vocabulary I think, grammar, punctuation, suited specifically for, em ... whether even you could get it ... because obviously different languages have different structures in terms of their sentence structure, so you are finding the same sort of mistakes come up, the word placement or whatever.

Mainstream Teacher 12: ...there's people in that class that probably have as limited as a vocabulary as some of the EAL students have purely because of their ability, so I found that a film would engage them a lot more and would allow them access.

Mainstream Teacher 3: Ah...I don't...I think because the class I've got at the moment basically it's pretty much one and the same and there's perhaps I'm more conscious of getting them to understand the basics and the words and the choice of text, but all that's pretty simple at the moment.

Mainstream Teacher 9: So I guess...but I suppose you could...there are parallel similarities because perhaps the children are of the same intellect and they both don't like reading and they struggle with it and the words move all over the page. But the EAL students will be at a disadvantage because they are expecting something to be at the end of a sentence and it's not there.

While the majority of mainstream English teachers referred to the collective belief which recognised that all pupils have similar core needs there were also statements that showed that teachers were aware of some level of difference. However, these differences were referred to in general terms as they highlighted possible variations between a EAL pupil's home language and English in relation to sentence structure, the need to expand the size of their vocabulary when compared to other pupils, or the lack of cultural knowledge when they are faced with mainstream classroom texts (for a discussion on teachers' beliefs about culture see Chapter 4). Teachers appeared to draw on their experience of teaching in classes that had been *set* and on many occasions conceptualised the needs of monolingual English speaking pupils in lower ability classes as similar to the needs of pupils learning EAL; reading literacy needs were thus considered to be universal despite the linguistic, cultural and individual differences that existed.

An analysis of mainstream English teachers' perceptions about the development of reading for EAL pupils revealed that teacher thinking is bounded. Within teachers' accounts there was no clearly differentiated understanding of the different needs between monolingual English speaking pupils and those pupils learning EAL. This is possibly shaped by their classroom experiences as they compared some of the similarities they saw between EAL pupils and monolingual English speakers as they engaged in common reading literacy events. Teachers do not seem to go beyond the general principles and common assumptions that are often associated with the reading process. An understanding of how reading is developed through an explicit engagement with the collective experiences and knowledge of the pupils within the classroom, where they critically engage and build

propositions about how language may be used to create particular meanings within specific contexts, is missing from the majority of the data. Such an understanding of the development of language is consonant with Mohan's perspective on language as social practice where he states:

The language socialization view is based on an account of discourse in the context of sociocultural practices. The learner's participation in discourse in sociocultural activities is not only a means to acquiring language, but also to acquiring sociocultural knowledge.

(Mohan, 2001:112).

Further insights gleaned from the data sets suggest that the majority of mainstream English teachers did not draw on their wider understanding about teaching English as a subject to include their knowledge of genre and instead narrowed down the development of reading to a set of skills and strategies. However, in contrast there were a few accounts and classroom observations that indicated that such knowledge was present within some contexts. These teachers saw the relevance of helping pupils to gain an understanding of text and the choices that the creators of the text made to communicate specific meanings. The unevenness between some of the accounts and the actual practices of a few mainstream English teachers revealed instances where teachers communicated that they did not implement specific strategies during the interviews, yet there was evidence of such in their practices. It is interesting to note, however, that the few teachers who drew on a knowledge of genre in their practices communicated the idea that they needed to enable pupils to gain access to the meaning that was embedded within the text. Their pedagogies seemed to rely on a 'text-centric' approach (Kern, 2000) rather than provide opportunities where culturally diverse interpretations of the text could be explored. Overall, it is fair to suggest that within the context of the study a clearer conceptualization of the distinct cognitive, linguistic and sociocultural needs that EAL pupils have is required in order to allow teachers to meet their reading needs more effectively (Franson, 2007:1110). Such conceptualisations do not seem to be present within the mainstream English teacher data.

EAL Teachers' and Universal Notions of the Reading Process

In contrast to the notion of universal beliefs evident within mainstream English teachers' accounts, a few EAL teachers were aware of some of the specific differences in terms of phonics and grammar between reading in a L1 and a L2. The accounts below exemplify such awareness and also indicate areas of some uncertainty:

EAL Teacher 5: I think it depends what the first language is, if the first language is Chinese or Arabic em then I would imagine it is a different process to learn to read in English because it's a different way round for a start. Em if it's like a European language, which has a phonetic background to it, I think they would approach reading in much the same way. I can't say I've given this any massive thought to be honest.

EAL Teacher 2: Oh yeah! *[laughing]* Well we'll start at the [unclear] semantics, there could be syntactical obviously because their language may be very differently constructed. English is far from being a phonetic language and so it's difficult. We've got em the sort of grammatical verbs seem to cause a lot of problems from the simple – ed or –s to the more did he have, and has he had, and I wish he would have had! And goodness knows all what. So they're all very complex.

Despite an acknowledgement of some of the different challenges EAL pupils may face when learning to read in English, this recognition appeared to be restricted and seemed to operate at the sentence or word level when referring to texts. Stated beliefs did not consider the different 'perceptual and processing strategies' that are involved and how each language may influence the choices that are made by EAL pupils when faced with the 'cognitive and linguistic requirements' of specific reading texts and tasks (Koda, 2005:119).

In contrast to these shared beliefs, one EAL teacher in particular foregrounded universal notions of the reading process. EAL Teacher 3 stated clearly, by drawing on her own language learning experiences, that reading was a universal process across different languages.

EAL Teacher 3: I feel that they can ... if they have a certain kind of awareness for reading in their first language, then they use that similar awareness to read and to learn how to read in another language...From my own experience of reading in different languages, I would also...I don't think that [*pause*] I don't think that there are fundamental differences between the way that I read in one language and the way that I read in another, or the way that I learned to read in one language and the way that I learned to read in another.

What is interesting is that EAL teachers drew on Cummins' universalist position, where 'literacy-related aspects of a bilingual's proficiency in L1 and L2 are seen as common or interdependent across languages' (Cummins, 1981:23-24).

Such language proficiency and the ability to read in the home language was seen as a tool that would enable EAL pupils to develop universal principles and strategies for reading in another language. This conception is present within the guidelines that support policy and appears to have influenced how the development of language and literacy is framed within teachers' beliefs.

EAL Teachers Talking about Classroom Practices

In a similar way to other themes, when EAL teachers talked about classroom practices, they demonstrated a broader understanding of the types of challenges that they considered EAL pupils to have. Despite the emphasis on mainstreaming and the acquisition metaphor, EAL teachers within the study also thought it was important for EAL pupils to have one-to-one time with them. Such shared beliefs are captured in the excerpt below:

EALT2LA1: I think it is quite good for them to have an hour out if it's possible and bring to me their specific difficulties. Say right 'We've been doing this in class but I'm not getting hold of what it is I'm supposed to do here. Teacher thinks I'm lazy.' All sorts of things that they can bring to me at secondary level. 'I've been asked to do this task and I just haven't got a clue what it's about' and I don't ... there

are places I think in secondary school where I've gone into the class but I still think that the young people like to have a bolt hole where they can come and bring their specific issues.

It can be inferred from this extract above that the specific needs of EAL pupils are not being fully met within *submersion* contexts, as EAL Teacher 2 seems to believe that within the current structure such pupils need to have a space where they can ask specific questions related to their own learning needs. This, along with other findings within the study, raises questions about the quality of the mainstream classroom as a social context where EAL pupils are allowed to experience a pedagogical space that permits their distinct needs to be expressed and integrated into the practices associated with mainstream reading events. It is recognised within the literature (see chapter 2) that 'interaction between teachers and pupils has long been considered an important aspect of second language acquisition' (Leung, 2001:179). Opportunities for EAL pupils to express their lack of comprehension or to exchange ideas and information in relation to a task can generate further dialogue and allow the classroom teacher to adjust his or her language (Leung, 2001:179). Comprehensible input is therefore achieved and opportunities for social interaction with the pupil are maximized. Therefore as the research literature suggests, 'both comprehensible input and comprehensible output are important in second language development and content learning' (Leung, 2001:179). Most EAL teachers' accounts agree that a one-size-fits-all approach to pedagogic practices is not effective. It would appear that these practices were fuelled by universal notions of reading and the acquisition metaphor within policy.

An individual variant of shared beliefs is evident within EAL teachers' talk about classroom practices; these perceptions are linked to notions of genre and the language that is used to communicate specific meaning within subject specific texts. EAL Teacher 1 noted that mainstream subject teachers were not always aware of how to pinpoint the specific language features that encode the genres within their subjects. She reported:

EAL Teacher 1: ... I was going to look at Geography because I've got people who are going to be doing Geography in Third Year and if you looked through and ... I just looked through and I could start saying this is where they would need cause and effect and they would need explanation and description and try to provide teachers with some templates. 'This is what they're going to need when they are doing this part of the course', but the courses are not necessarily going to follow what these frameworks are, you've got to find out what their ... when they decide with ... if they've got changing or whatever they're going to do and say, 'Well I'd like to work on suggesting some language areas to go along with this.' Because obviously when they're doing things like the Solar System, that's the one where you tend to be comparing, you know, sizes of planets, or distance and that em I think it's always useful that ... I always think I should try and get teachers to do that. I tried it once and they sort of just looked at me and I said 'Imagine if you were teaching this, what language, what language do you think you would need, or you could find coming out of this topic?' I think they need help to do that.

In a similar way to chapter 4, it is clear that the EAL teacher is positioned as the person who is responsible for providing materials that allow EAL pupils to access classroom reading texts, and as someone who works at the margins (Conteh, 2007:461). EAL Teacher 1's own perceptions about mainstream teachers' lack of knowledge about how to recognise language within the genres of their own subjects is troubling when considered in the light of the distinct needs of EAL pupils. Arkoudis' (2006:428) study highlights the epistemological reconstructions that need to take place between mainstream teachers and ESL teachers as they negotiate their different understandings of language and curricular content.

The findings presented in the preceding pages highlight that the knowledge and practices that would enable pupils learning EAL to flourish in their development of reading literacy in mainstream classrooms are missing. It would appear that while most EAL teachers are aware of some of the specific linguistic needs that EAL pupils have when reading classroom texts, their own perceptions of working with mainstream teachers is that mainstream classroom practices do not reflect a distinct understanding of the differences between reading in an L1 and L2. EAL pupils are expected to assimilate into existing mainstream reading literacy practices that are not necessarily

conducive to the development of English as an additional language. It can reasonably be inferred that because of the lack of knowledge operating across the various contexts within the study the needs of EAL pupils are not being adequately met.

Senior Management

Senior management's beliefs about meeting the needs of EAL pupils were framed within a whole school approach in terms of a literacy policy that operates across the curriculum. Only two participants functioning at a senior management level talked about the ways in which their schools seek to meet the reading literacy needs of all pupils. The specific and distinct reading literacy needs of EAL pupils were not talked about as a part of the wider school policy to develop literacy. Within these culturally and linguistically diverse school contexts, pupil needs were framed within a universal approach to reading development.

The extract below foregrounds the wider approach in terms of school policy that School 7 had adopted in relation to meeting the literacy needs of the whole community within their own catchment area. School 7's vision and involvement with the community sought to facilitate collaborative partnerships with parents as a way to support whole families. When asked about whole school approaches to the development of reading literacy for EAL pupils Depute, Head Teacher 3 gave a full account of the initiative:

Depute Head Teacher 3: We're actually just revisiting our literacy policy at the moment, so I would say that's something that would be coming into that. We're looking at literacy programmes, literacy across the curriculum and we've got plans really for the next session to bring in a literacy hour, literacy right across the curriculum, there's a working party on that. We have plans to run a Family Literacy Programme, the bilingual pupils will be part of that. But the Family Literacy is ... we've managed to secure a bit of funding and working with a couple of our associated Primary Schools. We've secured Primary Staff as well as staff from here, who will work with pupils and their families and it's also, it's a joint project with Community

Learning and Development, recognising that it's part of the geography of this school, the building as well and the catchment area that we have. We recognise that we really have to go out into the community and work with the parents. So we're just at that stage at the moment, the Primary Schools involved are going to be identifying at the moment, identifying the pupils in P6-7, who they think would benefit from this and then we'll get it started up and we're just timetabling it in to We're quite excited about this project, you know. Obviously it's to help the family as well. That's all coming in to do with the literacy policy.

While Depute Head Teacher 3 above notes the importance of the school establishing wider links with the community to promote the development of literacy, there is little recognition of the number of different languages that are spoken within the community and how this may impact on the ways that the development of literacy needs to be considered. Literacy is conceptualised as a universal process for all.

In a similar fashion, Depute Head Teacher 1 also spoke of School 5's initiative to support the development of reading literacy across the school for S1 and S2 pupils. This school implemented a universal approach to the development of reading literacy, where issues of bilingualism or the development of English as an additional language were not systematically addressed or framed within a culturally responsive whole school approach (de Jong and Harper, 2011:73).

Depute Head Teacher 1: Well we don't have a specific plan for EAL students...literacy across the curriculum is a major focus of the whole school...We've got two initiatives: we've got paired reading, where the pupils in S1 and S2 can be paired with an older student or with a member of staff and they'll read with them to develop their reading skills; but the Literacy Circles are slightly different in that a group of pupils will read a book and they'll all have different tasks to do, like one'll have to comment on the characters, one'll have to lead the group in discussion, another one'll describe and they discuss ... it's a bit like a book circle and each of them has to take on a different role each time they do the Literacy Circle. So it's very much discussing the plot, the characters, sometimes they have to describe them to other people. It seems to be working very well. It's an initiative that we use in the Primary Schools, that we've adopted up here and they certainly seem to be enjoying it.

The deeply entrenched monolingual and monocultural discourses that frame head teachers and depute head teachers' perceptions about whole-school approaches suggests that they are unable to articulate the distinctive reading literacy needs that EAL pupils may have. As a result, they are unable to identify how they can contribute to the success of such pupils within their schools.

Observing Classroom Practices

Classroom observations demonstrated that teachers' beliefs about reading literacy were wider and more informed than they had articulated during the interviews. While some teachers' practices aligned with their views that the development of reading literacy was mainly concerned with a knowledge of vocabulary, others demonstrated a broader conceptualization of the process by drawing on their understanding of English as a subject.

Despite some teachers' views and practices demonstrating a wider understanding of the reading process, the majority of the observations appeared to be governed by a one-size-fits-all approach to developing reading literacy. Observations revealed that teachers employed specific fixed routines where they highlighted and discussed vocabulary within its context and focused on the meaning embedded in the text as the main goal of the lesson. Little variation in practices was observed in terms of how pupils achieved these goals. However, a few lessons revealed that some teachers used visual support either during or after the text was read aloud to introduce new vocabulary and provide opportunities for all pupils to consider the use of the word within its context. The following excerpt exemplifies how such practices were enacted:

Mainstream Teacher 3: We will read the poem, let's read one line each.

Pupils: [Each pupil in the class reads one line of the poem aloud].

Mainstream Teacher 3: We know all the words, but it's how they are put together. Hands up if you've picked up a few clues [The teacher chooses a pupil to respond].

Pupil 1: The sentences are not done right.

Mainstream Teacher 3: Yes, it's poetry, so it's different – good observation! What do you think the pictures mean? [teacher shows a picture of a pylon and a boy on the Smartboard]. Is it wise to climb it?

EAL pupil 1: No because you can die

Mainstream Teacher 3: So the first verse is someone walking through a field. What is he doing?

Pupil 3: Climbing a pylon.

Mainstream Teacher 3: What about courage, what does that mean?

Pupil 3: You're tough

Mainstream Teacher 3: Yes! Is it a good idea?

Pupil 4: No!

Mainstream Teacher 3: Why?

Pupil 4: Cuz you can die.

Mainstream Teacher 3: Let's look at the second verse. What's happening?

Pupil 5: he climbed up the metal thing.

[Mainstream Teacher 3 summarises the poem]

Mainstream Teacher 3: What's an insulator...remember we looked it up [in the dictionary]

Pupil 6: Is it something about lightning?

Mainstream Teacher 3: Who do you want to help you? [Pupil 6 chooses an EAL pupil in the class who is considered to be very able].

EAL pupil 2: it stops you getting an electric shock.

Mainstream Teacher 3: They are *brooding*... look at your word bank. [Teacher points to a picture of an owl].

EAL pupil 1: The hoo hoo thing.

Mainstream Teacher 3: The owl. What is the comparison being made here. What are the insulators doing?

Pupil 7: Brooding like owls

The teacher in this small bottom-set class used the initiation, response and feedback pattern of whole-class interaction during literacy practices.

However, this extract, along with a number of other observations, revealed that some teachers used other strategies, e.g. connecting vocabulary with

visual images, to help pupils gain access to a text. Within these lessons, teachers also drew on an understanding of their subject knowledge where

notions of genre and metaphor were brought to the pupils' attention;

vocabulary was therefore discussed in ways that enabled teachers to

demonstrate a link between the meaning of the word and the author's use of

specific literary devices within texts. Within the observations, such approaches presented opportunities for some pupils to engage in an interpretation of the work of the writer. Pupils were therefore encouraged to read for form as well as for meaning and function.

A literary focus was also evidenced within post-observation interviews with mainstream English teachers. When teachers talked about the pedagogy they employed within their classrooms they noted that EAL pupils had other needs apart from those they discussed during the interviews. Teachers noted that EAL pupils had difficulty engaging with literary texts within the English classroom. The excerpts below capture this:

[reading aloud] focuses their minds to follow the texts and to identify vocabulary and idioms. There are benefits even to the traditional ways. It diagnoses issues if they stumble over a word...But in English [as a subject] we are focusing on higher level language skills and it is hard for him [EAL pupil]. We are trying to appreciate literature and it is difficult for him to engage at that level
(Mainstream Teacher 10, post-observation interview).

The focus for him [EAL pupil] was to understand persuasive language techniques in English. I'm sure the language is there in Bulgarian, but in Higher [exams] he has to pick up language in an English text. It is vital that he works in English
(Mainstream Teacher 14, post-observation interview).

It is evident that the mainstream English teachers in the extracts above drew on their subject knowledge as they reflected on their practices and how the needs of EAL pupil were considered in the light of these. Teachers were aware that the language used within literary texts presented challenges for EAL pupils in terms of nuance and persuasive language. The skill of reading aloud was considered by mainstream teachers as an important part of the reading lesson across all the data sets and one that enabled teachers to correct pronunciation and focus on vocabulary. Teachers focused on the meaning embedded within the literary text rather than providing opportunities where pupils could consider culturally diverse interpretations of the text or the ways that language was used by the writer/designer to

construct particular kinds of meaning. A broadening of how teachers interpret and approach the teaching of literary texts is needed.

In addition to this, the majority of lessons that were observed did not include a pre-reading stage. Pupils in these lessons were asked to engage in an intensive reading of the text which meant that EAL pupils did not have the opportunity to access their existing cultural and linguistic repertoires which would have allowed them to link what they know with the words, concepts and ideas they were about to explore. The limited use of these specific strategies during the majority of observed lessons resulted in a lack of opportunity for pupils to read at various levels of comprehension, including reading for gist or for specific facts before engaging in a more critical and detailed understanding of the text.

Many observations revealed that mainstream English teachers provided all pupils with a rich L1 semantic context while reading which linked their understanding of the topic to the written tasks that were often a part of the reading event. However, a universal approach to reading development was obvious within most classroom environments. While some teachers' recognised that there may be specific differences in grammar between a EAL pupil's home language and English, classroom practices for the most part aligned with the shared belief that the process of reading was similar in all languages. This resulted in all pupils receiving the same pedagogic approach to reading within the majority of observations.

The pedagogical implications of non-differentiated understanding of the reading process within multilingual and multicultural classrooms unconsciously created an impoverished teaching and learning context for pupils learning EAL. Many of the everyday words that EAL pupils meet within reading texts in the mainstream classroom may not be a part of their receptive vocabulary knowledge as they are 'operating with a new set of linguistic resources' (Kern, 2000:68). In addition to this, the semantic relationships of words were not explored within classroom observations

which resulted in EAL pupils not having the opportunity to explore critically and understand the differences in word connotations and associations and how these may have alternative representations within their L1. Attention to the syntactic relationships of words and how they might function grammatically within a sentence or longer piece of discourse was also not obvious within observations despite teachers highlighting grammar as a need within their stated beliefs.

Mainstream English teachers in post-observation interviews still foregrounded vocabulary as a particular need as they reflected on their lesson, but widened their description of the need to include connotative meanings. Such needs were again conceptualised as universal as teachers felt that all pupils in the class had similar needs in reading, despite the fact that some pupils were operating in more than one language to comprehend a text. These views are exemplified in the following quotations from post-observation interviews:

I'm not sure how well they understand it [the reading text]. Vocabulary is tricky, and the language in questions is tricky for all of them. The analysis of language...a lot of questions need them to pick up subtleties and connotations and they're not [succeeding]
(Mainstream Teacher 10, post-observation interview).

The language barrier is vocabulary...They have to fight through extra barriers. I sometimes quickly explain that we use figurative language a lot in English. The rest of the class sometimes have the same problems
(Mainstream Teacher 11, post-observation interview).

There was a limited repertoire of literacy practices and differentiated ways of thinking about literacy as a cognitive, linguistic and sociocultural activity within policy and within teachers' beliefs. Both pre and post observation interviews revealed that established schooling, as a sociocultural activity within these contexts, did not have the *cultural tools* that are necessary for developing a multidimensional critical literacy approach to reading. Such an understanding and pedagogical approach would allow EAL pupils to

participate more equally in reading literacy events and limit the possibility of them being put at risk in terms of educational opportunities.

Shifting Identities

Another central theme that emerged from the data was unexpected. As previously discussed, Gee (2005) defines the notion of identity as a socially situated process and exemplifies how identities are constructed in complex ways. Gee (2005, 2008) argues that language use is the key ingredient to the ways in which people enact their identities. Miller (2009:173) affirms the idea that identity is 'multiple and a site of struggle' and draws attention to the idea that 'all experience is mediated through social practices, language use and our reflexive responses' (Miller, 2010:150). Such notions of identity were clear within the interview data of this study where the shifting educational context impacted on mainstream English teachers' confidence in terms of how effective they considered their pedagogic practices to be.

All but one of the mainstream English teachers (Mainstream Teacher 10) communicated feelings of being disempowered within their classroom contexts when faced with pupils who had reading literacy needs that were culturally and linguistically distinct in comparison to those pupils who were monolingual English speakers. This was notable within the data from the conflicting beliefs that some teachers reported within the other themes where they were unsure how to talk about the specific reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. While some mainstream English teachers viewed the needs of EAL pupils as distinct in terms of grammar and vocabulary, they were unable to define what their particular needs might be and how they could be met. The following short excerpts demonstrate the uncertainty in beliefs: *'I suppose in subtle ways, perhaps...just being perhaps made aware on a more official level of some of the difficulties that EAL students face because it's easy for me to assume what I see, but it's not necessarily accurate and I may have been missing things that I could be supporting pupils with but I'm just not aware of*

them' (Mainstream Teacher 15). *'[Teachers] are less sure about how to do it because perhaps of a lack of training'* (Mainstream Teacher 6). *'If there was a major language barrier there because again you know, I was at a loss myself'* (Mainstream Teacher 7); *'I don't really feel that I know exactly what I should be doing to meet his reading needs'* (Mainstream Teacher 16).

In the excerpts above, mainstream English teachers appeared to use very personal narratives as they connected their thoughts, their knowledge (or their perceived lack of knowledge), and their classroom practices to give an account of how well they felt they met the needs of EAL pupils. Such accounts communicated that the lack of available ways of thinking about how to meet the needs of EAL pupils which appeared to be influential in how teachers conceptualised or enacted their identities within multilingual classrooms.

The quotation from mainstream Teacher 4's interview below exemplifies well the shared beliefs of the majority of mainstream English teachers. It illustrates how she framed her beliefs within the wider policy context as she referred to the criteria within policy guidelines for inspection. Her frustration is clearly visible:

Mainstream Teacher 4: It's a huge ... I mean the thing is that even if you were to take it from the most cynical perspective in terms of HMIE and if the school's inspected, then one of the key areas that they're looking at in teaching and learning is the degree to which any department meets learners' needs. How can you be meeting the needs of learners if you don't firstly understand those needs; and secondly you don't have any strategies to go about it, even if you've got an understanding of them, you don't know how to bloody tackle them....

It would appear that this teacher's individual sense of identity as a competent teacher was challenged as she reflected on her knowledge and literacy practices within multilingual classrooms. The lack of appropriate knowledge about the distinct needs of EAL pupils, or the strategies that could be used to meet their needs in practice, were highlighted as areas where she felt teachers needed more input or development. Such insights

align with Gee's (2008, 2008) and Miller's (2009:175) notion of identity construction where 'what teachers know and do is part of their identity work, which is continuously performed and transformed through interaction in classrooms'. The gap that Mainstream Teacher 4 refers to in terms of teacher knowledge was common within the study as teachers talked about their lack of confidence in knowing what EAL pupils' specific needs were. Such experiences seemed to have reshaped their sense of identity and is an important finding within the study. The following section further exemplifies how teachers framed such uncertainties and related their lack of knowledge to their classroom practices.

Mainstream Teachers' Identity and Classroom Practices

Many of the mainstream English teachers could not clearly articulate how to meet the distinct reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. Teachers within the interviews revealed a continued lack of confidence when they were asked directly about how they perceived their role in meeting the needs of EAL pupils. Their accounts highlighted uncertainty in terms of how to enact appropriate and effective pedagogies, as the extracts below illustrate:

Mainstream Teacher 1: I don't know how, I don't have the experience in teaching bilingual pupils to do that. So I wouldn't say I do alter [my lessons] ... unfortunately I don't have enough experience.

Mainstream Teacher 5: Just probably the same as meeting the needs of every other child in the school, except that I probably feel more qualified to meet the needs of other children... I am not given the training to meet their needs. So I guess, in a way, I perceive my role to do something, which I don't know that I can do.

Mainstream Teacher 15: ...inevitably you feel as though you're failing these pupils because we are relying upon them to do most of the work, you know.

It is evident that in terms of agency, teachers do not view themselves in empowering roles when they talk about their teaching experiences within

contexts where there is a lack of available thinking about how to enact appropriate pedagogies for EAL pupils; in Gee's (2005) terms, an informed discourse community is missing.

The following extract is from an interview with a teacher who expressed the greatest levels of insecurity throughout his interview in comparison to other teachers about his own ability to meet the needs of EAL pupils. Mainstream Teacher 16 drew on setting practices within the wider school context to illustrate his doubts about the success of implementing a *submersion* approach and this appears to have mediated his own sense of agency as he attempts to meet the needs of these pupils.

Mainstream Teacher 16: I certainly feel that I'm not quite sure I understand how putting somebody with very little English into a high class and then just saying 'That's fine they'll cope' is meeting their needs! Surely that working in a class where people are focusing more on basic language acquisition in general, in [unclear] seems to me to make more sense but [unclear] what I've been told. So I don't think I'm meeting it [their needs] very well.

The extract above exemplifies the thinking processes associated with how teachers talk about their identities in multilingual classrooms. It is clear that the complexities linked to the context influenced the ways in which teachers' identities were constructed. Mainstream Teacher 16 questioned his understanding of policy and the general advice he had been given in relation to supporting EAL pupils who were new to English and he made the point that such pupils need teaching that has a basic linguistic focus. His account appears to suggest that such a focus does not operate within mainstream classrooms. His experiences seem to have greatly impacted on his identity as a competent teacher. Within his context there are no consistent support structures in place that will enable him to go through the process of becoming more knowledgeable as classroom populations become more diverse. It is clear within the accounts above that 'teachers make tacit connections between their identity and their instructional practices' (Schirmer Reis, 2011:32).

EAL Teachers' Sense of Identity

While the practice of mainstreaming for all pupils strengthened the role of EAL teachers where they worked in partnership with mainstream teachers in schools, it is not without its challenges (Franson, 1999:65). This thesis illuminates the uncertainty within beliefs and the sense of identity that EAL teachers communicated as they worked within settings where there appeared to be no clear and distinct conceptualization of EAL. Although the beliefs that were communicated were shared in terms of how they related to identity, there were variations on how these beliefs were expressed as EAL teachers drew on their experiences within their varying contexts.

The introduction of the new ESOL exams to Scottish schools meant that EAL teachers had the opportunity to attend training sessions that would help them to prepare EAL pupils for such exams. The shift in the landscape of Scottish exams brought challenges to the ways EAL teacher 5 conceptualised her own identity as she engaged with teachers who worked in the adult ESOL community or EFL teaching contexts. She reported: *'There are all these kind of TEFL-y type teachers from college there, they're all going on about bits of speech I had no idea what they are!'* (EAL Teacher 5). The extended account below gives further evidence of how she draws on her own community of practice to establish her identity within school contexts:

EAL Teacher 5: I mean I know in areas of Westside they do have English classes for folk who arrive [EFL classes and ESOL classes]. Some of my colleagues who you know, like me, we've kind of been in a position where we thought immersion's best, immersion's best [unclear]. Fantastic! That's good but I couldn't do that, I'm not trained to teach English in that way [ESOL/EFL teaching], that's not what ... so my bag is the immersion. If the local authority were to say they want an English class: Away and get yourself a TEFL teacher then because it's a completely different approach and I wouldn't be doing it. It would need to be somebody else that was doing that because my bag is Teaching English With Access to Curriculum in Multilingual Schools because that's what my training is.

EAL Teacher 5 made a distinction between her own training and educational background with those teachers who teach English as a foreign language (TEFL) and did not consider herself as an English language teacher. Her espoused beliefs demonstrated what Gee (2008:155) terms as solidarity with particular Discourses i.e. EAL teachers, as she defined the ways they enacted socially recognisable activities within *submersion* contexts. Duff and Uchida's study recognises that teachers' identities are often 'deeply rooted in their personal histories, based on past educational...experiences' (1997:460). EAL Teacher 5 did not communicate a strong understanding of language as a system or as social practice during her interviews.

EAL Teacher 2 linked her understanding and experiences to the wider context and foregrounded issues in relation to ESOL exams; she talked about the various challenges associated with trying to establish the ESOL exams as part of a school's assessment repertoire.

EAL Teacher 2: At the moment I'm just in a state of anxiety because I've got the first person ever for me, since this is a recent role for me, doing Intermediate 2 ESOL instead of Intermediate 2 English; having decided after the prelim to do that. So very nerve wracking to hope that he gets a good pass in it to justify that change.

EAL Teacher 2 stated that she withdrew pupils who would take the exam out of various subject classes to prepare them individually. While she appeared to have confidence when discussing the specific needs that she believed EAL pupils to have in relation to reading literacy, her anxiety about taking on this new role as part of her identity as an EAL teacher was evident within her discussion.

EAL Teacher 5 also expressed some uncertainty about preparing EAL pupils for ESOL exams. A lack of teacher training on how to prepare pupils for such exams weighed heavily on her mind during the interview as she stated that she wasn't sure what she was doing. Her direct engagement with an

EAL pupil at the time of this interview within the classroom reflects her uncertainty:

EAL Teacher 5: Somebody that we're practising this qualification on, you know, it's somebody that you would ... we're doing it with you [points to the EAL pupil] because we know we have two years, so next year we'll be much better. And you'll get a higher qualification next year, but you're the person really we're practising on because we don't know what we're doing! Not very clearly, yet. You don't mind do you?

Both of these EAL Teachers reported that it was difficult to establish the ESOL exams within some school contexts because it was a new and unknown quantity and because there was no one within schools designated to teach it. These two EAL Teachers worked within smaller local authorities (Local Authority 1&3) which had no links with other establishments to provide ESOL exam classes for EAL pupils. The context and the lack of support for EAL teachers had clearly impacted on their confidence to carry out particular teaching roles related to these exams.

EAL Teachers' Talk about Practice

In a way that is similar to Johnson's (1994) study, not all teachers responded in a uniform manner to communicate their beliefs because their views were often shaped by a number of different experiences within their teaching contexts. EAL teachers framed notions about their identity in relation to how they were positioned in schools; some reflected on the status of EAL within the schools they worked in and linked their feelings of disempowerment to their professional relationships within these contexts. Examples of such talk are provided in the following interview excerpt:

EAL Teacher 3: I think the status of the EAL Teacher is still quite low, you know we're still I think [unclear] probably we've heard in our conversations before that we had with her, to this kind of Cinderella image that the EAL Service has, which it's not true for all teachers,

some teachers are very, really recognise the value of EAL professionals working alongside them.

EAL Teacher 3's perceptions about the professional identity of EAL teachers within schools is that of a poor cousin when compared to the positioning of mainstream specialist subject teachers within the curriculum. Franson recognises such dilemmas and highlights the need for the EAL profession to develop a 'stronger professional identity and greater status if they are to help EAL learners construct identities that will enable fuller participation and increase their academic achievement' (Franson, 2007: 1111).

EAL Teacher 1 compared how she negotiated the professional relationships with other EAL teachers in larger local authorities. She reiterated concerns about the status of EAL within her setting and these clearly impacted on how she enacted her identity as an EAL teacher. The EAL teachers in Local Authority 3 did not seem to have an independent voice, and needed to work within the structural and pedagogic constraints of the SfL department. The struggles she faces are captured below:

EAL Teacher 1: Yes, yes, sorry. It's just with the number. You see if we had the bigger numbers ... when you hear what Westside, the bigger cities do, even EAL Teacher 5 [who works in local authority 3], she's now got how many of them and she's got her own little way of doing things. I'm still struggling now, I know it's got ... one school we're now up to about five I think in that school. But I'm having to work a bit against the Support for Learning, who seem to have their set way of how they see things should be done.

It is clear within EAL Teacher 1's account that her experiences within school contexts have been 'charged with difficulty and conflict' (Varghese *et al*, 2005:31). When considering identity formation as a process of *being* and *doing*, as posited by Gee (2005), within particular situated contexts, it can reasonably be inferred that her role as an EAL teacher within a mainstream context has impacted significantly on her sense of empowerment as she tried provide support within structural constraints. Such understandings of

identity formation are captured in Miller's (2009) consideration of social identity as she quotes Hall (1996:4) who acknowledges that 'identities are constructed by participating within, not outside, discourses'. Such understandings of the formation of identity have significant implications for this study in terms of how EAL is positioned. Various factors within school contexts communicate specific messages to EAL pupils about their own sense of place and identity, e.g. the lack of status EAL is given within the contexts of the study; the educational opportunities that are available to them; and whether they experience appropriate practices within the system as a whole. Therefore, how teachers perceive of their own identity shapes the teaching and learning opportunities available for those they are teaching.

Teacher Professional Development

The majority of mainstream English teachers responded positively when asked if they would be interested in staff development workshops to assist them in meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. In response to this question, many of them provided a rationale for desiring such input and linked it to their classroom practices. The accounts outlined below exemplify talk on this topic:

Mainstream Teacher 16: Yes I would actually, yeah, because I do feel, as I said, I feel very kind of inexperienced there, clueless at times. So yeah, absolutely, I would.

Mainstream Teacher 14: I think we need more subject specific training and resources...we just do! We are naïve in this

Mainstream Teacher 3: Yeah. We were getting a bit desperate, so that we're not trawling through tons of stuff because a lot of the stuff that seems to be out there is basic grammar work and we can do all that but what else should we do, how should we be getting these kids to move on from filling in the missing word, to actually understanding stuff? That's what I'm trying and probably doing it wrong and floundering and all the rest of it. But ... *[sigh]*

Mainstream Teacher 4: The majority of teachers I suspect in kind of Scottish education, working in a mainstream setting, don't have additional language qualifications and I think it can be very demoralising as a teacher, where you recognise there are...you know, there's all this need set sitting in front of you and you perhaps lack the tools and the strategies and the means by which you feel that you're actually addressing that

It is clear from these extracts that the findings within this study in terms of teacher identity align with the literature on teacher knowledge and identity formation. Teachers' beliefs and knowledge about teaching and learning often grow out of and are shaped by practice. It can reasonably be inferred that the uncertainty expressed within teachers' accounts is mediated by ill-fitting policies, a lack of provision and support and the necessary training to meet the cognitive, sociocultural and linguistic literacy needs of EAL pupils within these shifting educational contexts. The implications for initial teacher education and professional development courses will be returned to in the next chapter. While the findings chapters capture a number of views that were communicated by mainstream English teachers about their understandings of the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, it is notable that many hedged their statements in a language of uncertainty. The majority of mainstream English teachers did not position themselves in empowering roles when they talked about their teaching experiences in multilingual and multicultural classrooms. An informed discourse community was missing that could have enabled more effective practice and a more secure sense of identity.

However, Mainstream Teacher 10 gave a more confident account when she was asked if she would be interested in staff development workshops. She was the only mainstream English teacher within the study who did not note an interest in continuing professional development. Her expressed beliefs were linked to her partnership with EAL Teacher 3 and are outlined in the extended interview extract below:

Researcher: Would you be interested in staff development workshops, CPD that would further develop your existing skills for EAL pupils?

Mainstream Teacher 10: Em [*hesitatingly*] not really because ... and I don't mean this to sound arrogant at all but because I've worked with EAL Teacher 3 and we still do and I've also ... you know, she is always reassuring me that everything I do is perfect ... well not perfect but everything I do is helping, even though I don't feel like I always am. You know, she's very sort of reassuring and we are always kind of talking about strategies.

Researcher: That sounds like a good relationship.

Mainstream Teacher 10: It is and it's nice. I know that's not the case all the time, so for that reason no. If I didn't have EAL Teacher 3 and I didn't feel confident that what I was doing was supporting those kids then absolutely and I think it's needed, it's needed. But I think at the end of the day it's just good teaching and learning is going to support all students and EAL students, you know, lots of group work, lots of discussion, lots of sort of interactive activities, not passive kind of ... lots of listening and ... I don't know!

Mainstream Teacher 10 considered effective provision for EAL pupils to be *just good practice*. Such an assumption views the teaching of reading to EAL pupils to be the same as teaching fluent monolingual English speaking pupils. This perception is consistent with the commonly held beliefs about reading as a universal process that is held by the majority of other teachers within this study. Mainstream Teacher 10's sense of self-confidence appeared to be linked to her partnership with EAL Teacher 3. Such a partnership seemed to provide an opportunity of professional development for Mainstream Teacher 10 where her knowledge and identity were being transformed as she considered how to implement strategies that were designed to enable all pupils to become more participatory as suggested by the EAL teacher. However, Mainstream Teacher 10's confident report reveals that her knowledge and practices are still built around the dominant discourses that view reading literacy as a similar process for both EAL and fluent monolingual English speakers.

EAL Teachers and CPD

In line with the expressed desires of the majority of mainstream English teachers, two EAL teachers communicated a desire for professional development. It is evident that both EAL teachers 1& 2 required more input than formal university training or what they learned through their own personal reading:

EAL Teacher 1: Mhm, yeah because there's not a lot of CPD that meets that and when you've done all the modules [on a university course] ... I mean that was really great, when I was doing the modules and I find that really, really useful but now it's em ...

EAL Teacher 2: Well I ... that's it, I'm not sort of really ... I sort of do a lot through reading and I'm part of the BECTA Forum and that can be useful, sometimes it isn't they get bogged down with some silly things but sometimes you get ideas when you find out what other people are doing. But within Scotland there's not a good exchange of ideas.

It is apparent within EAL Teacher 2's account that the lack of opportunities for knowledge exchange within her context had shaped her own professional development. However, there is a visible sense of agency where she stated that she actively participates in a Forum and engages in personal reading in order to get ideas and develop within her field. Despite the importance of the role of the EAL teacher, opportunities for professional development seem to operate on the periphery across many Scottish local authority contexts.

Classroom Observations

It is important to note the apparent contrast between teacher interviews and classroom observations. Mainstream English teachers projected a confident sense of ownership within their classrooms as L1 specialists during reading literacy practices. Their understandings of the mainstream curriculum were clearly evident as they enacted locally interpreted *inclusive* practices related to English as a specialist subject area. During observations, it would appear

that mainstream English teachers enacted a more confident role as they identified with their subject specialism as they engaged in literacy practices. Belonging to a specific discipline seemed to play a critical role in constructing their identities within the classroom and their engagement with pupils.

The majority of observations revealed that the practice of inclusion upheld an assimilationist approach, where teaching practices expected all pupils to engage in the dominant pedagogies, classroom culture, and ways of reading and interpreting text. Despite the majority of teacher interviews showing that mainstream specialist English teachers felt disempowered as they considered how to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils, their classroom practices positioned them as confident professionals who were operating within a perceived monolingual and monocultural environment. Mainstream teachers appeared to be unable to reconcile their subject specialist identities with the shift that has taken place within Scottish classroom populations.

Many post-observation interviews revealed the ways in which mainstream English teachers spoke confidently about their subject areas and how associated practices were enacted in the classroom. The confidence within the following excerpt captures common teacher accounts and experiences as they reflected on their lessons:

When I speak to the whole class I speak much quicker. There is the added problem of speed for him [EAL pupil]....We have been watching an adaptation of a film [a play by Shakespeare]. I don't think he is following it well. The edition [of the written play] we use with explanations will help him. I've shown the film intermittently. He's engaged as he was looking up the place [the setting] and the playwright. The questions we do at the beginning and end of the lesson will help him. Andy [another pupil] helps him. I gave him a pocket guide with his dictionary. I get him to take the play away, to take it to Arabic class. I get the feeling he wasn't familiar with Shakespeare or the setting. I think kids enjoy plays, it's not hard to enthuse them. They are anxious to get a part. Reading drama is naturalistic, being read aloud. It is good for EAL pupils to hear the

literature and the spoken word. I don't often feel drama in 1st and 2nd year suits critical essay writing, but I think I'll have them write a script of their own. I'd like to see Abdul [EAL pupil] have a shot. It's a natural type of literature

(Mainstream Teacher 8, post-observation interview).

Mainstream Teacher 8 talked confidently about his classroom practices; he notes the importance and relevance of his subject area by referring to written plays as a natural type of literature for pupils to experience. He suggested, however, that the EAL pupils within his class were having difficulty engaging with what the rest of the class was doing and this included the speed of speech with which he conducted the lesson. EAL pupils having difficulty with the classroom 'norm' was common in many of the post-observation interviews. It would appear that the majority of mainstream teachers still consider and enact their pedagogic identities within an L1 teaching and learning space despite their awareness of the changing classroom population. A possible mediating factor that influenced such identity formation could be linked to existing policy and the knowledge base within ITE and CPD programmes; both of these areas appear to draw upon the acquisition metaphor when considering inclusion and mainstreaming for EAL pupils.

However, despite the majority of mainstream English teachers speaking confidently about their observed practices, there were also elements of uncertainty within some of the post-observation interviews. The extracts below exemplify common feelings of uncertainty:

We [mainstream English teachers] don't know the best methods for language acquisition.

(Mainstream Teacher 16, post-observation interview).

I actually don't have the expertise to teach EAL pupils. I keep relying on common sense, but don't know if that's right; it's knowing how to teach language in the way that she [EAL pupil] needs it.

(Mainstream Teacher 1, post-observation interview).

While the observation studies seem to indicate that mainstream English teachers communicate and enact a more confident identity through the pedagogical characteristics, knowledge and expertise of their specialist subject areas, there is evidence within the post-observation interviews that the changing context has caused them to reconsider what they bring to their classrooms as they reflect on how effectively such expertise meets of EAL pupils. Such insights align with Creese's (2005) study, where the apparent tensions within teacher identities, as EAL and mainstream teachers negotiate different roles, are a direct result of school contexts implementing submersion and assimilationist practices. Teachers within this thesis do not appear to have access to consistent opportunities for extending their knowledge base and developing their literacy practices to include the needs of pupils who speak a language at home other than English. Such a lack impacts on how their identities are constructed within school communities. As highlighted previously, there is a lack of available thinking within many school Discourses about how to enact pedagogies that meet the needs of EAL pupils. Despite a general recognition within policy guidelines of inclusion for bilingual pupils, a framework for enabling teachers to implement the type of inclusive reading literacy practices that accompany such aspirations is missing. This has important implications for the teachers within the various school contexts as identity formation is not only influenced by context, but by their experiences within the classroom as they interact with students and enact specific pedagogic practices. Miller recognises the impact of such factors and emphasizes:

...thinking, knowing, believing, and doing are enacted in classroom contexts in a way that cannot be separated from identity formation. What teachers know and do is part of their identity work, which is continuously performed and transformed through interaction in classrooms

(Miller, 2009:175).

It is important to note that factors within the wider context, such as policy, initial teacher education programmes, school-wide approaches, curriculum, and access to professional development courses also impact on the ways that

teacher identity is formed, thus shaping how effectively the needs of EAL pupils are met.

Conclusion

This chapter began by offering an analysis of the ways in which teachers talked about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. What emerged from the analysis was that teachers foregrounded a knowledge of vocabulary and grammar to represent the needs that EAL pupils had when faced with English texts. However, the majority of teachers also conceptualised these needs as similar to those pupils who were fluent monolingual English speakers, which resulted in an undifferentiated understanding of the distinct social, linguistic and cultural needs of pupils learning EAL operating within school contexts. Another key theme that emerged highlighted how teachers' identities were impacted by changing educational contexts. Despite teachers' perceptions foregrounding the similarities between the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and those of monolingual English speakers, they also expressed uncertainty about how effectively they felt they met the needs of pupils who were learning subject content through English as an additional language. It would appear that various factors within these shifting educational contexts mediated teachers' confidence and the ways in which they implemented classroom literacy practices.

The following chapter provides a discussion of the key findings that emerged from the teacher interviews and observations and considers their implications.

Chapter 7 Discussion

Introduction

The aim of this research was to explore secondary teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how these were met in classroom practices. Within this study, the underlying assumption was that in order to reach an understanding of teachers' beliefs it was essential to consider how they were mediated by the wider sociocultural context as this would offer better insights into how the needs of EAL pupils were met in school and classroom practices. The findings within this thesis therefore contributed to an understanding that teachers' beliefs cannot be divorced from the wider sociocultural context. An analysis of the findings indicated that teachers' perceptions were intricately linked to the wider historical, social, cultural, political, and institutional environment. Such an understanding resonates with the notion that context is not a static concept; as a result, changes within an environment influence ways of *thinking, knowing, interacting, and doing* (Gee, 2005). The research methodology allowed for 'multiple voices and stories' to be captured, through the use of teachers interviews and observations, and this in turn enabled me answer the research questions by constructing a very real and focused account of what is happening across a number of sites within the Scottish educational context.

The literature review has revealed that the majority of research into teacher education programmes fails to consider the influence of social and cultural contexts and the knowledge and beliefs that teachers *bring to bear* (Woods, 2006) on their classroom practices (e.g. Borg, 2006; Reeves, 2006; Johnson, 2009; Tarone and Allwright, 2010). Research into EAL issues within the UK in particular appears to be limited to small-scale studies, many focusing on issues at a primary school level. There is a dearth of studies within the Scottish context that focus on EAL issues which results in a lack of research evidence that can be used to understand how school contexts meet the needs of pupils learning EAL. It is noteworthy that the topic and the approach

used within this thesis are not featured strongly in previous research carried out in secondary schools; the findings from this study address that gap.

Engaging in a study of this kind has challenged and shaped my own beliefs about the development of reading literacy. Teachers' accounts revealed that there was a lack of knowledgeable discourse communities that have informed ways of thinking about how to define and meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils operating within school contexts. This lack resulted in these pupils being *submersed* in pedagogically impoverished mainstream classrooms; such experiences not only impacted negatively on literacy practices but how teachers constructed their own identities within environments that appeared to promote an assimilationist agenda.

In addition to this, this study broadened my own understanding of the ways in which language is used to construct meaning within a variety of texts. A consideration of integrating Halliday's (1978) systemic functional grammar with a critical literacy approach has developed further my understanding that English as a language is not used in a uniform manner to communicate standard or autonomous meanings, but that language choices are shaped by the sociocultural contexts in which it is used. This study therefore suggests that the implementation of such an integrated approach would enable students to move beyond the basic skills/strategies approach to reading and enable them to engage in the kinds of critical reading that will develop their understanding of how language is used to construct texts and to position audiences.

Generally speaking mainstreaming practices have been a source of concern within other studies for a period of time (e.g. Cummins, 1984; Franson, 1995; Johnson and Swain, 1997; Leung, 2001, 2002, 2012; Gibbons, 2006, 2009). This particular study adds to this existing body of literature and provides additional perspectives that help to build a detailed picture in terms of what secondary mainstream teachers face as educational contexts within Scotland continue to become more linguistically and culturally diverse. Overall these

findings foregrounded a number of important issues which have significant implications for policy and provision; the development of EAL; classroom approaches to the development of reading literacy within diverse classroom contexts; and teacher education within the Scottish educational context. The following sections will discuss these findings and consider some of the implications of the study.

Mainstreaming and Immersion

One of the key findings of this research is that teachers' experiences within linguistically and culturally diverse classroom contexts caused them to question the effectiveness of the current mainstreaming policy as it is implemented within Scottish schools. While previous research has considered the collaborative practices between EAL teachers and mainstream subject specialist teachers within mainstreaming contexts (e.g. Bourne and McPake, 1990; Franson, 1995; Arkoudis, 2006), much less research has considered secondary mainstream teachers' perceptions about whether such 'inclusive' policies and classroom pedagogic practices are working to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils successfully. This study addresses this gap in the literature.

The findings clearly indicate that ill-fitting policies and a number of beliefs and experiences operating within the contexts have influenced teachers' beliefs and how effectively they meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. It is interesting to note is that there are instances where policy appears to legitimise the beliefs and practices that teachers hold and enact. The term *immersion* was frequently used by teachers, but had been *overextended* (Johnson and Swain, 1997) in its use. '*Immersion education is an umbrella term*' and derives from the Canadian bilingual education context (Baker, 2006:245). The aim of these programmes in Canada was bilingualism in two prestigious languages (French and English) where both languages were incorporated into the school curriculum. Such programmes serve

majority language children who are learning through a second language (Baker, 2006). However, within the Scottish and UK context, English is the sole medium of education, where pupils from minority language backgrounds are *submersed* in mainstream schools. As a result, there were a number of constraints on the effectiveness of this approach because of the assimilationist nature of schooling adopted in Scotland to the education of pupils learning EAL. This has led to subtractive or transitional notions of bilingualism which were unconsciously implemented across the school contexts. Therefore, in reality, EAL pupils did not experience effective *immersion* approaches that facilitated the development of language and reading literacy, but rather experienced *submersion* approaches that were widespread, where 'L2 speakers with limited proficiency [were] placed in classes dominated by and organised for L1 speakers' (Johnson and Swain, 1997:8). The findings across the various sites show that local interpretation and the implementation of inclusive, mainstreaming policies resulted in the vast majority of EAL pupils having (English only) *submersion* experiences. Despite the recognition within the ASN act (HMSO, 2004) that EAL pupils have additional support needs, inequitable learning encounters continue to feature in the lives of such pupils within Scottish classroom contexts. Ill-fitting policies which do not make visible the distinct pedagogic practices related to the effective teaching of EAL mediated teachers' beliefs and the teaching and learning encounters experienced by EAL pupils. The lack of resources, specialist staff, and a limited awareness of appropriate pedagogic practices impacted on the effectiveness of EAL pupils being placed in mainstream classrooms and resulted in a pedagogy of neglect. Teachers' accounts demonstrate a lack of confidence in the current *submersion* agenda to meet the needs of EAL pupils effectively and these bring a fresh perspective that illustrate the challenges mainstream English teachers face as cultural and linguistic diversity grows within Scottish schools.

In a way that is similar to policy and practice in England and the United States (e.g. Leung, 2005b; Lucas, 2011), *submersion* experiences for EAL pupils in Scotland are mediated by the assumptions that underpin a mainstreaming

approach. In such contexts policy documents foreground active participation in the curriculum and classroom activities as the main catalyst for EAL development (Leung, 2005b:108). Any reference to EAL or linguistic and cultural difference is given marginal status in comparison to the dominant monocultural norms that are foregrounded within the Scottish policy context. Such marginalisation exposes the lack of comprehensive and explicit policy recommendations or guidelines that would allow teachers to address the language and learning needs of EAL pupils as they develop reading literacy. Similarities with the US context can be seen as Villegas and Lucas (2011) note that where there is a 'move towards greater equity, it often becomes a means of reducing resources spent' in the area of EAL and results 'in the exclusion of [EAL pupils] from full participation and success in school' (2011:41).

A Lack of Resources

Mainstream English teachers noted how a lack of visible support in the form of the EAL teacher impacted on EAL pupils' language learning opportunities and the level of support they themselves received as mainstream teachers. The majority of EAL pupils received EAL teacher support once a week for approximately 40 minutes. It would appear that EAL teachers and local EAL services were being 'forced' to work within the restrictive nature of local authority provision for EAL pupils. It is evident from the study's findings that an informed view of how to work effectively with EAL pupils in mainstream classrooms is not integrated into the heart of policy development, local authority provisions, or classroom pedagogic practices. These findings parallel Leung's (2001) work in England when he highlights that the lack of prominence given to EAL as a specialism is largely due to its 'marginal and Cinderella like status in the school system' and that staffing requirements and funding are often more influenced by 'treasury considerations than by pupil needs' (Leung, 2001:33).

When the findings from this thesis are compared to other UK studies (e.g. Franson, 1995; Leung, 2001) it is clear that there continues to be a gap between a policy of rhetoric and the ways in which provision and mainstreaming practices are implemented locally for pupils learning EAL (Franson, 1995:4). A similar gap has been reported for Canada (e.g. Cummins, 2000). Cummins' work provides helpful insights into the ways in which educational and policy structures impact on the roles that teachers adopt within classrooms and how these adopted roles shape the kinds of interactions that EAL pupils experience with their teachers and their peers (2000:198). These insights are relevant to this current study where my own interpretation of the findings proposes that the limited notions of equality and mainstreaming that operated at a policy level and in school contexts was at the core of how teachers framed their beliefs. Such analysis raises questions about why these are still current experiences within Scotland and the rest of the UK despite key policy changes (HMSO, 2004) in recent years that give pupils learning EAL apparent recognition and equal access to the curriculum.

Experiences of Social, Cultural and Pedagogical Isolation

The findings also show that *submersion* and assimilationist practices have rendered the distinct needs of EAL pupils invisible, or ranked them as similar to those of pupils who are monolingual speakers of English. As a result, teachers talked about EAL pupils often experiencing social and cultural isolation across the school and within the classroom. Current policy and mainstreaming practices tend to view the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils as a general teaching and learning issue that can be addressed by providing opportunities for EAL pupils to participate in a common curriculum (Leung, 2005b:98) and by classroom teachers engaging in *good practice*. However, this study demonstrates that EAL pupils were *submersed* in mainstream classroom literacy practices which resulted in them being

positioned as *overhearers* (Wallace, 2003) of the mainstream curriculum rather than as active participants.

Leung's (2005b) report in England is similar to the insights gained from this study. He suggests that mainstreaming policies are more focused on enabling EAL pupils to have *access* to the curriculum and are much less focused on the importance of 'integrating the specialist pedagogic concerns of EAL-minded language teaching into the mainstream curriculum' (Leung, 2005b:98). Such findings raise questions about why such beliefs and practices continue within school contexts, despite the increased visibility of pupils learning EAL within policy documents.

The findings of this thesis contribute to our understanding of the need to consider the quality of the educational context and the ways in which *submersion* experiences can position EAL pupils as social and cultural 'outsiders' (Wallace, 2003) as they participate in common literacy practices. As foregrounded in the literature review (see chapter 2), Gee (2008) posits that having the opportunity to be apprenticed into a discourse community influences and shapes the resources one has for learning. A consideration of the types of localised discourse communities that operate within schools and classroom literacy practices is crucial if teachers are to structure and enhance the learning opportunities that EAL pupils need to meet the reading literacy demands of mainstream classrooms and schools.

Gee (2008) suggests that any new member of a discourse community moves along a continuum from a peripheral starting position to one that is more of an expert position as the learning process takes place. However, teachers' accounts show that a one-size-fits-all approach to teaching and learning was not working in these Scottish classrooms and schools. From teachers' perspectives, it is evident that EAL pupils who were members of different discourse communities at home appeared to be unsuccessful in gaining access to the existing discourse communities that were a part of school and classroom literacy practices. Such membership cannot be merely 'picked up'

by being exposed to a *submersion* approach in mainstream contexts. This study indicates how these unsatisfactory experiences are due to the lack of informed and available ways of thinking about EAL issues and the distinct EAL pedagogy that is needed across the contexts. Such findings have important implications for mainstreaming policies and teacher education programmes and courses.

Findings from the study highlighted social and pedagogical isolation that was experienced by EAL pupils as they prepared for ESOL examinations outside of their own catchment area. ESOL exams had been designed to provide access to appropriate assessment mechanisms for pupils learning EAL and have 'currency within the wider social context' (The ESOL Manifesto, 2012:9). However, the lack of collaborative partnerships across schools and local authorities resulted in EAL pupils being prevented from accessing specific communities and practices that were put in place for them as a way to enhance their educational opportunities.

Cultural isolation was also a reality for many EAL pupils during reading literacy practices. As outlined in Wallace's (2003) work on second and foreign language reading, appropriate whole-school and classroom practices that enable pupils learning EAL to demonstrate their ability to link their personal histories with school texts are crucial. However, comparable to Wallace's analysis, these routes were rarely available in the culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms in this study. There were few available opportunities in the classroom for EAL pupils to draw on and articulate their personal experiences and histories and link them to classroom texts. Within this study, EAL pupils were often seen to be positioned as *cultural outside readers* by mainstream literacy practices due to the fact that there were no pedagogical spaces where *multiple identities* could be enacted (Wallace, 2003:17-18). The existing discourse communities associated with the literacy practices operating within the classroom did not appear to validate or make *visible* different cultural interpretations of text.

Findings from the study recognise that policy is a reason for such positioning, but also reveal that teachers' lack of confidence and an appropriate knowledge base are contributing factors. Knowing how to implement *visible* (Bernstein, 1996), culturally inclusive reading literacy practices for diverse pupil populations would provide teachers with the confidence they need to be explicit in their teaching aims. Such knowledge would enable them to apprentice EAL pupils effectively into the ways of thinking, feeling, knowing and doing that are part of the reading literacy discourse communities that function within school and classroom contexts. However, it is important to recognise that the goal of apprenticing is not to assimilate EAL pupils into existing literacy practices; rather it proposes that existing reading literacy practices also need to change to take account of the diverse nature of the classroom. Critical multiculturalists advocate the need for school contexts to implement an approach that neither assimilates nor separates pupils learning EAL (e.g. May and Sleeter, 2010; Grant and Sleeter, 2011). Instead they argue that all pupils within the classroom need to be apprenticed into multicultural reading literacy practices that 'accept and affirm the pluralism (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic and gender, among others) that students, their communities and teachers reflect' (Reeves, 2004:47). This would position all pupils as cultural and linguistic *inside readers*.

Implications for Current Mainstreaming Practices

While the findings within this study are locally shaped and linked to particular contexts and participants, implications can be drawn that may provide insights for other contexts about the ways in which various mediating factors influence how teachers frame their beliefs about meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. This study suggests that in order for the context to engage in the inclusive practices considered above, schools and teachers need more clearly defined and informed frameworks of thinking. The presence of such frameworks would foster better social,

cultural and pedagogical experiences for all pupils and teachers and would enable mainstreaming practices to move away from the practice of *submersing* and assimilating EAL pupils into a dominant monolingual education system. It is clear from the study's findings that policy rhetoric appears to be out of step with the multicultural and multilinguistic nature of the Scottish classroom. As a result, teachers are unprepared for meeting needs within such contexts. The linguistic and cultural differences within Scottish classrooms need to be foregrounded more as a pedagogical concern within policy, teacher education, and professional development, and not just as a political ideal that gives recognition to difference, but characterises it as *neutral* (Reeves, 2004).

Such a paradigm shift would enable locally and globally shaped policies to be constructed and implemented, thus enabling schools and teachers to exploit fully the values embedded in the dimensions of CfE. It can be concluded therefore that with continued planning and interaction around such matters, new patterns of thoughts and beliefs can be created as teachers engage with new and more transformative curricular policies and practices that are specifically designed to meet the distinctive language and learning needs of EAL pupils. This study, therefore, argues that open dialogue between educators, academics, pupils and the wider community would demystify the current inadequate mainstreaming approach and develop a better understanding of the inequalities that are present within the system in terms of provision and access to EAL pedagogies for both teachers and pupils.

Framing Language Development

The findings within this theme indicate that the majority of teachers' beliefs about second language development within monolingual mainstream contexts are not only shaped by a blunt, one-size-fits-all approach to mainstreaming policies, but also by a lack of teacher knowledge and

understanding about language as a social process. Locally shaped mainstreaming policy and its associated *submersion* practices seem to assume a simple homogeneity in how English is developed for both pupils learning EAL and monolingual English speaking pupils.

Teachers' reports and their classroom practices indicate that little difference is emphasised between the development of English as a first language and that of a second or additional language. Some teachers' accounts reflected the view that the process of language acquisition resides in the act of being *submersed* in a meaningful environment, while others saw language as a rule-governed system and foregrounded notions of a more individual developmental process where the EAL pupil was positioned as being responsible for acquiring the language required to access the mainstream curriculum. Leung's study recognises limitations in teachers' understanding about language development and he proposes that within English schools, 'the notion of language itself is conceptualised as an undifferentiated body of linguistic knowledge and skills, which when once acquired, can be put to purposeful communicative use' (Leung, 2012:230).

Findings from this study reveal that the dominant beliefs about language acquisition seemed to draw on a simplified understanding of Krashen's second language acquisition (SLA) theories; *exposure* to language in meaningful contexts was therefore given prominence and considered an essential ingredient in the development of English. As a result, assumptions were made 'that...ordinary everyday classroom activities [were] the prime motor for EAL development' (Leung, 2012:223). There is clear evidence within some teacher interviews and in policy guidelines, that a simplified understanding of bilingual theories was also in operation; notions of an undifferentiated and automatic transfer between an EAL pupil's home language and their ongoing development of the English language, were emphasised. This study suggests that undifferentiated ways of thinking and practising are unhelpful and appear to promote universalist beliefs about language acquisition and reading processes, where the language needed to

meet the reading demands of the mainstream classroom is developed through exposure to common literacy experiences within a mainstream classroom. Within such classrooms, the invisibility of *difference* serves only to heighten the inequities that exist in current mainstreaming policies and classroom literacy practices. My own reflections on the *invisibility of difference* links to my understanding of *gaps* and *silences* within a critical literacy approach to reading text, where the voices or perspectives of specific people or groups are not represented or *silenced* by the author (see Chapter 3). A consideration of these notions within a critical literacy approach helps to paint a picture of the ways in which an undifferentiated understanding of language and literacy development renders the distinctive needs of pupils learning EAL as *invisible* within mainstream classrooms. Such descriptions contribute to our understanding of the various ways that inequitable pedagogies can and do impact on the language and learning opportunities that are available for pupils learning EAL.

A Sociocultural Approach

Drawing on the sociocultural lens that has been used for the study helped me to understand further the ways in which 'language is central [within such] a perspective because at its core it argues that the human mind is mediated by socially constructed' cultural tools, of which language is key (Johnson 2009:44). Such an understanding displaces the dominant notion that learning English as an additional language is an individual process that is separated from the way language is used in its social contexts. Conceptualising language development within a sociocultural framework would also displace the acquisition metaphor that operates as a collective belief within these school contexts and replace it with a *participation metaphor* (Pavlenko and Lantolf, 2000). These more inclusive participatory conceptions help to synthesise the general principles related to language learning within SLA theory with other propositions that language learning is a social dialogic process (e.g. Bakhtin, 1981; Halliday, 1985; Gee, 2005, 2008).

The dominant role played by the acquisition metaphor suggests that a knowledge of how to implement a highly differentiated pedagogy that views language as a more social practice is missing from the findings within this thesis. Teacher interviews and observations revealed that undifferentiated notions of language development and reading literacy resulted in classroom practices that frequently used chapter summaries and simplification strategies as a way to enable EAL pupils to access the meaning of a text. Such undifferentiated ways of thinking about language development and reading literacy positioned EAL learners during literacy events with fewer opportunities to engage in the kinds of reading literacy practices that would have met their distinct needs; thus teachers' beliefs aligned with their classroom practices. Classroom practices seemed to position EAL pupils in a way that expected them to create their own system of rules and impose these upon the language that they meet in classroom texts. These practices display a lack of equity in relation to how the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils were met.

Implications for Language Development

These findings have identified gaps in these teachers' knowledge base and have important implications for culturally and linguistically diverse mainstream teaching and learning contexts. It is crucial in current contexts that are shaped by diversity for all teachers to have an informed understanding of how first and second languages develop so that pupils learning EAL have the opportunity to engage in literacy practices that enable them to 'make sense of their experiences' inside and outside of the classroom (Johnson, 2009:44). In order to influence teachers' beliefs, a reframing of how a first and second / additional language develops should be necessary components of ITE and CPD courses. There is a need for such programmes and courses to reframe teaching and learning in ways that acknowledge and include a broader understanding of the process of second language

development. In addition, the knowledge of the distinct differences in the development of reading literacy between monolingual English speakers and pupils learning EAL should be a requirement for teachers on pre-service and in-service training. Lucas found within the United States that English language learners (ELLs) may be excluded from 'full participation and success in school if their teachers are not well-prepared to understand their language-and-content-related needs and to differentiate instruction for them' (Lucas, 2011:41). In the UK teacher education context, Leung states that the issue being questioned here is not 'the talent or capability of individual teachers; it is a problem directly associated with a lack of systematic initial teacher preparation and rigorous continuous professional development' (2001:46). Such conclusions resonate with the findings in a recent study in the Scottish educational context:

LAs, school head teachers and departmental heads need to work closely together with ITE providers to try to find a way of establishing a continuum of provision for pre-service and in-service teachers to help them to acquire and develop the skills, knowledge and understanding required to support the increasing number of EAL learners in our schools, make them visible and give them a voice to participate and a voice that is heard.

(Foley *et al*, 2012:14).

While a full description of second language acquisition and its relation to the development of reading literacy is beyond the scope of this study, my interaction with the data and the research literature has caused me to consider the ways in which practice could implement a reading literacy pedagogy that is intentional in its focus to develop English as an additional language. The integration of a systemic functional grammar (Halliday, 1978, 1985) and a critical literacy approach (Janks, 2010) to reading would offer opportunities in mainstream classrooms for pupils to engage with texts and to benefit from a specific focus on language as social practice. Such an integrated approach would enable teachers and pupils to recognise and understand how linguistic choices and social contexts influence the ways in which language is used to communicate specific meanings in texts. The inclusion of such an integrated approach to literacy would not only serve to

broaden and inform the knowledge base of new and in-service teachers, but would function as one way to avoid EAL pupils being positioned as disadvantaged during reading literacy practices within the mainstream classroom. Instead, EAL pupils would be positioned to enact particular identities as *culturally inside readers* and provided with opportunities to participate in highly differentiated reading literacy practices that develop the specific linguistic resources that are needed to access texts.

These suggestions sit well with Miller's broader conceptualisation of language acquisition where she makes the distinction between 'discourse acquisition [and] language learning' (Miller, 2009:174). This emphasis would shift the focus away from the notion of the learner as an individualistic 'subject', who simply acquires or creates rules about language as a system in order to read successfully, and would foreground the importance of the ways of seeing language as a resource that is used to enact socially and culturally situated identities (Miller, 2009; Gee, 2005). Teachers and pupils would therefore understand literacy as more than learning to read in school contexts; rather they would perceive reading literacy as a 'form of social action where language and context co-participate in making meaning' (Schleppegrell, 2004:5). This thesis proposes that there is a direct need for such development in educating ITE and in-service teachers.

Developing an Understanding of Text

This study further contributes to an understanding of teachers' beliefs about reading literacy by giving prominence to the limited and undifferentiated sense of the reading process that teachers held as they sought to meet the needs of EAL pupils. Teachers saw the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in a similar way to how they viewed the needs of pupils who were monolingual speakers of English. For the most part, teachers talked about the development of reading for EAL pupils in reductionist and general

terms, where the majority seemed to draw on a narrow understanding of reading literacy by placing emphasis on aspects of vocabulary and grammar.

Reading, Vocabulary, and Grammar

Both teachers' talk about, and practices in, interacting with EAL pupils could be seen to be strongly mediated and influenced by their implicit and explicit theories about the essential role of vocabulary and grammar when learning to read in a second or additional language. It is widely recognised in research that the knowledge and development of vocabulary is linked to student success in schools (e.g. August and Shanahan, 2006; Cameron, 2002) and that an understanding of vocabulary and grammar are essential components in any theory and pedagogy of reading. However, the views communicated within this study show that the teaching and learning of vocabulary and grammar were often viewed through a traditional lens where language was seen as a code that needed to be mastered by individual pupils before they could comprehend text. It is helpful therefore to consider widening such notions to include an understanding that reading is a *socially situated practice* (Gee, 2005, 2008). Gee emphasises such a perspective where the meanings that are given to words are negotiated through a variety of social practices by people who 'seek common ground'; Gee's (2005, 2008) perspective recognises that power often plays a critical role within such negotiations (2008:12). Given that pupils within multilingual and multicultural classrooms come from a variety of racial and cultural backgrounds, it is essential that teachers have an understanding that the meanings given to words 'are composed of changing stories, knowledge, beliefs, and values that are encapsulated' in a variety of different cultures and discourse communities (Gee, 2008:15).

It is also noticeable that the majority of teachers within the study did not communicate to any depth what it means to know a word apart from its denotative and connotative meanings and the nuances often associated with

such meanings. While conveying the direct definition of a word and its associated connotations within a particular text are essential dimensions in learning new words, it is also important for an EAL pupil to understand the link between the form of the word and how it has been used by the writer/speaker to convey specific social and cultural meanings. The teachers in this study appeared to have no explicit understanding of how to enable EAL pupils to recognise the lexicogrammatical patterns that exist within a text to establish meaning. Pedagogies that help pupils to realise that each of the choices that the writer/designer has made can be 'reviewed against other possible choices that could have been selected' were not evident in the interview and observation data (Gibbons, 2009:30). As proposed in the section above, Halliday's systemic functional grammar model and a critical literacy approach offer this kind of rich pedagogy. These approaches would enable teachers to move beyond a traditional view of language as a code that needs to be learned at a word and sentence level and help pupils to observe discourse patterns and how meaning is made across whole texts. A reconceptualisation of how language is used within texts would also provide teachers with a framework for thinking about language in use and would enable them to identify the purposes and functions of the language used in the texts and to identify the language and learning demands that specific texts place on EAL pupils.

The study also shows that there is a lack of understanding that the teaching and learning of vocabulary needs to become *multiculturalised*. Expanding literacy practices in this way would facilitate an understanding of how vocabulary and grammar are used in context and provide opportunities for different interpretations of a word or a text to be considered. Multicultural theorists help to draw attention to the view that such contributions are not *adding* to the traditional classroom perspective, but instead display and legitimise the diversity within the profile of the class (Grant and Sleeter, 2011). Literacy practices should intentionally teach words and concepts through a variety of viewpoints and experiences that are represented within the class to challenge the monocultural and monolingual assumptions and

perspectives that are often dominant within English only submersion contexts (Grant and Sleeter, 2011:186). A consideration of Wertsch's (1998) notion of mediation introduces us to the ways in which *new cultural tools* (Wertsch, 1998), such as multiculturalised literacy practices, can be introduced to diverse classroom contexts to facilitate change. Wertsch considers the powerful impact of introducing new cultural tools to a situation as states:

...the general point is that the introduction of a new mediational means creates a kind of imbalance that sets off changes in other elements such as the agent and changes in mediated action in general. Indeed, in some cases an entirely new form of mediated action appears...mediated action can undergo a fundamental transformation with the introduction of a new mediational means
(Wertsch, 1998:43, 44).

Extending the knowledge base of teachers in ITE and in-service programmes to include an understanding of language as social practice and of how to multiculturalise the teaching of vocabulary, would transform mediated action (Wertsch, 1998).

Reconceptualising pedagogy in this way would act as a catalyst for a series of changes that would impact on the opportunities available for pupils learning EAL in diverse classroom contexts. A recognition that dialogic and multicultural practices enable an exploration of how language is used within particular contexts would provide a space where diverse experiences and opinions are allowed to shape how those involved in classroom literacy practices *read the world* (Freire, 1996).

Differences between L1 and L2 Reading

Teachers' undifferentiated understanding of reading means that more helpful models of reading that address the distinct needs of EAL pupils were not available. Beliefs that conceptualised reading as a universal process were

not isolated examples within the data. Reading was therefore viewed as a single set of global skills by many teachers, while few saw it as a set of literacy practices as they considered the needs of pupils learning EAL. It can be argued from the findings of this thesis that there appears to be a link between such undifferentiated notions of reading and teachers' undifferentiated sense of language acquisition processes. Such similarities appear to be strongly influenced by the contexts in which teachers live and work. It can therefore be argued that the contexts in which teachers worked were not providing them with alternative conceptualizations of reading literacy and second language development. Yet, at the same time, it can also be posited that teachers' undifferentiated notions of reading and language constructed the contexts. As teachers made sense of their work in culturally and linguistically diverse classrooms they drew on their understanding of reading and language learning and these perceptions shaped the contexts. It can be argued therefore that both the context and the beliefs that teachers held operated a mediational means.

Bernhardt states that 'the misconception that *'it's all the same'* has undermined research progress in the area, belittled the challenge of reading in a second language, and has impeded assistance to teachers' (Bernhardt, 2011:7, italics in the original). She emphasises that the very existence or presence of a first language and literacy makes the processing and learning needs of those operating in a second or additional language different (Bernhardt, 2011:6). Bernhardt (2011) claims that second language readers are 'operating in stereo' as the first language serves as a channel through which reading in an additional language is processed. (Bernhardt, 2011:6).

Drawing on cross-linguistic theories (e.g. Koda, 2005; Bernhardt, 2011) helps to foreground the differences between reading in an L1 and reading in an L2 and thus inform us about the specific cognitive challenges that EAL pupils face when they engage with texts in the mainstream classroom. While the majority of teachers in this study talked about reading literacy needs in terms of grammar and vocabulary, others foregrounded vague notions of linguistic

transfer and memory. Beliefs that highlighted the importance of grammar and vocabulary shaped classroom literacy practices as pupils engaged with texts. Whether teachers were aware, or not, of the varying processes involved in reading, the EAL pupils within their classrooms often engaged in translation procedures in an attempt to 'integrate and assimilate meaning that would be fragmented if it remained represented in a different language form' (Kern, 2000:123). Such procedures engage the cognitive domain in which memory, as Mainstream Teacher 7 highlighted (see page 229), plays an important role and is a helpful process for EAL pupils. Challenges associated with reading text in another language often result in a break in memory or EAL pupils' levels of attention as they interact with texts and can be due to either a lack of fluency in decoding, automaticity in word recognition, or the translation of lengthy or complex sentences (Kern, 2000). Teachers need to understand that such processes impact on how effectively memory works as EAL pupils try to interact with a text in English, while at the same time synthesising the textual meanings into meaningful propositions in their L1.

However, teachers also need to be aware that memory is not a static cognitive domain. Rather, working memory capacity differs from one EAL pupil to another depending on individual learner differences and whether their home language(s) are typologically distant from English (Koda, 2005:134). This kind of knowledge can facilitate a better understanding of how to plan differentiated tasks and meet the needs of EAL pupils more effectively as they engage in classroom literacy practices.

The Cultural Dimension

It has been noted that many of the teachers in this study perceived reading literacy as a global set of skills, where skills and strategies easily transferred from one language to another. Contrasting beliefs were also evidenced as teachers talked about the social and cultural isolation experienced by EAL

pupils that stemmed from a lack of cultural or background knowledge as they engaged with texts. However, the lack of such background knowledge was communicated as a deficiency in relation to the classroom norm rather than as a social or cultural difference. Teachers' undifferentiated perceptions about language acquisition and the reading process permeated their classroom practices. EAL pupils were positioned as overhearers of reading literacy practices rather than as active meaning-makers who have a valuable contribution to make to the analysis and understanding of the text. Psycholinguistic theory identifies notions of cross-linguistic differences in processing and proposes that 'what is formed in the reader's mind during comprehension goes well beyond the literal meaning of the explicit text statements, [and] encapsulat[es] real-world situations as the reader perceives them' (Koda, 2005:124). Findings from this thesis highlight that culture-specific knowledge is a major factor that contributes to individual learner differences when reading in a second or additional language and impacts significantly on the processing of text. While some of the more 'mechanical' features or strategies related to the reading process, such as word recognition and fluency, letter recognition and pronunciation, can become automated, discourse processing (e.g. mental representations or conceptual manipulations) is considered to be unique and does not lend itself to such automated processing (Koda, 2005:142).

There was little recognition on the part of the EAL teacher that reading is a culturally based social activity and that the purposes of reading varies across different languages and cultures (Kern, 2000:33). Notions of transfer that were present within EAL teachers' perceptions appeared to lean heavily on Cummins (1981) interdependence hypothesis which views L1 reading competence as a 'primary determinant' for successful L2 reading (Koda, 2008:71). As a result, EAL teachers conceptualised their understanding about transfer in relation to common underlying academic proficiencies across languages. Their conceptualizations therefore emphasised the transfer of academic literacy skills (e.g. reading comprehension and strategy use) rather than the cultural and linguistic similarities or differences between a learner's

first and second languages (Genesee et al, 2008:64). The challenge is that it is difficult to determine which aspects of literacy transfer, and some researchers (Genesee et al, 2008; Koda, 2008) emphasise that further research is needed to verify the claims made by Cummins (1981). While Cummins' (1981) hypothesis recognises the resources that EAL pupils bring to the teaching and learning process, it is important to foreground the complexity and multiple dimensions associated with the development of literacy. The findings of this study reveal that caution is needed and that teachers need to be made aware that while there are some universals that are evident within the reading process there are also distinct cognitive, linguistic, sociocultural differences between reading in a first and second language.

Implications for Reading Literacy Practices

The implementation of an integrated framework that draws on critical literacy approaches and a Hallidayan perspective on language, as outlined in Chapter 2, moves teachers away from viewing language as a closed abstract system. Instead, it allows both teachers and pupils to explore the ways the writer has used language to 'entice us into their way of seeing and understanding the world' (Janks, 2010:61). Critical literacy helps to situate Halliday's systemic functional grammar approach firmly within the social practices of literacy and combine an understanding of language and subject content.

The integration of a Hallidayan functional grammar and a critical literacy approach help to move notions of reading and language away from the traditional cognitive views of language and reading. Instead sociocultural theory considers language as a tool of the mind, a tool that contributes to cognitive development and is constitutive of thought' (Swain and Deters, 2007:822). Therefore classroom reading literacy practices that promote talk about language patterns and the choices that are made to construct specific meanings allow different understandings of language and text to be reached.

Swain (2006) argues that these processes mediate the ways in which learners think and talk, and this in turn, becomes a resource for future learning.

This integrated framework, however, is not sufficient on its own. It needs to be embedded within an appropriate sequence of differentiated reading literacy tasks that allow students to engage in meaningful talk to explore texts critically at various levels of comprehension. Such an inclusion into classroom literacy practices would also help teachers to move away from the notion that EAL pupils will automatically *pick up* the language that is needed to access classroom texts. Rather, they would draw on an understanding of genre, register, grammar and the underlying structures of a text to develop and plan differentiated literacy practices that provide equal opportunities for EAL pupils in what could be described as a *high-challenge, high-support* (Gibbons, 2009) classroom.

Overall, these recommendations would prevent EAL pupils from being positioned as *overhearers of the curriculum* (Wallace, 2003) who are *submersed* in one-size-fits-all mainstream classrooms; instead they would be legitimate members of mainstream contexts where transformative reading literacy practices provide multiple *entry points* (Norton, 2000) as they engage actively with classroom texts. I believe that the findings within this study contribute significantly to our understanding of the lack of equitable opportunities that are experienced by EAL pupils as they face the reading demands of Scottish mainstream classrooms.

Identity and Teacher Education

A key finding from this study shows that teachers have an increasing responsibility to meet a variety of needs within the classroom as a direct result of the shifting demographics within schools. Such responsibilities impact on their sense of identity and their confidence as professionals. This study revealed that various conflicted thought processes were taking place in

terms of how teachers considered their beliefs and practices when meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils. In an attempt to gain a sense of how teacher identities were constructed, this study has narrowed the focus to include how teachers perceived their role(s) as they sought to meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils within linguistically and culturally diverse classroom contexts. It was noticeable within this study that mainstream English teachers positioned themselves as uncertain and lacking in confidence as they talked about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and how they met these in their classroom practices. Clandinin and Connelly foreground the importance of knowledge of the context in which teachers live and work (1996:24). They state that gaining an understanding of the complex landscape in which teachers enact classroom practices provides a lens through which teachers' personal practical and professional knowledge can be explored (Clandinin and Connelly, 1996:25).

Findings revealed the extent to which teachers' professional knowledge and their everyday practical lives have changed as a direct result of the consistent growth of diverse pupil populations and the school policies that have been designed to accommodate such a growth. However, in a way that is different to Clandinin and Connelly's (1996) study, teachers recognised during their interviews that their reading literacy practices, which once met the needs of a predominantly white, monolingual pupil population, were now no longer effective in meeting the needs of the whole pupil population. Mainstream English teachers recognised that they needed a broader knowledge base in terms of theory and practice that would allow them to meet the needs of such a diverse range of learners more effectively. Howard's insights are apt for this particular context where he states that teachers 'can't teach what [they] don't know' (Howard, 1999).

In contrast to Clandinin and Connelly's (1996) study, policy reforms brought about by the increase in the numbers of EAL pupils within Scottish schools appeared to redefine how teachers perceived themselves as professional English teachers. What was previously regarded as knowledge and expertise

in a monolingual English speaking classroom was rapidly changing; and teachers in this study reported feelings of being de-skilled and disempowered as they applied a known *context-specific* pedagogy to a multilingual and multicultural classroom. Such experiences seemed to diminish their sense of agency in meeting the needs of EAL pupils. Comparable to the findings in Johnson's (1994) study, teachers in this study felt powerless because they had no alternative ways of conceptualising reading literacy practices and, therefore, projected images of themselves as lacking in confidence and knowledge. In a way that is similar to Norton's study, teacher agency appears to be linked to the social constructs across the various schools and teacher identity has become a 'site of struggle' (Norton, 2000:19). It would seem that there are various reasons why mainstream English teachers felt such disempowerment, i.e. the lack of opportunity for professional partnerships with EAL teachers, and the lack of systematic professional development for pre-service and in-service teachers that would enable them to integrate inclusive reading literacy practices to support the growing numbers of pupils learning EAL. Despite policy reforms and the aim of policy-makers to provide a more inclusive environment for EAL pupils, mainstream English teachers failed to draw on and see the value of their current knowledge bases and the literacy practices that emerged from them.

Findings from this study draw attention to the impact of the wider sociocultural context in terms of teacher professionalism and emphasises that when the landscape within school contexts shifts, what teachers know and need to know also shifts (Clandinin and Connelly, 1996). Such considerations raise the question: What knowledge base is now essential for teaching in multilingual and multicultural classrooms in Scotland?

EAL teachers' beliefs contrasted sharply with those of mainstream teachers as they positioned themselves as more informed in terms of selective acquisition theories. This appeared to be as a result of the post-graduate professional development courses that they had taken in order to become

EAL teachers. EAL teachers, in a similar way to mainstream teachers, saw their identities as being anchored in stories related to their experiences as they worked across a number of school contexts. EAL teachers communicated that they felt a lack of status in relation to their roles in schools and classrooms and this seemed to impact on how their identity was shaped. Again it is clear that the wider sociocultural contexts in which the schools were situated influenced the experiences of EAL teachers as they attempted to support and meet the needs of mainstream teachers and EAL pupils. These findings align with Franson's (1999) study where the limitations placed on EAL services and the peripatetic EAL teacher resulted in opportunities for collaborative teaching as being 'neither possible nor realistic within the constraints of the working context' (Franson, 1999:65).

The constraining circumstances and experiences that EAL and mainstream English teachers encountered as they tried to form teaching partnerships are significant and these undervalue the status of those teachers attempting to provide adequate support for a large number of EAL pupils and mainstream teachers across a wide range of schools. The patchwork approach to provision that is currently in place seems to isolate both EAL and mainstream teachers and impact on how their identities are shaped and enacted across schools and classrooms. Current practices and constraints do not socially legitimise the role and identity of EAL teachers. Context plays a critical role in identity formation. The various resources that teachers bring to bear on classrooms in terms of knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, personal biography and interactional patterns are often tested, or in conflict with, what they face in diverse school and classroom contexts (Miller, 2009:175). Opportunities for 'negotiating these challenges forms part of the dynamic of professional identity development' (Miller, 2009:175). Changes in identity formation take place through the mutual engagement of teachers in collaborative enterprises (Trent and Lim, 2010:2). The findings of this study highlights that there is a distinct need for local authorities and schools to provide spaces where partnerships between EAL teacher and mainstream teachers can flourish (Bourne and McPake, 1990).

In addition, the peripatetic role seems to mediate how EAL teachers are perceived within the wider school contexts as the current model required them to work under the auspices of the Support for Learning departments rather than EAL having a distinct subject status. Further challenges to identity within schools and local authority contexts were perceived as EAL teachers struggled to implement new ESOL exams, but with minimal support and resources. The lack of recognition by local authorities and schools that EAL teachers face such challenges appears to have influenced the ways in which EAL teachers perceived their own identities. The new ESOL exams require EAL teachers to have knowledge about English as a language system and to be able to assess discrete pieces of language. EAL Teacher 5 compared her own identity and knowledge base to that of TEFL or ESOL teachers whom she considered to have more linguistic knowledge than EAL teachers who worked in schools. She identified herself as being part of a different discourse community to those teachers who worked in the community teaching ESOL/EFL. This is similar to the ways mainstream English teachers' identities were shaped by their subject specialism. Such views align with Wenger's (1998) notions of identity and agency which state that 'having one's competencies recognised is an important part of identity construction' (cited in Trent and Lim, 2010:2).

Overall, EAL teachers within this study did not feel that their knowledge bases, which were different to those of mainstream English teachers, had status. For some, the continual shifting context impacted on the type of knowledge they currently had, in terms of EAL teacher training, because their training was carried out many years ago. Teacher identities within this study could be considered to be 'heavily textured' as they participated in the changing sociocultural contexts in which they live and work (Duff and Uchida, 1997:476).

Identity and Pedagogy

In contrast, an overview of classroom literacy practices revealed that teachers enacted confident identities as they operated out of a secure knowledge base for developing reading literacy in monolingual English speaking classrooms. In the words of Grossman and Stodolsky, subject specialist teachers belong to 'distinctive subject subcultures' within schools and belonging to such groups impacts on how identity is shaped (1995:5). It is argued that teachers within this research were influenced in a similar way to those in Grossman and Stodolsky's (1995) study. All mainstream English teachers within the study would have spent a considerable amount of their time during their initial teacher education programme within specialist subject classes. Teachers would draw on the knowledge from such disciplinary areas of English as a source to shape their identities within schools.

Despite the recent recognition within Scottish policy guidelines of the mainstreaming and provision for bilingual pupils, there is no systematic focus on an EAL pedagogy on the grounds that current ITE programmes are already overcrowded and that policy already addresses such needs within a mainstreaming context. The culture and norms operating within specialist subject areas would therefore focus on monocultural and monolingual norms in terms of classroom practices. Based on such training, mainstream English teachers within this study naturally operate and conceptualise their working lives within specialised Discourse communities (Gee, 2005). It would appear that they have specific frames of reference in relation to their specialist subject areas that they draw upon to develop language and literacy. Such understandings are used as a source for enacting specific identities within their school contexts during literacy practices. As a result, there are specific patterns of beliefs and practices that shape how literacy practices are enacted within diverse classrooms. The findings from this study suggest that within shifting educational contexts, it is necessary to broaden and reconceptualise the knowledge base of initial teacher education programmes, and

professional development for in-service teachers, in order to provide alternative or wider frames of reference in relation to how teachers conceive of their subject and their identities as they teach in multicultural and multilingual classrooms. Such changes would position *teachers as learners* (Johnson, 2009; Kumaravadivelu, 2012). Trent and Lim also allude to this notion and suggest that such a conceptualisation would foreground identity as a process and not a product where teacher development is ongoing (2010:2).

Much can be learned from Cummins' (2001) proposals for reform, which were discussed in chapter two, as they are based on principles of inclusion and equality. He foregrounds the idea that there are broader social consequences to the practices in which schools and teachers engage. Cummins' (2001) work bridges the divide between teacher identity and pedagogy, and considers teachers' practices as acts of identity (Morgan, 2004). Rather than positioning teacher identity as something outside language learning pedagogies and teacher educational programmes, it is essential to conceptualise them as labyrinthine; Morgan aptly encapsulates this notion in the phrase 'teacher identity *as pedagogy*' (Cummins, 2001; Morgan, 2004:178 italics not in the original). The broader conceptualisation of teacher identity as pedagogy would help teachers to reconstruct how they consider their ways of *being and doing* (Gee, 2008) within their subject specialist areas. Such changes would result in their identities being transformed and 'grounded in the lives of the students' within their multilingual and multicultural classrooms (Cummins, 2000:261).

Implications for Teacher Identity

The portrayal of teachers' emerging beliefs and reading literacy practices found within this study leads to a number of important implications for pre-service and in-service teacher education programmes. Providing teachers with systematic continual professional development opportunities would

help to inform their knowledge, beliefs and practices, thus resulting in the provision of better opportunities for EAL pupils in their development of reading literacy. Consistent in-service CPD opportunities would help teachers to consider the learners within their classrooms as a starting point as they engage in the process of constructing their own identities. This would enable teachers to see how knowledge, identity and practice intersect (Miller, 2009). Changes to teacher education in this way would help teachers to provide inclusive spaces where EAL pupils are recognised and positioned as legitimate social, cultural, and linguistic 'insiders' who participate in multidimensional critical literacy practices. Such spaces and practices would enable EAL pupils not only to learn how to decode texts for comprehension purposes, but to engage with texts (e.g. adverts, media texts, written texts) and analyse our 'taken-for-granted ways of believing, saying, doing, thinking and valuing' (Gee, 1990:142) as we interact with the writer/designer. This would allow EAL pupils to explore the relationship between language and power and to read between and beyond the lines of a text. Engaging in such literacy practices involve a negotiation of identities between teachers and pupils where each can challenge relations of power and, as a result, develop aspects of language and ways of thinking that play key roles in the academic development of pupils and teachers. In addition, such practices would develop the type of reading literacy that enables all pupils to identify themselves as citizens in a globalised world where they would be educated for 'full participation within a democratic society' (Cummins, 2001:200).

Reflections on the Research Design and the Study

This study explored teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs that EAL pupils face within mainstream English classes and how well teachers perceived they met these needs in classroom practices. I also employed classroom observation techniques to compare whether teachers' beliefs and practices matched and to further my own understanding of the choices that teachers made within changing classroom contexts.

I have outlined at the beginning of this thesis how my personal teaching experiences influenced the ways in which I engaged with this study. The design of the research questions was not only a reflection of my own experiences as a teacher, but was also influenced by the schools that I visited en route to the design of the study. My desire and intention to focus on an investigation of teachers' beliefs and how they perceived the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils was underpinned by conversations I had with mainstream teachers in Taiwan. Mainstream teachers not only wanted to know how to meet the needs of pupils learning EAL, but had constructed ideas about what these needs were, based on their own 'home-grown' theories of language learning. The inclusion of observations of classroom practices was a result of reflections on my own teaching where I recognised that I did not always put into practice the advice that I gave to other teachers. There was sometimes a mismatch between what I said and what I did because of various external factors within the school context. Investigating my topic in this way has helped me to learn that teachers' beliefs are complex and are often congruent and incongruent when compared with how they enact classroom practices. Engaging in this study has also helped me to recognise the influence of context and how available ways of thinking within an environment can shape the ways in which beliefs and practices are constructed and enacted.

Sampling

The strategies used for sampling were varied and influenced by local contexts. While I was able to find a good sample of mainstream English teachers to interview and observe, I did not have access to a larger number of EAL teachers and Head/Depute Teachers at the schools and local authorities that I visited. Interviews and observations were carried out on an invitation basis and the Head/Depute Head teachers at two schools were not able to take part at the time of the study. In addition to this, the lack of EAL teachers operating within the schools that I attended meant that it was not

possible to broaden the sample of these teachers for interview. None of the EAL teachers who worked in the schools within the study were available for observations as some were working in an advisory role for mainstream teachers and others were not servicing EAL pupils within the schools at the time of the study. This limited the possibilities of comparing data between the various sets of participants. However, I feel that the data I was able to gather did allow me to engage in a fine-grained analysis that revealed both similar and contrasting beliefs between teachers operating in different roles, despite the fact that there was a small number of EAL teachers and Head/Depute Head teachers involved.

Methods

Another limitation within the study was linked to the post-observation interviews. On reflection, I felt that my inexperience as a researcher and interviewer impacted on how I managed these interviews. In the post-observation interviews I did not use a pre-determined interview schedule; rather, I used the observation running records as a basis from which to engage in a more open-ended dialogue about the classes I had just observed. I had naively hoped that teachers would naturally reflect on their practices and provide a clear rationale for their actions. However, I felt that my own inexperience using an unstructured post-observation interview influenced the success and effectiveness of using such a tool. Some teachers were willing and engaged well with the unstructured nature of the post-observation interviews. However, others noted time constraints and appeared reluctant to engage in any more interviews. I worried that my lack of experience in engaging in such practices impacted on the quality of the data that were collected.

Despite my own inexperience and nervousness about questioning teachers about their classroom practices using such an approach, I believe that I was

still able to gather sufficient data to establish a credible picture of the ways teacher constructed their beliefs and practices.

While this study sought to establish a detailed picture of teachers' beliefs and practices, I am aware that the scope of the study is relatively small.

However, the understandings gained from a study of this kind can provide helpful insights to similar educational contexts where the challenges of meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils within linguistically and culturally diverse mainstream classrooms are faced on a daily basis.

Possible Barriers

It is important to note that there are possible barriers to the implementation of the framework suggested in this chapter. Some EAL pupils may not have the level of proficiency in English that enables them to determine the unconventional lexicogrammatical features that a writer/designer may have used to create an ideological effect within the text. Such limitations will undoubtedly impact on the opportunities for EAL pupils to participate actively in reading literacy practices. There is also a need for careful scaffolding during classroom practices that would allow those with lower levels of proficiency to begin to notice the way that language is used to communicate specific meanings. Despite the potential limitations related to this integrated framework, it is important to remember that language awareness and language learning can occur simultaneously where 'the analytic reading of texts and critical talk around texts constitute learning opportunities' (Wallace, 2003:193).

Another possible barrier to the implementation of this framework is linked to the lack of teacher knowledge in relation to the development of language and reading literacy for diverse classroom contexts. As discussed in previous sections, there is a need to extend the knowledge base of teachers through systematic CPD in order to provide them with the expertise that is needed to

meet the distinct needs of pupils learning EAL. However, it is important to recognise that the capacity for a CPD programme to influence teachers' beliefs and practices is limited unless there is collaborative dialogue and structured support in place to sustain CPD over a long period of time. The lack of such provision for teachers within these settings could impact on the opportunities for them to reconstruct their classroom practices and to broaden their sense of teacher identity. In summary, it is recognised that while the developments in teachers' thinking and practice that I have highlighted may be necessary, like any other large educational changes, they will not be easy to achieve; and will require strong commitment, perseverance and time.

Future Research

Differences between L1 and L2 Reading Development

What is noteworthy within the findings is that teachers' collective beliefs demonstrate that there is an undifferentiated understanding about the language and reading literacy needs of EAL pupils across the various contexts. Teachers' reported that they believed that universal sets of reading skills easily and automatically transfer from an L1 to an L2. While some research has been conducted in this area with adults learning second languages, research has not adequately explored this with pupils learning EAL within school contexts. Such considerations raise questions about whether such universal notions of L1 and L2 reading transfer can be applied to school-age learners because their L1 reading literacy competency 'is still under development' (Koda, 2008:72). These insights about the transfer of reading literacy align with the Grant, Wong and Osterling (2007) claim that there is a need to question the assumptions that underpin cross-linguistic literacy research in bilingual education (e.g. Cummins' (1981) interdependence hypothesis). Such questioning will help us 'to move beyond simple 'one-size-fits-all' approaches to second-language literacy

education and research' (Grant *et al*, 2007:601). Explorations of how an L1 influences a second or additional language need to be further researched as little is known about 'the mechanisms conjoining literacy learning in two languages' (Koda, 2008:68; Genesee *et al*, 2006). Koda recognises that insights gained from research into L2 reading can shed much light on the literacy development of bilingual learners (2008:68). Research is needed to explore how such transfer operates with pupils learning EAL in *English only* mainstreaming contexts.

Identity

The findings also show that teachers displayed feelings of uncertainty about how to meet the needs of EAL pupils as they enacted literacy practices within multilingual and multicultural classrooms. However, despite this, contrasting evidence was found during classroom observations, where teachers operated out of a more confident identity in their roles as English teachers. These findings recognise identity as fluid and not fixed, and consider identity as something that is constructed through membership to various discourse communities (Gee, 2005, 2008). The findings of this study also show that discourse communities that have an informed understanding of reading literacy and EAL reading pedagogy are missing; further research would help us to understand more fully how teachers negotiate their identities within these changing educational environments.

Inclusive Mainstreaming Practices

The findings from the study show that current mainstreaming practices are inadequate for meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils and supporting mainstream teachers. Policy rhetoric appears to be out of step with the nature of Scottish classrooms. While such findings are also evident in other UK and international contexts, these findings raise important

questions about why teachers and pupils are still experiencing such disjunction, despite recent policy changes. Further research needs to investigate ways in which policy has impacted on classroom and school practices at the local level. In addition, an exploration of the ways in which an EAL pedagogy could be consciously placed at the heart of the curricular policy would help to further our understanding about how to foster linguistic, cultural and pedagogical inclusion, thus preventing *difference blindness* (Reeves, 2004).

Finally, it is clear that there is a need for further research that investigates how the integrated framework proposed within this study can be successfully implemented into professional development courses and mainstream literacy practices. An exploration of teachers' and EAL pupils' perceptions of the effectiveness of the framework would provide further insights into how the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils can be met.

Conclusion

The underlying assumptions that underpin this study are based on an understanding that there is a link between context and teachers' beliefs and actions in relation to reading literacy practices. These assumptions are based on the belief that an exploration of the links between context, beliefs and practices provide us with opportunities for implementing more effective reading literacy practices for diverse classrooms. This study has attempted to contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which teachers perceive and meet the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL within multilingual and multicultural contexts. It highlights the importance of recognising the linguistic, social and cultural contributions that could be exploited effectively during reading literacy practices, yet also recognises that these are often viewed from a deficit perspective because of the implicit beliefs that position such knowledge as outside of the current mainstream

norms. Such beliefs fueled assimilationist practices in the contexts of the study.

The findings of the study demonstrate that current *submersion* practices are a significant factor in preventing EAL pupils from experiencing equal opportunities in mainstream classrooms. Such mainstreaming practices are oriented towards inclusion, yet they fail to differentiate practices to meet the distinct language and literacy needs of pupils learning EAL. The lack of such consideration has implications for the social and cultural experiences of such pupils and positions them as cultural and linguistic *others*. The study reveals that a failure to perceive schools as 'cross-cultural meeting sites' (Grant and Sleeter, 2011:134), not only within policy but in the ways provision is enacted by teachers and managers in schools, will result in the continued practice of EAL pupils being disadvantaged in mainstream schools.

In addition, teachers appeared to have few strategies for meeting the reading literacy needs of pupils learning EAL and tended to view reading as a universal process, where they perceived the process of reading in an L1 to be similar to reading in an L2. The lack of resources and the lack of an informed discourse community appeared to influence such understandings and impacted negatively on how teachers viewed their own identities. One key recommendation from the study is that such lacks within the context need to be addressed and challenged. Unless challenged, teachers within Scottish school contexts will continue unconsciously to promote an assimilationist agenda where monolingual and monocultural mindsets frame teachers' beliefs, classroom practices and teacher identities. Such findings provide a strong rationale for Scottish education to consider ways of including an EAL pedagogy that addresses and grounds the distinct needs of EAL pupils within ITE and CPD programmes. A failure to include an appropriate EAL pedagogy in teacher preparation and professional development programmes will result in EAL pupils continuing to experience what Cummins terms as 'educational oppression' (2006:8).

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Appendix 1

Biodata:

1. Male / Female
2. How long have you been a teacher? _____
3. How many years have you taught in secondary schools? _____
4. What teaching qualifications do you have? _____
5. Do you have an EAL or any other specialist training? _____
6. What is your nationality? _____
7. Is English your first language? _____
8. Do you have any other languages you can use? _____
9. Are you willing to be part of a follow-up interview if I need to clarify any questions we have discussed during this interview?
_____ (tel. No.)

Provision of Context

Teacher and pupil support

1. **Can you talk me through what kind of local authority support and advice you have received in terms of support for EAL pupils?**
 - a) How closely do you work with the EAL teacher?
 - b) How much do you know about what the EAL teacher does with EAL pupils?
 - c) How often does the EAL teacher come to your classroom?
 - d) What type of support does the student receive (pull-out / push-in)?
 - e) How do you plan the lesson or support for the EAL pupils?
 - f) Are you given any policy documents to read on EAL?

School support (policy):

2. **Does the school have a policy that supports the development of the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils?**

- a) Does the school use a curriculum specially designed for EAL pupils?
- b) To what extent do you think the 5-14 guidelines support ways of dealing with linguistic needs within your school in terms of EAL pupils? (curriculum and assessment)

Materials:

- 3. What materials would be useful in supporting you which would enable you to meet the reading needs of EAL pupils who find reading challenging?**
- a) What types of materials are used when you teach EAL pupils in your classes?
 - b) What do you know about the types of materials the EAL teacher uses when teaching EAL pupils?
 - c) Do you ever use simplified or different reading materials for EAL pupils during reading literacy lessons? (Are you familiar with graded readers?)
 - d) How do you evaluate the EFL materials you use?

Reading

- 4. What reading challenges do you think ALL pupils face when developing reading literacy?**

Preface: some people think we all learn language in the same way. Others think that EAL pupils learn language in a different way. What have you found?

- a) Some teachers have indicated that EAL pupils face challenges when reading in English in their classes. Would you agree with this comment? **YES / NO** Why or why not?
- b) Can you explain what reading challenges you see EAL pupils facing in your class?
- c) What can EAL pupils do and what can't they do in reading?
- d) In terms of reading literacy development, some teachers think EAL pupils do not bring any skills/knowledge to the reading process when they come into the class. Some do. What have you found?
- e) Do you think EAL pupils differ from NSE in the type of challenges they face in reading?

- f) What are your learning aims for EAL pupils in your class in terms of the development of reading literacy? Are these the same or different to the aims you set for NSE pupils?
 - g) What kinds of texts do you use in terms of teaching and learning about reading? What role does text play in your reading lessons? (*for example – a text is a medium through which ideas and experiences, opinions and information can be communicated (CfE)*)
 - h) What challenges do you think ALL pupils face if they are asked to engage in a discussion related to a reading text?
 - i) Do EAL pupils have additional challenges when they are asked to engage in a discussion related to a reading text?
 - j) Are there particular types of texts that you think present more challenges to EAL pupils in terms of reading (e.g. fictional or non-fictional)? Is this different to what you see NSE experience?
5. **Can you talk me through the various types of reading events in which ALL pupils are asked to participate in your class?**
- a) How much of your subject do you feel requires pupils to engage in intensive or extensive reading?
 - b) How much opportunity do EAL pupils get to engage in extensive reading (**define ER**)?
 - c) Are EAL pupils expected to engage in the same reading lessons as NSE? Does this change at any time?

Approaches and Methods

6. **In what ways do you feel you meet the reading literacy needs of ALL pupils in your classes?**
- a) Do you believe you meet the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in a different way to the reading needs of NSE? Can you give examples of this from practice?
 - b) From your own experience, what do you feel are the best methods or approaches to support the development of EAL pupils' reading literacy needs.
 - c) How do you perceive your role in meeting the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils?

- d) Do EAL pupils have opportunity to read texts in their first language in your class? Why or why not? Do you believe this would benefit them in any way?
- e) Do you believe that immersing EAL pupils in the mainstream classroom helps develop reading literacy
- f) Do you differentiate instruction for EAL pupils when they participate in reading events?

7. In what ways is the reading ability of EAL pupils assessed?

- a) Do you use any alternative tools to assess EAL pupils?
- b) Have you found the strategies in AfL helpful with EAL pupils? Do you believe there is a need for a different assessment tool for EAL pupils?

ONE FINAL QUESTION:

8. In what other ways do you think practice could further support EAL pupils in their development of reading literacy?

- a) Would you be interested in staff development workshops to assist you in meeting the reading needs of EAL pupils? **YES / NO**
- b) What could be done at a school / local authority / any level to support you?
- c) Do you have anything you'd like to say

Appendix 2

00.00	<p>Mainstream Teacher 16 Observation 1: 10a.m. Start</p> <p>Class enters – a lot of chatter and noise. Teacher: right. OK! folk could I have everybody facing this way and listening please.</p> <p>Teacher: I am wearing a microphone because Mr Tom wants to know everything you say in a given lesson in English particularly...no not really. The reason I'm wearing a microphone is that we have Mrs Foley with us today and eh ... she wants to record what I say. It will pick up what you say, so try and be impressive.</p> <p>Student: This is the Government spying... Teacher: It's not the Government spying on you Jack, no it's not!... Is it on? (Teacher looks at recorder).</p> <p>Teacher: Testing, testing 1, 2. So, shh! Let's have everybody quiet and listening. OK! Jack! Jack! That will do. So, what we are going to do today is we are going to move onto chapter three. As I said earlier, we are not reading every chapter of this book.</p> <p>Student: We're not? Teacher: No! Student: Why?</p> <p>Teacher: Because it's quite long and I like to select the chapter from it. And the story of the whole novel actually works perfectly well if you leave out one or two of the chapters. It's not ... because we've seen already that the pattern... each chapter in this book is... we begin in the antique shop with Ailsa and Mrs Purves and MCC and as you can see today, a customer comes in, starts looking at one of the items in the shop, and MCC then generally comes up with a story that relates to that item. No last time it was the Grandfather clock and it was Lucky Thin Bar and how Lucky Thin Bar rose to great riches and then how he ended up dead, crushed by the clock – according to MCC. That worked and it sold the clock for a £100 to the Major. So actually, after thinking that MCC was going to be useless as a member of staff, he's actually kind of handy, quite useful. So we are going to read chapter 3, page 25, we are reading so far, we have read every chapter but we'll miss some of them out as we go through. So, 'The Writing Box: The Story of a Liar' is the title. And it's quite a long chapter, so we are going to have to get a move on. So, I'll start reading...I will ask people at random to read whenever I feel like it, so make sure you're following. I know the temptation is to read ahead and to skip onto other pages, but it's important that you follow it through as we're reading it because a lot of the vocabulary in these stories is quite difficult. It's important that we are all literally on the same page. What page are you on Lynne?</p>
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Student: Silent.

10:00

Teacher: Page 25 please. Thank you. Right!

'MCC Berkshire seems to have gone out, even before breakfast. But Ailsa and her mother noticed that the ladder had been moved from outside the newsagents next door and stood against the lintel of their own front door. Ailsa ran outside and saw that the dingy, peeling lettering of Povey's Antiquary had been smartly touched up and the words 'Dealer and Books' had been blocked in, small, on the last half metre. "How very kind" said Mrs Povey, "I wonder where Mr Berkshire is, I must thank him." I wonder if he asked permission to use the paint or the ladder said Ailsa sceptically and moved it all back to the front of the shop next door. She was only just in time because as she reached her own doorway again, the Indian neighbour Mr Singh came out and noticed the theft of his bicycle.'

Sceptically... what does that mean... any idea? OK, if nobody knows then let's look at that paragraph and see if we can make sense of it.

Student: Is it something like wondering... like thinking to yourself?

Teacher: You're certainly on the right lines. You see, 'I wonder if he asked permission to use the paint or the ladder said Ailsa sceptically'. That's a very sensible... it's not quite hesitant... it's not quite wonderingly, it's a bit more hesitant than that... but you're certainly on the right lines. Ann?

Student: Ailsa's not got like... a good relationship with him so it could be kind of like... angrily.

Teacher: Again, it's very good, very sensible; you're making good deductions from what you've read. Not quite that. If you're a sceptic, you're somebody who disbelieves in something. The word is often used to talk about people who don't believe in God, or a religion, or they don't believe in something. So if you're sceptical, you're kind of thinking, 'mmhm, I don't really believe you, I don't trust you. Em, teachers are often sceptical about your excuses for not handing in homework because experience suggests that not all those excuses are 100% word for word true. Ye know, sceptical is slightly misbelieving or mistrusting. So Ailsa hasn't quite made up her mind yet about MCC... thinks he's odd, she has her doubts about him. OK! So Mr Singh, their neighbour, has just come out and noticed the theft of his bicycle.

'He'd been a man who had never been heard to swear, but from the way he kicked over the shop's litter bin, and jumped on the empty cartons that spilled out, Ailsa thought he must have been rather attached to the bike. He was, in any case, too upset to notice that his ladder and paint had been interfered with. "I've been thinking about what Mr Berkshire said her mother gazing raptly at the raised spoonful of breakfast cereal. He didn't exactly say that our clock was THE clock in the story you know, didn't he? No, and the customer didn't really believe him anyway. Didn't he! Isn't it a lie then if it isn't believable? Couldn't you also say he was being pompous when you set your mind to it. I don't know where you get it from. I mean it's perfectly true that the clock will be fine when it's restrung and it was a fair price taking that into consideration. Her face rushed with pleasure at the thought of the money. I'll be able to pay the electricity bill now, she said dreamily, as if that had always

been her fondest ambition. Eh, mother? Yes dear, I know I owe you pocket money too. No, it's not that. Exactly where is the money? The old man paid cash didn't he? Mrs Povey didn't turn pale all at once. Her hands went to her apron pocket and then her eyes wandered to the mantelpiece, the biscuit tin, her handbag, and all the other places she might have put £100 for safety. Her arms mined the exchange of payment. I remember seeing the old gentleman count the money in Mr Berkshire's hand. Now, don't panic mother, said Ailsa, her chair scraping the kitchen floor. You telephone the police and I'll see if anyone on the street saw which way he went. They collided in the doorway and fought each other on the stairs. Mrs Povey knocked the telephone off its stand and Ailsa became entangled with a length of plastic potted plant. By the time she had extricated herself and opened the shop door she was certain she knew who had stolen Mr Singh's bicycle and where her mother's £100 had found a place of safety. But what to do? Which way to run? If MCC Berkshire had left while they were sleeping, he could be in another county by now.'

It's no great secret that he's disappeared. He will appear in a moment. And... Shaun's gonna read for a bit... She ran...

Student: She rammed squarely into Mr... (student stops over a word he is not sure how to pronounce).

Teacher: Singh (teacher gives pronunciation).

Student: standing on the edge of the kerb. (Student continues reading, but he is mumbling and it's difficult to hear). Mispronounces a word – panniers.

Teacher: Panniers (pronounces it correctly) and explains what it means. Panniers is a little basket on the side of a bike to put things in.

Student: continues to read and stumbles over word 'lacquered' in two syllables (lacqu...ered).

Teacher: Lacquered (says the word fluently) is like a glossy shiny surface like a veneer.

Student: continues reading.

Appendix 3

Dear Head Teacher,

I was given your name by Dr Pauline Sangster, who is my PhD supervisor and a colleague, at the University of Edinburgh. I am currently engaged in research that explores teachers' beliefs about the reading literacy needs of EAL pupils in Scottish high schools. I am writing to ask if you would grant me permission to collect data from teachers in the English department within your school?

In order to investigate teachers' perceptions of EAL pupils' reading literacy needs I would like to interview mainstream English teachers and observe some of their classes. My aim is to understand teachers' beliefs and practices and not to evaluate the performance of the school or its teachers.

During interviews with teachers and classroom observations I hope to use a digital recorder. These recordings will help me to remember the reading lesson and to obtain an accurate record of teachers' views and a sequence of the lesson. I appreciate that I will be a guest during lessons and my intention is to be unobtrusive.

I would like to assure you that the data I collect will be reported anonymously and each school and local authority that participates will be given a pseudonym or a number to ensure confidentiality.

Thank you for considering my request in relation to this matter. I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours faithfully,

Yvonne Foley

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
Local Authority 1						
Mainstream Teacher 1 (Female)	English Teacher School 1	6 years, Secondary	PGCE English	Scottish	English	Beginner Nepalese
Mainstream Teacher 2 (Female)	English Teacher School 1	12 years, Secondary	PGCE English	British (Scottish)	English	None
Mainstream Teacher 3 (Female)	English Teacher School 2	5 years, Secondary	PGDE English	Scottish	English	Beginner French
Local Authority 2						
Mainstream Teacher 4 (Female)	PT Secondary English School 3	11 years, Secondary	PGDE English	British	English	None

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
Local Authority 2						
Mainstream Teacher 5 (Female)	English Teacher School 3	15 years, Secondary	PGDE English	British	English	Beginner French
Mainstream Teacher 6 (Male)	PT Secondary English Teacher School 4	31 years, Secondary	BEd English	Scottish	English	Beginner Portuguese
Mainstream Teacher 7 (Male)	English Teacher School 4	2 years, Secondary	PGDE English/ Elective in dyslexia	British	English	None
Mainstream Teacher 8 (Male)	English Teacher School 4	3 years, Secondary	PGDE English	Scottish	English	None

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
Local Authority 2						
Mainstream Teacher 9 (Female)	English Teacher School 5	2.5 years, Secondary	PGDE English RSA CELTA	British	English	Higher German from school
Mainstream Teacher 10 (Female)	English Teacher School 5	3.5 years, Secondary	PGDE English	British	English	None
Mainstream Teacher 11 (Male)	English Teacher School 5	Probationer Secondary	PGDE English/Distinction	British	English	Higher in French
Local Authority 3						
Mainstream Teacher 12 (Female)	PT Secondary English School 6	3 years, Secondary	PGDE Secondary English/PG diploma European Policy	Scottish/British	English	Beginner French

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
Local Authority 3						
Mainstream Teacher 13 (Female)	English Teacher School 6	7 years, Secondary	PGCE English RSA CELTA	Scottish/British	English	Primary sign language
Mainstream Teacher 14 (Male)	PT Secondary English Teacher School 6	15 years, Secondary	UG English and American Literature/PGCE/MBA Educational Management	British	English	None
Mainstream Teacher 15 (Male)	PT Secondary English Teacher School 7	16 years, Secondary	PGCE English/RSA CTEFLA	British	English	None
Mainstream Teacher 16 (Male)	English Teacher School 7	6 years, Secondary	PGDE English	British	English	None

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
Depute Head Teacher 1 (Female)	Depute Head School 5	29 years, Secondary, Home Economics. 7 years as Depute	PGCE Certificate in Guidance	Scottish	English	None
Head Teacher 1 (Male)	Head Teacher School 4	30 years Secondary. 4 years as Head Teacher	PG Diploma in Technical Education/SQH	British	English	None
Depute Head Teacher 2 (Male)	Depute Head School 7	20 years, Secondary. 4 years as Depute	PGDE PE/SQH	Scottish	English	None
Depute Head Teacher 3 (Female)	Depute Head School 6	25 years, Secondary. 10 years as Depute	PG Diploma English/RE	British/Scottish	English	High School French & German

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
Depute Head Teacher 4 (Female)	Depute Head, School 1	30 years, Secondary PE/1 year Acting Depute	Diploma in PE/Open University PG Degree in Education/PG Dipoma in Guidance	Scottish	English	Spanish

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
EAL Teacher 1 Local Authority 1 (Female)	EAL Nursery/Primary/ Secondary	35 years in total/Secondary MFL	PG Diploma in Education MFL/TECMS (EAL)/ESOL	British/ Scottish	English	French/ German/ Russian
EAL Teacher 2 Local Authority 1 (Female)	EAL – All Sectors	20 years in Secondary. Primary Generic Outreach Teacher	PG Certificate in Teaching English/PG Diploma in Inclusion. 1 module Dip ASfL for Bilingual Pupils	Scottish	English	None
EAL Teacher 3 Local Authority 2 (Female)	EAL Primary/Secondary	8 years in total/3 years MFL, 5 years EAL	PGCE in MFL/RSA CELTA/Diploma in ASL for Bilingual Pupils	British	English	French
EAL Teacher 4 Local Authority 2 (Female)	EAL Primary/Secondary	No information. She came into MT4 interview	No information	No information	No information	No information

Teacher	Current Subject & School	Number of Years as a Teacher & Level	Teaching Qualification	Nationality	First Language	Other Languages
EAL Teacher 5 Local Authority 3 (Female)	EAL Nursery/Primary/ Secondary	22 years in total/15 years as Primary Teacher. 7 years EAL Teacher	BEd (Primary) PG Cert in Teaching English for access to the curriculum in multilingual schools	British	English	None

