

A critical analysis of the Every Child a Talker language programme and its possible influence on the formation of dispositions towards language/s in early years in England

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## Declaration of own work

I, Kyara Rojas-Bustos, declare that this PhD thesis is my own work and that where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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Date: 12<sup>th</sup> November 2018

## Abstract

*This thesis analyses the positions that minority languages were given in a language programme for early years provision in England. Every Child a Talker (ECaT) was an initiative that was designed to strengthen children's early language development by improving the quality of language provision in early years settings (DfCSF, 2008b). These resources are still in use today in early years services. For this study, ECaT was interpreted as a market whose members were engaged in institutionalised activities to produce, reproduce, exchange and accumulate valued capital (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991).*

*Critical discourse analysis (mainly inspired by Fairclough, 2010; 2009) was applied using a range of analytical tools in order to provide a systematic interpretation of discursive constructions of language practice. The resources and guidelines that were distributed to support this initiative were interpreted as institutionalised macro discourses designed to influence local language practice. Two consultants who worked in the implementation of the initiative were interviewed with the intention of recontextualising the discursive constructions around language practice at the micro level.*

*This research suggests that there is a pervasive process of legitimation of one dominant language at the expense of the 'other languages', thus perpetuating monolingual ideologies and practices. While the 'other languages' were partially included, this analysis argues that they were also extensively excluded and underappreciated as value capital. Although resistance to and transformation of dominant discourses appeared in the interviews, the highly regulated structure of the initiative tends to diminish local knowledge. Significant contradictory discourses about inclusivity and multicultural practices in the early years sector, as well as the potential marginalisation of home language/s, are also reported.*

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# Chapter 1 – Introduction

## *1.1 Introduction*

This research is concerned with language ideologies as the set of principles, values and beliefs that are constructed around language/s (Fairclough, 2010; Blackledge, 2002) and with the possible influence of these ideologies on the formation of dispositions towards language/s in multilingual early years practices. Dispositions are the set of attitudes, perceptions and appreciations that are allied to specific practices (Bourdieu, 1977). Therefore, dispositions towards language/s in multilingual contexts can be defined as the set of attitudes, perceptions and appreciations of language diversity in early years settings. Focusing on a language initiative called Every Child a Talker (ECaT), I provide possible interpretations of the language ideologies that permeated the initiative's documents and analyse the possible influence of this programme on the formation of dispositions towards the diversity of languages that young children bring, from home, into early years settings.

In September 2008, the National Strategies for Early Years in England launched an initiative called Every Child a Talker. This initiative was designed to “improve the skills and expertise of the early years workforce in early language [aiming to] raise children's achievement in early language” (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2). ECaT, as a national language strategy, appeared to be pioneering substantial changes in the way in which early years settings should support early language development. There is no precedent for such an initiative and no equivalent reforms have been proposed since. Hence, this programme represents the only comprehensive guidance endorsed by the National Strategy for early language practice in England. By examining the discursive construction of language practice that permeated this initiative, my study aims to offer possible interpretations of the formation of dispositions towards the languages that young children bring from home into their first institutionalised learning experience.

The language/s that young children speak in the first years of life are of great significance, as early language learning is a vital element of further learning and of the construction of young children's (cultural) identities (Extra, 2007). Young children move between places, learning language/s and developing a sense of belonging within their unique local-personal realities. They construct their identities during their early experiences at home and in their local communities, and through their early educational experiences (Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2000). Even though there is tacit recognition of the role of early years provision in supporting early language development (DfE, 2014; Tickell, 2011; Sylva and Pugh, 2005), previous studies have extensively discussed the

absence of shared spaces in which the home and early years settings provide a coherent language learning environment (Kelly, 2010; Smidt, 2008; Drury, 2007; Kenner, 2004b; 2000; Gregory, Long and Volk, 2004; Brooker, 2002).

In a study of educational settings in England, Wallace and Mallows (2009) explain that only a small number of settings have embraced home language, and that these have been local and isolated examples. They also point out that there are significant discrepancies “between demand and available specialist workforce” (p.5) to enhance the language experience of young children learning more than one language. In addition, the problematic position of minority languages has been reported as a pervasive trend in early education in England (Conteh, 2012; Safford and Drury, 2012; Ang, 2010; Safford and Kelly, 2010; Kenner, 2005; 2000; Drury, 1997), with a lack of an inclusive curriculum appropriate for the learning of all children (Ang, 2010; Barron, 2009) and where being bilingual has been constructed as a problem for educational settings (Safford and Drury, 2012).

Early years practice in England has been influenced by a number of centralised and targeted intervention policies that appear to minimise local initiatives (Moss, 2016). The impact of these policies on service provision involves wide-ranging changes to structure and practice in early years (Baldock et al, 2013). Whereas Simpson et al (2015) report that these policies create “macro blindness”, echoing dominant discourses in which individuals appear to be responsible for social immobility, Jones et al (2014) recognise the existence of “local movements that seek to challenge both dominant discourses [...] and curriculum directives” (p.61). It is precisely within these arguments that my study critically examines the potential influence of ECaT, as an initiative to improve early language provision, and the formation of dispositions that could permeate local practices.

## ***1.2 Research context***

In recent decades, there has been an increase in migration around the world. In particular, the European Union has created a high level of mobility of people between countries, and therefore between languages (Block, 2006). Within this language diversity, there is an upsurge in the number of young children learning more than one language (McPake, 2006) who are attending early years settings, and early language development is an important part of their first learning experience in these settings (DfE, 2014).

Within this context, the position of English, as a *lingua franca*, and the position of other languages in both society and education, needs to be reconsidered (Rassool, 2010). Many European countries have included in their educational policies the learning and

development of more than one language (Hélot and Ó Laoire, 2011; May and Hornberger, 2010; Hélot and de Mejía, 2008; Carrasco et al, 2004). Similarly, the upsurge in the learning of English around the world has forced countries to review their language policies and language education (García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2013; May and Hornberger, 2010; Blackledge, 2002; Hornberger, 1998). However, a different scenario has been observed in those countries where English is the main language (Issa and Hatt, 2013; Weber and Horner, 2012; Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008; Hornberger, 1998).

ECaT can be interpreted as an attempt to influence early language practice in a context where many (other) languages are spoken. However, studying language practice in the early years sector in England is particularly problematic because early years provision is a heterogeneous composition of private, voluntary and maintained settings (Osgood, 2006a) with a variety of professionals involved in language provision (Issa and Hatt, 2013). Hence, it is not possible to assume a unified language practice. Consequently, my research is a critical analysis of the discursive construction of language practice, and of language ideologies and their possible influence on the formation of dispositions towards language within a specific language programme.

### 1.2.1 Why ECaT?

The first time I heard about Every Child a Talker (ECaT) was when I received a 'parents' questionnaire' from my son's pre-school (January, 2009). This was a brief questionnaire that asked me, as a parent, how confident I was about supporting the 'language development' of my son. The questionnaire did not include questions about supporting 'more than one language' and it appeared to me that it was assumed that only one language was spoken at home. This was not my son's experience and I was under the impression that the pre-school knew this because it had been recorded during the admission process to the setting. The questionnaire, however, displayed the same pattern of assuming a position of English-only and ignoring other home language/s that I had observed in my personal experience of working in early years and primary education in England (from 2003 to 2005). By contrast, as a specialist in specific language difficulties, I had learnt that it was paramount to value early language experiences and that home language was too important to be left unnoticed. Thus, if one of the aims of ECaT was to support early language development, why were home language/s not being taken into account?

Soon after I received the questionnaire, I asked the early years practitioner who worked with my son why questions about 'learning other language/s' were not included. Along

with the relevant clarification, she also provided a brief explanation of the ECaT initiative. My interpretation of her words was that *someone else (a consultant), who coordinates the programme from outside the setting (local authority), who was also following someone else's instructions (National Strategy), sent the questionnaire as it was*. From this answer, it appeared that the questionnaire had been designed externally, serving external interests that did not take into account home language experiences. Nevertheless, it was difficult for me to understand the kind of socio-cultural working environment that would give rise to such an answer. For example, what prevented her from adding new/more questions to cover this subject?

The narrative of this early years practitioner suggests that ECaT was a significant tool in early years language practice interventions, which gave me the impression that it could influence the position of other languages in the language practice of early years settings. For example, according to the response I received, home practice in other languages appeared to be silenced by those who controlled the ECaT initiative from outside the classroom and the setting. Notwithstanding this, there was also a powerful message of 'and there is nothing else I can do', which appeared to disempower the practitioner (and, consequently, my son's language and the home practice around it). This complex tension of external influences that appears to legitimise specific ways of doing at the local level is precisely what inspired my study, calling, as it does, for a critical exploration of social practice around language/s. I expected an initiative about language provision for young children growing up in multicultural contexts to place a high value on the language/s that young children were learning at home. Why did this initiative not appear to be interested in young children learning other languages? Are minority languages marginalised in both the early years curriculum and early years practice? If the answer is yes, then why?

ECaT appeared to be pioneering substantial changes in the way in which early years settings should support early language development. There was no precedent for such an initiative. First, the strategy was designed with the intention of influencing early years practice across the whole early years sector. It was designed in such a way that the initiative could "wave in" what ECaT defined as "high quality language provision" to all settings (DfCSF, 2008b), positioning the initiative at the same level of influence as the English early years curriculum (Early Years Foundation Stage, DfCSF, 2008e). Secondly, it was implemented not only in the maintained sector but also in private services, with the latter being the dominant type of provision in terms of the services available in early education in England (National Audit Office, 2012; 2004) and, finally, the initiative appeared to be highly controlled by the National Strategy, following the same trends of external control of early years practice that have been reported in previous research (Osgood and Red Ruby Scarlet, 2016; Moss, 2016; Simpson et al,

2015; Jones et al, 2014; Roberts-Holmes, 2014; Osgood, 2009; 2006a; Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007; Walsh and Gardner, 2005). Excessive control creates significant conflict between what governmental policies indicate to be 'good practice' and what is perceived as good practice at the local level (Osgood, 2009). For example, Roberts-Holmes (2014) argues that the assessment framework imposed by the government forces local authorities to create performance leagues; as a consequence, the datafication of early years pedagogy has re-shaped local practices. Thus, children's performance towards targeted goals substitutes child-centred pedagogical values. The increasing attention paid to performativity demands a critical analysis of ECaT, questioning the (possible) influence of this language programme on (re-)shaping early language/s practice.

Even though ECaT's funding and resources were withdrawn immediately after the change of government in May 2010, the resources were put back into the public domain in October 2011 by the Foundation Years website. This website belongs to 4Children and the National Children's Bureau who, as the strategic partners of the Department for Education, validate the relevance of the initiative in current early years practice. Although ECaT is not a statutory framework, it is my understanding that many boroughs and early years settings are still using its resources as part of their language provision (as at February 2017). The implementation of ECaT to improve the quality of language provision characterises an ongoing strain between what have been constructed and (sometimes) accepted as universalised concepts of 'quality' in early years practice (Moss, 2014) and the need to create local spaces where 'quality' can be realigned to new narratives (Jones et al, 2014). Within this context, the position of 'other languages' in multicultural early years settings also requires a critical review as an opportunity to engage with specific issues and generate conversations around 'quality' as a dominant construct (Cannella et al, 2016).

### 1.2.2 The aims of ECaT

In May 2008, Every Child a Talker was launched by the National Strategy, and it was one of the many activities that were generated by the then Labour government to transform early years childcare and education (Issa and Hatt, 2013). The programme emphasised improving both the home and the early years setting learning environments to support, in this way, "early language development" (DfCSF, 2008b – "language acquisition" was used interchangeably with language development and no distinction between them was made explicit). For example, in the foreword, Michael Rose introduces the programme by questioning what has been done "to have interesting and

enjoyable conversations with [children]" (DfCSF, 2008b, p.1). This focus on early language development was coordinated by an early language consultant who was employed by each local authority. The consultant's first task was to select 20 early years settings to pioneer this initiative. A set of resources were made available to guide the stages of implementation. Training sessions and different local and national events were organised to track the progression of the implementation of this programme.

ECaT's aims (DfCSF, 2008c, slide 2) were to:

1. Raise children's achievement in early language
2. Raise practitioners' skills and knowledge
3. Increase parental understanding and involvement in children's language development

'Achievement in early language', 'practitioners' skills and knowledge' and 'parental involvement' are the measurable targets for this initiative. This triangle of children, practitioners and parents is a recurrent feature of interventionist programmes that advocate tackling poverty and inequalities (Rios-Aguilar, 2013; Kelly, 2010; Gewirtz, 2001).

Although other literature has emphasised the importance of working with parents in early education and care (Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2004b; 2000; Brooker, 2002; Gregory, 1997), Gewirtz (2001) questions this apparent goodwill by criticising the Labour government's attempt to change parents' attitudes by "reconstructing and transforming working-class parents into middle-class ones" (ibid, p.366), promoting dominant universal values and modes of engagement of a particular kind, undervaluing the social capital of others and perpetuating disparities of wealth and power.

Issa and Hatt (ibid, p.27) provide the following reflection:

Unfortunately, the record of the previous [Labour] government in relation to education is a mixed one. While there is no doubt that schools' funding and staffing improved dramatically over the past 13 years or so, the government's tendency to meddle in pedagogy and practice has had less admirable outcomes. Centralized control of the curriculum, for instance, and an obsession with measurable results has led to a curriculum which is dominated by formal assessments (SATs) and [is] questionably 'broad and balanced' (which is the legal requirement).

This point reflects to some extent the political agenda that was behind the many initiatives introduced at that time (Osgood, 2006a). Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (2007) situate governments' retention of the control of early years services within discourses of global competition and market economies. ECaT was no exception, and specific outcomes and measurable targets were set. In addition, Osgood (2009) argues that there is a prevalent construction of the early years workforce as "lacking", which enables the government to take top-down measures.

Rios-Aguilar (2013) problematises policy perspectives based on labels of deficiency as inappropriate, suggesting that many of these interventionist strategies “advocate for reductionist perspectives of literacy and for a deficit perspective of children and their families” (ibid, p.106). In the ECaT aims and outcomes there is a tacit invisibility of other languages and the guidance distributed to implement the initiative provides scarce recognition of the diversity of languages that young children are learning, repeating a pattern that has been identified as a pervasive feature of language policies in England (Flynn, 2015; Safford and Drury, 2012; Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008; Drury, 1997). Although some interesting initiatives have been developed in the past, such as the introduction of the KS2 Language Framework in 2005, supported by an exciting exchange programme with the European Community (Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008), the lack of continuity at secondary level created the impression “that there has never been a commitment to bilingual education in this country” (Issa and Hatt, 2013, p.57). This is particularly relevant in the maintained sector, which depends heavily on the funding that the government of the day assigns to ‘other languages’.

### 1.2.3 The structure of ECaT

It was planned that ECaT would be implemented in three stages called ‘waves’. Wave 1 was to be executed over a period of two years and began with the publication of two key sets of guidelines, one for the early years consultant (DfCSF, 2008b) and one for the early years lead practitioner (DfCSF, 2008a). The early years consultant (hereafter consultant) and the early years lead practitioner (hereafter lead practitioner) assumed very specific roles, and played a key part in the actions designed under the programme.

It was “critical [that] ECAT serves children from disadvantage areas” (DfCSF, 2008b, p.4) and 20 settings were selected by the consultant using local authority statistics regarding the level of attainment in Communication, Language and Literacy (according to the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile, cited in DfCSF, 2008b, p.2). In contrast with other government initiatives, ECAT, rather than focusing exclusively on the maintained sector, included a variety of providers in the private, voluntary and independent sectors, along with childminders.

After the settings had been selected, they began a process of auditing to identify the areas of language practice that required further development, and additional resources were provided to do this. The first set of guidelines (mentioned above) provided a set of mandatory actions, some general guidance and some prescriptive resources to orientate each stage of implementation. The questionnaire I received as a parent was, for example, one of the resources used to ‘audit parents’ level of involvement’. A further

publication was released in 2009, with an additional set of “examples of language-focused activities” (2009a, p.1). The questionnaires and additional resources focused on speech, language and communication skills, which suggests an emphasis on the ‘development’ of early linguistic skills according to pre-determined stages, following “testing regimes” observed in current early years educational policies (Roberts-Holmes, 2014).

Wave 2 and Wave 3 were aimed at expanding the initiative to the point at which it became “part of the universal offer” (DfCSF, 2008b p.4). However, when the coalition government took over the political and educational agenda in 2010, the ECaT resources temporarily disappeared, in that they were no longer available online. With a final publication of what was called the third instalment (2009b), ECaT was discontinued without having achieved the status of “universal offer”. Nevertheless, a number of local authorities decided to continue with the programme for different lengths of time, depending on local budgets and priorities, and it became self-funded. Currently, the ECaT resources are endorsed by 4Children and the National Children’s Bureau, both of which are strategic partners of the Department for Education.

### *1.3 Research questions*

Fairclough (2010) suggests that understanding ideologies and the discourses around practices involves equal attention being given to ‘what is there’ and ‘what is excluded’. Hence, my study aims to interpret how English, as the mainstream language, and the other languages that young children bring into early years settings were discursively constructed during the implementation of the ECaT initiative. The assumption is that the practice generated during implementation was based on a “selective articulation of discourses” (Fairclough, 2010, p.400) about the ways of doing, and on the legitimisation of particular social activities. Therefore, my research intends to engage in a critical analysis of language ideologies and language dispositions, discussing their possible influence on the formation of specific language practices around minority (home) languages. My primary research question is:

- How could initiatives such as Every Child a Talker (ECaT) influence the formation of dispositions towards language/s?

Disposition towards language/s is explored by using Bourdieu’s theoretical framework of social practice. Dispositions are the way in which the members of a particular field/market act and re-act in everyday practice (Bourdieu, 1991). In order to provide possible interpretations of dispositions, I focus the analysis on ideologies (inspired by Fairclough,

2010 and 2009) and practices (inspired by Bourdieu, 1991 and 1977). Following Tollefson's (2010) advice, my intention is to move away from explicit policy analysis; rather than taking for granted what is suggested, I critically examine the discourses and ideologies that framed early language practice.

This study has been greatly influenced by postmodernist perspectives on social research, with particular attention being paid to the *discourses*, and the *tensions between macro discourses and local discourses*, that are constructed around social practice (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002; Dickens and Fontana, 1994; Rosenau, 1992). Whereas macro discourses are associated with the narratives that appeared to represent broader groups of people ('societies') or institutions (such as the National Strategy), local discourses represent specific group of individuals dealing with everyday practice (Pennycook, 2010a). Thus, my intention is to provide possible interpretations of the influence of the ECaT discourses on the formation of dispositions towards (other) language/s and of how dominant ideas about language practice framed and/or restricted local ideas about the best way to support home languages in young children. For the examination of ECaT and its implementation, I formulated the following subsidiary research questions:

- How were language/s discursively constructed at the macro level by the ECaT guidelines and resources?
- How were language/s discursively constructed at the local level by the ECaT consultants?

These two subsidiary questions highlight my interest in carrying out an in-depth analysis of the discursive constructions of practice at both the macro and local levels. This approach entails a methodical breakdown of the analytical steps applied at different levels, remaining, in this way, "self-reflective during the research process" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). In addition, the use of different types of *text* (documents, resources and interviews) requires a "systematic and retroductable investigation of [...] data" (ibid, p.3), where the discursive construction of language practice is "viewed as being multiply constructed and therefore access require[s] a range of approaches" (Grbich, 2004, p.9). Such detailed analysis would place this study in a position to offer plausible explanations of the possible influence of ECaT (representing macro/dominant discourses) on the formation of dispositions towards language/s in early years practice.

#### ***1.4 Scope and limitations***

The main data used to sustain my research are based on the analysis of the guidelines and resources created under ECaT, which represent the macro discourses and possible

dominant discourses around language practice. Additional interviews were purposefully conducted with the intention to recontextualise these discourses with micro/local discourses; however, accessing the key professionals who led the initiative was problematic. The sequence of actions during the implementation of ECaT was constrained within a tight schedule, reducing the time span within which to access local practice. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (2000) suggest that “communicative interactions” in specific times and places map the discursive practices in which symbolic struggles occur within structured spaces of social relations. Consequently, an important feature of this study is the social space and time in which the discursive constructions of practices were generated. Hence, the rapid disappearance of the financial support, resources and official status given to ECaT dramatically changed the social space in which the initiative was introduced.

Thus, in order to maintain a certain consistency in the structure of the interviews and the later analysis, the research has been framed around auditing language provision and the resources and guidelines that were publicly released at that time (2009–2010). Auditing was one of the first steps in the implementation of the initiative. A number of interviews with different stakeholders were conducted throughout the duration of this research (parents [n=2], speech and language therapists [n=2], early years practitioners [n=2] and early years consultants [n=3]); however, only two of the consultants’ interviews were selected to inform the research report, as these offered a closer conversation about auditing. It is important to establish that these interviews are not perceived as representations of realities and are not used to infer what happened in ‘real’ practice; rather, they are valued as local discursive constructions that were used to recontextualise my analysis of ideologies and their possible influence on the formation of dispositions in early years practice (additional information about conducting and selecting the interviews is presented in Chapter 4. See also Chapter 5 for a detailed account of the analysis of these interviews).

MacLure (2003) argues that although the discursive nature of ‘reality’ is an open secret, “informed by postmodernism, pragmatics and deconstruction, and the use of insights from philosophers such as Derrida, Foucault, Rorty and Lacan” (p.77), some educational studies are more comfortable with the assumption of an innocent and pure relationship between word and world (p.6). By contrast, my research is framed within postmodernist discussions that, among other issues, problematise the claim to truth through reasoning (Williams, 1999) and have been prescribed by scientific principles of regularity, deductive logic, observation and experience (Grbich, 2004). Hence, my study does not aim to report on ‘real’ practice; rather, it focuses on representations of practices through discursive constructions (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002). Therefore, I aim to offer

possible interpretations of language ideologies that are conveyed through language policies and the discursive constructions about language practice made by specific individuals. Hence, the data used do not include the social spaces in which young children and early years practitioners were involved in their day-to-day activities. Nevertheless, I believe that the relevance of my study lies in providing possible explanations of the patterns of language exclusion and the issues of cultural diversity that remain contentious in the early years context (Ang, 2010).

The critical analysis of the language ideologies articulated in the ECaT language programme interrogates the possible influence of language policies in perpetuating dominant monolingual discourses, exposing the position of 'other languages' in the early years curriculum. The increased attention given to early years education by central government and by the regulatory forces that have affected this sector (Osgood, 2006a) makes early years provision particularly vulnerable to the inculcation of uncriticised reductionist language practices (Rios-Aguilar, 2013). Thus, this study intends to contribute to language learning awareness in multilingual/plurilingual contexts and to an exploration of the impact that institutionalised experiences have on young children's learning. Whereas monolingual understandings of early language development have been extrapolated to understand language development in bilingual children (Macrory, 2006), this thesis calls for a critical review of both the learning opportunities and the assessment practices contained in language policies. I claim that it is crucial to fully understand the language learning environment of young children learning more than one language, and to challenge the discourses that allow the marginalisation of the socio-cultural resources that children bring to early childhood education (Barron, 2009).

This study has been inspired by the extensive research led by Dr Charmian Kenner, including her well-documented studies of young children becoming biliterate (2004a; 2004b; 2000) and of the significant role that families play in children's early learning (2005). There are many ways in which early childhood education can support bilingual families; "however, all these initiatives are likely to work most effectively if mainstream educators have respect for the literacy eco-systems already operating in bilingual homes" (Kenner, 2005, p.296). My study calls for the retention of a critical gaze regarding language practice in multilingual/plurilingual contexts and the continuous challenging of the conditions of inequality that children who are learning more than language face, by reconfiguring the position of minority language/s in early years education.

## *1.5 Organisation of the thesis*

My thesis comprises an exploration of language in two different ways. The first is in regard to English, as the mainstream language in early years education in England, and the great variety of other languages that children, parents and early years practitioners speak (mainly presented in Chapter 2). However, my research does not only examine the positions of language/s in early years education; it displays an extensive examination of *language* imbricated with *social practice* (Best, 1994) and in the research process (Alvesson, 2002). Among the variety of approaches to the study of *language* (Williams, 1999), in this thesis I examine the use of *language* for the articulation of ideologies within the discursive construction of practices (Chapter 3) and in the operationalisation of the analysis of *language* at different levels and in different types of text (Chapter 5).

My inclination towards a rigorous operationalisation of the analysis of *language* is strongly embedded in my previous research experiences in linguistics studies. This is presented in alignment with Fairclough (2010), Wodak and Meyer (2009) and van Leeuwen (2009; 2008), among others. Their approaches to the study of *language* were applied to obtain a systematic understanding of the institutionalised discourses (Fairclough, 2010), establishing the possible influence of the ECaT initiative on the formation of dispositions towards languages. Their work, in my view, supports the analytical breakdown and multi-layered analysis that was required to connect both the macro and local levels and the written text with the interviews (conversational texts), which is reflected in the analysis chapters presented in this thesis as evidence of a systematic analysis of practice.

An outline of each chapter is presented below:

### Part I

The literature review is presented in Chapter 2 – *Language ideologies in the early years sector* – where I discuss language ideologies in relation to immigrant languages, examining the apparent ‘invisibility’ of languages other than English in early years practice. Inspired by Hamel’s (2008) conceptualisation of language ideologies, I discuss the representations of ‘other languages’ according to different language ideologies. This chapter also reviews the concept of ‘quality’ in the early years sector, reporting on the tensions between regulatory external forces and local practices.

Chapter 3 – *Ideologies, habitus and dispositions* – aims to build on the theoretical framework underpinning this research. I start with an introduction to Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice, providing insights into the complexities of, and the forces that regulate, practices and highlighting the relationship between policies and local practices. I then

present a brief discussion of ideologies and representations of social practices through discursive constructions, establishing the dialectical connection between macro and local discourses (Fairclough, 2010; 2009).

In Chapter 4 – *Methodology and the research options taken in this study* – I define my study as postmodernist research in which language and the construction of realities through language becomes a key methodological standpoint (Alvesson, 2002). In conjunction with providing an explanation of some of the common principles associated with postmodernist research, this chapter also aims to present the complexities that this standpoint brings to my research. Grbich (2004) argues that postmodernism has a chaotic effect on social research, which alters the traditional ways of, among other things, designing research and engaging with and presenting data. Within this postmodernist approach, I explain the decisions taken during the process of collecting and generating relevant data to support my study. In this account, I discuss my position as a researcher and the implications of this for the process of selecting, generating and analysing data. A brief reflection on ethical procedures is also provided in this section.

Chapter 5 – *The application of critical discourse analysis to my study* – offers a detailed account of the analytical strategies employed, in which I argue that critical discourse analysis matches both the theoretical framework and the postmodernist principles within which this study is framed. I present the analytical tools and the layers of analysis that were applied to both types of data collected (documents and interviews). This chapter informs the systematic analytical paths that were taken to provide suitable interpretations with which to address the research questions, acknowledging also the significant role of the researcher in the research process. The last part of this chapter offers an analytical and reflective account of the constructions of moral talks during the interviews, making explicit the locality and complexities of the interviews as social events.

## Part II

Inspired by Fairclough (2010), I start this section by providing a brief introduction to the systematic analysis of the functioning of discourses in institutions, explaining how the analysis chapters have been organised. Chapter 6 – *Discursive constructions of 'quality language provision'* – examines the discursive construction of 'quality' and also the operationalisation of 'quality-language-provision' that appears to be used to justify the intervention of local language practices in the early years. Chapter 7 – *Hierarchies of ECaT language practice* – continues with an exploration of the social structure that appears to be discursively created to regulate this practice. Particular attention is paid to the members of the market and the social relationship that appears to be established between them, and Chapter 8 – *The discursive constructions of 'other languages'* –

reports on the possible influence of ECaT on the formation of specific ideologies around 'other languages'. For this purpose, I look at the words and the meaning attributes to them when talking about 'other language users' (lexico-semantic perspective). Similarly, I examine 'home', as a social space, and 'parents', as members of the ECaT market, arguing their contestable position in language practice from different ideological perspectives.

In Chapter 9 – *Final discussion: dispositions towards language/s* – I summarise my proposed interpretations of ECaT's (possible) influence on the formation of dispositions towards languages. Considering the unstable and unfixed nature of ideologies, I emphasise the contestable position of ideological language orientations. Nevertheless, my analysis suggests a dominance of monolingual ideologies that are particularly unsuitable in their ability to 'support language development' for young children learning more than one language. The dominance of monolingual ideologies in the main ECaT guidelines is exposed in order to argue that there exists the possibility of external discourses exerting an influence that diminishes alternative local initiatives. Although dispositions appeared to be inculcated by external forces, transformations of dominant discourses are also recognised as conditions of possibilities.

As suggested by Pennycook (2010a, p.142):

We construct realities through discursive practices, form temporary regularities to get things done through generic practices, and perform social meanings with different effects [...]. A focus on language practices demands that we move beyond a focus only on text.

This thesis has been written with the intention of providing, through the examination of a specific language programme, a critical perspective on language practices, and also of contributing, by way of a critical gaze, to the affirmation of the diversity that individuals bring to our society.

## Part I

## Chapter 2 – Literature review: language ideologies and discourses on quality in the early years sector

### *2.1 Introduction*

This chapter reviews the literature on both language ideologies and on discourses around quality. The first part introduces some of the issues associated with language minorities and early years language practice, arguing the importance of critically analysing the ideological orientations of ECaT as a language initiative in the early years sector. The second part provides a discussion of the discourses around 'quality', exposing them as strategies for regulating and controlling early years practice (Rios-Aguilar, 2013; Osgood, 2009; Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007). ECaT, similar to other initiatives in the sector, was introduced within discourses of quality, with the aim of improving language provision. My presentation explores the conceptualisation of quality by reviewing some of the tensions that are generated when these discourses are imposed by regulatory external forces.

### *2.2 Language ideologies*

Language ideologies are perceptions about language/s. They represent ideas, feelings, norms and values, which are translated into policies and practices (Weber and Horner, 2012). Blackledge (2002, p.67) suggests that particularly "in heterogeneous societies language ideologies are constantly constructed and reconstructed in discursive interactions at micro and macro levels". However, these ideologies are not always explicit (Fairclough, 2010) and they are taken for granted without conscious discussion or critical awareness (Tollefson, 2010). There is a need to shift attention away from the explicit analysis of policies and practice and towards the critical analysis of the ideologies that inform them, to develop a better understanding of how taken-for-granted institutionalised practices contribute to inequalities (Fairclough, 2010; Tollefson, 2010; Hamel, 2008). ECaT, as a language programme, cannot be perceived as ideology free, since the construction and reconstruction of language ideologies in this initiative was framed in a specific socio-political milieu (Larson and Peterson, 2013).

Fairclough (2010) argues that established ideologies become natural institutional discourses that explain and inform events at the local level. He suggests that they hide discourses that are taken for granted as part of common-sense practice. For this reason, the discourses produced at the macro level (state decisions) and the articulation of these discourses at the local level (local practices, classroom interactions and individual

interactions) need to be studied, “grounded in social, historical, cultural and political contexts of use and imbued in relations of power” (Larson and Peterson, 2013).

Even though England has been host to many immigrant groups in the past, minority languages hold a contentious position in the English education system (Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008). For instance, Block (2006) reports an increase in the number of publications about globalisation and immigration, which indicates that the subject has occupied a significant position in social research. Nevertheless, cultural diversity in the early years curriculum is still problematic (Safford and Drury, 2012; Ang, 2010) and, therefore, the connection between language policy and language practice in multilingual contexts is an issue that is current and must be critically reviewed. ECaT was introduced as an initiative to improve language practice in the early years without explicitly revealing the ideological perspective/s underpinning this practice. Likewise, the value given to other languages in this initiative is not obvious. For instance, the apparent misrecognition of other languages in the questionnaire for parents (mentioned in the previous chapter) is a significant feature that requires analytical attention.

Language policies play a significant role in the inculcation of what is perceived as appropriate in a specific context (Bourdieu, 1991). ECaT was not neutral in its ideological orientation and it is necessary to make explicit which ideologies it favoured. For example, research shows that in multicultural contexts there is permanent pressure on new arrivals to quickly integrate into the educational, socio-political and economic conditions of the new country (Hornberger, 1998), and to accept and acquire the official standards. At the same time, however, there is not always recognition of the individual status of those who have immigrated, of the preservation of their linguistic capital or of the additional difficulties they may experience during the process of integration (Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida, 2006). For example, Hall (2010) stresses that children whose home linguistic practice is similar to their school experience are likely to have more opportunities to succeed. By contrast, children from linguistically and culturally different backgrounds are perceived to be at a distinct disadvantage because they have to add a new linguistic and cultural practice to create the link with, and integrate into, the new school environment.

Nevertheless, the process of integration into a new country, culture and language does not necessarily mean complete assimilation, melting everyone and everything in a big pot (Weber and Horner, 2012), and multicultural and multilingual identities can co-exist with certain levels of harmony. For example, some remarkable experiences have been documented by García, Zakharia and Otcu (2013) in the context of local bilingual community education initiatives in New York. This publication brings together the efforts of individuals, communities and local organisations in maintaining the heritage

languages of immigrant groups, including Bengali, Korean, Russian, Turkish, Greek, Spanish, Arabic, Iranian and French. In a similar study, Walker (2011) reports the existence of a link between belonging to New Zealand (as the host country) and becoming a New Zealander “with the ability to balance the dual needs of maintaining cultural roots and acculturation” (ibid, p.157). For example, she quotes one of her participants, María Márquez: “I am ... from Chile, but I’ve lived here in New Zealand since I was two, so I’m a Chiwi” (ibid, p.159). This exemplifies the process of adjustment and the sense of continuity that immigrants can experience in situations of change.

The process of integration into new standards via either assimilation or a conciliation of multicultural identities is strongly influenced by language policy (Tollefson, 2010; Hornberger, 1998). In this process, educational institutions play an important role in the inculcation of the ideologies that sustain the policies (Bourdieu, 1991; Fairclough, 2010). For instance, Hornberger (1998) suggests that:

[T]here is also accumulating evidence that language policy and language education can serve as vehicles for promoting the vitality, versatility and stability of these [diverse] languages (p.439).

Unfortunately, the same statement can be used to explain how language policy and language education have contributed to the legitimisation and institutionalisation of one language and the exclusion of any form of linguistic diversity. This has been clearly illustrated by Anderson, Kenner and Gregory (2008), who analysed the different statuses of the native languages (such as English and Welsh), modern foreign languages (traditionally French and German and more recently Spanish) and immigrant language/s (all other languages) in the National Languages Strategy Framework launched in the UK in 2002. The regulation of linguistic practices in official places and under official circumstances unifies the linguistic practice itself (Bourdieu, 1991).

Linguistic uniformity is a feature of modern nation-state and political organisation that is used to maintain a certain level of control through mass education (May, 2010). When a language gains the status of official language, attributed to it by those in control, it becomes legitimised and is used as a weapon of control and domination (Tollefson, 2010). For example, the application of standardised tests in the official language results in constraints on the planning for and development of other languages in the educational system (reported in Hall, 2010). Another example is presented by García, Zakharia and Otcu (2013), who reveal that, in 2012, 31 US states had an English-only law:

This more restrictive language ideology and policy has had a negative effect on public bilingual education, especially in California, Arizona and Massachusetts, where bilingual education was rendered illegal (ibid, p.8).

This process of unification dictates that one language become accepted and legitimate and, as a consequence, there is less interest in and emphasis on other languages, which

can occupy only an unofficial status, or even become “clandestine and occult” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.41).

May (2010) argues that there is a *pluralist dilemma* of balancing cohesion between modern nation states, which aim to maintain ‘unification’, and the ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity that exists between the different groups that co-exist under one nation. An example is found in Walker’s (2011) discussion about the tension between what she calls a *multilingual ecology* and the monolingual mindset in New Zealand. She explains that, even though diversity is clearly recognised in language policies, the environment favours “monolingual perspectives and practices [...] where languages other than English have limited cultural and linguistic capitals” (ibid, p.158).

However, even if different ideologies are inculcated from the nation-state level (a top-down perspective), they might not necessarily be transferred and shared at the local level. Pennycook (2010b) argues that “language is a product of social action” (p.8) and that “all views on language[s] are located in certain histories and articulated from certain perspectives” (p.5). Therefore, the study of language as a local practice is essential to understanding how language/s is/are constructed in specific contexts. Furthermore, he claims that “critical resistance” to dominant discourses “needs to engage locally and think differently; it needs to find ways of thinking otherwise, of seeing other possibilities” (p.12).

Every Child a Talker (ECaT) represents the first systematic intervention that had the aim of having an effect on and changing language practice in early years services in England. Although they were not explicitly presented, this initiative was infused with a set of ideas, values and perceptions of norms about language/s. What were the language ideologies that were embraced by ECaT? Do these ideologies facilitate an inclusive approach to language diversity? I believe that a critical review of this language initiative, in conjunction with a critical analysis of the local discursive constructions of language practice during its implementation, could contribute to developing a better understanding of ECaT’s possible influence on the institutionalisation of ideologies about language/s in multicultural early years.

In multicultural cities such as London there is a significant number of young children learning more than one language. The status of immigrant languages is constructed differently through different ideological perspectives. The next section explores language ideologies relating to immigrant languages in early years services.

### *2.3 Ideologies relating to immigrant languages*

The tension between the dominance of monolingual mindsets and multilingual perspectives on language learning/acquisition has been highlighted in previous research (Clyne, 2011; Safford and Kelly, 2010; Drury, 2007; Macrory, 2006; Thompson, 2000). Many researchers have focused on the efforts and experiences of individuals in the process of adapting to new host countries and/or on the opportunities offered by the educational (and wider) society to maintain individual identities (García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2013; Issa and Hatt, 2013; Jessel et al, 2011; Kelly, 2010; Barron, 2009; Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2000; Drury, 2007; Carrasco et al, 2004; Gregory, 1997). These studies suggest that immigrant languages appear to struggle to uphold a certain level of recognition in mainstream education and that, even though in some settings many of the children speak languages other than English, these still count as ‘minority’. For example, an Ofsted (2016) report for a school in South London stated that “**the majority of** the pupils are from minority ethnic backgrounds. [...] and the proportion of pupils who speak English as an additional language **is above average**” (p.7 – my bold). This statement creates a polarisation between majority and minority in which the norm – the white, British, monolingual English-speaking child – is presented as the benchmark of evaluation for what is acceptable (Burman, 2008).

Similarly, *pedagogical approaches* have been presented as a way of pinning down “linguistically appropriate practice” (Chumak-Horbatsch, 2012; other examples are found in Issa and Hatt, 2013; Hélot and Ó Laoire, 2011; Hélot and de Mejía, 2008 and Datta, 2007). Although previous studies have acknowledged the importance of language ideologies, few have provided an in-depth discussion of the ideologies that permeate policies and practice. Zepeda, Castro and Cronin (2011) present such a discussion about the cultural and linguistic knowledge that teachers need in order to respond effectively to multicultural issues and the lack of coverage of this knowledge in teacher training in the USA. A similar discussion is presented by Safford and Kelly (2010), regarding the linguistic knowledge that trainee teachers have and what is actually valued during Initial Teacher Education in England. Both studies showed that even though principles and guidelines regarding ‘multilingual practice’ appeared to be explicit, a set of assumptions were made that over-privileged the “monolingual mindset” (ibid, p.409). Flynn (2015) argues that although the pupil demographic in schools has become more linguistically diverse, the dominant position of English in England has shaped – unconsciously – a monolingual curriculum. For example, a powerful discussion is presented by Barron (2009), who argues that the legitimacy of immigrant/minority languages has been denied in early years settings where only English is accepted.

In the same vein, Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida (2006) offer a more extensive analysis of language discourses and ideologies in early childhood education in Canada. They analyse data from parents and practitioners and corroborate the existence of a tension between different ideological constructions of language practice.

They conclude:

Although a recognition of the value of bilingualism is present in the conversations with educators, a closer look at their practices reveals that there is little effort expended for bilingualism and that monolingual discourses tend to prevail (p.328).

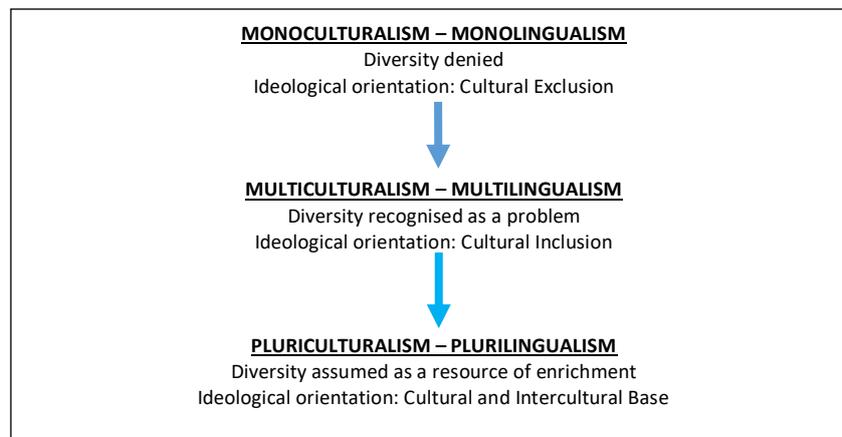
My study aims to contribute an additional critical analysis of the language ideologies and practice that were situated within a specific government initiative in a specific time and space in England. I believe that a critical analysis of ECaT could help to reveal the tensions between ideological formations and shared knowledge about language practice. It could also help to create a critical and cautious attitude towards the dominant discourses, which are sometimes not visible in language policies, guidelines and resources. This is particularly important for those involved in the training of educational practitioners and policy makers, where “issues of subordination, investment and empowerment” (Safford and Kelly, 2010, p.401) need to be brought to light. As Pennycook points out “we need to shift the ways in which we consider language, locality and practice” (2010a, p.12).

In the next section, I continue with the conceptualisation of language ideologies, based mainly on Hamel’s (2008) model of *language ideological orientations*. Additional arguments about the connection between different ideologies as “multiple rather than fixed or unitary” ideas (Weber and Horner, 2012) are further explored.

### 2.3.1 Hamel’s ideological orientations

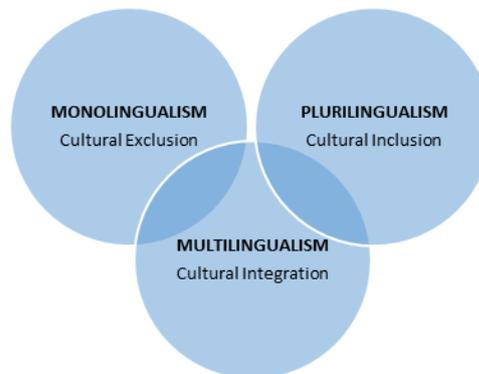
When analysing language policies in bilingual education in Latin America, Hamel found that there were three broad ideological orientations towards languages (see Figure 2a). Hamel developed this model from Ruiz’s (1984, cited in Hamel, 2008) analysis of language planning in educational policies as language-as-problem, language-as-right and language-as-resource. The arrows in the figure represent a historical movement from monolingualism towards plurilingualism. Hamel affirms that these ideologies “still survive and embody competing positions in contemporary society” (ibid, p.96).

**Figure 2a:** Ideological orientations in language and cultural policy (Hamel, 2008, p.95)



On the basis of these categories, I explore further each ideological orientation, proposing two modifications. First, in my view the categories are represented as if they were different and separate ideologies, whereas, as proposed by Blackledge (2002), language uses and beliefs are contestable, unstable and mutable, and are “linked to relations of power and political arrangements in societies” (p.68). My interpretation is that a range of ideologies could co-exist in the discourses on policies and practices. Ideologies can display varying degrees of awareness, understanding and appreciation of language learning and language practices (Weber and Horner, 2012) and they arise within different cultural models. For example, in the model proposed by Hamel (above), the category of multiculturalism-multilingualism includes *diversity as a problem*, and this has been one of the motives used to advocate monoculturalism-monolingualism (for example, in the 31 US states mentioned in the previous section). I prefer to represent the three categories as interconnected ideologies (symbolised by the juxtaposition of the three circles in Figure 2b). In this figure, I aim to illustrate the combination and fluctuation of ideologies that are embedded in discourses about language/s. Rather than unitary ideas, language/s are constructed and reconstructed within different (and sometime contradictory) perspectives (Blackledge, 2002).

**Figure 2b:** Contestable language ideologies (my adaptation of the ideological orientations in language and cultural policy proposed by Hamel)



The second modification concerns the use of the term ‘inclusion’, which I apply differently to Hamel’s model. I suggest that this concept originates from a mistranslation from the Spanish (in which Hamel writes) to the best-fit equivalent in English. I explain the differences between the terms that Hamel and I use in section 2.3.1.3 – *Plurilingual ideologies*.

In the following sections I introduce each of the ideologies and then present an example of an early years resource for inclusive education, illustrating the representations of ideologies and the possible influence of the resource on early years practice.

### **2.3.1.1 Monolingual ideologies**

Ideologies orientated towards monolingualist mindsets have been described as predominant perspectives, in which the ‘norm’ is to speak one language only. Such ideologies can be found at the macro level, for instance in one-nation-one-language policies, which aim to build homogeneous nation states (May, 2010; Hamel, 2008; Heller, 2002 cited in O’Rourke, 2011), and at the micro level, such as in the mother tongue assumption that one language only can be spoken at home (Weber and Horner, 2012; Macrory, 2006). According to Bourdieu (1977), dominant groups fail to recognise (*meconnaissance*) what is not “official”. Misrecognition of the ‘other languages’ has already been identified in the literature available to early years practitioners in England (Flynn, 2015; Issa and Hatt, 2013; Safford and Drury, 2012; Safford and Kelly, 2010; Wallace and Mallows, 2009; Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008; Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2004b; 2000; Brooker, 2002; Drury, 1997). A clear example of this is the influence of studies about language acquisition in monolingual children, which set stages for language development and have been included as part of the early years curriculum to assess young children (Early Years Foundation Stage, DfCSF, 2008), misrecognising

that other research has already identified different patterns in children who speak more than one language.

Monolingual mindsets are represented in language practices by policies such as English-only, “failing to provide [young children] with an equitable, culturally and linguistically appropriate education” (Wright, 2004, p.2). Edwards (2004) suggests that in countries in which it is the main language, English “is considered such an asset that many find it difficult to understand the need for other languages” (p.5). Blackledge (2002) states that very often democratic and apparently tolerant and heterogeneous societies tend to undervalue their linguistic diversity. As a consequence, the “monolingual habitus of linguistically diverse schools leads to an implicit rejection of an important part of children’s identity whose family languages are often ignored” (*sic* O’Rourke, 2011, p.108). This, for example, is materialised in the lack of appropriate records of children’s additional language/s being kept by educational establishments and local authorities (Block, 2006). Issa and Hatt (2013) and Thompson (2000) argue that in the 1960s Britain was characterised by its emphasis on assimilation into the dominant British culture through the English language. Similar to Hamel (2008), Thompson (2000) provides a historical perspective on the evolution of language policies and the initiatives that followed on from them in Britain, conceding a dominant status to assimilationist approaches in education, including in the early years sector.

Moreover, Hélot and Ó Laoire (2011) maintain that within monolingual ideologies bilingual education is intended only for the elite and dominant languages. Mick (2011) also puts forward the idea of the existence, in bilingual and trilingual education, of monolingual habitus, in which languages are introduced by the school as “separate realities and for different contexts and subjects” (p.25). Her argument illustrates the contestability of ideologies that may embrace different understandings of language learning in bilingual and multilingual education.

### **2.3.1.2 Multilingual ideologies**

*Multilingualism* has been constructed on the basis of ideologies of language revitalisation and language rights for indigenous and minority groups; however, language diversity is perceived as a problem that needs attention (Hamel, 2008) at an additional but ‘necessary’ cost (Edwards, 2004). Greater attention is placed on avoiding *language genocide* by advocating for the right to maintain the mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010), but the principal problem remains that of gaining ‘access’ to the dominant language in order to be able to perform according to the standardised level of attainment.

The manifestation of multilingual ideologies is characterised by maintaining English as the medium of instruction and assessment (Thompson, 2000) and the additional language/s is valued only when it serves as a bridge for learning the new language and for facilitating integration into the mainstream culture (ibid). For example, Anderson, Kenner and Gregory (2008) report how the media present bilingual education as being beneficial for accessing English. 'Home language' is perceived as a personal/individual affair that is important for the individual but not for the community or for broader society (May, 2010). Other attempts to value minority languages in the British educational system have been made in the context of anti-racist education movements and the principles of Education for All that emanated from the Swann Report (Issa and Hatt, 2013; Thompson, 2000), fostering home language as part of ethnic identities that should be preserved.

In countries such as New Zealand, the Republic of Ireland and Wales (reported in Walker, 2011, O' Rourke, 2011 and Hornberger, 1998 respectively) English has maintained a dominant position and only recently have the 'native' languages acquired national recognition. This recognition has been reflected in bilingual programmes in educational policy and in other public domains. Nevertheless, there has been constant fluctuation between seeing the native language in a positive light and questioning and doubting its benefits.

As previously argued, young children learning more than one language are immersed in a continuum of experiences that shape their linguistic skills (Kenner, 2004a; 2004b). Kelly's (2010) study displays the different strategies used by young children to make sense of what is going on in the early years settings in comparison with their experiences at home. The socio-political distinction of individual spaces as separate from the social (institutionalised) space is meaningless to their personal realities. The discontinuity of their early learning experiences in 'many worlds' does not acknowledge that learning is a continuum. Thus, I argue that home language/s and mainstream language should, theoretically, come together to offer meaningful learning experiences. Although multilingual ideologies partially recognise the importance of home language/s, they fail to emphasise the importance of constructing a common space in which many languages can converge. The misrecognition of 'other languages' within institutionalised practices reinforces the dominant position of the mainstream language/s. Other spaces are created to ensure the revitalisation and maintenance of the 'other languages', but these are outside 'official' education.

Pennycook (2010a, p.12) makes the criticism that:

while concepts such as multilingualism appear superficially to overcome blinkered monolingual approaches to language, they all too often operate with little more than a

pluralization of monolingualism: discourses of multilingualism reinforce the ways of thinking about language that we need to get beyond.

In many cases, what appears as multilingual practice ends up as ‘counting’ and ‘celebrating’ language diversity in a ‘tokenistic way’ (Safford and Kelly, 2010); there is no creation of real spaces for language practice and “multilingualism becomes pedagogically irrelevant” (p.410).

### **2.3.1.3 Plurilingual ideologies**

*Plurilingualism*, according to Hamel (2008),

[S]hares with multiculturalism a similar recognition of factual diversity, but differs in its interpretation of this diversity as an asset and a potential cultural capital for the nation as a whole (p.96).

Whereas multiculturalism recognises language diversity as a personal quality, plurilingualism fully values the asset that each individual brings to the community and to society, with home languages equally appreciated in the English educational milieu. This perspective has also been associated with participatory pedagogies that take into account, rather than ignore, the social, cultural and political worlds of the learners (Hall, 2010; Barron, 2009). Plurilingual ideologies value the unique background and experiences of each individual and listen to their voices, rather than solely emphasising language competence or language preservation.

Viewing language/s from a plurilingual perspective recognises the wealth of knowledge that young children bring to their early education (Kelly, 2010; Kenner, 2005). This emphasises the application of holistic and inclusive approaches to ensure that children’s various languages are included in their pedagogical activities (Hélot and Ó Laoire, 2011). Morren-López (2011) notices that “a large number of dual-language programmes are based on plurilingual ideologies where multiple languages are supported and taught” (p.178). Consequently, other languages are not marginalised or excluded from institutional spaces but rather become another feature of the rich background that each member contributes to them.

It is important to make a distinction between the term *cultural inclusion* as presented by Hamel, as part of the multilingual ideological orientations, and my own interpretation of it, which I have relocated within plurilingual ideologies. The literature in other countries (for example, Spanish-speaking countries) differentiates between *integration* and *inclusion* as two different educational approaches. For instance, integration has been associated with the process of assimilation into standardised and prescribed ways of being (Cline and Frederickson, 2009), whereas inclusion is sustained by the philosophical and pedagogical principles of increasing participation and becoming more

responsive to the diversity of children and the community (Booth and Ainscow, 2002). However, I have noticed that in England the word inclusion is used for both approaches. A practical example of the different interpretations of 'inclusive practice' in education can be appreciated in English texts. For example, *Inclusion in the Early Years* (Nutbrown and Clough, 2013) mainly focuses on special educational needs issues, whereas *Index for Inclusion* (Booth and Ainscow, 2002) provides a richer conceptualisation of diversity and inclusive practice. Both publications use the same word but its use and meaning are different. My interpretation is that Hamel's description of plurilingual ideologies is in line with the principles of *inclusive practice*.

Some of the principles of inclusion in education involve:

- Valuing all students and staff equally;
- Increasing the participation of students in, and reducing their exclusion from, the cultures, curricula and communities of local schools;
- Learning from attempts to overcome barriers to the access and participation of particular students to make changes that benefit students more widely (Booth and Ainscow, 2002, p.3).

These principles refer to the education of all children, not only those who have been stigmatised as different. Hence, from a plurilingual perspective, this includes all children, not only those who are learning more than one language. This perspective drives the idea that multiple languages are locally used and are an intrinsic part of the cultural capital of all the stakeholders involved. In essence, the languages – embracing immigrant languages and those that represent mainstream society – of the children, the parents, the members of staff in educational settings and the local communities are equally valued.

Interest is repositioned towards the diverse social relationships in which language is used at both a global and a local level and in the political and social situation (family, community and global outlook of society – citizenship) in which language/s are learned and constructed (Li Wei, 2015). From my perspective, adopting the principles of inclusive education as a pedagogical standpoint enables a move away from the individual competences and repertoires associated with language-to-person and vitalises the infinite possibilities of language practice in specific times and spaces (Pennycook and Otsuji, 2014).

Plurilingual ideologies favour holistic language learning environments surrounding young children. Learning is not perceived as a compartmentalised experience that is assigned to formal education. Formal education is considered a contribution to language knowledge but not the only way of learning. A clear example of plurilingual practice in education is presented by Muller and Baetens-Beardsmore (2004) in what they call the

European Hours. In these sessions, children were allowed to use their own language/s and, although they often resorted to the dominant language, they did not do this exclusively. Code-switching occurred naturally, and different verbal and non-verbal communication skills were used by both children and teachers. Opportunities for collaborative work were organised around a common goal, and a variety of cross-curricula learning opportunities, including in linguistic skills, were associated with these sessions. Through the sessions, the institutional value of the host language made room for the simultaneous use of other languages, under what Hélot and Ó Laoire (2011) refer to as an ecological approach to linguistic diversity.

The three ideological orientations presented above highlight differences in the values, practices, beliefs, assumptions and knowledge that can be constructed around language policies and practices. They present different ideas about language learning, language performance and the position of languages for individuals and the whole of society. These ideologies appear to inculcate different dispositions towards language/s. They perceive 'other languages' along a spectrum that goes from total/partial exclusion (characterised by their misrecognition and marginalisation) towards partial/total inclusion in different social spaces. Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida (2006) emphasise that "language ideologies become part of struggles and so they are multiple and shifting". Therefore, they do not represent rigid categories but, rather, contestable perspectives that are embedded in global and local discourses about language. Which ideological orientation/s was/were favoured in the ECaT initiative? Were minority languages considered a problem or an asset? Was the language diversity of the early years sector embraced?

In the following section, I present a specific example of the articulation of language ideologies in early years practice, emphasising what appears to be taken-for-granted practice and arguing the need for a critical examination of the ideologies that underpinned ECaT as a language programme.

#### ***2.4 An example of language ideologies permeating early language practice***

This section intends to illustrate how language ideologies permeate educational resources and to introduce, by way of an example, how ideological orientations can be articulated in pedagogical approaches but are not always made explicit. My example is based on Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke's (2000) rating scale for inclusive practice in multicultural contexts in early years practice. This self-assessment rating scale invites professionals to reflect on and challenge professional assumptions about diversity and

is, in my view, a very useful tool. Although it does not take into account the internal and external forces that normally dominate and control practices, it shows how different perspectives influence different ways of working with young children learning more than one language.

In a partial application of some of the inclusive principles mentioned in the previous section, Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke (2000) have proposed “a self-assessment rating scale that enables early childhood practitioners to assess their own [approach] for equity practice” (p.117). Their intention is to motivate early years practitioners to engage in judgements about their practices and to stimulate discussion and reflection. According to Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke, the early years curriculum should, among other things:

- Acknowledge the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of all children;
- Actively maintain and develop the children’s first or home languages;
- Promote the learning of English as an additional language;
- Value bilingualism as an asset;
- Support families in their efforts to maintain their languages and cultures;
- Foster an awareness of diversity in class, gender, ability and culture (p.70)

The scale suggests categories in which practitioners can rate themselves between 1 (the lowest rating) and 7 (the highest). Potential variability in the scoring of inclusiveness at different times is also possible, when different strategies of doing, planning and resourcing are taken into account.

In Figure 2c, I present a sample of the first criterion, *diversity*, which is organised in two different categories: *planning for individual learning needs* and *multicultural education*. For example, in B-1.1 “very little evidence of ethnic diversity in our society or the wider world” in the planning of resources, activities and social interactions is suggested as a low-level recognition of diversity. By contrast, a higher indicator of inclusiveness is presented in B-7.1, which refers to “activities with the express purpose of promoting multi-cultural understanding”. In my view, the grading and the examples provided could be associated with different ideologies that underpin different ways of working with young children.

**Figure 2c:** A sample of the self-assessment rating scale on diversity – proposed by Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke for early years practice (2000, pp.119–120)

<i>Inadequate</i>	<i>Minimal</i>	<i>Good</i>	<i>Excellent</i>
1	3	5	7
<b>A - Diversity: Planning for individual learning needs</b>			
1.1 All children in the setting are offered the same range of materials and activities, rather than having activities matched to their age or aptitude.	3.1 Some additional provision is made for individuals or groups with specific needs.	5.1 The range of activities provided enables children of all abilities and from all backgrounds to participate in a satisfying + e.g. cognitively demanding way.	7.1 The range of activities provided together with the organization of social interactions, enables children of all abilities and backgrounds to participate at an appropriate level in both individual and common tasks.
<b>B - Diversity: Multicultural education</b>			
1.1 Books, pictures and displays show no or very little evidence of ethnic diversity in our society or the wider world.	3.1 The children sometimes play with toys and artifacts from cultures other than the ethnic majority.	5.1 Children play with an extensive range of artifacts drawn from cultures other than the ethnic majority, e.g. dressing-up clothes used in dramatic play, cooking and eating utensils.	7.1 Staff develop activities with the express purpose of promoting multi-cultural understanding, e.g. attention is drawn to similarities and differences in things and people, other cultures are routinely brought into topic work [...]

Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke’s self-assessment tool is a starting point for thinking about ideologies and practice. The first feature to consider is that there no specific examples of how ‘other languages’ are reflected in the classroom and in early years settings are offered. For instance, how is ‘participation for all children’ articulated in local language practice? The lack of concrete examples to illustrate what ‘participation’ looks like in language practice has also been identified in many other studies (I have already mentioned Flynn, 2015, Issa and Hatt, 2013, Safford and Drury, 2012, Safford and Kelly, 2010, Wallace and Mallows, 2009 in the UK, and Zepeda, Castro and Cronin, 2011 and Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida, 2006 abroad). This can render ‘other languages’ invisible, or at least blurred, and risk perpetuating the legitimisation of English as the only language that matters.

Equally, the resource enters into very little discussion about how macro discourses inculcated through national policies allow or restrain plurilingual practices at a local level, and little analytical attention has been paid to appreciating and fully understanding the lack of concrete manifestations of plurilingualism in both policies and practices. The danger lies in taking for granted what constitutes linguistic diversity within language practices without critically reviewing the ideological orientations behind institutionalised practices.

Neither language policies nor language practices are neutral ideologies. Ideologies around dominant language and ‘other language/s’ are constructed discursively by legitimising the right ways of doing. The formation of ideologies in social practices is explored further in the next chapter, but at this point I would like to emphasise the distinctive significance of language learning in young children and the role of early years services in fostering their learning. ECaT, as a language programme for early years in England, must be critically scrutinised to establish what position is assigned to other languages in relation to English. Whereas previous research has reported on the marginalisation of home language/s and the lack of spaces given to immigrant languages in the early years curriculum at the local level, my study provides an in-depth analysis of ECaT’s languages ideologies, exploring the possible influence of this type of initiative on the formation of dispositions towards language/s.

My presentation so far has focused on language ideologies and language practice, calling for a critical analysis of the language ideologies that permeate language practice in early years. In the following section, I move on to reviewing the conceptualisation and problematisation of ‘quality’ in early years literature and policies. A critical analysis of discourses around ‘quality’ in early years practice has been carried out in previous studies (Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007; Osgood, 2009; Katz, 1995 cited in Walsh and Gardner, 2005), which have offered a critical perspective on the construction of ‘quality’ and the regulatory forces that have been imposed, restricting early years education and care. The main feature highlighted in these studies is the high level of government control and regulation of early years services (Osgood, 2006a). Given that Every Child a Talker (ECaT) was a governmental initiative created with the intention of improving the ‘quality’ of language provision in early years settings (DfCSF, 2008b), it is important to examine the discourses around quality in the early years sector in England.

## *2.5 Early years provision in England and ‘the problem with quality’*

The concept [of quality] has achieved such dominance that it is hardly questioned. For the most part it is taken for granted that there is something –objective, real, knowable– called quality (Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007, p.4)

Dahlberg, Moss and Pence have problematised the meaning and use of quality in early years education. The problem with the concept of quality is represented by the inverted commas in the subheading above. Although this concept is frequently used in everyday practice, policies and legislation it is hardly ever challenged (ibid). Rather than its meaning being problematised, quality has been continuously used as convenient shorthand (Moss, 2016) and as a central focus of policy reforms (Logan, 2018). ‘Quality’ could achieve such a level of common sense that it could become ‘naturalised’

(Fairclough, 2010) and, therefore, unquestioned within early years practice. Nevertheless, understanding 'quality' as socially constructed implies that this term is neither given nor fixed (Moss, 2016). Hence, this section aims to review the concept of quality as a socio-political and cultural construction by a specific elite group in the early years field in England. In this presentation, less attention is paid to what is considered 'quality' in the early years; by contrast, my arguments focus on disclosing the construction of 'quality' from a "top-down perspective" used to justify regulation and control by external and powerful agencies (Logan, 2018; Cannella et al, 2016; Moss, 2016; Jones et al, 2014; Osgood, 2009; Katz, 1995 cited in Walsh and Gardner, 2005).

'Quality' and 'quality-provision' are terms that are widely used in the early years lexicon, especially when the lack of them is highlighted. Osgood (2009) claims that the:

[G]overnment has a vested interest in constructing nurseries and nursery workers as 'failing' because through a deficit discourse demands for 'radical reforms' through the imposition of top-down policy become entirely justifiable and a reasonable remedy to the 'problem' (Osgood, 2009, p.740 – inverted commas from the original).

Radical reforms are imposed and justified on the basis of 'quality' and 'quality-provision' issues, even though these are sometimes obscured. The concept of quality is presented through representations of imaginaries of how things might or could or should be (Fairclough, 2010). For example, 'quality' has been associated with 'effective practice'. 'Effective practice' and 'good practice' (as opposed to 'bad practice') are terms that are consistently used in early years education, generating the impression that there is a common-sense understanding of what is right and also assuming that they are universally applied but not always critically examined.

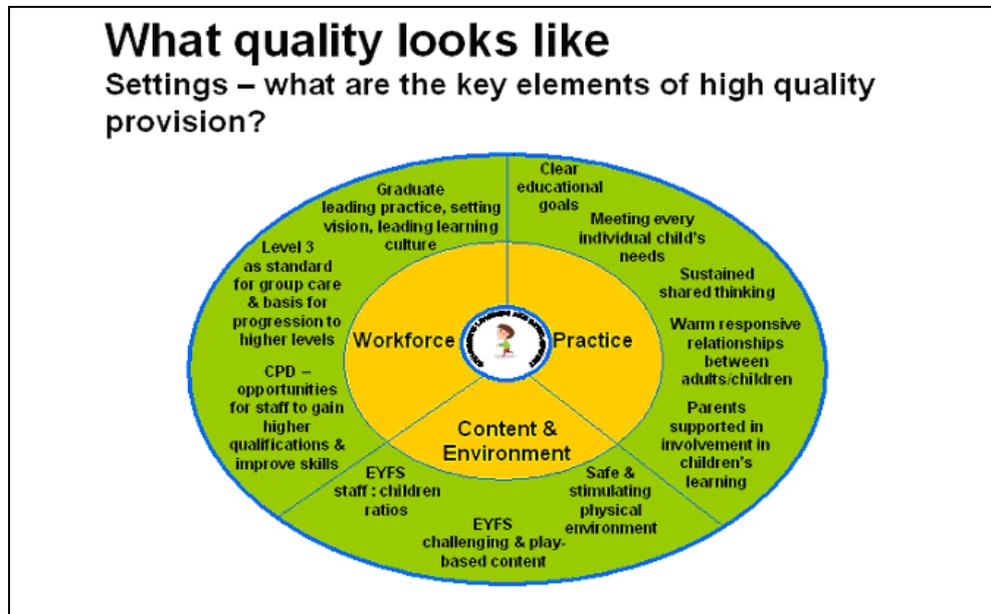
Although discourses on quality have been used by different national policies, legislation, interventionist initiatives and inspection bodies, Osgood (2009) argues that discourses on quality are particularly significant in the early years sector as external reforms here tend to acquire an unavoidable effect of domination. The following sections explore some examples that intend to expose the tensions around the construction of 'quality' in early years practice in England.

### 2.5.1 'Quality' constructed as 'effective practice'

Probably, an explicit example that highlights elements associated with quality is one of the PowerPoint presentations used to instruct ECaT consultants on issues of 'quality' in the early years sector. This document was based on the Early Years Quality Improvement Programme (DfCSF, 2007a), which is the framework for inspecting early years settings. The inspection was normally carried out by Ofsted, but local authorities were also involved. During inspections, settings must provide evidence of 'effective

practice' in each of the categories shown in Figure 2d and, as a consequence, "alternative constructions of quality become silenced" (Osgood, 2009 p.740). In the figure, 'quality' is divided into three categories: *Workforce*, *Practice* and *Content & Environment*.

**Figure 2d:** The Early Years Quality Improvement Programme (DfCSF, 2007a), Slide 19



Bourdieu (1977) advises that "any socially recognised formulation contains within it an intrinsic power to reinforce dispositions symbolically" (p.21). Each category is officialised by the National Strategy and becomes an 'issue' to be inspected. The intrinsic symbolic power generated by these principles of 'quality' can be illustrated when looking in more detail at the section entitled *Workforce* (top left in Figure 2d).

*Workforce*, according to Figure 2d, offers a distinction between 'graduate' – *leading practice, setting vision, leading learning culture* – and 'Level 3' [practitioners] – *as standard for group care & basis for progression to higher levels* – suggesting that these two types of practitioner are perceived differently. However, associating 'quality' with graduate versus non-graduate practitioners is highly problematic, as the workforce in early years provision is very diverse, covering different sets of qualifications and experiences (DfE, 2013; Osgood, 2010; 2006a). Hence, the hierarchy created by this distinction is not necessarily reflected in practice. Arguably, both kinds of professional have similar roles and responsibilities (Tickell, 2011) and, in salary terms, there is not always a significant difference between graduates and non-graduates (DfE, 2013; Sylva and Pugh, 2005). Equally, some settings do not necessarily prefer staff with higher qualifications, because the salary costs affect fees, affordability and profit (DfE, 2013). This example shows that 'what-quality-looks-like' has been discursively created in this framework by assigning different status and performance to graduate and non-graduate

early years practitioners. However, this differentiation does not necessarily characterise the reality of early years services in England. By contrast, Simpson et al (2015) show that this relationship has not been sufficiently supported by significant data.

Another example of the construction of quality in early years practice in England can be seen when examining the Early Years Foundation Stage – EYFS (DfCSF, 2008c). This document was used as the curriculum guidance during the period when ECaT was being implemented. This document stated:

The guidance on effective practice to support children’s development is based on the EYFS Principles and the examples given illustrate just ***some of the possibilities***. The column provides ***ideas on activities and initiatives*** that practitioners can engage in to support and extend children’s learning and development, based on their interests and needs (DfCSF, 2008c, p.12 – my bold and italics).

The document offered a set of *possibilities* of *effective practice* materialised as an extensive list for practitioners of ‘things to do’. For instance, the extract below was presented as *effective practice* under *Linking Sounds and Letters* for children aged 30–50 months:

When singing or saying rhymes, talk about the similarities in the rhyming words. Make up alternative endings and encourage children to supply the last word of the second line, for example, ‘Hickory Dickory boot, the mouse ran down the...’ (DfCSF, 2008c, p.53).

Despite the challenge of this particular rhyme, which appears highly problematic for both native and non-native English speakers, the same example was included in the revised Early Years Foundation Stage (DfE, 2014).

Few but significant changes were introduced in the new revised version. The term *effective practice* is replaced by *effective early learning*. This distinction is presented in a new section entitled *Development Matters*, which gives a different breakdown to that in the previous version. The strategies for *effective early learning* are divided into two columns: *Positive Relationships: What adults could do* and *Enabling Environments: What adults could provide*. For example, in the new document under *Communication and Language: Listening and Attention* for children aged 30–50 months, the following is suggested:

**Positive Relationships: What adults could do** → Introduce ‘rhyme time’ bags containing books to take home and involve parents in rhymes and singing games (p.16).

**Enabling Environments: What adults could provide** → When singing or saying rhymes, talk about the similarities in the rhyming words. Make up alternative endings and encourage children to supply the last word of the second line, e.g. ‘Hickory Dickory boot, The mouse ran down the...’ (p.16 which is the same example as that given in the original EYFS to ***illustrate just some of the possibilities***)

In spite of their different layout, both documents maintain the status of ‘possibilities’. This is reinforced in the latest version with the use of the modality *could*. The use of *could*

implies degrees of possibilities, giving certain authority to the reader (Hodge and Kress, 1993) to select from among a set of options. The status of possibilities could be interpreted as meaning that there are other ways of doing.

Yet, Kwon (2002) exposes the high level of tension between inspecting bodies and practitioners, which I myself have witnessed in my experience in the sector. This tension appears to be generated when readings of 'could-do', as imaginary representations of ideal effective practice, are interpreted as 'must-do', as the evidence that external bodies seek during inspections. In other words, the *ways of doing* that come from the curriculum framework are a configuration of discourses that can be interpreted as 'the-right-way' (Fairclough, 2010), "seeking to establish a 'correct reading' or the promotion of certain discursive truths" (Osgood, 2009, p.736).

The examples presented aim to demonstrate the external influence that the curriculum framework and the inspecting bodies could exercise over 'alternative-local-ways' regarding what is perceived as 'quality' (Osgood, 2009; Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007; Kwon, 2002). Although local alliances of academics, activists, practitioners and commentators have been created to resist curriculum directives (Jones et al, 2014), I suggest that the pressure of evidencing *effective practice* by/for inspecting bodies and the standardised assessment regime (Roberts-Holmes, 2014) create tensions between different readings of the EYFS framework. As a result, certain practices are discursively constructed as 'quality' and acquire the status of being more effective than others. Consequently, external inspection of *effective practice* can twist 'possibilities' (*could-do*) towards 'the-right-thing-to-do' (*must-do*). Hence, the discursive constructions around *quality* are articulated and dialectically enacted as *effective practice*, becoming highly instrumental narratives (Moss, 2016) and creating a sense of appropriateness and a common-sense notion of what constitutes *quality provision*. This neoliberal condition marginalises, ignores, silences and even erases diverse knowledges and multiple ways of perceiving/being in the world (Cannella et al, 2016).

### 2.5.2 'Quality' that represents the elites

'Quality' has also been constructed in England by the selection of elite centres and their denomination as exemplary. Logan (2018, p.140) uses the term *elite* to refer to "high profile personnel who held positions of influence in policy-making circles". In a similar way, I suggest that a number of 'exemplary centres' were used to construct 'quality' around specific desirable ways of doing. The report on the *Evaluation of the Early Excellence Centres Pilot Programme* (DfEE, 2001) stated:

The EEC [Early Excellence Centres] programme [...] is an important element in the Government's broad policy strategy for raising educational standards, increasing opportunities, supporting families, reducing social exclusion, increasing the health of the nation and addressing child poverty (DfEE, 2001, p.1).

The Early Excellence Centres (EEC) were strategically selected by the Labour government to influence early years practice in England. This status was given to 11 settings and, despite the fact that they did not necessarily represent the resources typically available in an 'ordinary' early years setting, they were presented as "good models" of *effective practice* (DfEE, 2001). They were also used as a platform for studies in the field and their training programmes and publications were widely circulated, giving them an active role in "sharing" their ways of doing (ibid). The centres were presented in the following way:

A key role of the EECs is to, 'demonstrate good practice in education, childcare and integrated services and provide training and a focus for dissemination.' (DfEE, 1997, cited in DfEE, 2001, p.18)

The status of 'high-quality' was endorsed by the public recognition (officialisation) of their status of 'excellence', thus performing a political function of domination and cultivating dispositions about *effective practice* (Bourdieu, 1977). The recommendations that emanated from these elite centres were employed as additional opportunities for continuing professional development. Professional development was stressed under *Workforce – CPD opportunities for staff to gain higher qualification and improve skills* – in *The Early Years Quality Improvement Programme* (DfCSF, 2007a) (see Figure 2d) to fill the qualification and performance gap discursively created between graduate and non-graduate practitioners, reinforcing the need for external influences in shaping what constitutes 'quality'. The limited number of 'excellence centres' consequently limited the number of beneficiaries of these types of service. Hence, the construction of 'quality' around 'centres of excellence' represents an 'elite' rather than the more realistic diverse background that makes up early years services. According to the National Audit Office (2012), 55% of early years settings in England are private (the majority for-profit) or voluntary and mainly financed by fees paid by parents. The ongoing lack of commitment from governments to fully finance early years provision will maintain the pervasive division between those who can and those who cannot afford well-resourced settings.

Another example of the ways in which 'quality' has been discursively constructed by external forces can be explored by looking at what was introduced as research-based knowledge about *quality*. The *Effective Provision of Pre-School Education* research – EPPE (Sylva et al, 2004) produced a report of what was *effective* for young children's education. This research began in 1997 and claimed to be the first longitudinal European study of a national sample:

[It was] influential in guiding the development of policy and has been used by ministers and the Treasury as the 'evidential base' for expanding universal services and **targeting enhanced provision for the poor**' (Sylva and Pugh, 2005, p.13 – my bold).

The EPPE aimed to identify, on the basis of children's progression, the factors that impact the 'quality' of early years provision, with pre and post-tests in reading, mathematics and social behavioural development (Sylva et al, 2004). Some of the factors identified as having an effect on 'quality' were pre-school experience (as opposed to none), type of setting, proportion of trained teachers (and graduate practitioners), collaborative work with parents and duration of attendance (Sylva and Pugh, 2005). In this context, 'quality' in early years services is associated with a particular set of skills (maths, literacy and social development) that children need to obtain, which orientates early learning towards children's *readiness* for formal education (ibid) and eliminates free play as a significant element of the principles of traditional English early childhood education (Kwon, 2002).

Along with the concept of *effective practice*, the EPPE introduced the term *effective pedagogy*. The introduction of 'pedagogy' into early years in England changes significantly the role of early years practitioners, especially when implementing the EYFS. Firstly, qualifications, as argued earlier, vary significantly between early years practitioners; however, *effective pedagogy* as used by Sylva and Pugh (2005) is associated with teachers only, undermining the diversity of qualifications and experiences within the sector's workforce. Their report suggests a direct relationship between teachers and effective pedagogy:

The EPPE research [...] found that a key to quality of provision and good outcomes for children was the level of qualifications of the staff working in early years settings (Sylva and Pugh, 2005, p.21).

Sylva and Pugh argued that the discrepancy between teaching and non-teaching qualifications and the level of payment in the different types of early years service remain "a major problem" (ibid). Hence, 'quality provision' is attributed to few (elite) individuals; however, qualifications in early years vary from none to national vocational qualification (NVQ) levels 1, 2 and 3, foundation degrees (higher education – HE – level 5), degrees in early years (with/without professional options called 'full and relevant') and early years teacher status. In 2004, 52% of childcare workers and 44% of playgroup workers were qualified at level 3 (ibid, p.21).

As a response, the former Labour government invested in the Early Years Professional Status (EYPS). This status was a degree-level professional recognition assessed against 39 standards (later changed to match the standards for teaching – Qualified Teacher Status). It was expected that these professionals could act as leaders in every early years setting by 2015. It was estimated that in 2012 there were 6,000 professionals with

EYPS across the country and more than 4,000 in training (Teather, 2013). The discursive construction of a 'pedagogy for early years' was reinforced by calling for *appropriately* qualified professionals such as those with EYPS. However, according to PACEY (Professional Association for Childcare and Early Years) only 13% of the workforce in the private sector are graduates (Kalitowski, 2016); graduate practitioners are in the minority, which implicitly questions the appropriateness of the rest of the practitioners – the majority of early years workers. The relationship between outcomes and highly qualified practitioners has not been supported by sufficient data (Simpson et al, 2015). By contrast, early years pedagogy has been re-shaped into a performative culture with measurable teaching subjects, where "if the data is good, the teaching is good" (Roberts-Holmes, 2014), creating what Moss (2016) calls a "technology of normalisation, establishing norms against which performance should be assessed" (p.10). Hence 'effective pedagogy' becomes no more than a normalised and unproblematised discourse of 'quality' and high returns (ibid).

I argue that *effective practice* has been legitimated as a set of 'things-to-do' shaped by external knowledge rather than by a local one, creating an effect of domination and control (Bourdieu, 1991). This centralised curriculum is imposed on early years practice and is politically driven (Jones et al, 2014). Discursive constructed credibility (Davies, 2003 cited in Osgood, 2009) was articulated by using research-based knowledge and elite groups that 'best' modelled *effective practice*, despite the fact that this was generated by prestigious agents and other bodies of knowledge. Additionally, certain practitioners – the minority who have a degree – were identified as more suitable to deliver 'quality-provision' than the less-qualified majority. This implies that non-graduate practitioners were not reproducing the right ways-of-doing, reinforcing the idea of early years in crisis and thus empowering external intervention (Osgood, 2009).

In summary, I have developed my arguments around quality, showing the discursive construction of quality by 'elites' and its use by the government to regulate and control the early years services. 'Elite practitioners' – highly qualified professionals – and 'elite centres of excellence' were utilised to create 'a practical sense' of what was good/acceptable (Bourdieu, 1991). Tensions between qualifications, inspecting bodies (and different possible readings of what is 'effective practice'), elite organisations' models of 'effective practice' and research-based outcomes appeared to be influencing the formation of particular habitus. These arguments emphasise a 'top-down perspective of quality' as opposed to a 'bottom-up' one (Osgood, 2009; Katz, 1995 cited in Walsh and Gardner, 2005) based on how a programme is experienced by the participants at the local level, excluding, in this way, diversity, multiple perspectives, contextual specificity and subjectivity of 'quality' (Moss, 2016). Such participant experiences appear to have

been ignored, creating the expectation that each setting reproduces externally prescribed *effective practices*.

In this section, I have briefly mentioned some of the features of quality. These can be summarised as follows:

1. *Quality* has been measured based on children's outcomes in literacy, numeracy and social behaviour, suggesting pre-standardised outcomes that can be universally applied (rather than locally constructed). Therefore, 'quality' has been used to regulate provision and is perceived as preparation or readiness for school.
2. *Quality* has been constructed as achievable when adopting specific and universalised ways of doing that have been inculcated from top-down perspectives. Some of these ways of doing have been phrased as 'effective practice' and interpreted as key elements of 'high-quality-provision'.
3. *Quality* has been constructed as significantly influenced by graduate practitioners. These practitioners were considered more suited to the implementation of specific pedagogies (ways of doing) to improve the outcomes of young children. However, graduate practitioners are scarcer (Kalitowski, 2016) and it is not statutory to employ these practitioners (Tickell, 2011).

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have reviewed the literature around language ideologies and minority language/s in early years provision in England. Language policies and language practices are infused with specific ideologies, which are not elucidated and sometimes are taken as common-sense ways of doing. I have argued that a number of influential studies have examined language practices at local levels; however, less attention has been given to early years language policies and their possible influence on the absence of concrete manifestations of plurilingualism in both policies and practices.

Based on Hamel's (2008) model of ideological orientations, I have framed language ideologies around three contestable perceptions of language/s – the monolingual, the multilingual and the plurilingual – arguing for more in-depth analytical attention to be paid to the positions of other languages in early years language policies and practice. The institutionalised recognition and/or misrecognition of language/s in language policies may have an impact on language practice by, for example, favouring different dispositions towards minority languages. Given the significant impact that early language experiences have on young children and that dispositions towards language/s fluctuate depending on the ideological orientations, language ideologies cannot be taken for granted. Thus, an in-depth analysis of the dominant language ideologies that were

embraced during the implementation of ECaT can provide possible interpretations of the pervasive exclusion of other languages in early years practice.

I have also explored the tensions between dominant constructions of quality (represented by top-down national policies) and the struggle to recognise that alternative perspectives exist within regulated ways of seeing, doing and thinking. Specific ways of doing have been presented as 'effective practice' which, according to these discourses, can be universally applied, regulated and controlled. Within this context, Every Child a Talker was introduced as one of the many initiatives aimed at changing 'quality-provision'. Rather than taking-for-granted the institutionalised recommendations of 'effective practice', my research considers a critical examination of the discursive construction of 'quality-language-provision', investigating the positions that other languages may have occupied in this initiative. The imposition of universalised and unproblematised discourses of quality on early years needs to be challenged with the "ability to think, criticise and explores alternatives" (Moss, 2016, p.14), generating conversations from diverse knowledges and multiple ways of being (Cannella et al, 2016) and reconfiguring "quality as a series of lots of little be(com)ings that shift, slide and mutate and reconfigure through time and space" (Osgood, 2016).

Although I have touched in this chapter on the connection between established ideologies and practice, this link requires further attention. These concepts and their relationship are explained in the next chapter, in which I present the theoretical framework underpinning my study.

## Chapter 3 – Theoretical framework: ideologies, habitus and dispositions

### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework that underpins my study. The aim of my study is to critically analyse the language ideologies contained in a particular language programme and provide interpretations of the possible influence of these ideologies on the formation of dispositions towards the diversity of languages encountered in multilingual early years settings in England. Thus, the discussion presented in this chapter focuses on the formation of ideologies and the relationship between ideologies and practices. I start the chapter with an introduction to the theory of practice proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (mainly 1977 and 1991), explaining how his theoretical perspective could contribute to the analysis of forces between institutionalised dominant practices and local practices. Special emphasis is placed on the formation of habitus and dispositions. The second part of the chapter examines the relationship between ideologies and habitus and the dialectical connection between the macro and the micro (local) levels, emphasising the role of *language* in the discursive constructions of social practices.

### 3.2 A theory of practice: Bourdieu in my study

It has been widely recognised that Bourdieu's theoretical constructs contribute to an explanation of the complexities of social rules and the frames in which individuals act (Blommaert, 2015; Grenfell et al, 2012; Collins, 2010; DiGiorgio, 2009; Mills, 2008; Hanks, 2005; Reay, 2004; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 2000; Olneck, 2000). Grenfell (2012) recognises that Bourdieu's theory of practice helps us to look beneath the surface and consider deeper structures in specific contexts. Similarly, Blommaert (2015) indicates that some of the features of the theory of practice (such as habitus) help to interpret the link between the micro and the macro in different forms of socialisation. In this chapter, I present some of Bourdieu's key concepts, exploring in detail two of his publications: *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977) and *Language and Symbolic Power* (1991). Both publications provide a strong foundation for the analysis of an initiative such as ECaT, while advising on a cautious consideration of the subtle status and legitimacy of language practice that was inculcated during its implementation.

I start my introduction to Bourdieu's theory of practice by presenting the analogy of social practice as a *market*. In the first section, I introduce the concepts of *unification of the market* and the *effect of domination* through the exercise of *symbolic power*. I continue

with an examination of the concepts of *capital* and *exchanges*. My intention is to explain the different forces that regulate practice and apply these theoretical principles in my analysis of the ECaT initiative. I continue with an interpretation of *habitus*, *dispositions*, and *transformation* of practice. These key concepts are of great relevance to my study, as they delineate the series of patterns in (and the erratic differences between) what was transmitted as early years language practice – at the national level – and the dialectical connection with individual ways of doing at the local (micro) level (Blommaert, 2015).

### 3.2.1 ECaT as a market

Bourdieu argues that practices are ambiguous and uncertain; they are, however, regulated by certain strategies and forces that can be appreciated only when many variables have been analysed. He suggests that in order to understand social practice it is necessary to “analyse the conditions that had to be fulfilled” (1977, p.58) by the specific practice. Bourdieu uses market as the field that frames the actions of the members who participate in a specific social practice.

A field or market is perceived as a space of positions and positions taken (Hanks, 2005). According to DiGiorgio (2009), markets are “dynamic, concrete, political, social and symbolic institutions such as the family, law and education” (p.183). On this basis, re-interpreting the ECaT initiative as a market implies recognising the structured *space of positions* in which different *kinds of resources* were *distributed* in a particular time and space, involving a particular selection of early years settings. That is to say that the introduction of the ECaT programme in England was supported by a set of documents and accompanied by national and local events at which these resources were introduced, creating a particular “space of 'strategic possibilities' in which actors have potential moves and courses of action” (Hanks, 2005, p.72).

Bourdieu (1991) argues:

Given that the educational system possesses the delegated authority necessary to engage in a universal process of durable inculcation in matters of language, and given that it tends to vary the duration and intensity of this inculcation in proportion to inherited cultural capital, it follows that the social mechanisms of cultural transmission tend to reproduce the structural disparity between the very unequal knowledge of the legitimate language and the much more uniform recognition of this language (p.62).

Hence, ECaT, endorsed by the National Strategy, represents the educational authority that is delegated to transmit and recognise legitimate knowledge around language practice. It is precisely the authoritative endorsement that ECaT possesses that makes a critical examination of the mechanisms of legitimatisation of this programme

necessary. What was constructed as legitimate language practice? What were the language practices that appeared to be recognised/mis-recognised in this programme?

For Bourdieu, depending on the aims of the collective strategies, the group involved assumes certain *fundamental presuppositions* about 'the right way of doing', and a key element is that the members of the market believe in these. Using the expression *believing in the game* (1977), he suggests that the members of the market engage in "an endless [...] creation and recreation of relationship between members [...] to be 'carried along' by the game, without being 'carried away' beyond the game" (Bourdieu, 1977, p.10). An important element of believing in the game is the acceptance of the forces that are at play in the market. Accepting the dynamics around these different forces creates what Bourdieu calls *the unification of the market*. Thus, the unification of the market generates the boundaries of what is acceptable, which is created by the complex interrelation of forces and strategies that co-exist in the market. These boundaries then become the *natural datum* (Bourdieu, 1991, p.50), that is, the natural ways of doing. Hence, the reasons given for why the actors do (or do not do) certain actions are justified by what has been constructed in the market as the right ways of doing. Van Leeuwen (2009) suggests that practices can be understood by analysing the discourses generated by the participants as a way of making sense of their reality:

Different discourses, different ways of making sense of the same aspect of reality, will do all this in different ways, including and excluding different things, and in doing so in the service of different interests (p.145).

This statement illustrates that individual decisions must be interpreted in the light of the specific contexts in which they were made. Consequently, it is not possible to reduce individuals' responses to a matter merely of their knowledge or personal attitudes. Actions are framed within the boundaries of acceptability that regulate each market. These actions are officialised:

[I]n order to manipulate the collective definition of the situation in such a way as to bring it closer to the official definitions of the situation and thereby to win the means of mobilising the largest possible group, the opposite strategy tending to reduce the same situation to a merely private affair (Bourdieu, 1977, p.40).

The process of officialisation appear as an important strategy in creating collective practices. It could be argued that the examination of the strategies of officialisation employed by ECaT against 'private affairs' could enlighten the level of dominance that this programme aimed to enforce. I suggest that by contrasting officialised discourses with local narratives of practice, it might be possible to problematise the possible influence of this programme on the formation of dispositions. Hence, the correlation between actions (what practitioners need to do) and the strategies of officialisation of those actions could facilitate a possible analysis of dominance and of the formation of

dominant discourses. Whereas my research focuses on the influence of macro discourses, it is important to consider that there is a tacit recognition of the existing resistance to curriculum directives in early years, led by local movements (Jones et al, 2014), which is reported in previous research in both early years education and early language learning, as presented in the previous chapter.

The unification of the market has, according to Bourdieu, an *effect of domination*. This effect of domination is an established power relationship wherein dominator and dominated are complicit in the belief of its legitimacy. It is equally important that at the same time as the dominators use their privileged position to control the market, the dominated subordinate to the dynamics of the market. The dominators are able to use and control their power through symbolic domination. Symbolic domination implies that the forces used to regulate the market are not necessarily visible, mainly facilitated by the level of acceptance and appreciation of those who have subordinated to its dynamics. For example, Rowsell (2012) explores the effect of dominant discourses of English literacy with a group of teenagers who have been “penalized [...] because they cannot succeed with more traditional [literacy] practices” (p.130). In this case, the dominators have punished those who do not acquire ‘desirable literacy practices’. Rowsell highlights the lack of implementation of “alternatives literacies” and the dominance of “elite literacies” that exclude some young learners. ‘Failures’, then, accept their status of ‘failing’. The effect of dominance creates the exclusion and sanction of those individuals who do not perform in line with the actions framed by the dominant group.

Moreover, the effect of domination on inculcating the right ways of doing is not always that explicit and the strategies of reproduction of symbolic power can be less evident but equally effective. For Bourdieu, power is visible everywhere, but:

[S]ymbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it or even that they themselves exercise it (1991, p.164).

For instance, the effect of domination regarding language/s is exercised by the recognition of the legitimacy and dominance of one language while, simultaneously, “non-standard varieties are suppressed” (Hanks, 2005). Olnock (2000) problematises that even when multicultural practices intend to recognise the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate cultural knowledge, symbolic domination is exercised by placing different values on different practices. In his analysis, he shows that standard practices associated with English are appreciated more than those that deviate from the standard, and they thus exercise a dominant effect.

The educational system as institutionalised practice, in my study represented by the National Early Years Strategy, becomes a significant force in the production of the inculcation of the standardisation of language (Hanks, 2005). Thus, the members of the market subordinate themselves to these standards by way of taking part in the market – believing in the game – and making sense of the role – position – they play in that game. It is for this reason that it is crucial to unveil the position of other languages within ECaT. An analysis of the process of legitimation of one language – English, in this case – could involve the symbolic suppression of other languages, with the other languages becoming “most completely misrecognised” (Bourdieu, 1991, p.163).

Nevertheless, subordination is more complex than the idea that practice is controlled by rules through which the member becomes subordinated. For instance, in the introduction of this thesis, I mentioned the response I received from the lead practitioner who worked with my son. She sent out a questionnaire to parents about supporting language development, ignoring the fact that some young children (including my son) were learning more than one language. A possible interpretation of this is that the activity *made sense* for her, within her specific working environment, because “there was nothing else to be done” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.8), or at least that was the impression I got from her answer. Rather than questioning and problematising her individual ‘ways of doing’, it was more important for me to understand the apparent *mechanism of subordination* (Bourdieu, 1991) that her answer suggested. Understanding the particular social practice in which ‘external forces’ appeared to situate and regulate her response became of interest to me. Practices cannot be constrained into rules of what to do and what not to do. For instance, ‘effective practice’ – a phrase frequently used in early years regulatory discourses as discussed in the previous chapter – is not presented as a ‘rule of good practice’. Certain freedom is given to practitioners with the use of the modality ‘could’ in the curriculum framework. However, many other ‘forces’ appeared to regulate what practitioners do. Thus, analysing the forces exercised during the implementation of the ECaT initiative forms an important part of my research.

On the basis of this short review of market, ECaT can be interpreted as being the shared space in which individuals position themselves within a “historical process” (Hanks, 2005, p.72). In this market, the effect of domination could be analysed by establishing the extent to which symbolic power was exercised to persuade people to accept the regulatory forces as legitimate language practice. In other words, an analysis of the *effect of domination* exercised during the implementation of the initiative could provide a reading of the language practice, and the possible status of ‘legitimate’ as given to English and ‘other languages’ could be examined.

### 3.2.2 Capital and exchanges in the ECaT market

Bourdieu's work is well known in the social and educational fields, and one of the most frequently used concepts is that of *capital*. This is defined as an estimation of the value of profit (accumulated prestige or honour) that can be translated not just into economic capital (for example, material wealth, stocks and shares, and property) but also into cultural capital (for example language, knowledge, skills and qualifications) "and symbolic [capital] (such as that associated with one's role, authority and prestige from reaching a level of society)" (DiGiorgio, 2009, p.182 – round brackets from the original).

From this perspective, language is perceived as part of an individual's capital. However, the distinctions regarding what is valued as capital are arbitrary (Olneck, 2000). Thompson (in Bourdieu, 1991) argues that "the more linguistic capital that speakers possess, the more they are able to exploit the system of differences to their advantage and thereby secure a *profit of distinction*" (p.18 – my italics). However, different markets will not value linguistic capital in the same way and it is, therefore, more important to understand how specific markets rate it (Brooker, 2002; Olneck, 2000).

Bourdieu (1991) also proposes that markets are regulated by capital that is *exchanged, accumulated and produced* between the individuals participating in them. Exchanges are established within a particular symbolic relationship of power between producer and consumer. Exchanges also provide an opportunity to refer to the traces of social structures that express and help to reproduce signs of wealth and signs of authority (Bourdieu, 1991, p.66). Therefore, some members of a market occupy specific *positions endowed with a distinctive status* (symbolic capital). Such positions of distinction give them the authority and the power to be involved in exchanges to produce and reproduce what is considered of high distinction. Their roles are socially and politically accepted as positions of distinction for the inculcation of the legitimate way of practising and, at the same time, for collaboration "in the destruction" of other ways of doing (Bourdieu, 1991, p.49).

According to Bourdieu, one of the main reasons for a member of the market subordinating him or herself is the *anticipation of profits* – the estimation of their probable value, such as recognition of authority, accumulation and maximisation of symbolic profit, and valuable capital. Reay (2004) proposed that individuals' "choices are bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints the person finds himself/herself in" (p.435). Thus, not all members of the market possess the same distinction.

Research on local multicultural practices in education has indicated that other languages, as capital, are not rated equally (Olneck, 2000). Brooker (2002), using a specific example from her study, shows that in spite of the prestigious position of the father of one little girl in the bilingual community, the girl's pre-school was unaware of the social, cultural and linguistic capital of the family outside of the setting. Similarly, Kenner (2000) discusses how in the case of Meera, a four-year-old bilingual girl who spoke Gujarati alongside English:

biliteracy development was restricted by institutional constraints due to the lack of status afforded to literacies other than English in the educational system (p.13).

A key aspect of my study is to analyse whether 'other languages' were considered valued capital, and also to look at both the exchanges generated around language/s during the implementation of the ECaT programme and whether they were considered during the production, reproduction and accumulation of capital. In this way, a better understanding of the positions that minority languages occupied in the discursive constructions of language practice for young children attending early years services in England can be obtained.

### 3.2.3 Habitus and the nexus between macro and local practice

A thorough understanding of the ECaT market requires an appreciation of the socio-political context in which language practices were inculcated, including a recognition of the external forces that regulate the market. Nevertheless, according to Bourdieu, the members who participate in the market have an important role to play in regulating it. Habitus refers to the set of "dispositions to think and act in certain ways" (Grenfell, 2012, p.179). Habitus provides a practical sense of what the members of the market consider appropriate in some circumstances but it does not rule social practice (Mills, 2008). Habitus is not solely composed of mental attitudes and perceptions; rather, it is embodied in a range of activities that constitute everyday experience (Reay, 2004). Grenfell (2012) explains that habitus contains the values and ways of seeing of individuals. In other words, habitus generates a *state of being*. Habitus is the way of behaving and responding displayed by a social group in specific social circumstances, as a sense of what is appropriate.

Thus, even though ECaT developed its own principles of production, which held the capacity, authority and power to indicate the forms in which the members of the market engaged in producing and exchanging activities to gain a higher status of distinction, it did not dictate the 'ways of doing'. In this light, the concept of habitus acts as a "nexus

concept [...] where micro- and macro- features coincide” (Blommaert, 2015, p.2), linking social orders and social actions with individual responses and ways of doing.

Bourdieu recognises that some habitus provide more or less freedom to act – “obligatory freedoms” (1991, p.95) – depending on the internal laws of each market. Therefore, a member of the market could decide what it was or was not possible to do, “enabling the individual to draw on transformative and constraining courses of action” (Reay, 2004, p.433). For this, the members of the market apply a *mechanism of self-censorship*, which works as a system of monitoring oneself to make oneself acceptable in the market. Bourdieu (1991, p.138) adds:

The need for this censorship to manifest itself in the form of explicit prohibitions, imposed and sanctioned by an institutionalised authority, diminishes as the mechanisms which ensure the allocation of agents to different positions [...] are increasingly capable of ensuring that the different positions are occupied by agents able and inclined to engage in discourse (or to keep silent) [...].

Different members of the market have different positions and, in general, those who are endowed with less power – or are more controlled by the forces of the markets – have to censor their position to act in such a way as to avoid sanctions. Bourdieu explains that a certain degree of *tension* can exist within different markets and that it is the mechanism of censorship that permits the members to decide the ways of doing/saying. This mechanism entails a submission to the norms, generating a sense of acceptance, maintaining and/or obtaining *an honourable representation of their condition*. Similarly, keeping silent could be interpreted as not having the authorisation to say something: “by excluding them from the groups which speak or the places which allow one to speak with authority” (ibid, p.138).

Habitus can help to explain how an individual is supposed to act and re-act within a social practice. Habitus generates a ‘set of dispositions’ that are inculcated in a way that is not always evident or explicit. According to Thompson (in Bourdieu, 1991), one of Bourdieu’s great contributions to social theory is that he highlighted the necessity of understanding languages within the social and political condition in which they are constructed. Bourdieu criticises the fact that linguists tend to neglect the social, historical and political conditions of languages, and in doing so accept, and tacitly impose, a certain degree of legitimacy of a language (Bourdieu, 1991, p.45). He argues that languages are socially valued and perceived differently, and that what is perceived (consciously or unconsciously) as a dominant and legitimate language has been inculcated. Subsequently, dispositions towards language/s must be analysed within the market and under the habitus in which they were displayed.

### 3.2.3.1 Dispositions towards languages

When talking about language practice, habitus generates *dispositions* towards practices – in this case towards language/s – and this is a central concept in my research. In order to understand the dispositions that members of the market might display regarding other languages, it is necessary to understand how individuals have been habituated to act and re-act in such ways. Inculcation comes about through a long, slow process of acquisition in everyday situations. For example:

Amar was 3 and half years old when he announced, 'I am not putting my wellies in that bag, it's got Paki writing on it'. Amar had already learnt to recognise the difference between the English script and the script of his mother tongue. He had learnt that there are different languages with different scripts, and these languages are valued by different people. Tragically, he had also decided even at that tender age that the people who really seemed to matter thought little of his home language and that he should reject it as well (Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke, 2000, p.10).

Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke's example above demonstrates how languages have a perceived value of legitimacy, which, in this case, is manifested in the devaluation of other languages in relation to English. Symbolically dominated groups are complicit in the misrecognition of other languages (Blackledge, 2002). Bourdieu considers that languages are part of the cultural and social capital that individuals possess and that some languages possess greater value than others in certain markets, providing different profits of distinction. Amar has already been inculcated to believe that English has a higher profit of distinction and has adopted specific *dispositions towards other languages*, which reproduces educational disadvantages (Hattam and Smyth, 2015) and antagonises the notion of cultural diversity and inclusive practice advocated in the early years curriculum (Ang, 2010). Whereas my example focuses on the formation of dispositions towards languages, this "can easily be applied to the analysis of gender (or racial and ethnic) disadvantage as well" (McClelland, 1990, p.105 cited in Reay, 2004, p.436). Barron (2009, p.348) rightly stated that "the denial of legitimate participation is the basis for discrimination on the grounds of race or gender or class".

Dispositions are inculcated to the point that they become the natural ways of doing. The majority of the time, dispositions are not explicit, questioned or criticised because they are part of the natural ways of doing in a specific social practice. They endure for long periods of time and are not easy to modify through conscious reflection. Dispositions generate and reproduce particular practices and perceptions and are framed according to what is perceived as appropriate for their particular group. Bourdieu, for example, reconstructed in detail the conditions of use that determine dispositions in groups of people according to their class and gender (1991, pp.81–102, also 1977, pp.30–71).

Hanks (2005) explains that “social positions give rise to embodied dispositions” (p.73). This means that dispositions are structured according to the roles of the members of the market. He adds that “to sustain engagement in a [market] is to be shaped, at least potentially, by the position one occupies”. The members expect appropriate ways of interacting: “things are as they should be, i.e., as one would normally expect them to be” (Fairclough, 2010, p.31).

Examples of the formation and inculcation of dispositions towards literacy practice are discussed by Grenfell et al (2012), who look at dominant and standard practices in the classroom compared with non-standard ones. For instance, Hardy (in Grenfell et al, 2012) examines streaming and differentiation by ability and the way in which students and teachers act (and re-act) according to the habitus in which they take part. She argues that rather than facilitating learning, these types of practices generate dispositions towards obtaining lower or higher outcomes according to the differentiation. Hardy highlights the contribution of Bourdieu’s work to an understanding of the many factors that “influence and shape the functioning of the language classroom” (ibid, p.196) and explains how, in this way, literacy practice is shaped in a specific context.

In a similar vein, my study intends to reveal the positions of other language/s generated by ECaT’s guidelines and resources – at the macro level – and provide an interpretation of the articulation of dispositions towards language/s within the discursive construction of practice in the early years habitus by two consultants – at the local level. For me, the possible dispositions that early years practitioners can demonstrate towards English and other languages are framed in a dynamic tension between individuals’ choices and the strong influence of the language policy and external forces that are imposed in early years practice (Osgood, 2009).

Dispositions can vary “along a continuum from apathy, through acceptance, to active resistance” (Brooker, 2002, p.39). Therefore, early years practitioners’ dispositions towards English and other languages could be derived from accumulated experiences (Brooker, 2002), qualifications and personal knowledge, which make them act and re-act in certain ways. However, where hierarchy undergirds the structure of the market (Mills, 2008), it is the position of the members in that market that inclines them towards particular patterns of conduct. Consequently, I am interested in investigating the extent to which dispositions towards language/s were shaped by interventionist initiatives such as ECaT. Special attention is paid to the discursive construction of the social role and the relationship given to different members of the ECaT market (for instance, the role assigned to the external consultant, mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, whose

mission was to implement ECaT, and the role of the early years practitioners who were involved in the initiative).

### 3.2.3.2 Transforming practice

So far in this chapter, I have presented the mechanisms that, according to Bourdieu's theory, regulate specific markets, inculcating habitus and dispositions (acting and reacting) in specific ways. Hattam and Smyth (2015) problematise Bourdieu's theory by questioning the extent to which this theoretical framework is able to sustain the possibilities of new creative responses. They argue that the capacity of everyday reflexivity by individuals has been neglected by Bourdieu, which adds to the criticism of this theory regarding the lack of agency that he appears to give to the members of the market (Reay, 2004). In this section, I explore individual abilities to generate new responses, arguing that the notion of transformation, in my view, enables an examination of new responses within specific habituated practices and constructed within regulated forces.

Reay (2004) suggests that Bourdieu's model is "primarily a method for analysing the dominance of dominant groups in society and the domination of subordinate groups" (ibid, p.436), and less room has been given to "resistance and/or new awareness [that] can occur during the formation of habitus and indeed can be constitutive of the habitus" (ibid, p.438). This way of analysing practice emphasises domination and subordination, and how members of a market appear bounded by their habitus. For example, the principles of *production* and *reproduction* of practice are, according to Bourdieu (1977), related to the position of the stakeholders in the market. Applying this principle to the ECaT market, certain members would have been seen to possess enough assets; therefore, these members would have focused on the *reproduction* of what was defined as profitable. Reproduction, as re-doing what they normally do or re-creating what they normally create, would have allowed them to maintain their privileged position in this market. In contrast, members in a less advantaged position would have put their effort into *producing* and *accumulating* the assets that had been identified as profitable in order to gain a higher status.

There is also the potential capacity for the members of the market to *transform* practice. Even though habitus is sustained by the notion of production and reproduction, rather than transformation, of practice, the possibility of the latter is not excluded (Mills, 2008). Bourdieu (1977) explains:

Even if they affect practice only within narrow limits, the fact remains that whenever the adjustment between structures and disposition is broken, the **transformation** of

the generative schemes is doubtless reinforced and accelerated by the dialectic between the schemes immanent in practice and the norms produced by reflections on practices, which impose meanings on them by reference to alien structures (p.20 – my bold).

Transformation is defined here as *adjustment* that occurs by moving away from the norms of a specific habitus (whenever the adjustment between structures and dispositions is broken). This is made possible by reference to an alien structure (a different scheme, for instance), providing new meaning and recognising the capacity for improvisation. Bourdieu (1977, p.14) claims that “the differences between [...] parties are never clear-cut [so each member] can play on the ambiguities and equivocations which this indeterminacy lends to the conduct”. Thus, dispositions are neither fixed nor static; they are only a ‘trend’ (a general tendency to move) that is articulated within the local and macro discursive construction of social practice (Fairclough, 2010). This is the relationship between the specific organised ways of doing (*habitus*) and the tendency, propensity or inclination to act and re-act, making adjustments to particular ways within the specific market. For example, within the ECaT initiative, whereas the guidelines aim to prescribe specific ways of doing, the 20 settings were assigned to the local authorities on the basis of their own statistics, leaving room for local adjustments, ambiguities and equivocations.

Transformation in multicultural education, according to Olneck (2000), can be possible when “the ranges of validated linguistic, literacy, and behavioural practices within schools are enlarged” (p.323); he continues, however, that there is a prevalence of institutionalised forms that favour certain practices over others. Thus, it is important to consider that not all markets will embrace transformation. For instance, certain markets will restrain deviated ‘ways of doing’. An illustration is the ‘illegal status’ of bilingual education in specific areas of the United States reported by García, Zakharia and Otcu (2013). This example was presented in Chapter 2 (section 2.2 *Language ideologies*) to point out the influence that language policy can have on practice. Transformation is, in this case, restrained to the point of sanction. Bourdieu (1991; 1977) argues that transformation can sometimes be afforded by elites or in less-regulated markets, which he presents as “obligatory freedoms”, as discussed earlier in this chapter. However, this argument is not sufficient for Hattam and Smyth (2015), who question over-determination and lack of agency denying the critical capacities of individuals. From my perspective, a careful analysis of practice should bring to light the factors that enable (afford) or restrict the transformation of a practice by its members. In this way, a better sense of the position that alternative practices occupy within institutionalised practices can be obtained. I believe that an analysis of language practice can provide possible readings of the dispositions towards language/s during the implementation of ECaT. This analysis could

reveal both trends in the reproduction of dominant practices and trends towards transforming these practices.

### *3.3 Discursive representation of practices: Fairclough in my study*

I have discussed both the language ideologies that permeate practices and the significant role that ideologies play in social practices that are sometimes invisible, unquestioned and uncriticised. Similarly, I have argued that Bourdieu's theory can be a plausible framework for the study of the Every Child a Talker programme as a specific social practice. My main argument is that in acknowledging the complex forces that regulate social practice, Bourdieu's theory emphasises the effect of the unification, domination and subordination that regulate markets, and the formation of dispositions as a 'natural way' of acting and re-acting in specific social practices. In this section, I also explore the relationship between ideologies and habitus in the construction of a 'sense' of practice (Blackledge, 2002). I draw attention to Bourdieu's notion of habitus, which facilitates a holistic understanding of the complex forces that regulate and control social practice and, within this, I review how *language* is used to represent 'common-sense practice', rather than *language* being perceived as direct accounts of realities (Fairclough, 2010).

There are two issues that my thesis addresses by incorporating Fairclough's work. The first relates to Fairclough's comprehensive discussion of the formation of ideologies in social practice, which is less elaborated by Bourdieu (Thompson, 1991, in Bourdieu, 1991). The second issue is associated with the systematic analysis of discursive constructions in social practice. In my view, Fairclough's work on critical discourse analysis (2010; 2009) is in line with many concepts presented in Bourdieu's theory of practice (highlighted below), but he provides a much more comprehensive and systematic analysis of the institutionalised practices than in Bourdieu's theoretical framework. According to Williams (1999), Fairclough's work has the merit of "tak[ing] on board the socio-political issues and the relevance of linguistics for such issues" (p.3), which, in my view, is the greatest merit of his analytical framework.

I also argue that the complexity of the relationship between ideologies and the formation of habitus and the way in which these are discursively constructed in text, requires different levels of analysis (Fairclough, 2010; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) as well as different analytical approaches (Wodak, 2007; Grbich, 2004). Whereas in this chapter I explore ideologies and habitus, in the next two chapters I return to the discussion of what a systematic analysis of institutionalised practices entails, applying (mainly) Fairclough's theoretical framework.

### 3.3.1 Discursive constructions of common-sense practices

The first concept that requires attention is associated with 'making sense of practice'. Bourdieu (1977) highlights that researchers need to give careful consideration to the accounts that the members of the market provide when talking about their 'ways of doing'. For instance, he warns that the level of familiarity that members of a particular market possess will "leave unsaid all that goes without saying" (1977, p.18). The same point is emphasised by Fairclough (2010). He claims that there is a certain opacity in participants' encounters, advising that 'what is said' about practice cannot be taken as a direct account of reality. By contrast, what is said represents what are perceived as the legitimate ways of doing, which are framed within specific institutionalised practices. Therefore, he proposes that a critical perspective needs to be taken when analysing the *language* used within a specific social practice. (Note that this italicised *language* is different from the un-italicised style I use for 'language', which refers to English, as a 'dominant language', and I use the style 'other languages' to problematise the position of all other language/s in relation to English in the context of ECaT).

The discursive construction of common-sense practice has been associated with both ideologies and habitus. The literature reviewed emphasises that ideological orientations play a significant role in making sense of practice (Fairclough, 2010; 2009; Hamel, 2008; Wodak, 2007; Hodge and Kress, 1993) and a similar role has been attributed to habitus (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991; Blommaert, 2015; Hanks, 2005; Reay, 2004; Blackledge, 2002; de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999). Thus, what is the connection between ideologies and habitus in making sense of practice?

On the one hand, ideologies are defined by Fairclough (2010, p.46) as "representations of the world from the perspective of a particular interest". Ideologies are a one-sided perspective shared by members of a specific social group (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009). Hodge and Kress (1993) explore ideologies as "a systematically organized presentation of realities" (p.15) that are "inseparable from a set of practices that are themselves kinds of meaning" (p.210). Therefore, naturalised ideologies become part of what is perceived as 'normal' and 'common-sense' practice and the ideological representations they contain become "opaque, i.e., no longer visible as ideologies" (Fairclough, 2010, p.44).

On the other hand, habitus frames the actions "in every social activity" (Blommaert, 2015, p.10), that individuals undertake in their ways of doing, talking and thinking. Hanks (2005) associates habitus with both individual dispositions to act in a particular way (and to not act in other ways) and the notion of habituality, which is the immanent regularities of a specific practice. Similarly, habitus is explored by de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak (1999) as

the emotional attitudes and the behavioural dispositions that are internalised through (institutionalised) socialisation.

Both ideologies and habitus shape the complexity of social structures in social practices; therefore, they determine the properties of the *language* used to articulate the ways of doing. Whereas ideologies can be associated with the set of values and driving principles that make sense of a social practice, habitus describes “the patterns by means of which such forms of socialization emerge, operate, get reinforced or changed” (Blommaert, 2015, p.3). This assigns a more operational (embodied) status to habitus. Thus, habitus works as a nexus between the micro and macro features of social practice (ibid).

Ideologies and habitus have an intricate relationship in the formation of the dominance, discrimination, power and control that already frame the specific social practices from which they emanate (Wodak, 2007). Therefore, the *language* generated around specific practices is articulated within habituated practices (Hanks, 2005). It is for this reason that, in order to answer my main research question – How do initiatives such as ECaT influence the formation of specific dispositions towards language/s? – a critical analysis of the *language* generated in the particular practice is needed. As a consequence, how *language* is analysed has significant methodological implications for my study. The next section aims to introduce this issue; however, it is further discussed in the next two chapters where I review the importance of *language* in the construction of perceived realities from a postmodernist perspective (Chapter 4), and the study of *language* through critical discourse analysis (Chapter 5).

### 3.3.2 Discursive construction of ECaT practices

This study deals with the discursive construction of macro and local practices at the time ECaT was being implemented to change language practice in the early years. This means that what was said about practice is used to create certain ways of being, seeing and believing (Pennycook, 2010a; Hanks, 2005). Informants' representations of practice, at the local level, are taken as “a bridge between large social forces and the doing of the everyday” (Pennycook, 2010a, p.27), rather than as direct representations of realities. As a consequence, the data collected to inform this study represent a “selective articulation of discourses” (Fairclough, 2010, p.400). Hence, the analysis of discourses generated at the local level does not constitute an attempt to reconstruct local realities; it aims to recontextualise the complex intertwining of the ways of doing by members within a particular institutional practice. The same principle is applied to the ways in which language was used in the ECaT guidelines and resources to represent ‘high-quality-language-practices’.

The following two research questions guide my exploration of the discursive constructions of ECaT language practices:

- How were language/s discursively constructed at the macro level by the ECaT guidelines and resources?
- How were language/s discursively constructed at the local level by the ECaT consultants?

In the context of my study, discursive constructions inscribe ideologies and articulate “what can and should be said” (Fairclough, 2010, p.42), giving an important role to the construction of the meaning of other languages within the implementation of language practice (Hodge and Kress, 1993). Discursive constructions are not passive or immutable (Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida, 2006); they “assume different forms and trajectories depending on historical, social and political circumstances” (ibid, p.311). Blackledge (2002) advises on the instability and mutability of ideologies. Similarly, Hodge and Kress (1993) suggest that ideologies mediate natural contradictions that can be interpreted only within the social practice in which they operate. They also argue that analysis of *language* is “an exceptionally subtle instrument for the analysis of consciousness and its ideological bases” (p.14). Thus, a critical analysis of the discursive construction of the practice is required to provide possible readings of the formation of language ideologies and dispositions towards languages during the implementation of ECaT.

### ***3.4 Conclusion***

In this chapter I have introduced the theory of practice developed by Pierre Bourdieu, establishing explicit links regarding the critical standpoint that this theory offers to my study. I have highlighted how ideologies about language/s influence practice in the formation and inculcation of habitus. I argue that the exploration of both language ideologies and the discursive construction of language practices can help me to provide plausible readings of the formation of dispositions towards the diversity of languages that young children bring into the early years settings. According to Fairclough (2010, 2009), this critical analysis implies a deconstruction of the ideologies inculcated by institutions (macro level) and shared by the members of the market (local level).

This chapter outlines the significant influence of Bourdieu’s work in the educational field in revealing unquestioned and taken-for-granted practices. For instance, Olneck (2000) problematises the distribution of cultural capital in multilingual education and concludes that capitals are constantly re-valued, exposing the need for a permanent examination

of multicultural education. Using a similar approach, DiGiorgio (2009) questions the forms of capital of children with learning/physical difficulties in mainstream education. Her analysis of habitus facilitates an appreciation of inclusive practice (and reveals unintentional forms of discrimination). A more extensive exploration of Bourdieu's work on literacy practices in the classroom is compiled by Grenfell et al (2012). The authors provide an insightful discussion of institutionalised practices that, sometimes, perpetuate inequalities by, for example, valuing certain literacy practices and excluding others and/or appraising particular 'standardised uses of English' against less conventional uses of the language. Similar studies have been conducted in the early years field, for example, Brooker (2002) compares the capitals that are valued in early years settings with the early learning experience of young children at home, revealing significant differences between home and early education.

Educational systems have been recognised as influential in the process of legitimising specific ways of doings (Fairclough, 2010; MacLure, 2003; Olneck, 2000; Bourdieu, 1991). Thus, this study focuses on scrutinising the ECaT initiative as an instrument used by the National Early Years Strategy to contribute to the legitimation of language practice in early years by, for instance, analysing the initiative's possible influence on how language/s constitute/s valuable capital and whether institutionalised discourses embrace ideas about 'other languages' being an asset, inappropriate or a problem (Safford and Drury, 2012; Hamel, 2008).

In this chapter, I have outlined Fairclough's approach to ideological formations and the discursive construction of practice. With this, I aim to acquire a systematic approach to the analysis of practice, paying special attention to both the discursive constructions of practice at the macro and local levels and the discursive construction of practice in different types of text. I suggest that the implementation of the ECaT programme was responsible for *framing the actions* of those who were involved in the initiative (Fairclough, 2010). An analysis of ECaT as a market and a critical analysis of the discursive constructions of language practice could favour a holistic understanding of habitus and dispositions around language practices and of the position of 'other languages' by revisiting the positions that minority languages occupy in the early curriculum.

The pervasive exclusion of other languages in early years provision has been widely recognised in previous studies. My own experience in the sector has also shown me that there is a tendency to assume that speaking one language is the norm, excluding, ignoring and silencing all other languages. Thus, my research aims to provide a critical perspective on the effects of dominant discourses in perpetuating language ideologies. I propose that an analysis of both macro and local discourses can provide possible

readings of the positions of other languages in the early years curriculum, arguing for fair access to learning for all young children. I claim that greater awareness of the language ideologies that permeate policies and practice can provide possible readings of the inequitable conditions of language learning, which is an issue that needs to be brought to light.

Another significant piece of advice regarding studying practices on the basis of individual accounts is provided by Bourdieu (1977). He suggests that individual explanations of practice can be interpreted as artificial isolated accounts of behaviour and should be carefully integrated into the unity of organised activities within the principles that control and generate them. Therefore, it is important to consider that when an informant talks about their practice, he/she “strives to give himself[herself] the appearances of symbolic mastery of his[her] practices, tends to draw attention to the most remarkable [actions]” (Bourdieu, 1977, p.19). Therefore, special attention needs to be paid to the discursive construction of practice (Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2008) and to how these accounts are used to analyse social practices. These issues are discussed in the following chapters in the context of the methodological approach applied in this study.

## Chapter 4 – Methodology and the research options taken in this study

### *4.1 Introduction*

[A]nd part of learning to be a scientist is precisely about this. It does involve accepting an unreal world where principles construct sentences, where investigations have goals, and sincerity might well play golf (Hodge and Kress, 1993, p.31).

In this chapter I aim to present the methodological approach adopted for this study, starting with an exploration of postmodernism in social research. The above quote, in my view, establishes what appear to be the common assumptions underlying the activities of the members of a social practice, which can remain unspoken even in scientific practice. The methodology used and the research options taken in this study were developed in a struggle between what I felt were prescribed mono-disciplinary formulas of research practice and the multidisciplinary research effort that I wanted to achieve. With the analogy presented above, “and sincerity might well play golf”, I rely on, for instance, the unspoken pressure to surrender to ethnographic educational/early years approaches, sensing, more than once, the postmodernist anxiety (MacLure, 2003) that my early draft chapters provoked.

Research from a postmodernist standpoint highly problematises, among many other issues, both the research process and the research product in social science (Rosenau, 1992). In this chapter, I present the methodological approach adopted in this study by reflecting upon the implications of taking a postmodernist perspective when doing social research. This presentation is organised around some of the common theoretical and philosophical principles constructed in relation to postmodernist approaches in social sciences (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002; Dickens and Fontana, 1994; Rosenau, 1992). In order to discuss the research process and the options taken in this study, I continue my arguments regarding my position as a researcher and the analytical standpoint I have adopted in order to achieve plausible, reasonable and convincing outcomes (Silverman, 2006). I finish this chapter by offering some reflections on the ethical dilemmas that were considered during the research process.

### *4.2 The research process from a postmodernist perspective*

Research, from a postmodernist perspective, addresses a number of issues that ‘traditional’ research might not consider (Alvesson, 2002). Bryman (2008) suggests that postmodernism in research is a response to a greater awareness and acknowledgement of the role of the researcher in the process of constructing knowledge “and the

implications and significance of the researcher's choices as both observer and writer" (ibid, p.682). In my particular case, reflecting upon my role as a researcher entails also an examination of ethical matters as part of the core of the methodological considerations (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014) that I felt it is necessary to make explicit. For instance, I found it highly problematic to analyse the practice of others and, at the same time, avoid making judgements of these others. This, and my position on the subject of 'other languages', as an immigrant to this country and as the mother of a child who is learning English and another language at home, were some of the ethical dilemmas that bounded my position not only as a researcher, but also as a mother and early years professional.

Both the role I played in the construction of knowledge and my position as a researcher (including my personal and professional values) are extremely evident in this study. MacLure (2003) argues that often qualitative methodology attempts to say what needs to be said while pretending that the researcher had not been there. Alvesson (2002, p.3) also suggests:

The fact that human interests and cultural, gendered and political ideals put their imprints on methodological ideals, as well as on research practices and results, makes it very difficult to see science as a pure activity, neutral and objective in relationship to the reproduction or challenging of social ideologies, institutions and interest.

Self-exploration of the role of the researcher as part of the social world studied has been associated with the concept of reflexivity (Haynes, 2012; Alvesson, 2002). This is defined as "guid[ing] an interplay between producing interpretations and challenging them" (Alvesson, 2002, p.15). However, postmodernist perspectives permeate social research, not only in the theoretical and philosophical perspectives of the process but also in the methods applied to the study of social events/phenomena (Dickens and Fontana, 1994), going beyond the exploration of 'self' in the research process (Grbich, 2004).

Yet, acknowledging the great complexity of postmodernist ideas and the different perspectives and contradictions that are associated with postmodernist thinking, Alvesson (2002) offers a simplified analysis of the key principles of postmodernism, providing concrete examples of how these principles can be applied when conducting social research. He calls his personal approach *pomo-themes*, positing, in this way, a "soft-interchange" (rather than a full-scale one) of what he identifies as common "philosophically based research perspectives" (p.47). In the context of my initial methodological dilemmas, as described above, I found this proposal of Alvesson's (2002) extremely useful, as it helped me to develop a self-critical standpoint regarding both the research options I took during this research and my role in the construction of the arguments presented in this thesis (points also discussed by Grbich, 2004). In addition, the *pomo-themes* eased, to some extent, the necessity to avoid the collision with other

academic disciplines (MacLure, 2003) faced by this multidisciplinary research – within ethnographic educational traditions. Grbich (2004), MacLure (2003) and Williams (1999) acknowledge the lack of recognition of French discourse analysis in linguistics studies; the former, however, is something relatively new to me. As my previous understanding of *language* and discourses was rooted in rigorous studies of *texts* (*lingüística del texto*), early discussions about ‘realities’, ‘truth’ and *language* were associated with a postmodernist philosophical perspective but dis-associated from the French ‘discourse analysis’.

Hence, the introduction of Alvesson’s pomo-themes facilitates an exploration of some of the issues that, as a new postmodernist researcher, I encountered. This presentation has a twofold objective. First, it aims to make more explicit the methodological standpoint on which I have built this research, revealing the reflexive process undertaken (Alvesson, 2002), shifting “towards ‘intertextuality’ and the interaction of a range of constructed texts” (Grbich, 2004, p.29), and exploring the various techniques that can be “utilised to facilitate the decentring of the author in the postmodern text” (ibid). Secondly, it aims to open up an initial consideration of some of the ethical issues I faced as a researcher. Ethics and moralities are postmodernist concerns (Dickens and Fontana, 1994) that are negotiated and re-negotiated during each of the stages of doing research (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014). The position of the researcher and the ethical considerations during all the stages of this research are initially explored in the following sub-sections, with further considerations presented later in this chapter (section 4.4 – *Ethical considerations*).

For Alvesson (2002), the pomo-themes generate a base for the development of a critical stance in the process of doing research. His critical attention considers a number of issues, which he presents under five themes:

- Pomo-theme 1 – The centrality of discourses
- Pomo-theme 2 – The loss of foundations and master narratives
- Pomo-theme 3 – The critique of the idea of representation
- Pomo-theme 4 – The knowledge-power connection
- Pomo-theme 5 – Fragmented identities

Due to the entwined nature of the pomo-themes and their implications for the process of doing research, at this point I define them only briefly; nevertheless, they are covered in depth throughout this thesis and the relevant sections are signposted.

#### 4.2.1 Pomo-theme 1 – The centrality of discourses

This theme emphasises *discourses* as a central part of social research. Discourses are “systems of language imbricated with social practice” (Best, 1994, p.28). The main premise is that there is no objective reality (out there) and that ‘objects’ or human experiences and meaning are viewed as discursively produced. This perspective problematises reasoning as neutral and objective (Best, 1994), stressing that ‘realities’ are mediated through the use of *language* to discursively construct them. Bourdieu (1991, 1977), similarly, criticises linguistic studies for leaving behind the social-historical phenomenon that is entangled in the use of *language* and problematises studies of social practice that are based purely on the accounts of individuals (who are already immersed in the practice). The lived experience of others can be legitimised, generating unified ‘ways of saying’ and becoming “a vocabulary of practice [as] a conceptual configuration whose discursive form [is] available” in specific practices (Foucault, 1963, p.113). Thus, discourses are conceived as “societal means of production that produce subjects and reality” (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.37; Williams, 1999).

Nevertheless, the apparent transparency of *language*, as a reflection of reality, can be persuasive and powerful (Hodge and Kress, 1993). For that reason, the power of *language* is emphasised and it becomes the ‘thing’ to investigate (Alvesson, 2002), combining interpretations of discourses that are articulated in specific socio-cultural practices (Blackledge, 2002). Hence, the discursive construction of practice in a specific space and time at macro and local level is central to the critical analysis of ECaT.

For instance, I briefly mentioned in the literature review (Chapter 2) the tendency to silence, ignore and/or exclude minority languages in the early years field (Safford and Kelly, 2010). These tendencies cannot be seen as unintended omissions; on the contrary, they underpin particular language ideologies. A collective misrecognition, according to Bourdieu (1991), is the basis of a particular set of belief and values. ‘What was said’, ‘how it was said’ and ‘what was omitted’ are, therefore, discursive representations of realities (Fairclough, 2010). In Chapter 3, section 3.3 *Discursive representations of practice: Fairclough in my study* – I introduced the connection between discursive constructions of practices and the perceived realities of a group of individuals within specific practices. I argue that the discursive constructions of practice cannot be taken as mirroring realities; however, they do provide access to ideological constructions of them.

The scope of my study, differently from other types of empirical research, is not to provide an (ethnographic) explanation of the ‘real world/s’. Rather, the study focuses on the discursive construction of practices in order to examine the ideological perspectives they embed, to then investigate the possible influence of different ideologies on the formation

of dispositions towards language/s. Hence, the data gathered throughout this research do not 'represent the ECaT reality/ies' but, rather, a discursive construction of a particular social practice in a specific space and time.

The discursive constructions of practice analysed in my study are mainly made up of two types of text. The first consists of the guidelines and resources that were published and used officially as part of the ECaT initiative. These documents and resources have been considered in this study as representing the discursive construction of early language practice at the macro level. They represent the institutionalised and dominant discourses that were propagated under the National Strategy, with the intention of influencing practice in early years settings in England. I argued that these resources can inscribe and articulate specific ideologies that underpin policies and institutionalised practices.

The second type of text consists of two interviews with two consultants who were in charge of implementing this initiative in two local authorities. The aim of using these interviews is to position the critical analysis of the ECaT resources within individual readings (Grbich, 2004). The purpose of using this type of text is to recontextualise the macro discourses within local-accomplished accounts of local practice (Fairclough, 2010). Recontextualisation provides additional readings on the way in which the practice and ideologies that were advocated by the ECaT official documents could influence the production, regulation and legitimation of these practices within specific contexts (van Leeuwen, 2009). Therefore, these interviews represent local discursive constructions about ECaT.

#### **4.2.2 Pomo-theme 2 – The loss of foundations and master narratives**

This theme focuses on the retreat of grand narratives – and forms of control – and emphasises the notion of local practice (Alvesson, 2000). Grand narratives are perceived as universal explanations, the majority of the time representing privileged discourses, which suppress alternative narratives (Grbich, 2004). Macro theories and global discourses should be replaced with microscopic theoretical practices that stress participation (Lyotard and Thébaud, 1985 cited in Antonio and Kellner, 1994). Therefore, postmodernist studies value local narratives as explanations of small-scale experiences located within particular contexts without pretensions of universality and generalisability (Grbich, 2004).

Criticism of postmodernist perspectives highlights their inability “to understand that emancipatory movements can be enormous inspirations for struggles and reforms on the local level” (Antonio and Kellner, 1994, p.142). In contrast, critical theories seek to create awareness in agents to support emancipation and to demystify the ideologies contained

in these grand narratives (Wodak, 2007). However, I argue that dominant discourses and traces of subordination are still significant issues in early language practice (Zepeda, Castro and Cronin, 2011; Safford and Kelly, 2010; Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida, 2006. See section 2.3) and in early years provision in England (Osgood, 2009; 2006a).

The inculcation of ideologies of language/s at the macro level is an essential part of my study and is discussed throughout this thesis. Bourdieu's theoretical framework, for example, particularly facilitates the study of a practice from the dominant/subordinate perspective, examining the symbolic power exercised in the implementation of prescribed ways of doing (ibid, 1991). Hence, I propose that a further consideration of what was said (and not said) at the local level, using the interviews as local meanings (Grbich, 2004), is required. My standpoint is that the specific local discourses, collected using interviews, were articulated within the macro discourses that were used to make sense of local realities. In this way, recontextualisation, as an analytical step, pays particular attention to the dialectical relation between macro and local discourses (van Leeuwen, 2009; Fairclough, 2009), which helps to appreciate the use of *language* embedded in specific practices (Hodge and Kress, 1993).

Pennycook (2010a) argues that language, locality and practice need to be reconsidered in order to rethink local diversities, think differently, see other possibilities and develop a critical resistance to dominant historical narratives. A number of research studies have provided valuable insights in terms of local resistance and local spaces promoting multilingual/plurilingual practices (for example, Jessel et al, 2011; Kelly, 2010; Kenner, 2005; 2004b; 2000, and discussed in this thesis in section 2.3 *Ideologies relating to immigrant languages*). Although my study does not focus on the possible emancipatory forces that are encountered at the local level, I intend to provide a different angle when interpreting the reported tensions between home language/s and English in early years practice. Thus, I argue that a critical analysis of the discursive construction of language practice at the macro level, which is also recontextualised with local experiences, can provide alternative critical insights into the formation of ideologies and dispositions in terms of language practice.

My expectation is that an in-depth analysis of the macro discourses offered in this thesis (which are recontextualised with specific individual local accounts) will provide a critical examination of dominant (macro) discourses, challenging inequalities and creating opportunities for critical engagement with the language diversity that characterises current early years provision.

#### 4.2.3 Pomo-theme 3 – The critique of the idea of representation

This theme has significant implications for how ‘what is out there’ is accessed and, therefore, for what constitutes data and empirically grounded research: “[W]e may talk about perspective, illumination, producing credible and informed narratives about social reality out there” (Alvesson, 2002, p.54). There is no direct access to realities; realities are constructed within specific historical, social and political contexts (ibid). Post-structuralism, which mainly emerged from French discourse analysis (Williams, 1999), shares the same concern of ‘realities’ constructed through discourses. ‘Realities’ have also been studied as a linguistic/pragmatic dimension of *language* for the representations of social practice (Grbich, 2004; MacLure, 2003). Hodge and Kress (1993) have paid particular interest to representations, analysing the process of interpretation, reorganisation and reworking of ‘realities’ that are presented through given linguistic forms (text). Different studies provide different readings of the ideological motivations behind specific representations of realities. For example, van Leeuwen (2008) analyses the visual representations of social actors in images and toys. The connection between representations of realities and the use of *language* to represent realities is acknowledged by MacLure in educational research (2003) and by Grbich (2004) in social research.

The critique of the ideas of representation of realities is clearly linked with Pomo-theme 1 – *the centrality of the discourses* – placing, as it does, great importance on *language* and the construction of discourses within social practice. In my view, both the documents published under the National Strategy, which form the main set of data employed in this study, and the *language* co-generated during the interviews cannot be treated as a simple account of realities, as *language* cannot be taken as a mirror of reality. This is because there is no direct access to reality but, rather, a discursive construction of the discourses of realities (Alvesson, 2002). Therefore, the role of the researcher goes beyond that of collecting, presenting and analysing data. Grbich (2004) describes this as issues with *intertextuality*, meaning how the text has been constructed with the researcher and how this should be explicitly exposed to the readers.

An additional significant influence in relation to pomo-theme 3 can be identified in my study. This is that the significant role of the researcher in the co-construction of the outcomes of the interviews that are used as data in this study must be recognised (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002). Thus, the arguments presented in this thesis aim to achieve plausible, reasonable and convincing analysis of discursive constructions of language practice. I suggest that I can (only) offer possible readings of the texts as (acceptable) attempts to provide alternative insights into the formation of dispositions towards language/s in early years practice, recognising the intertextuality between

researcher and researched when constructing text (Grbich, 2004). This is to say that, in my effort to become a postmodernist researcher, I am learning to *read* educational events (MacLure, 2003) by deconstructing common-sense practice (Fairclough, 2010) and providing possible *readings of texts* at different levels of analysis, using different (linguistics) analytical tools. My readings are offered as *open readings* (Eco, 1979 cited in Grbich, 2004, p.30), acknowledging that each reader can “take away something different from the text” (ibid). Consequently, intertextuality and the role of the researcher in the process of generating and analysing data are made explicit in different parts of this thesis. For instance, intertextuality is discussed in the next chapter (section 5.4.3 *Intertextuality and moral talks*), where I also introduce other strategies that were applied to ensure a transparent, explicit and clear analysis and, later in the current chapter, I discuss *trustworthiness* during the research process (section 4.4.1).

#### 4.2.4 Pomo-theme 4 – The knowledge-power connection

The fourth theme is the knowledge-power connection, the two elements of which, according to postmodernist thinking, it is not possible to separate: “Knowledge lies at the root of the exercise of power, while the exercise of power also produces knowledge” (Alvesson, 2002, p.57). Under this perspective, social institutions and their function in the formation of knowledge is highly problematised (Fairclough, 2010), hence, “knowledge loses a sense of innocence and neutrality” (Alvesson, 2002, p.48). Symbolic power, for example, is exercised in society, in such a way that it is not always perceived, even by those who are subordinated to it (Bourdieu, 1991; 1977). As knowledge is constructed by specific disciplines within their scope of interest, “there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives” (Foucault, 1976, p.124 cited in Williams, 1999, p.96). “Knowledge serves the collectivity, it does not form the individual” (Foucault, 1963, p.59). It is organised (ordered) and is informed by definite rules that can be discovered for a given period (Foucault, 1969 cited in Williams, 1999).

Knowledge is institutionalised, officialised, legitimised and inculcated as ‘the right way’ (Bourdieu, 1991). Hence, I argue that external forces were involved in implementing a particular way of doing. ECaT, as a language programme, aimed to influence language practice, constructing knowledge around what quality language provision should be. Thus, my study focuses on, and extensively analyses, the nature of a language programme and the relation between knowledge and power generated. For example, the relation of power and knowledge between the consultants and the lead practitioners is explored in chapter 7 – *Hierarchies of ECaT language practice*.

Notwithstanding this, an additional view of the knowledge-power connection needs to be considered when doing research: the role of the researcher when constructing knowledge (Grbich, 2004). The invisibility of the researcher during the construction of knowledge has been widely criticised (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014; Bryman, 2008; Silverman, 2006; MacLure, 2003) and problematised by postmodernist perspectives (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002; Antonio and Kellner, 1994). The exercise of power, for instance, when generating and analysing data and during the process of writing up the conclusions (sometimes) appears to be ignored (Alvesson, 2002). In my study, rather than trying to accomplish an 'ought-to-be-researcher-objectivity', I try to make explicit, whenever possible, the ways in which power was exercised and to highlight the influence I had on textual construction when co-generating data (Grbich, 2004).

Wodak (2007) calls for a multi-layered approach to discourse analysis within interdisciplinary work, as necessary for gaining a proper understanding of how knowledge is used by powerful people/institutions to exercise power. Thus, the connection between knowledge and power permeates my research at two different levels. The first level lies within the subject of study itself and the theoretical framework within which this research is based, and is the critical analysis of the struggle between macro and local discursive constructions of language practice. The second level focuses on my role, as a researcher, in the production of knowledge. Although, the knowledge and power connection is clearly addressed within the theoretical framework chosen, the exercise of power and the construction of knowledge by the researcher needs to be made as transparent as possible at the different stages of doing research (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014). This is discussed elsewhere as well, when I consider later in this chapter my voice as a researcher during data collection and data analysis (from section 4.4.1 *Trustworthiness* onwards).

#### 4.2.5 Pomo-theme 5 – Fragmented identities

"The concept of unitary self is considered to be a fiction used to suppress those tensions [created by Western conceptions of man] and privilege masculinity, rationality, vision and control" (Alvesson, 2002, p.50). Identities, institutional identities and the construction of identities are, according to Alvesson, not considered autonomous or fixed. Moreover, he states that "the view of the individual as coherent, integrated and (potentially) autonomous has become false in the contemporary historical and cultural situation" (ibid, p.51). Therefore, identities in specific social practices are associated with specific roles and meanings, which are conveyed through symbolic representations (van Leeuwen, 2008). Bourdieu (1991) discusses the struggle of individuals to maintain, acquire and

negotiate a desired position of distinction in specific practices. Examples of fragmented identities of bilingual parents and children inside and outside early years settings in England are described in Chapter 2, where I acknowledge the valuable contribution of studies such as Kelly (2010), Kenner (2005; 2004a; 2000), Brooker (2002) and Siraj-Blatchford and Clarke (2000).

In my research, a careful review of the position of the members of the ECaT market within ECaT social practice is specifically considered and presented in Chapter 7 – *Hierarchies of ECaT language practice* – and Chapter 8 – *The discursive construction of 'other languages'*. In addition, and taking into account the power-knowledge relationship considered under the previous pomo-theme, an analysis of the outcomes of the interviews as locally co-constructed events is also provided (Rapley, 2001). This is illustrated in my discussion about my own identity (and, therefore, voice) as researcher) acquiring a significant (but unintended) position during the interviews. This point is further explored in my review of issues around access to the participants (later in this chapter) and, in the next chapter, in my consideration of intertextuality and the outcomes of my interviews with the consultants.

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The five pomo-themes proposed by Alvesson (2002), and adopted in this research, problematise empirical research in terms of both the research subject – what can be studied – and the research process – how to conduct the research and what is considered data. The key principle is that the discourses produce subjects and realities (Wodak and Meyer, 2009); therefore, *language* becomes the thing to investigate (Alvesson, 2002). Consequently, text and other linguistic devices encode realities that cannot be interpreted or seen outside the *language* that constitutes them (Moreno, 2000). My main argument is that both the ECaT documents and resources and the interviews provide two types of text that relate to the specific time, space and practice in which they were constructed. Although the documents are the main data used to inform my study, two locally accomplished and purposefully conducted interviews were used to recontextualise the macro discourses, facilitating a dialectical perspective between macro and local discourses (van Leeuwen, 2009; Fairclough, 2009).

The role of the researcher in interviewing and in the analysis of data is a significant issue in postmodernist research, when interviews are used as representations of social practices (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002). Rather than creating a false invisibility, I try to make explicit, whenever possible, my role in the research process. Thus, my role in co-generating data is taken into account in both the ethical reflections presented later in this

chapter and the analysis of the co-construction of identities generated during the interviews presented in the following chapters.

My standpoint is that critical resistance to dominant historical narratives, advocated by Pennycook (2010a), can be better achieved when there is a critical appreciation of how inculcation and legitimation permeate social practices. For instance, enhancing the learning opportunities that young children experience when learning more than one language requires a permanent search for alternative ways of doing, thinking and acting. I expect to provide, with this postmodernist research, critical readings of the discursive constructions of early language practice. According to Fairclough (2010), social science should unveil social wrongs and, in line with this position, I intend to provide possible explanations of the reported exclusion of the linguistic capital that young children bring into institutionalised/educational spaces. I believe that unravelling restrictive ideologies and challenging 'universal truths' can facilitate transformational strategies for empowering local diversities.

In the interest of providing possible readings of the pervasive exclusion of minority languages in early years provision in England, I aim to critically analyse a language initiative that was officially installed as a way to improve the quality of language provision in early years services. For that purpose, I have identified the following research question:

- How could initiatives such as Every Child a Talker influence the formation of dispositions towards language/s?

My intention is to interpret the language ideologies embedded in ECaT and the possible influence exerted on dispositions towards language/s during its implementation: dispositions towards English, as the mainstream and dominant language, and dispositions towards 'other languages' (home-minority-languages). Although the scope of my study is restricted to a particular initiative, I believe that the outcomes can provide additional insights into and a critical perspective on the complexities that arise when addressing language diversity in early years provision.

The methodological discussion presented in this first part of this chapter explores Alvesson's pomo-themes in relation to this research. Alvesson (2002) asserts that postmodernist social research represents an opportunity to provide possible readings in a more thoughtful and creative way, working with alternative perspectives and lines of interpretation and "exploring more than one set of meanings and acknowledging ambiguity" (ibid, p.15). The research options in this study were chosen in line with postmodernist principles and with the values I advocate as a researcher. With the intention of providing a coherent standpoint, I continue, in the following sections, with an examination of the research process.

### 4.3 *The research options*

This section moves on to a discussion of the research methods, which are defined as the specific techniques chosen to fit the methodology and the research topic (Silverman, 2006). This implies an active process of making decisions and choosing options with a particular aim. Bryman (2008) associates qualitative methods with a particular view of social reality that emphasises “a constantly shifting emergent property of individual creation” (p.22). An additional viewpoint is offered from postmodernist perspectives when challenging the transitional and fragmented construction of realities, which emphasises, for instance, the recognition of the multiple selves and voices of the researcher and participants (Grbich, 2004). Thus, the research process is not seen as linear or static (Alvesson, 2002); although its complexity can be seen as chaotic (Grbich, 2004; Dickens and Fontana, 1994), it can bring holistic, alternative and creative strategies to the solution of research issues (Grbich, 2004). Consequently, the research design needs to provide evidence of the strategies applied to capture its postmodernist nature.

The space and time in which research is sustained constrain the outcomes that can be offered (Soja, 1989). Therefore, I start this section by positioning the research in space and time and explaining the path it took over the years. Rather than suggesting a linear and pre-planned strategic approach, my reflections highlight the events that re-shaped this research. I also provide a more explicit account of the qualitative nature of the methods applied in the collection of data, which comprised: 1) the documents and other relevant resources that were made available for the implementation of the ECaT programme and 2) the interviews with two ECaT consultants, which served the purpose of recontextualising the analysis of ECaT, as a language policy. Special attention is given to interviewing as a “generation of empirical material through which knowledge is created” (Alvesson, 2002, p.107). The locality of these events and the intertextuality generated between interlocutors is presented, and the benefits and constraints of this method when researching social practice explained.

#### 4.3.1 *The research space and time*

This section aims to situate the research in space and time, making explicit the options taken during the initial research stages. Acknowledging the dynamicity (or lack of stability) of individual accounts from a postmodernist perspective, my discussion is organised around the “rejection of abstract, universal truths” (Alvesson, 2002, p.29 – discussed under Pomo-theme 5, *fragmented identities*). Thus, this qualitative research

is no more than the production of situated local knowledge, with the researcher playing a significant role in the co-construction and analysis of data.

Before I began this research, my experience in early language learning and early years practice had been mainly in another country. Although I had spent a few years working as a teaching assistant in educational settings in London, I was still new to language provision in early education in England. My initial research interest was in the assessment of the language development of young children learning more than one language; however, an unplanned event alerted me to the ECaT initiative (this event is described in section 1.2.1 *Why ECaT?*). At this point, my experience of language assessment in early education had led me to believe that there was a significant lack of recognition of 'other languages' in this process. For example, I worked in an inner-city school which, even though it had a 'language unit' specially designed to support language development/difficulties, did not generally keep any record of the additional languages spoken by the children. Records of an additional language were only maintained when English was not the proficient language, and for new arrivals to the country in those cases where English was not spoken in the country of origin.

Between 2005 and 2007, in an attempt to understand assessment practices in early years and, in conjunction with reviewing the available guidelines and resources, I conducted interviews with two speech and language therapists, two parents of young children learning more than one language and a local councillor, and I attended a parents' forum (an initiative designed by Sure Start to include parents in the early years provision available in specific areas). In addition, a questionnaire about knowledge, experience and confidence in supporting early language development for young children learning more than one language was administered to a group of early years practitioners. This questionnaire was part of a reflective task for the *language development in multilingual contexts* module of a foundation degree in early childhood studies that I was teaching at the time (see Appendix A – *Questionnaire for early years foundation degree students about language practice*).

Although my personal experience constituted a number of attempts to get involved with the topic of language practice for young children learning more than language, I could not trace sufficient evidence of differentiation in the assessment of the language development of these children. A report on the provision available for children with speech and language needs in England (Law et al, 2000) indicated that only 18 institutions (out of the 133 that took part in the research) collected statistical information specifically about services for children with English as an additional language. Hence, rather than continuing to look for a non-existent practice, I decided to focus on what 'was

there', shifting my interest towards understanding the apparent misrecognition of 'other languages' in early language practice. Fairclough (2010) advises that it is important to analyse 'what is there' but, equally significant, what has been excluded. Thus, the apparent disinterest regarding home language in early language learning shifted my attention towards ideologies and dispositions.

#### 4.3.2 ECaT during the auditing of language practice

My interest in Every Child a Talker is founded on the discourses that were re/produced at the macro levels in a specific time and space during the introduction of this initiative as a new strategy for changing language practice. The significance of critically analysing this particular initiative has been discussed in the literature review, where I make the argument that the exclusion of home language from early years practice is pervasive. This exclusion appears to be repeated in ECaT (presented in Chapter 2, section 2.3 *Ideologies relating to immigrant languages* and section 2.4 *An example of language ideologies permeating early language practice*). I have also talked about ECaT pioneering substantial changes in early language development and its relevance in current early years practice in England (Chapter 1, section 1.2.1 *Why ECaT?*). Auditing practice was part of a self-assessment strategy in the first stage of the ECaT initiative. The intention was to identify specific areas of development that would inform further planning and actions to improve the quality of language provision in each of the 20 selected settings.

At the beginning of 2009, I received a questionnaire for parents as part of the auditing practice. This event triggered a conversation I then had with the lead practitioner at my son's pre-school and the interviews that were subsequently arranged to facilitate the recontextualisation of the ECaT documents that were analysed. The first interview was conducted around the time when the auditing of language practice had been completed and, therefore, this topic purposefully dominated the conversation. Consequently, auditing practice became the point of reference for the subsequent interviews and for the analysis of the discursive construction of language practice reported in this research.

ECaT's significant role as a language initiative in the early years sector serves as a platform to critically analyse the ideologies, dispositions and practices that are constructed around young children learning more than one language. For the examination of ECaT, I formulated the following secondary research question:

- How were language/s discursively constructed at the macro level by the ECaT guidelines and resources?

As argued earlier in this chapter, this research aims to offer possible readings of the ideological motivations behind specific representations of realities without generalising or imposing an exclusive status of veracity on my analysis, and the critical readings of ECaT are intended to enable a broader insight into the tensions that language practice faces within contestable language ideologies. For this purpose, and in order to position these discourses within local early language practices, I propose to recontextualise them by using two interviews that were generated to fit the purpose of this research. Considering the key role given to the consultants in the implementation of ECaT in the local authorities (discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.2.3 *The structure of ECaT*), I interviewed two consultants, who engaged in specific social interactions with the purpose of talking about this initiative. The following research question guides the examinations of these conversations:

- How were language/s discursively constructed at the local level by the ECaT consultants?

The focus of my research are the institutionalised language ideologies and the processes of inculcation and domination that were exercised within the discursive construction of language practice. My critical analysis aims to provide possible, and alternative, readings of the apparent exclusion of 'other languages' in ECaT. The documents and resources created and distributed during implementation are considered core data; nevertheless, the interviews play a subsidiary but important role in recontextualising the discourses within early years language practice. Chapter 5 presents the analytical tools applied, aiming for a systematic approach to the analysis of linguistic events for both types of data.

#### 4.3.3 Getting involved: collecting and generating data

In the introduction to this thesis I explained why Every Child a Talker is a plausible platform for critically analysing language ideologies and the possible influence of this type of initiative on early years language practice. The process of getting involved with the ECaT initiative was gradually built up, starting with the unplanned event of receiving a questionnaire about my son's language development. This event is significant for two reasons, first because it re-shaped the focus of my study, changing it from 'procedures of language assessment', to the 'discursive constructions of language practice in the early years curriculum'. As a consequence, my research moved towards placing a greater centrality on the use of *language* in the articulation of ideologies and the shaping of practices (the centrality of *language* in postmodernist social research was presented in Pomo-theme 1 earlier in this chapter). The second reason is that the event added a

strong personal voice to my study because it was the language of my beloved son that was, on this occasion, being excluded. In this section I provide an account of the process of collecting and generating data. Rather than pretending that my voice as a researcher when constructing knowledge was not there, I provide an explicit account of my role in the data collection.

The documents and resources that were released during (and under) this initiative represent the key data for the critical analysis presented in this study. These documents are taken as playing an important role in disseminating the perspective deemed effective by the organisation from which they emanated (Lee, 2012). Bryman (2008) suggests that while there is a significant variety of documents that can be used as data, the common factor is that they “have not been produced at the request of a social researcher” (p.515). However, issues around what is in the public domain and what can be accessed in specific practice can constrain the research study (ibid). In the following section, I describe the process of accessing and selecting the key documents I used. The analytical tools and layers of analysis that I employed are presented in Chapter 5.

#### **4.3.3.1 ECaT documents and other relevant resources**

Documents – printed materials and/or online resources – allow information to be transported across time and geographical spaces and represent a “durable repository for textual [...] and visual representations” (Lee, 2012, p.391). The main criterion for the selection of documents in this study was their relevance to the subject matter. The majority of these documents were produced under the ECaT initiative, framing in their *language* (and other visual features) the ideological orientations underpinning a particular social practice (Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2008; Blackledge, 2002; Hodge and Kress, 1993). Bryman (2008) considers the use of official documents to be highly convenient, as they represent ‘real-life data’ from specific practices. However, he also underlines the fact that the distinction between what is available in the public domain and access to more specific organisational documents is not always straightforward. Although the ECaT core resources were made available online, other resources were obtained only during the interviews. As a consequence, access issues were a significant factor.

What was accessible in the public domain (Bryman, 2008) were the main documents launched and published under the ECaT initiative, which were available on the National Early Years Strategy website. These documents were:

- Every Child a Talker: Guidance for consultants (DfCSF, 2008b)

- Every Child a Talker: Guidance for early language lead practitioners (DfCSF, 2008a)
- Every Child a Talker LA launch event. This was a PowerPoint presentation used at the launch event for local authorities (DfCSF, 2008c)
- Every Child a Talker: Guidance for early language lead practitioners, 2nd instalment (DfCSF, 2009b).

Another set of resources were obtained from the second consultant interviewed (hereafter C2), during my interview with her. They had been directly distributed to local authorities through ECaT events. These were:

- ECaT parents' questionnaire (Appendix B)
- ECaT practitioners' questionnaire (Appendix C)
- A copy of a section of the CLL resources used in primary school (Appendix D – *Communication, Language and Literacy resource for children speaking English as an additional language*).

Although the third document in this list was not produced by ECaT, it was part of the resources released under the Communication, Language and Literacy Programme (DfCSF, 2009). It was first published in 2007 and distributed to primary schools in England (in the maintained sector) and is referred to as a supplementary resource in the ECaT guidance for consultants.

In addition to the above resources, C2 provided copies of 'locally-produced' documents. These were modifications of ECaT resources or had been designed to supplement the activities implemented under the initiative. They can be interpreted as representations of institutionalised local discourses of ECaT language practice. In order to maintain the anonymity of the consultant and the local authority she represented, some of the features of these documents have been masked/altered – a sample set is enclosed in Appendix E – *Sample of local resources*. They are:

- An adaptation of the ECaT parents' questionnaire
- An adaptation of the ECaT Assessment Chart (Table 1 – Typical stages of speech, language and communication development in early years)
- A leaflet for parents: Come and sing with me
- A leaflet for early years practitioners: Language Links Network
- A resource for early years practitioners: Child's communication observations sheet

Cameron and Panović (2014) suggest that the selection of relevant written discourses is not only about what is available and accessible; documents can be connected by similar

themes or specific threads. Relevance can be also determined by the importance and power that a document possesses in a given practice (ibid). With these points in mind, three additional documents were selected:

- Supporting children learning English as an additional language: Guidance for practitioners in the EYFS (DfCSF, 2007b)

The relevance of this guidance lies in the fact that the topic is that of young children learning more than one language. This was one of the few resources for early years provision designed around young children with English as an additional language. There was a reference to this resource in the ECaT Guidance for Consultants.

- Practice Guidance for the Early Years Foundation Stage (DfCSF, 2008e)

This document is a key text for the implementation of the early years curriculum in England. This was the version that was available at the time ECaT was implemented and when the ECaT documents were released. Although the document had non-statutory status, it presented “the framework to meet the statutory requirements” (DfCSF, 2008e). As a consequence, it has played a significant role in shaping early years practice. The literature review discusses this document in the context of the construction of ‘quality’ in early years services through examples of ‘effective practice’.

- Early years foundation stage: Profile handbook (DfCSF, 2008f)

This is an important document for my research as it establishes the desirable outcomes that young children should achieve at the end of the foundation stage (pre-school education). The success of ECaT was supposed to be measured by the increase in the number of children achieving ‘level 6’ in the Communication, Language and Literacy area of development that is set out in the document. Both consultants mentioned this document during the interviews.

- Early Years Quality Improvement Support Programme (EYQISP) (DfCSF, 2008d)

This document was selected because of its relevance to the construction of the concept of ‘quality-provision’ and the mechanism of control through inspection that it represented. Discourses on quality have frequently appeared as justification for the initiatives launched during the period on which this research is based (discussed in the literature review Chapter 2, section 2.5 *Early years provision in England and ‘the problem of quality’*).

Given that my research focuses on the possible influence of macro discourses on the formation of dispositions towards language/s, the documents collected sufficiently cover the issue under study. These documents are valued as representing discourses generated under the National Strategy and are designed with the purpose of influencing language practice. I propose that a critical analysis can provide an in-depth understanding of the ideologies involved and facilitate possible readings of the influence of this type of initiative on the formation of dispositions towards language/s. A detailed presentation of the analytical strategies employed in the examination of these documents is contained in Chapter 5.

The following section moves on to the process of interviewing, and the complexities associated with this method when doing social research from a postmodernist perspective. An explanation of the process of selecting the interviews (from the range of interviews conducted in this study) is also provided.

#### **4.3.3.2 Interviewing**

In order to provide a dialectical perspective on the possible influence of ECaT documents on the formation of specific ideologies, two semi-structured interviews were selected to recontextualise ECaT language ideologies within the initiative's language practice. Recontextualisation aims to establish a dialectical relationship between different types of text, in an effort to provide plausible readings of specific social practices (Fairclough, 2010). Although, the interviews were used mainly with the purpose of recontextualising the macro discourses within local practices, issues regarding selecting, conducting and later analysing interviews were also carefully considered. I start this section by presenting the research options employed in the collection and selection of interviews. Chapter 5 explains in detail the steps taken in their analysis.

Earlier in this chapter, issues around using interviews were discussed under pomo-themes. The key points made were: the restricted access to realities in which individual accounts offer complex representations of practice through discursive constructions (Pomo-theme 1 – *the centrality of discourses*); the dialectical relationship between local narratives and macro discourses (Pomo-theme 2 – *the loss of foundations and master narratives*); the role of the researcher in co-constructing what is considered 'qualitative data' to inform research (Pomo-theme 3 – *the critique of the idea of representation*); the power and knowledge relationship established during the interview interactions (Pomo-theme 4 – *the knowledge-power connection*); and the situated and fragmented identities co-constructed during the local-accomplished social events labelled as 'interviews' (Pomo-theme 5 – *fragmented identities*). Consequently, interviews from a postmodernist

perspective bring up research issues that are less problematised than when using different epistemological perspectives (Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002).

Alvesson (2002) advises that the use of interviews in postmodernist research is difficult but not impossible, proposing that the understanding and analysis of interview material should offer “a trade-off between relevance and rigour” (p.117). In terms of relevance, the research concern moves away from the highly questionable matters of ‘how many participants’ should take part and what constitutes ‘reliable participant samples’. For example, issues of representation and fragmented identities highly problematise the use of interviews as data, as it is pointless to pursue homogeneity (Grbich, 2004). Every interview is already permeated with the complex layers that underlie any social activity, and thus they are unique, not generalisable events in which individuals construct meanings of their personal and social experiences (ibid).

Thus, the relevance of the interviews is based on the specificity of these events within the discursive constructions of language practice in a specific time and for a specific purpose. The use of interviews, from a postmodernist standpoint, involves taking cautious steps towards the deconstruction of interactions, offering a much more rigorous and in-depth analysis (Grbich, 2004) by narrowing down the topic elaboration during the interview events (Rapley, 2001) within what was advocated as part of the ECaT initiative (van Leeuwen, 2009; 2008). The relevance, therefore, is materialised in what was said, and when and where (Rapley, 2001). In this way, the discursive constructions of practice are, broadly speaking, framed under the same language practice and are closely related to the subject under study (Alvesson, 2002). However, not all the interviews that were collected during this research matched this criterion. While some of them were conducted with the intention of appreciating the social practice under study (Silverman, 2006; Alvesson, 2002), other were aimed at gathering more specific information about ECaT practice. Therefore, taking into account the purpose of these interviews and the time and space in which they were conducted, not all of the them have been included in the analysis reported in this thesis.

#### **4.3.3.3 The researcher and the research participants**

Four initial interviews were undertaken during the first stage of my research, with speech and language therapists and parents of bilingual children (briefly mentioned in section 4.3.1 *The research space and time*). These interviews aimed to understand language assessment in early years practice. Whereas I was looking to engage in talks about how language/s was/were assessed in young children and what support/recommendations were provided, these interviews exposed a lack of consideration of ‘other languages’.

This was, unfortunately, in line with my experience of working in education in this country. At the time of these interviews, I was not aware of the ECaT initiative, and therefore it was not discussed.

The invisibility of other languages in early years assessment became a predominant theme. At that time, as my research was unfolding, I heard about this 'new initiative'. The first interview about ECaT was conducted with the lead practitioner who sent me the parents' questionnaire (February 2009). Despite the fact that this practitioner knew about my son's experience of learning more than one language, the questionnaire did not acknowledge this factor. Her response suggested that the questionnaire was designed and applied under the ECaT guidance. A quick scan of the ECaT guidelines suggested that there was a lack of recognition of other languages; therefore, aiming to investigate why other languages were not included in these resources and guidelines, I contacted the first consultant (hereafter C1). ECaT was converted into a platform for talking about early language practice and the positions of other languages in this programme. My son's early years practitioner was the starting point of enquiry and she kindly provided me with the consultant's contact details. This approach is defined by Bryman (2008) as snowball sampling, starting with a small group that is relevant to the topic and which helps to establish contact with others. This type of sampling does not aim to be representative of a population (ibid); rather, the interviews were bounded over a specific time in a local space, constraining the assumption that the experiences are generalisable to others (Grbich, 2004).

The interview with the lead practitioner suggested that ECaT possibly had an influence on regulating local language practice and highlighted the significant role the programme's consultants appeared to have. I anticipated that an interview with the consultant could provide an opportunity to explore further 'what can be done' and 'what should be done' in terms of language practices for young children learning more than one language. I started with a reflection about what motivates my research and about my experience in the subject, which served two purposes. On the one hand, it is part of a reflexive research approach (Haynes, 2012) and, on the other, it aims to establish a rapport with the interviewees. I contacted the relevant local authority's consultant and conducted an interview with her (hereafter C1) in May 2009. This was planned as a semi-structured interview to discuss the implementation of ECaT (see Appendix F – *Interview plan/reflections (before the interview)*). My voice as a researcher and my concerns about the exclusion of 'other languages' from the parents' questionnaire permeated (unintentionally) this interview, creating an intertextuality between my voice and the participant's. Consequently, the process of de-centring the researcher's voice in favour of local-accomplished talks about practice with the consultants needs to be made explicit

(Grbich, 2004; Alvesson, 2002). Intertextuality in the interviews is made explicit in each of the analysis chapters (Chapters 6, 7 and 8); nevertheless, it is introduced in the next chapter (section 5.4.3 *Intertextuality and moral talks*), where a more in-depth explanation of the analytical strategies is presented.

The tight schedule to which ECaT was implemented, the busy workload of the consultants (in conjunction with my own busy workload as a self-financing student/researcher) and the change of government all contributed to the difficulties I had in organising and undertaking the subsequent interviews. In March 2010, a second interview was conducted with another consultant (C2). The selection of this consultant was based on the geographical proximity to the first consultant's local authority and I followed the same interview structure as with C1. During the period in which the interview with C2 was conducted, there was a change of government and the Conservative–Liberal Democrat coalition initiated what was called the austerity plan. Many public sector services were withdrawn, including the ECaT programme, and, therefore, the role of consultant disappeared.

In June 2011, a third interview was conducted with a professional involved in the initiative but not in the role of consultant. This interview happened when ECaT had already been withdrawn at the local authority level, and, as a consequence, it represents an account of the past, which has an impact in terms of the analysis. This is because, as pointed out by van Leeuwen (2008), *time* is a significant factor in social practice and the time gap between interviews changed significantly. For example, whereas C1 and C2 provided an account of a live implementation of ECaT as 'happening here and now', the third interview referred to past experiences. The austerity measures implemented by the coalition government produced rapid changes in the public sector that directly affected early years. There was a temporary interruption of many of the existing initiatives and, consequently, ECaT was provisionally suspended. It was only in 2011 that it was returned to the curriculum, on the recommendation of 4Children and National Children's Bureau, both of which are still strategic partners of the Department for Education.

Therefore, C1 and C2 are the two interview events reported in this thesis, as they coincided with the space and time of auditing language practice. They were used to recontextualise the analysis of the documents presented earlier (section 4.3.2 – *ECaT documents and other relevant resources*). Despite the fact that the third interview is not directly used, it provided a useful insight into the topics covered in the preceding interviews.

#### 4.3.3.4 The interview plan

ECaT consultants were appointed by the local authorities and had a key role in the implementation of the ECaT principles. They were endowed with the authority to select and distribute resources, and they worked directly with the early years settings included in the first stage of implementation (Wave 1) (presented also in Chapter 1, section 1.2.3 *The structure of ECaT*). I approached two of these consultants by telephone and arranged a face-to-face appointment at their place of work. The interviews were planned with the intention of maintaining a similar frame of conversation in them both which, according to Bryman (2008), could facilitate the later analysis. Appendix F – *Interview plan/reflections* – shows my plan and reflections prior to the first interview. The interviews started with me introducing myself and the research. I then gave an explanation of the ethical procedures and requested that the interviewee sign the consent forms (Appendix G – *Consent forms*). Each interview was recorded and saved, using a digital device.

Four topics for discussion were identified:

1. *An overview of the implementation of the programme in that particular local authority.* This topic was considered important in establishing in which phase (called “waves” by ECaT) each local authority was, and which actions had already been implemented and which were planned for the future. It was expected that this information would inform the analysis of language practice under the ECaT initiative.
2. *The auditing process, how was it implemented in the borough, and whether this process included knowledge and/or practice about multilingual matters.* This topic represented a significant part of the interview, as my initial examinations of some of the ECaT resources had demonstrated that they contained very little recognition of the auditing of multilingual practice. The intention here was to gain some information relating to practices that included other languages. My premise was that if multilingual/plurilingual practices were not audited, there would be fewer opportunities to develop them, and monolingual language practice would be perpetuated.
3. *An elicited question about confidence in supporting language in young children.* This question was designed using the data collected with my students about their confidence in supporting early language development in young children and their families (Appendix H – *Elicited question*). The intention was to prompt the conversation (Lapenta, 2004) about the type of knowledge required about monolingual language development and its similarities with and differences from the type of knowledge needed about learning more than one language. The aim of this topic was, first, to clarify whether, according to the consultants, the

language practice associated with English practice implicitly included other languages and, subsequently, to gain information that would provide additional insights into the representation of 'other languages' in the ECaT initiative.

4. *Parents' understanding of bilingual matters.* This question was inspired by my experience of receiving the parents' questionnaire (Appendix B). Similarly to with the previous topic, I wanted to gather further information about the reasons for the explicit exclusion of the experience of young children learning more than one language and of that of their parents.

I thought that planning semi-structured interviews would allow me to focus on the topics I had identified as relevant to my research and, at the same time, enable the interviewees to elaborate and lead on the topics (Bryman, 2008; Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Silverman, 2006). My initial reflection was on the best way to obtain an account that allows one to listen to participants' voices while minimising one's own (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Alvesson, 2002). However, interviewing from a postmodernist perspective goes beyond the perception of instruments that 'effectively' obtain authentic human encounters (Alvesson, 2002). Hence, a careful analytical process has been designed to ensure that the voice of the researcher is made explicit, taking into consideration the locality of the outcomes of these events (Alvesson and Ashcraft, 2012). This is explored in detail in the next chapter (Section 5.4 *Additional considerations when using interviews to critically analyse social practices*).

The two local authorities these consultants represented shared some similarities in terms of language diversity. Block (2006) reports that it is extremely difficult to rely on statistics when talking about minority languages, as what has been recorded serves different purposes. The statistics available at the time my research was conducted were Census 2001 (Office for National Statistics, 2001), the Community Languages Survey conducted in 2004 (McPake, 2006) and a leaflet produced locally by C2's local authority (accessed in 2009), which showed that neither local authority had a single 'minority group' that stood out as significantly bigger than the other identified communities/groups. In order to maintain the anonymity of the consultants, I am omitting specific statistical information, but I can state that both local authorities recorded that among school children and early years practitioners the following languages were spoken: Albanian, Amharic, Arabic, Bengali, Chinese (Mandarin), Filipino, French, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Japanese, Kutchi, Polish, Portuguese, Punjabi, Romanian, Russian, Sinhalese, Spanish, Swahili, Swedish, Tamil, Turkish, Urdu, Vietnamese and Yoruba.

This section has introduced an account of the process of collecting and generating data. Considering that the data do not represent more than transitory discursive constructions of realities, according to the postmodernist perspective (Grbich, 2004), the documents

and resources collected are considered relevant in that they represent the official language practice that ECaT aimed to influence at the time. These resources were available in the public domain via online access, and another set of resources was facilitated by one of the interviewees, including local adaptations of 'official resources'. The two interviews were conducted with the purpose of recontextualising macro discourses during the time in which the ECaT initiative was being implemented. These events are permeated with the voice of the researcher; therefore, intertextualities need to be made explicit during the process of analysis (which is presented in more detail in Chapter 5). In the final part of this chapter, I return to my position as researcher, after visiting the ethical considerations that were taken into account in this study.

#### *4.4 Ethical considerations*

Ethics in social research has been associated with both the regulatory contexts with which researchers need to comply and the reflexive process during the different stages of doing research (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014). Previous unethical research has influenced the enforcement of protective procedures for participants, researchers and institutions (including universities) (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014; Silverman, 2006); also, different principles and values have been highlighted in different countries and research cultures (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014). Ethical considerations cannot be perceived as a universal set of procedures; I believe that ethics is essentially constructed within moralities that are embedded in the practice itself. Within early years practice, for instance, safeguarding, safety, care and the emotional development of young children are everyday tasks that are rooted within the role of fostering young children's wellbeing, where "feelings and emotions are acceptable, even desirable, as part of the educational thinking and practice" (Osgood, 2006b, p.191).

In my view, there is a moral obligation, as a set of socially constructed values, that should be considered during the research process. Nietzsche (1913) questions the genesis of both the idea and the judgement of "good" and, by contrast, "evil", indicating that a historical perspective needs to be considered. For instance, ethical considerations in research have been studied at different levels and for different purposes (Brooks et al, 2014), sometimes associated with procedures that the researcher should or should not carry out (for example, the falsification of data) and at other times related to a consideration of the participants (for example, their emotional wellbeing). An illustration of this is the concept of "moral talks" used by Geoffrey (1982 and later adopted by Rapley, 2001 and Silverman, 2006) in relation to the discursive construction of "morally appropriate parents" observed in his study. Morality has also been analysed in social

practice by van Leeuwen (2009; 2008), who suggests that individuals tends to discursively construct their personal accounts of social practice considering what is and is not appropriate in specific circumstances. These analyses indicate that morality permeates individuals' accounts of themselves and others and is constructed within specific practices, rather than being taken as fixed and stable (a discussion of this is covered under Pomo-theme 5: *fragmented identities*). This is particularly relevant in terms of considering the ethical commitment towards the participants (Brooks et al, 2014). Hence, moralities are not fixed and cannot be prescribed; by contrast, the researcher's morality is constructed throughout the options taken in the process of doing research and writing up the findings (Alvesson, 2002). For example, in section 5.4.3.1 – The co-construction of moral talks – I particularly review the moral talks that permeated the interviews (intertextuality), by examining the struggle between the participants' and researcher's voices.

I have already mentioned a number of ethical issues concerning the power relationship between myself (as the researcher and the interviewer) and my research participants, and the position I am in to critically analyse the practice of others. These are only a few examples of the ethical dilemmas I have faced during this research. The following sections offer a reflection on ethical issues regarding, first, trustworthiness as part of the integrity, quality and transparency that my study aims to achieve (Economic and Social Research Council, 2015) and, secondly, the measures concerning the regulatory contexts in which this research was conducted (British Educational Research Association, 2011).

#### 4.4.1 Trustworthiness

Silverman (2006), discussing qualitative research, and Alvesson (2002), discussing postmodernist research, underline the importance of taking research seriously. Avoiding the 'everything goes' image that qualitative social research is accused of, the research report should be able to achieve *trustworthiness*. For Alvesson (2002), *trustworthiness*, as a concept, is more appropriate for postmodernist research than are positivist words like 'validity' and 'reliability'. He argues that in less positivist research these terms are extremely problematic as they belong to different philosophical paradigms. Validity has been defined as "the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers" (Hammersley, 1990, p.57 in Silverman, 2006, p.289). Meanwhile, reliability can be understood as the degree to which different readers find similar meanings in the same categories (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009; Hammersley, 1992 in Silverman, 2006). Therefore, validation and reliability become "a matter of the

researcher's ability to continually check questions, and theoretically interpret the findings" (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009, p.170) with the aim of producing what can be considered valuable knowledge within a specific research practice/paradigm.

Silverman (2006) suggests more appropriate words like "persuasive and plausible, reasonable and convincing", emphasising the *transparency* of the research process by making "explicit the theoretical stance from which the interpretation takes place and showing how this produces particular interpretations and excludes others" (p.282). For instance, he suggests the use of *low-inference descriptors*, which can help to break down analysis under explicit theoretical points. The key factor is that persuasive, plausible, reasonable and convincing academic knowledge should be presented as transparently as possible, going beyond self-awareness (which is embedded in reflexivity). Therefore, certain procedures, during each of the stages of conducting research, should be carefully considered to warrant trustworthiness.

In order, therefore, to achieve trustworthiness in my study, special emphasis has been placed on the use of such *low-inference descriptors*. Strategies such as providing long extracts, indicating the origin of topics and making intertextuality explicit can be employed to make the analysis more transparent. In this way, the researcher demonstrates her ability to expose how the text has been constructed (Grbich, 2004). Different analytical tools have been employed as a strategy to maintain low-inference descriptors and these are presented in Chapter 5.

Trustworthiness can also be achieved through the careful choice of vocabulary when providing possible readings in the analysis (Alvesson, 2002). For instance, choosing less positivist words can help to minimise issues regarding triple representations – how to present the researcher, the participants and the 'others' in my study (Fine et al, 2002 cited in Alvesson, 2002). Additional reflections on the power relationship between researcher and participants have already been presented under postmodernist themes, and section 5.4.3 *Intertextuality and moral talks* in the next chapter contains a specific analysis of 'moral talks' during the interviews. External regulatory forces also imposed ethical considerations within the space, time and institutionalised research practice in which this study was conducted, and these are presented in the next section.

#### 4.4.2 The regulatory context

In this regard, I familiarised myself with the Code of Ethics for Educational Researchers proposed by the British Educational Research Association (2011; 2004) and the guidelines on the ethical approval procedures for Goldsmiths College (2008). In my research, all participants were:

- informed of the purpose of the research. The presentation of the topic was re-phrased with the intention of making it more functional. It was important for me to make it both easier to explain and simpler to understand (see brief in Appendix F).
- asked to complete a consent form. I designed a form that was read and explained prior to the commencement of the interview (see Appendix G).
- kept anonymous. The names of the children, parents, carers and professionals were deleted from the transcripts and were not used other than for the organisation of the raw data. Similarly, the names of places and institutions were not disclosed. Where necessary, the documents and transcripts were masked/altered. I have also kept anonymous the consultants' identities and the local authorities in which they worked.
- informed that all information pertaining to participants would remain the property of the researcher and would not be used for any purpose other than the execution of this study.

The points listed above do not represent a thorough consideration of the ethical issues that have been taken into account in this research; they merely summarise some of the significant ethical dilemmas that it seems necessary to make explicit in the context of the ethical regulations (BERA, 2011; 2004) and the research programme wherein this study is based (Goldsmiths College, 2008). Moral values are complex and permeate both professional and research practice and personal views (Brooks et al, 2014). For instance, I consider certain values, such as integrity, honesty and respect, to be of great importance. Each of these terms can be viewed as a complex construction within historical perspectives (Nietzsche, 1913) and the researcher's personal experiences and, as such, they require careful consideration when doing research (Grbich, 2004). In addition, I strongly believe that research's environmental footprint is equally important, including the choices taken to minimise energy consumption and the use of printed resources. Not all such moral values have been presented in this section; however, they were carefully considered when conducting this research and some of them are already embedded within the postmodernist perspective I have adopted and presented in this chapter.

#### *4.5 The researcher's position*

This chapter has so far covered three main topics. I began with an exploration of Alvesson's pomo-themes, in which I presented reflections on some of the postmodernist principles that influenced the methodological approach followed in this research (Grbich,

2004; Alvesson, 2002; Dickens and Fontana, 1994). The second part continued with an explicit account of the research options, in terms of both getting involved with the language practice under study and collecting and generating data in a specific time and space. The final part provided a reflection on ethical considerations. When addressing these three main topics, I have highlighted my personal and professional interest in the subject and how this played a significant role in my position as researcher.

I have also claimed that this study does not constitute an attempt to report on local realities but, rather, aims to interpret the complex intertwining of the ideologies and the formation of dispositions discursively constructed within a particular institutional practice. Realities and the representation of realities are also associated with post-structuralist philosophers such as Foucault and Derrida (Grbich, 2004; MacLure, 2003; Williams, 1999). Nevertheless, in the discussion presented in this chapter, I emphasise the research design and the construction of 'knowledge' from a postmodern social research approach (Grbich, 2004), in which it is assumed that the research is framed within (and restricted by) the specific political, social and historical space and time in which it was conducted (Alvesson, 2002) and that it cannot be generalised, universalised or validated, as each of these terms is highly problematised under postmodernist research.

What I do expect to achieve is *trustworthiness* and, to that end, ethical considerations have been taken into account during the whole process of doing research. My ethical considerations are reviewed in line with my personal and professional moralities. Rather than assuming a moral prejudice (Nietzsche, 1913), I advocate for further consideration of these moralities by exploring identity, power and positionality during the interviews (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014). Similarly, the role of the researcher when offering possible readings of texts (Grbich, 2004) has been discussed, arguing that by providing low-inference descriptors in the analysis, trackable breakdowns are offered in line with the theoretical and philosophical perspectives that guide this study.

The apparent misrecognition of other languages in the early years curriculum became evident during my initial experience as an early years professional in this country. Therefore, the scope of my research was gradually shaped by my professional and personal experiences of being a post-graduate research student and a newly arrived immigrant. The shift towards representations and discourses (covered under pomo-themes 1 and 4) was a significant factor in the selection of what constituted data to inform my research and in how the data should be analysed. Also, I developed an increased interest in the forces that institutions, for example the National Strategies, exercise at the local level (a discussion that can be framed within pomo-themes 2 and 3), which

appeared to undervalue the linguistic background my son brought to the early years setting he was attending.

In researching the topic of other languages in early years practice, my aim was to make sense of the 'ways of doing' and, at the same time, to embrace them in order to 'fit in' with my new working environments. The examination of the Every Child a Talker initiative, therefore, became a meaningful exploration of the problem of representations of other languages within the language practice employed when working with young children learning more than one language. Possible readings of language ideologies, the formation of dispositions and the pervasive exclusion of other languages in early language are topics that are presented. I do not aim to 'report on realities', but to focus on the 'discursive representation of realities' contained in the official guidelines (the macro level). In addition, two interviews, which were purposefully conducted (the local level), are analysed, recontextualising the dialectical relationship between macro and local discursive constructions of language practice in a specific time and space.

As a part-time study, this research suffered from a level of uncertainty as, with the inevitable changes of government, ECaT disappeared and re-appeared, displacing and questioning the significance of this language programme in the early years curriculum. At a different level, uncertainty was also experienced in the form of the institutionalised practices within which this research was established. Reay et al (2009) rightly highlight the failure of some HE institutions to renew and revitalise themselves to create spaces for non-traditional routes to (post-)graduate studies and how they are lacking regarding "combining academic excellence with a rich social diversity" (p.1116). My multidisciplinary ambition in bringing linguistics studies into (bilingual) early years education was hampered by research differences with what I perceived was a dominant fixed disciplinary approach. Grönqvist et al (2017) reports on the many challenges that multidisciplinary studies face, highlighting that the demands on coordination and communication, particularly for PhD students coming from different cultures, make the integration more complicated. The journey towards developing a research identity requires a "negotiation process [...] building trustworthiness that is unique to individuals and [the] context involved" (Scheffel, 2011, p.64). This negotiation is more vulnerable when institutional habituses in higher education set narrow boundaries around choices (Reay et al, 2001). In contrast to Kamler and Thompson's (2014, p.117) statement that there is "the opportunity for doctoral researchers to make their mark, to state their case, to stake a claim", my institutionalised research experience, as a PhD student, was more a struggle between identity-work and negotiating a researcher identity within multidisciplinary studies.

## Chapter 5 – The application of critical discourse analysis to my study

### *5.1 Introduction*

This chapter starts with an introduction to the critical study of language, mainly known as critical discourse analysis (CDA), explaining the significance of this approach in the analysis of language practices discursively constructed around the ECaT initiative. I argue that in order to provide a systematic understanding of ECaT as a language practice, interpreting the possible influence of this initiative on the formation of dispositions towards languages, a gradual and multi-layered analytic approach is required. Subsequently, I present a detailed account of the different levels of analysis and analytical strategies that were used, depending on the nature of the data, to gradually construct possible readings of language ideologies and of the formation of dispositions towards language/s. The final part of this chapter moves on to the subject of interviews, reflecting upon intertextuality and on the analytical steps required when using interviews to study social practice. The presentation is organised around ‘moral talks’ as co-constructions of professional identities, situating them as local-accomplished social events (Alvesson, 2002).

### *5.2 Critical discourse analysis*

The relationship between the philosophical and methodological perspectives in the study of discourses is well-explored by MacLure (2003) and Williams (1999), who acknowledge the contribution of French discourse analysis and post-structuralism. Foucault is considered to be of great influence in his questioning of the historical political construction of truth and the representations of realities (Williams, 1999). Similarly, Derrida’s work has influenced the deconstruction of binary oppositions that characterised Western knowledge (MacLure, 2003). In fact, the origins of the methods of critical discourse analysis are multidisciplinary and critical discourse analysis (CDA) has been claimed as a recent phenomenon (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). The centrality of *language* in the construction of realities that is argued in this study positions CDA as a fit-for-purpose research method. CDA enables an understanding of the meaning of *language* beyond the here and now (Alvesson, 2002), facilitating the operationalisation of multi-layered analytic tools that are necessary to provide a systematic approach to ‘text’ (Fairclough, 2010; Wodak, 2009; Grbich, 2004).

CDA enables me to provide plausible readings of the power and domination that are inherent in discursive practices (MacLure, 2003), by considering the complex socio-

political-cultural features that regulate social interactions (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) and emphasising the relationship between dialogue, contestation and dominance within discourses (Fairclough, 2010). According to MacLure (2003), CDA stresses “the social and institutional dimensions of discourse, and attempts to relate these to the textual fabric of everyday life” (p.186). The discursive constructions around Every Child a Talker (ECaT) in a specific time and space are examined to interpret the representations of language practice and the position given to language/s in this practice. Hence, CDA is employed in my study with the purpose of investigating the language ideologies and their possible influence on the formation of dispositions towards language/s.

The advantage of using CDA is the comprehensive account of the analytical process that can be pursued, “marrying discourses with the technical sophistication of linguistic analysis” (MacLure, 2003, p.186). Nevertheless, a starting point when using CDA is to recognise that a great variety of methods can be applied (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). This is because studies that use CDA do not “share the same linguistic paradigm” (MacLure, 2003, p.186), and because of the great diversity of linguistic forms, categories and processes that “subsumes [...] into a broader account of discursive process” (Hodge and Kress, 1993, p.159). Therefore, when using CDA it is of paramount importance to give a clear account of the analytical tools employed and to provide retroductable (trackable) analysis as a self-reflective presentation of the analytical process (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

The analysis of dominant discourses moves beyond the local interaction boundaries, taking into account socio-cultural features that are normally hidden under ‘common-sense’ perspectives (Fairclough, 2010). In my research, the construction of realities around ECaT was mainly gathered within two types of text. One is the written form presented in the guidance and the set of documents that were published under ECaT, along with those that were collected during the interviews (presented in Chapter 4, section 4.3.2.1 *ECaT documents and other relevant resources*). The other type of text is the interviews with two of the consultants who were in charge of implementing this initiative (presented in section 4.3.3.2 *Interviewing*). Both the documents and the interviews articulate ideological representations within specific discursive constructions of practice (Fairclough, 2010). In this way, possible readings of the dialectical relation between dominant and local discourses can be provided (Fairclough, 2009), tracing power struggles, legitimations of specific ideologies and the presence or absence of resistant discourses (Fairclough, 2010; 2009; Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Blackledge, 2002; de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999).

In the following section, I expand further on the application of multiple layers of analysis by combining a set of analytical tools. I define the tools that were applied to both trace ideological forms and processes (Hodge and Kress, 1993) and recontextualise specific language practices (van Leeuwen, 2008) for the documents and interviews.

### *5.3 Multiple layers of analysis and different analytical tools*

This section argues the importance of employing a variety of analytical tools. As stated by MacLure (2003), the same linguistic paradigm is not shared by all CDA users and a great variety of tools can be used at different levels of analysis (Wodak, 2007). Many reasons have been presented to justify a multi-layered/-tool approach. Some of these are: the interdisciplinary nature of the studies that use CDA (Wodak, 2007); the great complexity of ideological formation and its articulation in different types of text (Fairclough, 2010); the connection between discourses within specific local-situated social practices (Blackledge, 2002; Alvesson, 2002); the multiple factors that need to be considered when analysing social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008); and the symbolic and complex nature of the representation of habitus and the discursive construction of practice (Blommaert, 2015). All of these entail the use of a set of procedures and stages to analyse social realities.

In addition to these arguments, other practical examples of the importance of applying multiple tools are presented by Sentis (1998; 1997) and Rojas-Bustos (2001). Sentis, focusing on the use of presuppositions in conversations, differentiates between studies that focus on the influence of the use of specific utterances in a particular context (contextual-grammar dimension) and those that focus on the analysis of the processes of effective communication and the intentions that speakers and listeners display during conversations (communicative-rhetoric dimension). Applying these two dimensions, both Sentis and I (Rojas-Bustos, 2001) found a strong correlation between particular grammatical structures (contextual-grammar dimension) in specific situations (communicative-rhetoric dimension). The relation between the two dimensions of analysis supported the conclusion that the child being studied (Rojas-Bustos, 2001) demonstrated a great awareness of his speakers and elaborated more/less complex grammatical structures depending on how much collaboration was required from him. The outcomes of this research were possible only because of the application of different tools at different levels of analysis.

In the context of the above discussion, I present two arguments to justify a multi-layered approach to analysis. The first argument is that, given the symbolic and complex nature of the representation of social practice under study, it is not possible to assume a direct

relationship between ideologies and dispositions, since gradual and tentative readings can help to de-construct and re-construct the multiple factors that constituted the ECaT language practice. The second argument relates to the dialectical relationship between macro and local discourses that my study intends to present. Two types of text were collected and analysed for this purpose: the ECaT documents and resources that represent the official macro discourses, and the two interviews with the consultants, which are taken as two local accounts generated purposefully to talk about the implementation of the initiative. Therefore, from a linguistic perspective, different analytical tools are required to establish a correlation between the different texts constructed discursively within specific practices. Consequently, a multi-layered analysis can offer low-inference descriptors with retroductable analysis, which means that sufficient information is presented to track and deduce the analytical steps undertaken by the researcher (Wodak and Meyer, 2009). Thus, the analysis applied in my study includes a number of stages of analysis, involving different analytical tools that offer gradual examinations of discursive constructions of language practice to interpret ideologies and the formation of dispositions towards language/s in the early years.

Although strongly influenced by Fairclough's (2010; 2009) methodological standpoint, I have also explored a wide range of different discourse, linguistic and conversational analytical tools. Three levels of analysis were applied to provide a trackable (retroductable, using Wodak's and Meyer's term) breakdown of the discursive construction of practice in the two types of text reported in this research, and these are described in the following sections.

### 5.3.1 Level 1 – Topic patterns and topic trajectories

Focusing on 'what was said' about the ECaT initiative, the first level of analysis concentrates on utterances and occurrences (frequency and place) of specific words and topics (Cameron and Panović, 2014). In this way, it is possible to trace linguistic patterns that can be useful in comparing and analysing these patterns in different discursive constructions of practice. For example, in my study, the ideological orientations constructed around English and the diversity of other languages that young children bring into early years education can be seen in the lexicalisation of 'other languages'. Therefore, 'what was said', about the 'other languages' and 'where and when it was said' (and where and when it was omitted), according to the language practice advocated in the ECaT resources, are important features for analysis.

The documents and resources, as written texts, were tracked, identifying patterns such as frequency, the context of use and the relationship with other items (Cameron and

Panović, 2014). By contrast, *topic trajectories* was used for the interviews, tracing how the topics were elaborated, maintained, shifted and shadowed (implicitly developed within other topics) by both interlocutors (Rapley, 2001).

The main reason for using these analytical tools was to examine interactions around specific utterances, silences and unfinished statements and to provide possible readings of conflict between what was said and what it was appropriate to say. In this way, the features of social practices identified by Bourdieu (1991; 1977), such as the mechanisms of censorship, valuable capitals and legitimised exchanges, were connected to the conversations and guidelines. An example of this analysis can be seen in Appendix J, which shows the topic trajectory around parents and was used to inform section 8.4 *Parents as beneficiaries*, in Chapter 8.

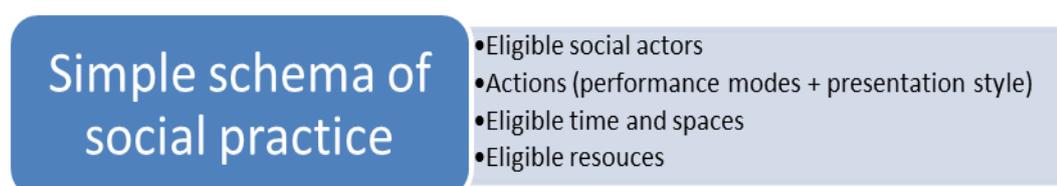
Similarly, topic elaboration was a useful tool to demonstrate intertextuality and how this was taken into account in the analysis of data and the readings generated from my analysis (further discussed in section 5.4.3 *Intertextuality and moral talks*, later in this chapter). In the following section, I present the next level of analysis in the gradual study of practice.

### 5.3.2 Level 2 – Representation of practice

The second level of analysis applies van Leeuwen's analytical model for the representation of practices. Van Leeuwen (2009; 2008) proposes, as a guide to text analysis, piecing "together a discourse and [...] [connecting] it to the practice from which it ultimately derives its meaning" (2009, p.145). Hence, the text generated under specific practices can be connected to the meanings that are given to make sense of the social practice under study.

Van Leeuwen presents what he calls a simple schema of social practice, which I summarise in the figure below.

Figure 5a: Summary of the Simple Schema of Social Practice (van Leeuwen, 2009; 2008)



The simple schema of social practice suggests that a specific *set of actions* are assigned to some *social actors* (or participants who are eligible to participate in the social practice). These actions are what they do (or should do) according to the role and *position* allocated to them. Van Leeuwen suggests that the actions carried out by the participants are also required to be *performed* in particular ways (performance modes) according to specific *presentation styles* (for example, dress code). Through this analysis, the forces and complexities of social practice that are exercised in the ECaT market are made explicit. For example, officialised actions (what should be done), legitimised spaces (where this should be done) and the eligible participants endorsed with authority, knowledge and experience (by whom it should be done) can be tracked in both the documents and the interviews.

One of the key elements of my analysis were the representations of the social actors (participants) that were tracked in the conversations with the consultants and the actions that were associated with them. During the interviews, the consultants represented 'themselves' and 'others' in different ways. For example, a significant proportion of both interviews was dedicated to talking about early years practitioners and what they should do (and should not do) and what they should know (but did not know) about language practice in early years settings (reported in Chapter 6, section 6.3 *Quality in the interviews* and Chapter 7, section 7.3 *The members of the ECaT market*).

### 5.3.3 Level 3 – Recontextualisation of practice

The final level of analysis reconstructs the information that was gathered at the previous levels within the specific social practices (Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2009). This is the process of recontextualisation, which considers the complexities and forces associated within the practice under study. From the analysis of social practice using the simple schema of practice, it is possible to move on to the recontextualisation of these practices, making evident the dialectical relationship between macro discourses and the possible influence of these discourses on the formation of ideologies and habitus (Fairclough, 2010). This analysis is based on the Simple Schema of Social Practice, tracking back the strategies used to legitimise or marginalise specific 'ways of doings' in both documents and interviews.

This level of analysis intends to provide possible and alternative readings ("semantic shifts") of the ways in which practice is produced, regulated and legitimised within specific discursive contexts (van Leeuwen, 2009). Recontextualisation implies the process of legitimising practice by assigning meaning such as *purpose* (rationalisation)

and *moral values* (moral evaluations) to the social practice (van Leeuwen, 2009), legitimising, in this way by whom and how this authority is exercised (Bourdieu, 1991).

At this level of analysis, I track similarities and differences between the official guidelines (macro level) and the talks about practices generated during the interviews (local level). For Fairclough (2010), the recontextualisation of discourses is an important part of discourse analytical research on organisational change, as the appropriation of external discourses “may lead to unpredictable transformations and outcomes” (p.369). Hence, re-contextualisation provides possible readings of the occurrences of similar discourses used to disseminate particular (external/internal) principles that are assumed within particular organisations (Fairclough, 2010). It is precisely this level of analysis that could help me to provide plausible readings of the factors that may influence the formation of dispositions towards language/s.

My emphasis is placed on the process of appropriation and appreciation of the macro discourses, identifying, whenever possible, the strategies of transformation of practice used by the members of the market (Bourdieu, 1991). Recontextualisation is the opposite of Pennycook’s (2010a) concept of re-localisation, in which the emphasis is placed on local transformations by agents. His perspective emphasises localities and the transformative role that locals exercise in specific spaces. By contrast, my study focuses on an examination of the ECaT documents and resources and the influence of these macro discourses on the formation of dispositions (rather than vice versa), with the aim of critically analysing the apparent invisibility of ‘other languages’ in early years that has been reported in previous studies and which I have witnessed in my own personal and professional experience.

The three levels of analysis presented so far account for the majority, but not all, of the analysis reported in this thesis. The other analytical tools that were used to provide specific breakdowns, hence facilitating the analysis of the data used to inform this study, will be signposted accordingly. In order to maintain a transparent analytical approach, each of the analytical tools and the levels of analysis used is identified in the following chapters. However, before moving on to report my analysis, I present an additional reflection upon the use of interviews in the study of social practices. This reflection is required, at this point, as part of the process of acknowledging the intertextuality generated during the interviews as social events.

## *5.4 Additional considerations when using interviews to critically analyse social practices*

Interviewing, according to Alvesson (2002), generates a complex social interaction between interviewer and interviewees that should be explicitly recognised. Interviews can only be valued as being:

contingent upon the specific situation [because they are] too local to be taken as reflections of how the interviewee thinks, feels, talks and acts in situations that are totally different from the interview situation (p.115).

However, it was only later that I realised the complexity of carrying out interviews (discussed by Silverman, 2006), as the interviewer plays a significant role in the outcomes of the interaction (Alvesson, 2002; Rapley, 2001). Therefore, a greater emphasis should be placed on how qualitative interviewing is understood and how the outcomes are used to support the researcher's claims (Alvesson, 2002). For instance, the analysis of the interviews requires a consideration of the (institutionalised) identities of the participants, as consultants, and of my own identities, not just as a researcher but also as a professional, new to this country and to the language, and as a mother of a child who speaks both English and another language.

CDA offers a broader perspective in the analysis of spoken discourses. Cameron (2001, p.145) establishes that "talk' is not just data, it is also discourses" that can provide additional insight into social research when using discourse analysis techniques. Although the relevance of using interviews to recontextualise the ECaT documents and resources was argued in the previous chapter (section 4.3.1 *The research space and time* and in section 4.3.3.2 *Interviewing*), in the following sections I outline the rigorous process undertaken in the analysis of the interviews. I start by presenting the preliminary steps undertaken to prepare the interviews for analysis. These steps are listening, transcribing and the initial recognition of linguistic patterns that were recognised in the interviews as social events. I then move on an analysis of the intertextuality generated between the participants and the researcher.

### **5.4.1 Preliminaries**

Silverman recommends that "all research reports must find a way of blending data extracts with research findings in order to claim credibility" (Silverman, 2006, p.276). He suggests the use of *low-inference descriptors*, so that data analysis is less dependent on the researcher's own inferences and is clearer for the reader. Therefore, clear strategies need to be adopted in order to make the outcomes of the interviews as transparent as possible. Based on Silverman's recommendations (presented below in italics), the following steps were taken:

- *Recording face-to-face interviews followed by careful transcription.* Both interviews were recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions were typed up in Word, using the simplified transcription symbols proposed by Silverman (2006, pp.398–399) which is presented in Appendix I.
- *Presenting long extracts of data, including the question that provoked the answer. The analysis should not be separated from the turn-by-turn talk and it should include both the interviewer and interviewee utterances.*
- *Ensuring that the data extracts are positioned within the local context from which they arose and establishing that the data selected is representative of the full event.* Interviews “are not reporting external events but producing situated accounts” (Alvesson, 2002, p.114). In this way, interviews are considered to be talks about practice (Rapley, 2001). The language in operation represents the expressions of the particular temporal position of participants (Bourdieu, 1991) during the interviews, which do not constitute the typical working environment (Bryman, 2008).

These steps facilitate the intertextual analysis that is required because of the interactive nature of interviews, in which both the researcher and the interviewees engage in co-constructing meaningful interactions (Alvesson and Ashcraft, 2012). This complex layering allows for a tacit presentation of data, including the researcher’s voice and her/his representation in the data (Grbich, 2004).

#### 5.4.2 Talking about ‘others’

An additional step was taken during the early stages of analysing the interviews. This involved tracking the pronouns used by the participants when talking about themselves and ‘the others’, using the tool applied by Baxter and Wallace (2009) when analysing the construction of identities by builders. I coded and tracked the use of ‘I’ (the consultant), ‘we’ (the consultant and others working as a part of a team) and ‘others’. For example, in Extract 5.1, it can be seen how C1 (‘I’ – line 169) talked about her ‘job’ in relation to ‘others’ jobs’ (‘they’ – line 171).

##### Extract 5.1: C1 – lines 167–171

167.	K	[( ) ] setting have their own [ information]?
168.	C1	[ no]
169.		I am collecting that information, this is part of my job to collect
170.		that but also it’s meant to be of use to the lead practitioner
171.		how they plan? and how the programme is going to work?

---

In this case, the pronoun ‘they’ represents the lead practitioners in the settings involved in the programme. A sample of the patterns that this analysis revealed are presented in Appendix K for the interview with C1 and Appendix L for that with C2. Each chart indicates a sample of the constructions of ‘others’ – in this case, parents, children and

practitioners – and provides an initial insight into how ‘others’ started to be represented in the conversation.

Although the purpose of this early analysis concerned institutionalised discourses and identifying the other agencies involved in this initiative, many other patterns/features appeared to emerge from this exercise. For example, the exercise reveals similarities and differences regarding topic elaboration between C1 and C2. Another example is that it helped to schematise the conversation about how parents were portrayed and about subtle distinctions between parents of monolingual children, parents of children learning more than one language and a broader category including all parents (reported in Chapter 8, section 8.4.2 *Representation of parents in the interviews*). It is precisely this early exercise that helped me to see that in different parts of the conversation I constructed myself as researcher and mentioned my experiences as a lecturer and a mother. Inevitably, the multiple constructions of myself had an impact on the outcomes of the interviews. It was this early analysis that revealed significant patterns that required further analysis. In the next sections, I explain other analytical strategies that were used to shed light on the possible readings provided by this research, and explore the intertextuality generated between participants and researcher.

### 5.4.3 Intertextuality and moral talks

With the decentring of the subject and the acceptance that both researcher and participants are multiply positioned and changing, and with knowledge, expertise and power located in fragmented bodies, how is participant information being treated? What does this mean when very personal information is shared? And what role does the reader have in all of this? (Grbich, 2004, p.80).

Although interviews are a valuable method of enquiry, the extension of the outcomes must be recognised and delimited by the “temporarily and spatially contingent” nature of these social events (Jäger and Maier, 2009). Hence, interviews are positioned as local-accomplished social events (Alvesson, 2002), during which the researcher and the participants co-negotiate individual and institutionalised identities (Fairclough, 2010). Therefore, the interview outcomes (what was said) are a result of an intertextual lineage that recognises that text is not treated in isolation but within the local context in which it is generated (Cameron and Panović, 2014) and is partially assembled in conversations around the ECaT initiative. Thus, these interviews are positioned as social events in which fragmented identities were co-constructed in a specific time and space with a particular purpose (an issue mainly discussed under Pomo-theme 5 – *Fragmented identities*).

When planning the interviews, I was particularly conscious of ethical practices. Avoiding deception and building up trust are factors that research interviews should consider

(Cameron and Panović, 2014; Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014; Jones 1985). Retrospectively, and only after the interviews were conducted, I realised that this assumption suggests an uncriticised moral standpoint of “goodwill” (Nietzsche, 1913). This pretentious objectivity evidences a romantic approach that only denies the conditions that research interviews per se generate (Alvesson, 2002). Also retrospectively, I realised that my ‘moral principles’ could permeate the outcomes of the interviews.

Challenging my own assumptions about being an objective researcher has been a significant learning experience, especially when my participation in the process of generating data became evident during the analysis of the interviews. It appears that my initial uncriticised moral standpoint was responsible, to some extent, for the multiple identities that were generated during the interviews. It is for that reason that this analysis has been organised around *moral talks*, based on the discussions presented by Nietzsche (1913), Geoffrey (1982), Rapley (2001) and van Leeuwen (2009).

Moral talks during interviews were studied by Geoffrey (1982). He found that, when interviewing parents of congenitally ill children, the respondents displayed themselves as morally adequate parents. This was expressed in terms of what ‘good’ parents should do and in talking about what they had done to demonstrate they were ‘good’ parents. Similar features were also explored by Rapley (2001), in identifying that his interviewees developed a moral talk about the use-or-non-use of drugs, positioning them within this practice. Van Leeuwen (2009, p.151) described ‘moral evaluations’ as a process of legitimation “which serves to highlight qualities of the actions that carry positive connotations”.

The analysis of moral talks focuses on the identification of specific features during the talks, such as utterances, silences and unfinished statements, that could indicate a conflict between what is said and what it is appropriate to say (Rapley, 2001; Geoffrey, 1982), and when looking at the interviews with the consultants, I found similar patterns. For example, the extract below (Extract 5.2: C1 – lines 774–785) shows an unfinished statement that can be interpreted as if there was something that could not be said. In Line 781 “my” is followed by a colon to register that the last sound was elongated. Rather than continuing the sentence, the interviewee left the statement incomplete and opted for providing the token response, “you know”. In this way, what comes next is not said but it is implied that there is common knowledge between interlocutors about what was not said/could not be said.

Extract 5.2: C1 – lines 774–785

774	K	Thank you for answer, I don’t know if you would like to add
775		something more or you want to say something that I haven’t asked

776	C1	Ahm: no I don't think so
777	K	No?
778	C1	Ah, obviously I don't think
779	38:30	I did say any names and places
780	K	yes and I won't mention that
781	C1	so:
782	K	yes, I will take them
783	C1	yeah, I don't think so I don't think I've said anything, you know, that would
784		be detrimental to my:, you know [I am worry about that]
785	K	[mmm] Ok, well thank you
786		((voice recorder was switched off))

---

The types of conflict evidenced in lines 779 and 780 were a recurrent feature during the interviews. It appears that the participants' moral talks were framed around being 'adequate', according to the distinctive mark of consultants they possessed, which could be an indication of their applying mechanisms of censorship to maintain their institutionalised role (Bourdieu, 1991).

My argument is that the analysis framed around moral talks makes visible that which would, otherwise, be invisible (Fairclough, 2010), by examining my voice – as researcher, interviewer and someone with a personal interest in the subject of 'other languages' – and the voices of the participants during the interviews. The following section, 5.4.3.1 *The co-construction of moral talks*, reports on the tensions observed between the participants during the conversations, pointing out the variance in topic elaboration, which can be interpreted as part of the negotiation of voices and identities during the interviews.

Section 5.4.3.2 *Morally adequate interviewees*, then continues with a further exploration of the apparent conflicts between what could and could not be said, focusing on the mechanisms of censorship used to monitor the adequacy of the interactions generated during the interviews. A number of specific examples are presented, with the intention of making explicit and tracing the readings derived from the analysis of the corpus (Wodak, 2007). I argue that the distinctive position of the interviewees, as consultants, led them to self-monitor 'adequacy', suggesting that topic elaboration evidences how the interviews were framed within the institutionalised role they occupied in this initiative.

#### **5.4.3.1 The co-construction of moral talks**

The intertextualities generated in the interviews are explored by paying special attention to the co-construction and negotiation of identities and the struggle of the voices within the dialogues that took part during these interactions (Grbich, 2004). For instance, it appears that the ethical values I adopted as a researcher influenced some of the responses. This (initially) uncriticised moral standpoint generated multiple presentations of myself (Alvesson, 2002): as a researcher, as a lecturer on the subject of learning

languages in multilingual contexts, and as a mother of a bilingual child. My analysis is organised around moral talks, and argues that both interviewer and interviewees self-regulate their interactions, with the aim of maintaining a certain level of ‘adequacy’, according to the role they assume in the social event (Geoffrey, 1982; Rapley, 2001).

The extract below shows part of my introduction during the interview with the second consultant (C2). In this extract, I talk about why it is important for me to know more about this subject.

Extract 5.3: C2 – lines 22–39

22.		K	So, then I thought well this is a very interesting research area and and I
23.			start to look at that. (.) I am also working as a lecturer, in ((name of institution)),
24.			and we have a module about language and literacy
25.			in multilingual contexts. so I thought well also I I get some sort of feedback
26.			when I’m doing (.) when I’m teaching eh: and also I’ve got a little one,
27.	01:30		Alexander, who is ahm five years old and he: (.) because my
28.			husband is English (.) he’s: bilingual too. So he speaks Spanish and he learnt,
29.			and in, a lot of learning I’ve seen on him and how he’s learning
30.			and (his language) development and I’ve been keeping reports on that
31.		C2	mhm
32.		K	So:, am: this is how I become interested in this subject and this is why I am
33.			interested to do this research ahm. I I I feel that I need to know more about
34.			what happen within multilingual contexts, ahm.
35.	02:00		I don’t feel I I know everything; so: This is why I think ahm I mean,
36.			I focus my interest on what is around, on what what is happening
37.			I have done already one interview with another person having (.) I think
38.			the similar position that you have, as a ECaT coordinator in oth in
39.			other borough

---

With the aim of adopting an ethically appropriate research practice, this introduction sets out the reasons that motivated my study; however, it also provides multiple-identities. The first, as a lecturer, is presented in line 23, with my interest in gaining knowledge that I can use in that role. This is followed by my experience as a mother of a bilingual child (lines 26–30). In line 33, I re-emphasised that: “I need to know more about what happen within multilingual contexts”. The third identity, as a PhD researcher, was used to gain access to the participants; this was the means by which the interviews were requested.

In summary, the presentation of myself was elaborated around:

- PhD researcher, interested in the topic of young children learning languages
- Lecturer, teaching early language learning
- Mother of a young child learning more than one language.

Whereas the first two of these portrayed a certain level of knowledge about and expertise in early years language practice, the third made me ‘a user’ of the early years services and ‘a parent’ according to the ECaT initiative. For instance, in both interviews, I

commented on being surprised that the parents' questionnaire, which I received from my son's setting, did not include questions about young bilingual children. It is evident that these distinctive interests in the ECaT initiative influenced the outcome of both interviews. A clear illustration of this can be seen in the example below, from the interview with the first consultant (C1), where the statement about the 'quality' of the setting my son was attending is unfinished (line 419).

Extract 5.4: C1 – lines 410–425\*

- 410 C1 *[I think I think ]*  
411 that, you know, the level three can be done in six months, if you're in a setting.  
412 If you are in a setting where the practice is not very good  
413 K Mhm  
414 C1 I am sure **you** know this  
415 K Mhm  
416 C1 that that they are not going to be learning about what good practice is  
417 K Mhm  
418 C1 you know, like your son's (.) school, you know,  
419 where the quality to the interaction with the children  
420 K Ya  
421 C1 you know, so I think, I think that a lot of shortcut  
422 and people aren't getting the information  
423 about how, you know, they're not, with the older training with the  
424 NNEB they have to go off and there's this two year course, they have to  
425 go off and observe just the thinking of the children

---

\*This answer is part of the topic elaboration generated after my questions regarding training in language development (lines 384–87)

In lines 412 and 414, the interviewee appealed to my knowledge, as a lecturer, about the training for early years practitioners (based on building up portfolios): “if you are in a setting where the practice is not very good” (line 412) “I am sure you know this”. Then she used “they” (line 416) to refer to the early years practitioners' learning. In the next statement, she mentioned my 'son's school' as an example of not good practice. A pause (line 418) is followed by an unfinished sentence about “the quality to the interaction with children” (line 419). She probably found it problematic to explicitly say that my son was attending one of the 20 selected settings, perhaps because this could imply that my son is (and/or his pre-school classmates are) scoring below the level expected and/or the 'quality' of the setting is not good. Whereas a certain level of reciprocity was established in line 142, it appears that the subsequent observation of 'mother-identity' shifted the negotiation of meaning and power (Scheffel, 2011), challenging the progression of the conversation and manifesting itself in an incomplete statement. This conflict appears to be engendered by the multiplicity of my identities (Scheffel, 2011) and the institutionalised status endowed under ECaT, where appreciations of the position of the members of the market are crucial in order to “play the game” (Bourdieu, 1991).

The same feature was identified in the interview with the second consultant (C2). In the extract below, it can be seen that my identity as a mother was used to elaborate the topics that she was talking about.

Extract 5.5: C2 – lines 934–956\*

934	47:00	C2	so, the additional information I give to bilingual parents
935			is <u>how</u> important it is for them to keep the home language
936			and I, <u>at home</u>
937		K	mhm
938		C2	as well as the child learning English, in the setting
939		K	mhm
940		C2	how important it is and what's their role, you know, how important their
941			role is (.)
942		K	mhm
943		C2	in (..) reading (..) stories or <u>telling</u> . just <u>telling</u> stories in their home
944	47:30		language, carrying on, for that child. And also the fact that
945	→		you've got (..) a bilingual son, and you know that often bilingual
946			children speak slightly later,
947		K	mhm
948		C2	because they've got twice as
949			many words to learn, but also telling them (..) not to worry
950			about that, but also (..) not worry about the children being confused
951		K	mhm
952		C2	about the language
953			so, the additional information is pure, is more in reassuring them that they
954			are not doing anything wrong, on the contrary
955		K	mhm
956	48:00	C2	that they are doing a lot of: (..) things that are right for that child

\* This topic was elaborated from my question (topic 3) about the parents' questionnaire: Do you think that we [parents] need some different information? (lines 919–24)

C2 appealed to my knowledge as a mother to assert that “often bilingual children speak slightly later, because they’ve got twice as many words to learn [..]” (lines 945–46 and 948–49). In this case, she is directly answering my question about what we-parents need as additional information. “The fact that you’ve got a bilingual son” (line 945) could be interpreted as a request to agree with her opinion about language development for children learning more than one language, which requires that bilingual parents are reassured about maintaining the home language. Another possibility is suggested by Baxter and Wallace (2009). They claim that speakers can try to build up ‘collaborative talk’ by looking for the interlocutor’s agreement and/or empathy regarding the topic presented, and my own experience could support this claim.

These specific examples have been selected to demonstrate the intertextualities during the interviews. I have stated that an initially unproblematised ‘researcher’s moral code’ framed my own personal perspective on what could/should be said and done during interviews, which I interpreted as moral talks (analysed by Geoffrey, 1982 and Rapley,

2001). The multiple presentations of myself influenced different responses from the consultants, demonstrating that “both speakers’ part in the talk is essential to how [the interview] comes off” (Rapley, 2001, p.43; also discussed in Silverman, 2006). The researcher’s multiple identities played a significant part in the interview events (Scheffel, 2011), but both consultants maintained the institutionalised relation of the power, status and resources that were endowed to them (Bourdieu, 1991). Whereas a certain level of professional expertise in terms of language practice appears to have been accepted and shared between interlocutors, showing certain level of reciprocity in negotiating power and meanings (Scheffel, 2011), being a mother also became significant in the elaboration and restriction of topics around language practice.

This presentation has a twofold aim. First, it intends to make visible my role in the interviews, situating this method of enquiry within the specific time and space in which it was generated (Alvesson, 2002). The examples show that both interlocutors used strategies to reinforce or reformulate particular ideas (Bloor and Bloor, 2007), in response to my questions (Grbich, 2004). Albeit unintentionally, the interviewer played a significant role in the outcome of these interviews, within which my multiple identities permeated and regulated the events (Scheffel, 2011). For instance, being a mother, and therefore a user, restricted the utterance of statements that could disclose the quality of provision in the setting my son was attending. Responding to the multiple dimensions of myself appeared, at some points in the interview, to be problematic, and shaped the responses that were gathered. The second part of the aim relates to an examination of the position of the institutionalised role of the consultants, as key members of ECaT (Bourdieu, 1991), during the interview-event. Habitus provides individuals with a sense of how to respond in specific contexts (Bourdieu, 1991) and it is possible to track this in the conversations with the consultants. This is further explored in both the next section and the subsequent chapters, where I continue my exploration of the intertextuality generated during the interviews. However, this time I focus my attention on the interviewees’ moral talks by exploring the use of mechanisms to censor the ‘adequacy’ of their responses (Bourdieu, 1991).

#### **5.4.3.2 Morally adequate interviewees**

The analysis presented in this section provides a further examination of the intertextuality generated between speakers during the interview events. Although special attention is paid to the conversational features that have been interpreted as tensions between ‘what is said’ and ‘what should be said’ during interviews, this analysis also contributes to an appreciation of the construction of identities within institutionalised frameworks (Scheffel, 2011; Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2009), with the use of mechanisms of censorship

ensuring ‘adequacy’ within the role and status that the members of the market hold (Bourdieu, 1991). Through the analysis presented in this section, I argue that it is possible to track the particular distinctive mark (Bourdieu, 1991) that was given to the consultants by exploring the mechanisms of censorship used to ensure adequacy as both interviewees and consultants (ibid). Bourdieu (1991, p.240) states:

The professional name granted to agents, the title they are given, is one of the positive or negative retributions [...], in so far as it is a *distinctive mark* (emblem or stigma) which takes its *value* from its position in a hierarchically organised system of titles, and which thereby contributes to the determination of the relative positions between agents and groups (italics from the original).

The acceptance of the distinctive mark implies submission to the norms, generating a practical sense of acceptability (ibid). Following on from my arguments around moral talks, this analysis focuses on exploring the mechanisms of censorship that were employed by the interviewees, as a system of monitoring oneself to make oneself acceptable in the market (Bourdieu, 1991). Van Leeuwen (2009) explains that moral evaluations can be identified in the discursive construction of practice, legitimising specific performances (ways of doing) and monitoring ‘adequacy’ when sharing information about the initiative that framed their work. The examples below are presented with the aim of lending support to my arguments around moral talks and the mechanisms of censorship that appeared to be used during the interviews.

#### **5.4.3.2.a C1 and the mechanism of censorship**

In many parts of my interview with her, the first consultant appeared to self-verify what was appropriate to share with me. According to Bourdieu (1991), habitus provides a practical sense of what is appropriate in specific circumstances. Bourdieu stated that individuals use *mechanisms of censorship* in order to be effective with regards to the demands within specific markets. In my analysis, it seems that C1 categorised certain topics as sensitive. For example, in the extract below she ‘checked’ that naming settings (such as that of my son) and passing on ‘certain’ information was done ‘appropriately’.

#### Extract 5.6: C1 – lines 216–226\*

216	C1	ahm and I don't have a problem in giving you a questionnaire,
217		but I don't really know if I. ahm you know, I'd have to check that one out
218	K	Ok ((laughing)) this is fine. It it is just, I was, because, I mean,
219		I just 'cause I've got this new. I didn't know if you were using
220		something (.) different
221	C1	yes we are
222	K	Ouh, If you can just show me [ ( one)]
223	C1	yes, is one that come from Strategy
224		( ) and I can show it. I just don't know about letting you take it
225		I can (.) I have to check that
226	K	Don't worry, don't worry about. if you can just show me, it will be fine
226	C1	((left the room looking for the document))

---

\*Topic elaborated around my question about questions in the practitioners' questionnaire to audit practitioners' understanding on multilingual issues (K: line 181)

In line 217, "I have to check that" appears as a conflict regarding giving me the questionnaire. The 'restriction' on what could be said/shared indicates that there is something (an entity) that controls and regulates her actions as consultant. She verbalised some concerns about gaining permission, presumably from higher authorities. In the same way, this conversation finished by C1 checking whether something she said "would be detrimental" (line 784).

Extract 5.7: C1 – lines 774–786\*

774	K	Thank you for answer, I don't know if you would like to add
775		something more or you want to say something that I haven't asked
776	C1	Ahm: no I don't think so
777	K	No?
778	C1	Ah, obviously I don't think
779	38:30	I did say any names and places
780	K	yes and I won't mention that
781	C1	so:
782	K	yes, I will take them
783	C1	yeah, I don't think so I don't think I've said anything, you know, that would
784	→	be detrimental to my:, you know [I am worried about that]
785	K	[mmm] Ok, well thank you
786		((voice recorder was switched off))

---

\* Topic elaborated from my question line 774

Names and places seemed problematic for C1 (line 779). Censorship is exercised with the intention of checking that nothing detrimental (line 784) was said and recorded during the interviews. Bourdieu (1977) maintains that individuals apply mechanisms of censorship as a part of the struggle to maintain/obtain an *honourable representation of their condition*. The following extract is another example.

Extract 5.8: C1 lines 531–542\*

531	C1	ahm, I personally don't think, you know, and it's on
532	29:00	my list of (attached) to do, ahm <u>personally</u> I don't think,
533		it will be left out
534	K	Mm
535	C1	because I think (.)
536	K	Mhm
537	C1	it's it's crucial. and the fact is that is in the file.
538	K	Mhm
539	C1	you know, is, because I can pick up what I want and (request) the
540		question.
541	K	((small laugh))
542	C1	so (...)

---

\* Topic elaborated from my question about the lack of questions about multilingual issues in the auditing tools

In line 539, "I can pick up what I want" because it is crucial (line 537) suggests that C1 has been granted certain freedoms and the power to choose further actions. The tension

between statements such as the restriction of ‘having to check’ (presented in the first extract) and the freedom to ‘pick up’ (presented in the second extract) confirms C1’s participation as being endowed with a distinctive mark – as consultant – in the ECaT market. I interpret these tensions as being a close bond within the institutionalised practice under ECaT and her moral talks framed within them.

#### **5.4.3.2.b C2 and the mechanism of censorship**

It was also possible to track mechanisms of censorship during the analysis of the interview with C2. An example of the use of such mechanisms is C2’s requesting to delete two sections of the interview (these are lines 857–865 and 904–909, which have been masked). This request indicates the constraints on her talk within her institutionalised role. This is a significant feature for Fairclough (2010), as he suggests that institutions impose ideological and discursive constraints, which conditions actions. There is a tension between C2’s professional view and the role given to her by the National Strategy, and another example of this is suggested in the extract below.

#### Extract 5.9: C2 – lines 138–147\*

138	C2	so for me it was (.) pointless to in yet another programme in maintained
139		settings where there were already (.) a programme taking place
140		so I wanted to work with the private and voluntary sector (.) in
141		early years, so I identified the feeder settings for the schools
142		and then out of these feeder settings we selected some.
143	08:30	Because some schools had (.) said. ahm The children are coming from
144		probably fifteen different settings, so we couldn’t take all the settings on
145		board
146	K	mhm
147	C2	so we selected some settings ahm 20 to start with.

\*This answer is part of the first topic I initiated (from line 117) requesting an overview of the implementation of ECaT in the borough.

Line 140 reveals the focus *on the private and voluntary sector* for the selection of the 20 settings (this was expected during Wave 1, according to the ECaT guidelines). C2’s changes are justified in lines 138 and 139: “it was pointless [as] another programme [was] taking place for the maintained settings”. The changes she introduced transform ‘pointless’ into (possible) ‘meaningful’ actions. According to my analysis, this utterance illustrates what van Leeuwen (2009) called ‘moral evaluation’ being used to legitimise actions. Deviation from the guidelines needs to be justified, which C2 does, by reinforcing her domain over, and experiences in, the particular borough.

Another significant feature in the interview with C2 is the high frequency of her use of the first person (both singular and plural) to talk about the implementation of the ECaT programme in the borough where she works. For example, when I formulated my first question, C2 referred to her personal input. She used statements such as “I was already in place [..]” (line 125) and “I started by identifying, according to what the National Strategy wanted”

(line 130). These types of account emphasise her actions (what she did, rather than merely stating what the initiative was about), but also indicate what was expected from her. These constructions suggest a greater ownership of the role assigned to her and of what was expected, in comparison with the linguistic preferences of C1, who opted for the third person, referring to the National Strategy as a key agent in her narrative. Baxter and Wallace (2009) suggest that pronominal use such as 'I' and 'it' can reaffirm the speaker's affiliation with specific groups, in this case to indicate the speaker, 'I', and the dis/attachment from 'it' (the National Strategy programme).

The possibility of transforming practice is part of "the creative yet limited capacity for improvisation" (Mills, 2008, p.81) that individuals acquire depending on the position they occupy in a specific market (Bourdieu, 1977). As a result, C2's position – as consultant – in this market is based on the moral evaluation of 'making sense' of what was 'pointless'. In the following chapters, I revisit the concept of transforming practices and the extent to which changes to the market could have been introduced in the ECaT practice. For now, my analysis illustrates that although the interview with C2 shows different patterns in the construction of self and others in comparison with the interview with C1, both talks evidence the use of mechanisms of censorship. I have argued that 'adequacy' was monitored, showing a certain level of tension between the self and the role adopted under an institutionalised practice.

### *5.5 Summary*

I started this chapter by outlining the importance of critical discourse analysis as a method for exploring the complexities of the social practice and the data used in my study. I have explained the use of multiple analytical tools when looking at the discursive construction of practice in both documents and interviews, for which I proposed a breakdown of the analytical strategies into three levels of analysis. My claim is that each level can make the analytical process explicit, providing low-inference descriptors (Silverman, 2006) and a retroductable analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) in order to achieve trustworthiness. In this way, I aim to provide a systematic and transparent analysis of the data selected to inform this thesis.

The second part of this chapter has been dedicated to a discussion of intertextuality. The intertextuality of the interviews has been made explicit by presenting an analysis of the interviews as local-accomplished moral talks, acknowledging the local context in which the discursive constructions of practice were co-generated. Despite the constraints involved in the use of interviews from a postmodernist standpoint (Alvesson, 2002), their value is shifted towards a more in-depth and critical analysis (Grbich, 2004) (addressing

some of the postmodernist themes that influenced my research, which are discussed in the previous chapter).

The analysis of the moral talks provided an initial deconstruction of the interviews, situating them as local-accomplished collaborative interactions (Grbich, 2004; MacLure, 2003; Alvesson, 2002), wherein both interviewer and interviewees engaged in institutionalised interactions interwoven with a range of complex social features (Bourdieu, 1991).

Intertextuality has been made explicit when discussing the three distinct 'identities' associated with the interviewer that appear to influence the conversations with C1 and C2. The struggle between the voices of the interviewer and the participants was examined by way of specific examples, showing that different topics were elaborated and/or restricted depending on whether the interviewee was responding to the interviewer as a researcher, a lecturer or a mother. Similarly, the analysis of the mechanisms of censorship used by the consultants is evidence of a process of monitoring 'adequacy'. In this way, the participants attempted to "coincide with the exigencies inscribed in those positions" (Bourdieu, 1991, p.84). My analysis suggests that, whereas my voice was presented through the use of multiple identities in different parts of the interviews, the participants' voices were framed by institutionalised moral talks.

Intertextuality is made explicit, for example, when analysing *topic trajectories* to situate each topic in the dynamic flow of the conversations with the consultants, and my questions about the implementation of ECaT and the apparent invisibility of other languages in the auditing tools. I suggest that the critical standpoint in my study is gained by adopting critical discourse analysis and employing a set of analytical tools, where the possible readings of the discursive constructions of practice are also restricted by my own involvement in the research process.

The organisation of the analysis reported in this study is presented next.

## Part II

### Discursive construction of ECaT language practice

The following chapters present the analysis of the discursive constructions of ECaT language practice that were generated in a specific space and time, offering plausible interpretations of the influence of ECaT ideologies on the formation of dispositions towards languages. The analysis pays special attention to the institutional matrices from which the data have emerged, with the aim of encapsulating the ways of doing, seeing and thinking that facilitated and constrained the actions of the members of the market (Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2009; Hodge and Kress, 1993; Bourdieu, 1991; 1977). In my study, these ways are discursive constructions around language practice in early years within a particular institutionalised practice (Grenfell, 2012). Thus, a number of analytical tools were employed to provide a comprehensive discussion of the possible role of institutions in the formation of ideologies. In the literature review, the connections between habitus, ideologies and the representation of common-sense practice were discussed by applying both Bourdieu's and Fairclough's theoretical perspectives. Similarly, the previous chapter described the strategies that were applied in the analysis of discursive constructions of institutionalised practices.

Fairclough (2010) suggests that a systematic understanding of the functioning of discourses in institutions requires a process of deconstructing and de-naturalising what has been taken as normal/common-sense practice, examining, with a critical gaze, the frame of actions that regulate specific social practices and provide possible readings of the discursive construction of perceived realities. Fairclough suggests that in order to achieve a feasible analysis of institutionalised discourses, the researcher should consider:

- a) a sociological account of the institution under study, its relationship to other institutions in the social formation, and relationship between forces within it; b) an account of the 'order of discourse' of the institution, of its IDFs [ideological discourse formations] and the dominance relationships among them, with links between (a) and (b); c) an ethnographic account of each IDF (Fairclough, 2010, p.51).

It is on the basis of precisely these points that I have organised the presentation of my analysis. Below, I consider each of these statements in turn, and explain the layout of the following chapters.

*a) a sociological account of the institution under study, its relationship to other institutions in the social formation, and relationship between forces within it;*

The first approach to studying institutionalised discourses requires an exploration of the position that ECaT occupied, as a National Strategy initiative, in relation to other institutionalised practices. Somehow, it is necessary to determine whether an initiative of this kind was powerful enough to influence change, at least at the level of the early years settings involved. Therefore, the first set of analyses focuses on the regulatory forces that were exercised to implement and/or change practice.

Traces of the regulatory forces employed around discourses on 'quality', such as the early curriculum (Early Years Foundation Stage) and Ofsted, were presented in the literature review (Chapter 2; section 2.5 *Early years provision in England and 'the problem with quality'*). Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (2007) problematise the concept of 'quality' used as an instrument of control and domination in early childhood education. Similarly, Osgood (2009) argues that the deconstruction of key policy texts within the early years field can contextualise the introduction of, and the almost unavoidable effect of subordination inculcated by, these policies in England. Within this context, my analysis explores 'quality' and how it was discursively constructed by the National Strategy in the documents and resources, examining the position of ECaT as an external regulatory instrument used to influence early years language practice. Considerations of the position of 'other languages' within the discursive construction of 'quality-language-provision' are also presented. This analysis is reported in Chapter 6: *Discursive constructions of 'quality-language-provision'*.

*b) an account of the 'order of discourse' of the institution, of its IDFs [ideological discourse formations] and the dominance relationships among them, with links between (a) and (b);*

An analysis of institutionalised discourses also requires a recognition of the internal and external social structures and the forces exercised within them. According to Fairclough (2010), discourses are "imbricated in social relations and processes which systematically determine variations in [their] properties, including linguistic forms which appear in texts" (p.58). This means that the variations embedded in specific institutionalised practices expose the complexities of their social structure. For instance, institutional hierarchies are indicators of these variations. The more hierarchical the structure, the more variations can be perceived at each level (and, by contrast, the flatter the hierarchy, the fewer variations will be discursively constructed). According to Fairclough, social structuring is expressed by linguistic variations presented in different domains. He defines these variations as "the order of discourses", meaning that specific social practices place a higher value on certain discourses over others.

Rather than providing one universal set of guidelines, ECaT created different ones, one for the consultants, who were appointed by the local authorities to implement the programme, and another for the lead practitioners, who were already working in the settings targeted for intervention. I argue that, by analysing and comparing the linguistic variations presented in these two documents, it is possible to appreciate the creation of two distinctive domains that established the social structure in which ECaT was framed. I expect this analysis to provide an insight into the order of discourses generated around ECaT, by examining the possible tensions that these domains appear to generate within the complexities of the social structure that this programme suggests. This is presented in Chapter 7: *Hierarchies of ECaT language practice*.

*c) an ethnographic account of each IDF*

Once institutionalised discourses have been situated within the social structure that framed them, it is possible to move on to a more specific level of interpretation of each of the ideologies represented discursively in the social practice studied. Ideologies are the shared perspectives of a specific social group (Reisigl and Wodak, 2009) and, for my study, these are the ideologies discursively constructed as common-sense ideas around language practice, in general, and 'other languages', in particular.

Chapter 8 – *Lexicalisation and marginalisation of other languages* – examines three 'ideological-discursive-constructions'. The first is an ideological discursive construction about 'home' as a (significant) social space where 'other language/s' is/are learnt. The second is the discursive construction of 'other language users', which was analysed by looking at the use of particular words and expressions that talk about any language other than English. The third ideological-discursive-construction concentrates on 'parents' as (significant) members in the learning of other language/s. The analysis intends to offer possible interpretations of the ideological language orientations of ECaT language practice and the position of 'other languages' within them.

Many other ideological-discursive-orientations were identified around language resources, language interactions and language assessment; however, they have not been reported in this thesis due to the limited space available in which to present my findings. Nevertheless, I believe that the analysis of the three discursive constructions that is presented in Chapter 8 provides sufficient information to appreciate the ideological orientations that seem to permeate ECaT language practice.

Keeping the main research question

- How do initiatives such as Every Child a Talker (ECaT) influence the formation of dispositions towards language/s?

in mind, each analysis chapter offers a discussion about ECaT's possible influence on the formation of ideologies and dispositions, along with explanations of the following: the forces that regulate ECaT as a specific market; the symbolic exchanges that were generated around English and the other languages; and the possible effects of domination and inculcation of ECaT as a legitimate practice (Bourdieu, 1991).

## Chapter 6 – Discursive constructions of ‘quality-language-provision’

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the discursive constructions around quality that were used by the National Strategy to justify the introduction of the ECaT initiative. Issues around discourses on quality in early years in England and the reiterated presentation of early years as ‘in crisis’ have been used to justify the need for radical reforms and, therefore, the need for intervention and control by governments (Moss, 2016; Simpson et al, 2015; Jones et al, 2014; Osgood, 2010; 2009). In the literature review, a number of examples were used to explain how ‘quality’ has been operationalised into specific ways of doing in the early years sector (Chapter 2, section 2.4 *An example of language ideologies permeating early language practice*; section 2.5.1 *‘Quality’ constructed as ‘effective practice’* and section 2.5.2 *‘Quality’ that represents the elites*). I argued that ‘quality’ has been used to impose particular top-down interpretations of ‘effective practice’, universalising, through inspections, early years services (Kwon, 2002). Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (2007) problematise the concept of ‘quality’, arguing that it should not be imposed by external forces. Further discussions have been extended in more recent publications (Cannella et al 2016; Jones et al, 2014), offering an in-depth revision of subsequent national and international initiatives. ‘Quality’ should be defined according to the stakeholders, as it is socially constructed and it is not possible to generalise it to other narratives (Jones et al, 2014). However, the neoliberal discourses of ‘quality’ are still dominant in current early years practice (Osgood, 2016).

Hence, ‘quality’ is examined in this chapter by way of a review of how ‘quality’ was discursively constructed and operationalised in ECaT. This analysis starts with an examination of ECaT guidance and resources, looking at “how the work of texturing, making texts as a part of making meaning, [...] contributes to the dissemination” of specific ideologies (Fairclough, 2010, p.263). The second part moves on to consider how ‘quality’ was discursively operationalised in both the documents and the interviews, to maintain and generate valuable capital. The chapter ends with a discussion of the possible effect of ECaT on the formation of what could be perceived as ‘quality language provision’ and an early examination of the value assigned to ‘other-languages’ as linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; 1977).

### 6.2 Imaginary representations of ‘quality’ in the ECaT documents

“Imaginary representations” are, according to Fairclough (2010, p.266), discursive constructions of “how things should be” (ibid). However, they do not necessarily

represent real social practices but are, rather, institutionalised discursive constructions that aim to create a sense of what is 'appropriate'. Imaginary representations create tensions between 'what is there' and 'what needs to be changed', and, in this way, inculcate, regulate and normalise new ways of doing. An example of normalised discourses in early years in England is presented by Osgood (2009):

[P]olicy texts are littered with normative assumptions – assumptions that it is the responsibility of the individuals to raise the profile and status of childcare through personal motivation and commitment. Government staunchly adheres to top-down reform for the sector but simultaneously attributes shortcomings to wavering individual responsibility (Osgood, 2009, p.738).

The tensions between 'individuals' and 'quality' issues can also be traced in the ECaT documents. For example, the 'quality of the language provision' was introduced in the ECaT documents, and was associated with "improving the skills and expertise of the early years practitioners" in order to "increase the level of attainment in language" for the children who attended the targeted early years services (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2). This indicates that 'quality' is to be measured according to performance, giving the impression that the performance of some early years provision is below standard. Hence, 'the level of attainment in language' becomes the responsibility of specific individuals, following Osgood's argument presented above, with ECaT appearing to provide a solution to the low-level performance of certain individuals. Both Fairclough (2010) and van Leeuwen (2009) suggest that these tensions are discursively constructed to exercise power, with the aim of regulating and controlling practices. In this section, I present a number of strategies that appear to be used to discursively construct 'imaginaries of quality-language-provision', which seem to inculcate, discursively, the acceptance of specific language practices.

### 6.2.1 The selection of the settings

The first strategy of intervention can be associated with the tactical introduction of ECaT. Local authority statistics were used to select 20 early years settings to take part in the initiative, based on level of attainment in Communication, Language and Literacy, as outlined in the Early Years Foundation Stage Profile (DfCSF, 2008f) (see introduction to ECaT in Chapter 1, section 1.2.3 *The structure of ECaT*). This selection, on the basis of (poor) performance, can be interpreted as starting where intervention was 'most' required. In this way, ECaT, as a tool for improving 'quality' to benefit those children who are 'failing', is less interrogated, creating a possible effect of acceptance of top-down reforms.

Although the emphasis appears to be on those children who do not attain the established benchmark, ECaT called for practitioners to adopt a specific set of skills and expertise in order to raise children's level of attainment. In line with this, ECaT's outcomes made an explicit link between 'quality' and practitioners' performance. However, these outcomes were presented only in the document that was created for the consultants. Their absence from the documents designed for early years practitioners cannot be interpreted as a simple omission; by contrast, it appears to reinforce the exclusive role granted to the consultants as experts (which is further analysed in the next chapter) and also allows for the presence of a number of 'problematic' statements about early years practitioners' poor performance. I will come back to some of these statements later in this section, as I would first like to examine the ECaT outcomes and the (discursive) creation of imaginary representations of language practice.

### 6.2.2 Changing 'inappropriate' practices

Institutionalised resources that have been purposefully created to implement changes, such as the ECaT documents, can create tensions between 'what is already there' and 'what needs to be changed' (Fairclough, 2010). 'What is already there' is (implicitly) presented as 'undesirable' (or 'not good enough') practices that need to be changed to these (explicitly) desirable outcomes, defining them as qualities for acting or being acted on (Hodge and Kress, 1993). This can be examined by looking, in particular, at the desirable outcomes that ECaT presented (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2 – my italics):

#### Extract 6.1: Consultants' guidance – An overview

The outcomes will be

- *improved* early language development, initially for children in targeted settings, but eventually across the whole LA [local authority]
- *established* early Language Lead Practitioners in 20 targeted providers providing *expertise and support* to other practitioners in their own and linked settings, and to parents *to develop their skills* in the development of early language
- *increased* practitioner *knowledge and understanding* of children's early language development and how to support it
- *increased* parental *understanding of and involvement* in their children's language development

The verbs (action words) that are listed suggest the changes that are prescribed. These are: to *improve* (practice), to *establish expertise and support*, and to *increase knowledge and understanding and involvement*. The first two bullet points suggest that certain practices need to be improved and increased. 'To improve' is an indirect and implicit statement conveying the idea that something needs to be better than it has been so far. Similarly, 'to establish [...] expertise and support' can be interpreted as indicating that neither expertise nor support existed in this context at this time.

'What is there' is also represented in other sections of the consultants' guidance as 'inappropriate' behaviour by both practitioners and parents. Hodge and Kress (1993) suggest that *anti-language* is used to reinforce a sense of identity within groups. Whereas the outcomes construct the imaginary representations of the language practice that the consultants need to lead, 'inappropriate practice' represents what needs to be modified in relation to 'others'. Two extracts are presented below to show the use of anti-language, with the purpose of constructing negative statements about early years provision. The first refers to practitioners:

Extract 6.2: Consultants' guidance – *Why is a focused programme such as this necessary?*

Following a review of current evidence, Dockrell, Stuart and King (2004) suggested that, on the whole, **pre-school settings are not sensitive language learning environments. Practitioners dominate the conversations** in settings and the language that they use has been criticised as being **overly directive and unresponsive**. In many settings there are children who choose not to and are not required to participate in the kinds of play activities which offer the most opportunities for language development (DfCSF, 2008b, p.3 – my bold).

The bold indicates the statements that refer to the poor performance of practitioners: *dominating conversation* and *overly directive* and *unresponsive* are presented as indicative of a lack of *sensitive language learning environments*. Whereas the consultants' guidance provides an explicit focus on improving "the skills and expertise of the early years workforce in early language" (ibid, p.2), the focus in the lead practitioners' guidelines was on parents' lack of understanding of and involvement in their children's language development.

ECaT required some level of commitment from the early years practitioners, appealing, in this way, to individuals to contribute to the improvement of the services (Osgood, 2009). This produces a legitimisation of hierarchies and power relations and the preservation of group identities (Fairclough, 2010). The representations (in the text) of the 'great ones' (the leaders, the experts, the knowledgeable ones) and the 'small ones' (unresponsive, not-sufficiently-involved, without-proper-understanding) are used to create (through text) conditions in which there is a 'gap' between what is there and what ought to be, reinforcing, in this way, the need for intervention.

### 6.2.3 Research-based knowledge and 'quality'

Another strategy observed in interventionist discourses on early years services in England refers to a process of normalisation into the mainstream dominant culture (Osgood, 2009; Scarr, 1998 cited in Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007). This same pattern can be tracked in the ECaT documents. The claims of early investment and early

intervention constituted the justification for the implementation of this programme. The consultants' guidance stated:

Extract 6.3: Consultants' guidance – *Why is a focused programme such as this necessary?*

**Research and other evidence tells us** that some children, particularly **those from low income and disadvantaged homes**, do not experience the rich, well planned communication and language provision in their settings that is necessary to support their development. These children also have fewer opportunities to talk with their parents than children **from well-educated middle-class homes**, and are already behind their more affluent peers in their acquisition of vocabulary by the age of three (Hart and Risley, 1995) (DfCSF, 2008b, p.3 – my bold).

“Research and other evidence tells us” was used here to legitimise, through research-based knowledge, a discourse that validated a programme for the redemption of the poor through their conversion into members of well-educated middle-class society (Gewirtz, 2001). Although the validity of this well-known research by Hart and Risley has been questioned and it has been heavily criticised for its lack of consideration of the life conditions of those who live in poverty (Fernald and Weisleder, 2015), it is used in this document to reinforce the ‘literacy crisis’. Thus, these statements function as representing a society’s (dominant) interests (Hodge and Kress, 1993), which is a consistent feature of the deficit model advocated in similar types of literacy programme (Rios-Aguilar, 2013; Coles, 2013; Kelly, 2010; Gewirtz, 2001). The linguistic capital of the middle class is highly invested, assigning a position of distinction to some linguistics forms (Bourdieu, 1991) and marginalising others (Grenfell et al, 2012). The construction of inadequate parents (mainly as working class and with children living in poverty and, as discussed in Chapter 8, those who speak ‘another language’) frames the neoliberal global policy that dominates early years education in England (Simpson et al, 2015; Ang, 2010; Gewirtz, 2001). In the example above, “fewer opportunities to talk”, is used to *pathologise* parents and their social circumstances, suggesting that they are responsible for their own condition (Simpson et al, 2015).

Discourses of ‘quality’ have emphasised measurement, reducing children’s outcomes to numbers, and the assumption that these outcomes can be universally applied to all children (Rios-Aguilar, 2013). For example, the Effective Provision of Pre-school Education (EPPE) project reports on patterns of ‘effective practice’ (Sylva et al, 2004), based on test results (discussed also in Chapter 2, section 2.5.2 ‘*Quality that represents the elites*’). This same principle was used by ECaT, in stating that ‘quality’ can be measured against a baseline of “the proportion of children aged 5 achieving 6 or more scale points in Language for Communication and Thinking” (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2). The test regime (Moss, 2016) and the datafication of early years through assessment (Roberts-Holmes, 2014) have significant implications for universalised targets and

performance outcomes in language practice (Rios-Aguilar, 2013), especially for young children who are learning more than one language. It is not fair, in itself, to compare monolingual children with children learning more than one language (Baker, 2003), and this is aggravated by the lack of guidelines in the assessment process for these children. For instance, Gregory (1997) provides a comprehensive list of questions to facilitate the assessment of the language/s that young children are learning during the early years; however, none of the documents I examined under the ECaT initiative made this type of information available. As a consequence, language performance appears as universalised (monolingual) experience, marginalising the linguistic early experience of young children learning more than one language (Grenfell et al, 2012; Barron, 2009) (later in this thesis, in Chapter 8, I return to this topic with an additional analysis of language assessment for children learning more than one language).

So far, this section has reported on a number of discursive strategies that, according to my analysis, appear to have been employed to introduce ECaT as a solution to the disapproved-of poor quality practice that was in place at the time. I also argue that these strategies seem to be in line with the discourses on 'early years in crisis' reported in previous studies, in which normative assumptions of 'quality' practices are suggested (Moss, 2016; Osgood, 2009), restricting alternative local narratives (Jones et al, 2014). The discursive constructions suggest that the 'improvement' of language practice and the 'increasing' of 'knowledge', 'expertise' and 'involvement', particularly by practitioners, had to be adopted. In the following section, I offer a more operationalised interpretation, suggesting possible meanings of the words presented in inverted commas in the previous sentence. This analysis establishes a relationship between what is 'appropriate' and how it has been operationalised and transmitted as particular 'ways of doing' in order to gain the status of 'high-quality-provision'. Here, I look at the interviews, mapping the capital and exchanges that seemed to be suggested as part of ECaT practice.

### *6.3 'Quality' in the interviews*

The examination of ECaT as a market facilitates the identification of the conditions (strategies and forces) that framed the actions of the members who took part in this initiative (Bourdieu, 1991; 1977). The ECaT initiative represented a social space of strategic possibilities in which determined actions were executed (Hanks, 2005). Using pre-set resources in a specific period of time (van Leeuwen, 2009), it was expected that the members of this market would participate in the production and reproduction of what was suggested as necessary to 'improve' the 'quality of language provision'.

The organisational changes are strategically operationalised to inculcate new ways of doing (Fairclough, 2010). Hence, my analysis concentrates on how ‘the new ways’ were materialised to trigger the changes that ECaT advocated during the first stage of auditing practice. Auditing aimed, according to ECaT, to identify areas for improvement, informing further strategies to ‘improve’/‘increase’ the ‘quality’ of the language provision (DfCSF, 2008b). Van Leeuwen (2009, pp.124–125) suggests:

The construction of social actions as purposeful and the construction of negotiation of specific purposes for specific actions are not equally important in every domain of discourse [...] But where new things are to be done, or where old things are to be done in new ways, purpose will be paramount.

The importance of auditing lies in the significant ability to inform further decisions on the (new) changes. My analysis offers possible interpretations of how ‘quality’ might have been operationalised during this stage. I argue that examining the *actions* and the *resources* that were elaborated in the conversations with the consultants can serve as a platform for interpreting the exchanges that were (discursively) created around ‘high-quality-language-provision’. In this way, possible interpretations of the forces that regulated this market can be offered (Bourdieu, 1991), and the possible influences that institutionalised discourses exert at the local level established (Fairclough, 2010).

Auditing, in general terms, can be seen as a strategic tool with which to count the assets (capital) that are possessed, in terms of language practice, by each setting. Auditing presumes also to inform further actions, to ensure that the re/production of specific exchanges is maintained for the accumulation and preservation of capital, by offering “some form of rational calculation oriented towards the maximisation of symbolic profits” (Bourdieu, 1991, p.77). Capital is defined as what has been estimated as valuable (symbolic profits) in specific markets (Bourdieu, 1991). The accumulation of valued capital is required to either maintain a high position of distinction (reproduction) or to acquire a (new/higher) position (production). In line with these concepts, the purpose of auditing practice was precisely to identify ‘what was there’ and ‘what was missing’.

### 6.3.1 Exchanges

The analysis of exchanges was carried out by following the analytical steps that I introduced in Chapter 5, section 5.3 *Multiple layers of analysis and different analytical tools*. The first level of analysis tracked the topic trajectory about auditing practice, identifying how specific topics were initiated, elaborated and maintained as co-constructed between interviewer and interviewee. I identified auditing practice and the absence of questions about other languages in the parents’ questionnaire as important issues; hence, two of the four topics prepared before the interviews were elaborated

around auditing practice (see Appendix F – *Interview plan*). Consequently, my concerns about the scant consideration that the ECaT auditing resources assigned to practices for children who were learning more than one language became obvious during the interviews. The conversations were geared towards the actions taken around including/excluding ‘other languages’ during the audits carried out in each setting. Subsequently, auditing became a recurrent topic, which was dominated by my pre-determined interest in this practice. The local-accomplished status of the interviews is reinforced by the topic interest of the researcher, which confines these events to local and unique accounts of perceived realities.

Considering that the interviews were local constructions of practices generated within the ECaT framework, the second level of analysis focuses on the *actions* and *resources* that appeared in the conversations with the consultants. Based on the Simple Scheme of Practice proposed by van Leeuwen (2008, see section 5.3.2 of this thesis – *Level 2 – representation of practice*), the tables below summarise the *actions* associated with the consultants themselves (Table 6a) and with the practitioners (Table 6b). According to van Leeuwen, *material actions* are those in which an *actor* does *the deed* that resembles *doing for a material purpose or effect* (a goal) (p.60). For example, the first row in Table 6a presents ‘*to collect*’ as an *action* associated with the consultants. The *deed* is presented in the following column – “data on parents” – and the last column registers the resources that were used for these particular actions. In this case, it refers to the parents’ questionnaire (which is the same document I received as a parent from my son’s pre-school). This action appeared in both interviews (C1 and C2), which is indicated with a tick (√) in the first two columns.

The actions are interpreted, for the purpose of my study, as the exchanges that were (discursively) generated around ECaT language practice. Additional conditions that were associated with each of these actions are also reported in the tables:

- Speech marks are used in the tables to indicate that specific actions were exclusively assigned to an actor. This is defined by van Leeuwen (2008) as an *eligible condition*, which is used to emphasis the status that certain participants/members retain in a specific market. For instance, it was expected that the practitioners (Table 6b) would ‘liaise’/‘talk’/‘discuss’ ‘the implementation of the action plans’ with ‘the consultant’. This appears to be in line with the consultant’s role, which was to ‘oversee’/‘run’/‘adapt’ ‘the programme’ (Table 6a). In this way, the relationship between participants is acknowledged, and a hierarchical status is added to these actions with, for example, ‘oversee’/‘run’/‘adapt’ the programme, which could be perceived as a higher-level role.

- Round brackets are used in the tables to register the conditions that modify actions (called *performance mode* by van Leeuwen, 2008). For example, 'monitoring children's language' is an action that appeared to be conditioned '(according to targets)' (*performance mode*). This (may) consequently restrict the resources that can be employed to execute this action. 'According to targets' limits, in this case, the scheme used to measure targets. 'According to targets' refers to 'achieving 6 or more scale points in Language for Communication and Thinking' (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2) as an expected outcome for five-year-olds.
- The square brackets offer additional information that could be useful to appreciate the feelings, attitudes and perceptions associated with the actions. For example, on the basis of the information presented in the first row (Table 6a), my interpretation is that C1 stated that *to collect (action) data about parents (deed) was [particularly] difficult when parents did not speak English*. This distinction emphasises the (possible) extra condition that this action demands in particular cases.
- The last column records the *resources* that were employed when executing specific actions, which is another significant element of social practice (van Leeuwen, 2009; 2008). The tables show that the majority of the resources employed were based on what was made available by ECaT. Some resources appeared to be restricted, according to the eligible condition associated with specific actions, but additional resources were also incorporated. According to my interpretation, the information summarised in the tables suggests that the same ECaT resources were applied by both C1 and C2, running the risk of the lack of specific resources relating to language practice for children learning more than one language dominating the auditing practice and consequently 'other language/s' being excluded in language practice. However, one additional resource was used, which is further discussed in both the following point and the next section.

**Table 6a:** Consultants' actions in the ECaT market

C1	C2	Actions + (Additional conditions) + "eligibility"	Resources
√		Collect -data on parents' level of understanding (it is difficult [when] parents have very little English)	Parents' questionnaire
	√	-data on parents (it is not completely about bilingual parents, per se)	Questionnaire for parents changed by C2
√		Monitor, measure up "every child" (according to targets)	Language assessment at level 6
	√	Track -level of language development	
√		Compare -level of understanding of parents -practitioners on what they know about normal language development	Parents' and practitioners' questionnaires
	√	Rate -practitioners' confidence	Practitioners' questionnaire
√		Identify, pinpoint, offer "linked to DfCSF" -training needs: -on speaking and listening -on what people need	Auditing tools – lead practitioners' guidance
	√	Agree "with Speech and Language Therapist Team" -on speech and language development	
	√	Set up, put in place -what is good for children -a set of information for parents and practitioners; visits to explain -MAKATON for parents -Nursery rhymes	Resources designed by C2 (leaflet, story bags)
√		Oversee -the programme	ECaT guidelines
	√	Run, adapt	
	√	Observe -language interaction -practitioners interacting with children -boys, girls, silent children -different ages -different rooms	Observation sheet from Early Learning Programme and adapted by C2
	√	Do -graphs with result of observations	
	√	Match Language assessment with Early Year Foundation Stage [for practitioners]	Language assessment level 6

**Table 6b** Practitioners' actions in the ECaT market

C1	C2	Actions + (Additional conditions) + "eligibility"	Resources
√		Plan -how the programme is going to work	ECaT Guidelines
√		Liaise "with Consultant" -to implement plan	
	√	Talk, discuss "with Consultant" -what happened and how we could put the action plan into practice	
√		Look out for -language problems -different aspects of language	ECaT audit tools
√		Be trained -speaking and listening -how to help other practitioners	Trainers Pack cited in DfCSF, 2008b
	√	-speech and language development	
√		Identify -how to include children	Audit tool
√		Complete, audit knowledge of -Communication Help Point questionnaire to identify training needs	ICAN Questionnaire
	√	Look at -how settings set up the book area -how [practitioners] share stories with children -what skills [practitioners] use with children to share stories; to share vocabulary.	Communication, Language and Literacy Development (CLLD) book area audit tool
	√	-how information is shared with -bilingual children -bilingual parents -parents who do not have English as a first language	CLLD EAL audit tool
	√	Observe -language interaction -practitioners interacting with children -boys, girls, silent children -different ages -different rooms	Observation sheet from Early Learning Programme and adapted by the Consultant (C2)
	√	Do, look out, look at -graphs with result of observations -the trends [results] of observations	

- The shaded boxes highlight the actions that were directly associated with 'other languages'. In Table 6b – *Practitioners' actions* – it is recorded that 'look at' 'how information was shared with bilingual children, bilingual parents and parents who do not have English as a first language was included as a role associated with practitioners. C2 stated that she found this particular resource – the Communication, Language and Literacy Development (CLLD) for English as an Additional Language (EAL) audit tool – online, as ECaT had omitted resources covering this matter.

The tables indicate that the majority of the actions and resources about auditing practice that were elaborated in the conversations with C1 and C2 were similar. For instance, 'overseeing' the programme (stated by C1) and 'running' and 'adopting' the programme (stated by C2) were presented as the consultants' role. Although 'overseeing' could imply a more passive role than 'running' and 'adopting', both accounts contribute to an appreciation of the consultants' involvement in the execution of the programme and of the power implied by their role. This is further explored in the next chapter. At this point, the tables provide a general overview of 'what was done' during the auditing practice. The next stage of analysis is to explore 'why this was done in this way' (van Leeuwen, 2009; 2008), legitimating particular ways of doing (ibid), and this is presented in the following sections.

### 6.3.2 Capitals

The analysis of capital was developed from the analysis of exchanges presented above, with the examination of the purpose of these actions informing what was valued in this market. In my interpretation, the audit was conducted as an effort to identify what needed to be preserved (reproduced) and/or generated (produced) as capital. In this case, the exchanges in which the consultant engaged can be summarised as collecting sufficient information ('observe', 'identify', 'measure', 'compare', 'rate'), planning ('identify', 'pinpoint', 'offer', 'set up', 'put in place') and implementing the planned actions ('oversee', 'run', 'adapt'), which are also represented as the consultants' main responsibilities. It appears that the purpose of these actions was mostly directed at rating 'parents' and practitioners' knowledge' about 'language development' and about 'the level of attainment of the children' in 'language development'. Thus, it appears that the capital for which these exchanges were organised was 'knowledge about language development in young children' and 'the level of attainment of these children'. This is also in line with the desirable outcome of 'improving' the 'quality' of provision, which was presented in the previous section.

Moreover, the analysis of the actions associated with the practitioners suggests that their role was instrumental and conditioned to the role of the consultant. For example, actions such as 'to look out for', 'to look at' and 'to observe' were associated with the practitioners' role but the consultant was liaised with ('to talk with', 'to discuss with') before any change could be implemented. Nevertheless, these actions appeared to value the same capital around 'knowledge', 'level of attainment' and 'language development'.

An additional action assigned (discursively) to the practitioners was 'to be trained'. Training appeared in both interviews as an activity planned for after the auditing process, covering subjects such as 'speaking and listening', 'how to help other practitioners' (in the interview with C1) and 'speech and language development' (in the interview with C2; see also Table 6b – *Practitioners' actions*). These accounts reaffirm that 'knowledge about language development in young children' and 'the level of attainment of these children' were perceived as valuable capital. Unfortunately, there was no evidence that the training sessions addressed multilingual matters in these two local authorities at the time when the interviews were conducted. Similarly, no evidence has emerged, from what was discussed during the interviews and from my interpretations of ECaT documents, that the consultants were involved in collecting specific information on 'knowledge about young children learning more than one language'.

It is important to point out that, in the conversation with C2, 'collecting data' on the number and type of interactions in which children and practitioners were involved was an important part of the auditing practice. Observations of interactions, reading stories and talking were actions assigned by C2 to both the consultant and the practitioners. A significant part of the interview was dedicated to describing C2's involvement in the process of conducting observations for auditing purposes. This account narrates her participation in designing an observation sheet, modelling and conducting observations, and supporting practitioners to conduct them. C2 showed me some folders that had been created to collect this information and she used the observation sheets to highlight how these resources were useful evidence of the types of interaction that some children and practitioners were performing. This significant event in the conversation with C2 adds 'interactions' as a skill that needs to be preserved and/or generated to provide 'quality-language-provision'.

#### ***6.4 The officialisation of 'quality-language-provision'***

This final section explores the tensions that the analysis of exchanges and capital seems to bring up when 'other languages' are marginalised from what is constructed and

operationalised as ‘quality-language-provision’. I argue that ECaT officialised a particular way of doing, which appeared to influence the acceptance of, and subordination to, this initiative. Bourdieu (1977, p.40) states that:

[P]olitical action proper can be exercised only by the effect of officialisation and thus presupposes the competence [...] required in order to manipulate the collective definition of the situation [...].

In the analysis I have presented, ‘language practice in crisis’ was discursively constructed around the lack of understanding and involvement of early years practitioners and parents. The responsibility of raising the profile and status of ‘quality-language-provision’ was constructed around increasing the knowledge (ways of thinking) and level of engagement (ways of doing) of both these groups. These constructions appeared exclusively in the consultants’ guidance, framing the interventionist role of the consultant as paramount in the ‘salvation’ of these ‘poor practices’.

There is a significant distinction between ‘knowing about language development’ and ‘knowing about learning more than one language’, which is particularly evident when different language ideological perspectives are taken into consideration. For example, monolingual perspectives assume that learning one language is the norm (Weber and Horner, 2012; Macrory, 2006). Therefore, the principles of language development are extrapolated to ‘all children’ without distinction, and it is not possible to assume that ‘knowledge of language development’ includes ‘knowledge of language development for children learning more than one language’. According to my analysis, a clearly valued capital in the ECaT market was ‘knowing about language development’; however, it is less clear that the specific knowledge about young children learning ‘other languages’ was also appreciated as capital. For example, the two extracts below emphasise a specific type of knowledge, which is associated with “speaking and listening” by C1 and “physical and neurological things” by C2:

Extract 6.4 C1 – lines 333–335\*

333. C1 I think but, you know, sometimes the practitioners think that  
334. language is acquired in. they are not emphasising the most important  
335. things which is speaking and listening

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\*Topic elaborated after my question about early years practitioners being prepared to understand bilingual children’s needs (lines 321–323)

Extract 6.5 C2 – lines 500–507\*

500. C2 They’re missing some really really basic training (.) on  
501. how children develop a voice (.)  
502. cause, we, we actually, and and I mean, on the physical level  
503. K mhm  
504. C2 ah because we had Trust Group meeting which was centred on training  
505. for (.) speech (.) and communication development (.)  
506. K mhm

The obscurity of the specific knowledge about young children learning more than one language makes it less significant as capital for this market, and this misrecognition can be attributed to the process of assimilation to dominant forms (Bourdieu, 1991) that characterises monolingual mindsets (O'Rourke, 2011; Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida, 2006; Edwards, 2004; Wright, 2004).

There are two critical events in the interviews during which, as an interviewer, I tried to explore the exclusion of 'other languages' from the auditing. The first concerns the parents' questionnaire and the lack of specific questions on 'other languages', and the second is related to the perceived difference between monolingual and bilingual development, which I elicited with a chart from my students' responses (see Chapter 4, section 4.3.3.2 *Interviewing*; also Appendix F *Interview Plan* and Appendix H *Elicited question*). The answers I obtained after using the chart appeared to prompt further elaborations around the type of 'knowledge' lacked by practitioners in particular, and this was observed in both interviews. While C1 talked about 'the bigger picture', C2 referred to 'knowing the basics', but both consultants provided examples of the significant lack of 'basic knowledge' on the part of practitioners and 'listening and speaking' was specifically mentioned in both interviews.

In the accounts presented above, bilingual matters maintained the same obscure position as in the ECaT documents, where the discursive representations of 'knowledge' to improve 'quality-language-provision' appear to misrecognise 'other languages'. I come back to this topic in Chapter 8, where I consider in more detail the ideological formations around 'other languages'. At this point, my analysis reports on the forces that regulated ECaT practices and suggests that the exchanges generated around auditing language practice – 'knowing about language development by practitioners and parents' and 'language attainment in young children' – appeared to be the most significant capital.

Despite the fact that the main ECaT resources appeared to assign a diminished role to the language practices around young children learning more than one language, and that both consultants expressed that they introduced resources other than those that were officially suggested, only one of the auditing resources introduced by C2 was especially designed for young children learning more than one language. This is indicated by the shaded boxes in Table 6b, which illustrate the only resources about 'other languages' that appeared discursively constructed during the interviews. The audit tool indicated in the shaded box (under resources) was taken from the Communication, Language and Literacy Development Programme (CLLD), which was previously implemented in maintained primary schools. There is a vague reference to CLLD

resources in the consultants' guidance (DfCSF, 2008b, pp.8–9, under the heading – *What materials are already available?*) and these resources were apparently distributed to consultants at 'events' (ibid); however, C2 claimed that these documents were not part of ECaT and that she found them on the website.

During the interview, C2 elaborated on her role in 'adapting' and 'changing' some of the resources that were provided by ECaT (see Table 6a – *Consultants' action*). Whereas some of these resources were designed by C2 (for example, the questionnaire for parents and an observation sheets for recording language interaction – see Appendix E – *Local resources*), others were from different sources. An additional remark needs to be made here. The possibility of 'adding' and 'changing', deviating from the prescribed ECaT documents, existed but this was clearly regulated by forces that appeared to have powers beyond those exercised by consultants. This has already been discussed in Chapter 5 in relation to the mechanisms of censorship that both consultants appeared to apply within their institutionalised roles (sections 5.4.3.2a and 5.4.3.2b), where my analysis explained the mechanisms of censorship employed as evidence of the superior forces that regulated the consultants' work.

## **6.5 Summary**

With the aim of situating the discursive constructions of language practice within the institutionalised discourses in which they were generated, this chapter discusses 'quality' and the discourses constructed around this term. The first part focuses on the ECaT documents and the discursive strategies employed in them to create, similar to other institutionalised initiatives, a sense of 'early years in crisis', calling for the need to raise the standards and performance of the workforce and children's level of attainment. 'Quality' is constructed around performance and efficiency, rather than around equity (Rios-Aguilar, 2013), adopting a deficit model that has been used as a strategy to control and regulate early years education (Rios-Aguilar, 2013; Osgood, 2009; Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007).

'Quality' was also examined by looking at the discursive constructions that emerged during the conversations with the two consultants. By applying different levels of analysis, I presented a breakdown of the exchanges that were referred to as part of the auditing of language practice. This analysis is used as a platform to interpret how 'quality' was operationalised, establishing the possible influence of ECaT during the audit of language practice. Whereas my analysis does not intend to question the veracity or the actual execution of these actions, I offer an interpretation of the possible influence of the

ECaT initiative on increasing/improving 'quality-language-provision' and of the position of 'other languages' within this social practice.

My main argument is that the officialisation of the ECaT resources, which extensively excluded 'other languages' from the auditing practice, could have an effect on local practices. Although ECaT did not impede local inventiveness, my examination suggests that the discourses around 'high-quality-language-provision' appeared to minimise exchanges in which 'other languages' could be produced and reproduced, and this was observed during the examination of both the documents and the interviews.

The examination of the exchanges generated during the auditing suggests that, in order to improve 'quality-language-provision', a particular type of 'knowledge' was discursively represented as highly valued capital. The ECaT market generated a set of exchanges to ensure that 'knowledge of language development' was passed to both practitioners and parents and that this would, ultimately, influence young children's attainment. For instance, training in 'language development' was required, to ensure that this capital could be produced by early years practitioners, and this was represented as 'basic knowledge' and as more important than other types of knowledge.

I have argued that it is not clear at this stage of analysis whether 'knowledge of language development' included (or excluded) knowledge about children learning more than one language. On the basis of the few exchanges around 'other languages' that were tracked in the conversations with the consultants and in the official documents, I suggest that 'other languages' appear to occupy a blurred position within knowledges such as 'listening and speaking' and 'speech and language development'. 'Basic knowledge' was addressed in the training sessions arranged for practitioners but the position of 'other languages' within these topics was not made explicit. Although this misrecognition is not accidental (Bourdieu, 1991), it is not possible to state, at this level of analysis, whether 'other languages' have been ignored, omitted or silenced and to what extent they are implied in 'the basic knowledge'. Nevertheless, it legitimises a specific language practice (Grenfell et al, 2012). In Chapter 8, I revisit the examination of 'knowledge of language development' within different ideological perspectives on language diversity, with the aim of exploring further the position of 'other languages' within the implementation of ECaT as a language programme for early years provision.

## Chapter 7 – Hierarchies of ECaT language practice

### *7.1 Introduction*

In order to fully appreciate the institutionalised discourses that emerged around language practice, this chapter continues to explore the social structures and forces that regulated ECaT as a market. This analysis focuses on the domains that were (discursively) created and “the dominan[t] relationships among them” (Fairclough, 2010, p.51). These domains are explored by identifying the members of the market and the power relationship established among them. My analysis explores the hierarchy of power that existed discursively between ECaT members and the tensions between individual local initiatives and what appears to be have been perceived as expected by the regulatory bodies. This analysis enables an appreciation of the *order of discourses* (Fairclough, 2010) and the position of ‘other languages’ within the language ideology/ies inculcated through the ECaT initiative.

For the study of institutionalised discourses, Fairclough (2010) recommends a systematic exploration of the external and internal forces that regulate the social practice under study. Following this recommendation, in the previous chapter I explored the discursive constructions around ‘quality’, providing possible interpretations of how ‘quality’ was operationalised in this initiative. There, I suggested that practitioners and certain parents were represented as lacking ‘knowledge’ about language development, with ‘knowledge’ being constructed as a valuable capital in this market. In this section, I return to the examination of ‘knowledge’, arguing that it appeared to be used to manoeuvre the status that the members occupied in the ECaT market. I start with an examination of the documents and the domains that emerge from these resources.

### *7.2 Guidelines versus instructions: two tales of the auditing process*

The analysis reported in this section is based on the theoretical construct that the *language in use* in the official ECaT documents had an input into framing the role of the members of this market (Bourdieu, 1991; 1977). These documents played a crucial role in the discursive construction of the market, because they delivered

the unwritten and unspoken conventions for the use of a particular word or expression in connection with particular events or behaviours, which are operative and taken for granted in the production and interpretation of written records (Fairclough, 2010, p.37).

The text in the ECaT documents projects the “sort of identity” created for each professional (Fairclough, 2010, p.271) and this can be examined by paying attention to

particular linguistic realisations, such as semantic and lexico-grammatical features, thereby exposing “the specific repertoire that framed the further interactions, events and relations” (Fairclough, 2010, p.268).

Two main guidelines were published and distributed during the first wave of the ECaT initiative. One of these was the consultants’ guidelines (Every Child a Talker: Guidance for Consultants, DfCSF, 2008b) and the second was a homologous document distributed to the lead practitioners (Every Child a Talker: Guidance for Early Language Lead Practitioners, DfCSF, 2008a). There are substantial differences in the design and layout of, and the *language used* throughout, the two documents. I argue that these differences were tacitly adjusted to the relations of power between members of this market. In this way, effects of domination and symbolic subordination were exercised.

Three examples are presented to illustrate the differences in the use of particular words, expressions, images and layouts, which form a “site of tension and struggle” between domains (Hodge and Kress, 1993. p.64; also discussed by Fairclough, 2010). Each of these examples examines different discursive elements to create structured spaces of positions between these two members (Bourdieu, 1991; 1977). Whereas the first example focuses on the layout and presentation style of the two guidelines, the second examines the use of particular words connected with particular events. The final example compares the strategies employed to instruct consultants and to persuade lead practitioners to accept and appreciate this initiative, arguing the effect of unification (Bourdieu, 1991) and the creation of a ‘practical sense’ (Fairclough, 2010) of their role in this market.

### 7.2.1 The layout

The most noticeable differences between the guidance for the consultant and the guidance for the lead practitioner are in the layout and presentation styles. Whereas the document for the consultant used short paragraphs, bullet points and tables and did not have a cover, the guidance for lead practitioners was a carefully designed handbook, with a cover, a list of contents, colour pictures, and charts and tables throughout. It appears that the layout of the lead practitioners’ document was designed with the particular aim of employing different strategies of persuasion to incentivise practitioners to take part in the initiative. For example, the picture below was displayed in the introduction and, similar to certain features of the *text* contained in the document, it provides significant information via the visual representation of one of the members of the market (van Leeuwen, 2009).

Picture 7a: “Your setting’s journey to Every Child a Talker” (DfCSF, 2008a, p.6)



I propose that this picture could be interpreted as representing the desirable outcome of ‘skilled and knowledgeable female practitioner’, on the basis of the following:

1) The picture can be contrasted with the statement about ‘unresponsive practitioners’ provided in the consultants’ guidance (discussed in Chapter 6). The lack of appropriate knowledge on the part of practitioners is explicitly presented in the consultants’ guidance but is not mentioned in the one for the lead practitioner. The picture above is used to show an adult and a child looking at the same object, exemplifying the importance of such social interaction in this social practice (van Leeuwen, 2009). The adult is (apparently) engaged with the child, representing a ‘responsive practitioner’ and possessing the attribute of ‘knowledge and skills’ that ECaT offers as a solution to increasing the ‘quality’ of language provision, thus imposing a centrally defined agenda of specific desirable performativity (Vincent and Braun, 2011).

2) The strategic placing of this picture can be seen as indicating who is represented and the actions associated with them (van Leeuwen, 2009). This picture is displayed immediately before the subheading, ‘Your Setting’s Journey to Every Child a Talker’, offering a possible link with the end result of ‘the journey’. The metaphor of a journey is used to represent the level of involvement needed to acquire the set of attributes that, according to the imaginary representations of quality (discussed in Chapter 6), early years practitioners require if they are to ‘improve’/‘increase’ their performance (also discussed in Roberts-Holmes, 2014; Vincent and Braun, 2011; Osgood, 2010).

3) All of the pictures in this document suggest that practitioners are young white females. Only one picture shows a black female and, as she is interacting with a black child, this could be interpreted as being a mother rather than a

practitioner. Furthermore, the two pictures that show males appear in the second instalment for lead practitioners, in the section entitled: *Planning sessions with parents and their children* (DfCSF, 2009b, p.41 and p.44), and thus it could be assumed that they too represent parents rather than practitioners. In England, the labour force that serves early years provision is primarily female (Sylva and Pugh, 2005) and has one of the lowest salaries in the UK (Sheffield, 2015). Issues about the predominance of females and the construction of professionalism in the early years workforce have been examined in previous research (Vincent and Braun, 2011; Osgood, 2010; 2009; 2006a; Fenech and Sumsion, 2007). These studies expose normative discourses directed at “working-class women with a low level of qualifications, receiving a low wage who constitute the majority of the caring workforce” (Vincent and Braun, 2011, p.776).

Thus, I argue that the desired outcomes of ECaT are presented by way of visual features that suggest that the ‘skilled and knowledgeable practitioner’ is a female. According to Vincent and Braun (2011), these types of discourse aim to instil “professional-like” norms and ethics by appealing to the myth of autonomous practitioners; however, these norms and ethics are, in fact, “rooted in a contemporary context of accountability and performativity” (p.777). They promote “normalising discourses [...] that render the exercise of state power invisible and therefore impossible to challenge and negotiate” (Osgood, 2010, p.122). However, other strategies also appeared to be used in this document, and these are discussed in the following section.

### 7.2.2 Choosing the right words

In this section I intend to demonstrate the use of particular words and expressions in the two main guidance documents and to compare the discursive effect that these texts may create. Previously, I have suggested that the role of the consultant can be interpreted as that of an external professional (external to any of the 20 settings involved in the programme) who was endowed with the status of early language expert (see introduction to the consultant’s role according to ECaT in Chapter 1, section 1.2.3 *The structure of ECaT*). The role of the consultant was presented in the consultants’ guidance as following:

#### Extract 7.1: Consultants’ guidance – *What will the roles of the Early Language Consultant and the Early Language Lead Practitioner be?*

##### Early Language Consultant (ELC)

The Early Language Consultant will have specialist knowledge and experience relating to children’s early language development and a thorough understanding of early years pedagogy (DfCSF, 2008b, p.5).

This statement emphasises the knowledge and expertise of the appointed consultant and endows this professional with an official status. By contrast, the lead practitioner was a practitioner who was already working in the selected setting. The following extract, which outlines the involvement of the lead practitioners in the programme, appears in the lead practitioners' guidance:

Extract 7.2: Lead practitioners' guidance – *What does involvement in ECAT mean for me and my setting?*

[ECaT] provides **an opportunity for you** to become involved in a national programme which focuses on a national priority: strengthening children's early language development. As the Early Language lead practitioner, **you will have opportunities** to improve your knowledge, skills and expertise in this important area [...] (DfCSF, 2008a, p.4 – my bold).

Significant differences are exposed through the linguistic features in these two extracts. For example, the extract relating to the lead practitioners creates a 'profit of distinction', which consists, according to Bourdieu (1991), of the features that a market considers valuable, endowing them with a privileged position. The profit of distinction is constructed in the extract above by stating that the initiative is an important area of national priority (Extract 7.2). Whereas specialist knowledge and experience relating to children's early language development and a thorough understanding of early years (Extract 7.1) are attributes the consultant already possesses, the practitioners can gain them only after they have become involved in the initiative. Hence, 'being part of this initiative' is presented as 'an opportunity' for these practitioners (rather than as a burden or an additional workload, for example). These words are used to persuade the lead practitioners to engage in an opportunity to gain a higher status, which they otherwise (discursively) lack.

Another important feature is related to the grammatical structure of the two extracts. Whereas the consultants' guidance uses the third person and the future tense to *describe* the attributes of the consultant and the expectations regarding their performance, the document for the lead practitioner uses the second person in the present tense to *persuade* lead practitioners to be involved in the initiative. Persuasive strategies are further discussed under the examples presented in the next section.

### 7.2.3 Two tales: instructing and persuading

This section analyses the particular words and expressions used regarding the 'audit' process. The expectation was that both the consultant and the lead practitioner would assume a key role in carrying out an audit process as a starting point for further actions but the lexico-grammatical structure of the two documents revealed different approaches, which are worth examining.

In the lead practitioners' guidance (DfCSF, 2008a) two optional auditing tools were provided. The first was based on five activities to be carried out in the setting (pp.10–

22), detailing a breakdown of the resources for, and the expected outcomes of, each session. The second auditing tool consists of an extensive check list (pp.23–45), to review “what the provision in your setting is like currently” (p.23). It was expected that the lead practitioner would choose one of these tools, and involve all members of staff “with the help of your early language consultant” (p.23). The ‘optional’ factor can be interpreted as a *sense of freedom* to act in a particular way, as an attribution given to some members of the market (Bourdieu, 1991).

By contrast, the consultants’ guidance contains a blank table, with prescribed actions for them to carry out as part of the auditing. This table is presented as an appendix entitled: ‘*Auditing training and support across the LA*’. Each stage was scheduled with instructions such as: ‘September 2008: collate and review audit results’; ‘October 2008: Present Audit results and identify areas for development’ (DfCSF, 2008b, p.21 and p.22 respectively). The commands and the fixed schedule represent explicit normative statements with obligational modalities (what the receptor is obliged to do) (Fairclough, 2010), which restricts alternatives ways of doing.

The significant difference in the *language used* is even more evident when sections of the texts that relate to ‘audit’ are compared. This is presented in the table below:

Table 7b: A comparison of the language in use about ‘audit’

Guidance for Early Language Lead Practitioners (2008a, p.6)	Guidance for Early Language Consultant (2008b, p.5)
<p>What is an audit?</p> <p>An audit is a way of looking at and improving what goes on in your Early Years setting. It involves looking closely at where you would like to be and what are the ideals and goals for your setting. It then involves you evaluating what is happening right now and what you would like to change. An audit is a positive process that helps you to identify areas where you need help or guidance so that your setting can support children and staff in the best ways possible. There are different types of audit and this model is based on the idea of going on a journey.*</p>	<p>A key function of the ELC’s role is to promote alignment within the LA and between the LA and other service providers. Initially, the ELC will facilitate an audit of existing provision in the LA. All relevant organisations e.g. the Primary Care Trust (PCT), Speech and Language Therapy Service, Children’s Centre Strategic Leaders and organisations providing training should be involved in this audit. This will ensure that relevant information is collected in each LA and that services are not duplicated.</p>

\* The analogy of a journey, with a diagram of the stages involved in the auditing process, is also provided in the lead practitioners’ guidance (and not in the consultants’).

Interesting features can be pointing out when these two texts are compared. The most evident is the use of the second person ‘you’ in the text for the lead practitioner, in contrast with the use of the third person, ‘the consultant’, in the other document (also mentioned in the section above). This was a consistent pattern in both documents. The use of the second person appears to be in line with Osgood’s (2006a; 2009) discussion

of appealing to 'individuals' to raise 'quality' (discussed also in the literature review and in the previous chapter).

Another feature is the use of an implicit normative force (Fairclough, 2010) by creating a 'commonsensical' way of doing. Statements such as 'audit is a positive process' and 'your setting can support children and staff in the best way' imply that it is obvious, common sense and morally appropriate (if you are a practitioner who cares) to do it in-this-way. The creation of common-sense-effective-practice is a pervasive feature of the EYFS (Roberts-Homes, 2014; Vincent and Braun, 2011; Osgood, 2010). This was discussed in the literature review, where I presented some examples of the assumptions around 'effective practice' and what 'quality looks like' in some of the regulatory policies used in the early years sector in England.

Bourdieu (1991) defines 'symbolic violence' as the subtle means of exercising power through 'personal loyalty' and 'all the virtues honoured by the ethic of honour'. The paragraph from the lead practitioners' guidance in the table above appears to use symbolic violence to subordinate to the external power. For example, "you [...] identify areas where you need help or guidance" proposes that, first of all, the practitioner (**you**) needs help and help is for **you** (externally) because 'we know' and 'we can show you' "the best way". The lead practitioner becomes the chosen one, with the privilege of being involved in the programme. Similar to in the previous extract analysed (Extract 7.2), ECaT is presented as "provid[ing] an opportunity for you to become involved in a national programme which focuses on a national priority" and **you**, in order to support children and staff, need to subordinate to the external power.

By contrast, the consultants' text does not provide a definition of 'audit'. Taking into account that 'audit' was a very important part of the consultant's role, it can be suggested, therefore, that the consultants were expected to already have this knowledge. The text presented above uses the third person with explicit normative statements and instructions such as "Initially, the ELC will facilitate an audit of existing provision in the LA". Similarly, statements of expectations in which responsibilities and obligations for the implementation of the programme were also provided "ensure [...] that services are not duplicated". The text gives the sense that the consultant had less control over his/her actions and acted only as 'facilitator' only for the implementation of ECaT.

The examples provided show the written language used to address different audiences. I argue that step-by-step explanations of the audit process and the use of 'you' and 'your', appealing to personal loyalty to 'the cause', suggest that the use of symbolic violence to exercise power characterised the practitioners' guidance. By contrast, the consultant was presented as someone already familiar with this type of practice and for whom no

further information was required. Instructions and explicit normative statements were provided to this member of the market.

Two different tales of the auditing practice appeared to be provided by the consultants' guidelines and the lead practitioners' guidelines. These documents create the formation of two different domains, which was also evident in the interviews with the consultants and is analysed in the next section. Although both members of the market were supposed to be involved in auditing, the linguistic realisations in the documents seemed to create two separate domains. On the one hand, there are the external members who are *knowledgeable experts*, and on the other are the internal (local) members 'in need' of support. Similar to other studies around professionalism and performative discourses in early years education (Vincent and Braun, 2014; Osgood, 2010), my analysis suggests that the market held different roles and expectations for the two key members, which created a hierarchy between them and reaffirmed a power relationship around 'knowledge and expertise'. The examples presented here have examined the position of these two key members of the market, suggesting that both the presentation style and layout of the documents and the language used presented the consultant as a facilitator, representing the external force that controls, instructs and restricts this programme. By contrast, the lead practitioner was persuaded to subordinate to 'more knowledgeable' external forces, as local knowledge appeared to be diminished, underlining an effect of subordination to external knowledge.

In the next section I continue with an examination of the members of the market and of how they were discursively constructed under the ECaT initiative. This analysis offers an explicit recontextualisation of the position of distinction that the members were endowed (Bourdieu, 1991) in the ECaT and which was discursively reproduced in the interviews. This time, I focus on the constructions of 'others' by the consultants, establishing a dialectical relationship between the interviews and the documents. This presentation continues with an exploration of the external and internal forces that appeared to regulate this initiative.

### ***7.3 The members of the ECaT market***

This section pays special attention to the social position that individuals occupied in specific contexts (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991), according to the data generated during the interviews. This analysis offers possible interpretations of who the members of the market were, identifying the actors that were discursively constructed under the ECaT initiative, which "can only be grasped by means of reconstruction of the entire system of relationship" between its members (Bourdieu, 1977, p.48). This section has been

constructed using different analytical tools, with specific examples being employed to demonstrate the inferences that were applied when looking at the corpus.

Three different layers of analysis were used to investigate the members of the ECaT market, following the analytical framework introduced in Chapter 5. The first level – 7.3.1 *The construction of ‘others’* – tracked the pronouns used by the interviewees for the construction of self and others. The second level of analysis focuses on the patterns traced around the pronouns, as particular linguistic realisations, identifying who the ‘others’ were and what roles were associated with them. For this level, I applied the Simple Scheme of Practice (van Leeuwen 2009; 2008) and examined the specific roles assigned to the participants who were directly and indirectly involved in this initiative. I argue that two main roles were assigned to the members of the ECaT market, with some members having the distinctive role of agent and others being assigned the role of beneficiaries. This is reported in section 7.3.2 *Agents and beneficiaries*.

The third level of analysis is presented in the subsequent section (7.4 *Hierarchies and tensions*), where I examine the domains, which I introduced earlier in this chapter, along with the power relationship established between members that emerged from the analysis of the interviews. I explore the struggle of positions that appears to be generated through the discursive constructions of ‘quality-language-provision’. My arguments are organised around the hierarchies of ‘knowledge’ of the members of the market. I investigate the tensions, as a ‘struggle of positions’, and discuss the implications of the marginalisation of ‘knowledge about young children learning more than one language’ in this market.

### 7.3.1 The construction of ‘others’

This section reports on the analysis of the interviews based on two specific linguistic features. The first feature focuses on the use of pronouns to refer to oneself and others as a significant linguistic realisation through which to examine how the participants make sense of their relationships with each other (Baxter and Wallace, 2009; see also the example presented in Chapter 5, section 5.4.2 *Talking about the ‘others’*). The second feature takes into account the sequence of topics elaborated around ‘the consultants’ and the ‘others’ (Rapley, 2001). To illustrate this analysis, I have selected three extracts to explain how ‘others’ were elicited and elaborated in these conversations.

#### Extract 7.3: C1 – lines 88–98

88.	K	and when you’re talking about settings you are talking about
89.	04:30	( ) every type of? every child?
90.	C1	private, voluntary, independent. Maybe there is a range of
91.	K	Day: nur:sery
92.	C1	Day nursery, private [           nursery
93.	K	pre:-school]

94.		C1	pre-schools, voluntary settings, ahm maintained [ no maintained [
95.		K	mhm] mh]
96.		C1	so it it's a range across the board. I mean I think it's some of the
97.	→		boroughs are watching the childminders as well and that is something,
98.			you know, we (.) are looking at (.)

---

Extract 7.4: C2 lines 239–245

239.	13:30	K	Did you target the the children? or or there was just advertise for parents
240.			and they were [ free to come? ]
241.		C2	[in in that] it wasn't (.) we didn't target the children,
242.			the baby and toddler group. It was (.) more information and sharing with
243.	→		parents. (.) because with the pre-school, day nursery and childminders we
244.			targeted the children (.) and also gave information to the parents
245.			but if not, I mean, I in (name of the borough) I am the only ECaT person

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In both extracts, childminders are mentioned by the consultants as being part of the selected settings (indicated with an arrow '→'). This was elicited by my questions (line 88 in Extract 7.3 and line 239 in Extract 7.4). Whereas C1 was merely aware of the possibility of including childminders in the programme (and of their not being included at the time the interview was conducted), C2 had already included them. Nonetheless, both accounts recognised that childminders could take part in the selection process. Hence, they can be considered (potential) members of this market.

Childminders were also mentioned in the consultants' guidelines, indicating a certain level of consistency between the official guidance and the consultants' interviews. This can be seen in the extract below:

Extract 7.5: Consultants' guidance – *How should the targeted settings be selected?*

As you confirm your final twenty, ensure that you have a balance of settings with strengths and areas for development across both early language development and EYFS provision across all the range of EYFS settings – ***accredited childminders***, children's centres, maintained, private and voluntary providers (DfCSF, 2008b, p.11 – my bold and italics).

All three extracts mentioned childminders as *eligible participants* in this market (van Leeuwen, 2008) and, according to the analytical framework that was applied, can be considered members of it. This eligibility is conferred by the official guidance, and the consultants appear to acknowledge this fact, reaffirming both the authority of this initiative and the possibility of influencing practice in the maintained and private sectors.

Table 7c, below, presents a summary of the ECaT participants, constructed following the same procedure as that presented above. The ticks (√) indicate in which interview each participant was mentioned, revealing a degree of similarity between the interviews in this respect. The members of the market are grouped according to the type of service to which they belong, based on information in the official documents (mainly the consultants' guidance) and my knowledge of the sector.

Table 7c – Members of the ECaT market based on the conversations with the consultants

Type of service	Member of the ECaT Market	C1	C2
20 Settings selected	Lead Practitioners	√	√
	Early Years Practitioners (from different types of early years settings, excluding childminders)	√	√
	Childminders	√	√
	Parents	√	√
	Children	√	√
Development officers Local Authority	Consultant	√	√
	Speech and Language Therapist (SALT)	√	√
	Primary Team		√
	Early Years Team		√
	Language Link Network		√
	'Lot of other [services]''***^	√ 'stuff' (line702)	√ 'teams' (line 1026)
Primary Care Trust	Trust Group	√	√
	Health Visitors	√^	√^
	Healthy School Team		√
Others	Early Years Students	√	
	Librarian/library	√	√
	Portage	√	
	Drum teacher		√

^ These were responses to the last question asked regarding who was involved in the programme.

\*\*\* I interpreted both expressions as a way of indicating 'all the other members who were not named in the conversation'. Probably, both consultants felt that there was no need to be more specific at that point in the conversation. Both responses appeared in the last minutes of the interviews.

It is important to take into account that at this level of analysis:

- The table does not offer information about those members who could be associated with 'other languages' (for instance 'EAL children' and 'EAL parents', to use the ECaT terms). I aim to provide a more detailed analysis of who was associated with 'other languages' in Chapter 8, as part of a further exploration of discursive ideological formations around languages. For now, the table serves the purpose of listing the ECaT members of the market.
- The intertextuality that permeates interviews is evident from the utterance 'lot of other [services]' which appeared towards the end of both interviews. In the interview with C1, this utterance appeared in minute 36 (out of 39) and in the interview with C2 in minute 51 (out of 55). This is significant because the utterance acquires a meaning in the context in which it was used. It appears that this statement was used to summarise the large number of services available in local authorities, which had already been discussed earlier in the conversations. This could be interpreted as no further specification being needed, at that point of the conversation, by the interviewee and no further information being required

by the interviewer. This illustrates the shifting perception and understanding of the participants in relation to the interview event and the questions presented to elicit the conversations (Rapley, 2001). The potential multiplicity of meanings conveyed during the interviews (Alvesson, 2002) requires different analytical strategies (and this is further explored in the following sections).

Rather than being conclusive, the table above aims simply to identify the participants based on the analysis of a specific linguistic realisation, in this case the pronouns, within specific contexts. Specific roles were assigned based on the belief that changes to practices were needed to improve language provision. Through discourses, social actors represent identities and interpersonal relationships between various interacting social groups (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999) and these representations are explored in more detail in the following section.

### 7.3.2 Agents and beneficiaries

This section examines the roles assigned to the members of the market on the basis of the analysis presented in the previous section and also from looking at the official documents. By using the Simple Scheme of Practice, I applied van Leeuwen's (2009) useful classification of 'agents' and 'beneficiaries'. Agents are defined as the doers, who were expected to carry out specific actions such as implementing, reviewing, auditing and evaluating change. By contrast, the 'beneficiaries' are the members who benefit from the implementation of the changes that the 'agents' generate. For example, the children (beneficiaries) could be perceived as the ultimate beneficiaries of the auditing, training and new language strategies (actions) that were carried out by the lead practitioner (agent). The distinction of profit that some members of the market possess endorsed some individuals with the power to produce, reproduce and transform practice (Bourdieu, 1991). This collectively recognised status is required for the exercise of symbolic power, in which the subordinated do not necessarily recognise the effect of domination exercised in the market (Bourdieu, 1991).

Van Leeuwen (2008) advises that the role social actors actually play may not be congruent with the 'grammatical' role they are given in texts. Previously, I presented the active role assigned to practitioners during auditing practice, yet, an additional noteworthy role was allocated to the lead practitioners, as beneficiaries of some of the actions of the agent-members, as suggested in the extract below:

Extract 7.6: Consultants' guidelines – *What will the roles of the Early Language Consultant and the Early Language Lead Practitioner be?*

The ELC [Early Language Consultant] will regularly visit each setting to *model* effective practice, *demonstrate* specific activities, *advise* on developing the environment, *support* planning and programme implementation and *facilitate* continuous professional development (DfCSF, 2008b, p.5 – my italics).

The 'actions' (i.e. to model, to demonstrate, to advise, to support and to facilitate) executed by the consultant, as an agent, suggest that the lead practitioners are the beneficiaries of these actions. Nevertheless, and at the same time, the ultimate results should be that the lead practitioner becomes an actor, as is suggested below:

Extract 7.7: Consultants' guidelines – *What will the roles of the Early Language Consultant and the Early Language Lead Practitioner be?*

The ELLP's [Lead Practitioners] role will be to act as an ambassador for Every Child a Talker and to promote the development of expertise amongst the staff within their settings and the linked setting. [...] by adopting the principles and practices as outlined in the ECAT materials (DfCSF, 2008b, p.6).

These two extracts, taken from the same document, create a double role of agent and beneficiary for the lead practitioner, and this pattern can be observed in both the guidelines and the interviews. Whereas a temporary role as an active member is assigned during the execution of the auditing practice, a beneficiary role is implied by 'to be trained'. This double role, of agent and beneficiary, reaffirms the division between domains by establishing a hierarchy of roles between the consultant and the early years practitioners. Consequently, an effect of position of power and struggle is formed in this market. It appears that the 'expert external knowledge' of the consultant should be transferred to practitioners, bringing with it the potential effect of diminishing local knowledge.

Actors and beneficiaries were represented in both the documents and the interviews, and this is summarised in the following table:

Table 7d – Members of the ECaT market: Actors (A) and Beneficiaries (B)

	Member of the ECaT market	Consultants' Guidelines	C1	C2
20 Settings*	Lead Practitioners	A + B	A + B	A + B
	Early Years Practitioners (from different types of early years settings, excluding childminders)	A + B	A + B	A + B
	(Accredited)* Childminders	A+B	B	B
	Parents	B	B	B
	Children	B	B	B
	Leaders and managers of Early Years Settings*	B		
Development officers Local Authority*	Consultant	A	A	A
	Speech and Language Therapist (SALT)	A	A	A
	Primary Team (Advisory Teachers*)	A		A
	Early Years Team**	A		A
	Language Link Network**	A		A
	'Lot of other (services)***^		A 'stuff' (line702)	A 'teams' (line 1026)
	LA officers*	A		
	The English as an Additional Language Team*	A		
Primary Care Trust*	Trust Group	A	A + B	A + B
	Health Visitors		B^	B^
	Healthy School Team			A
Others	Early Years Students		B	
	Librarian/library		A+ B	A+B
	Portage		A+ B	
	Drum teacher			A

\* The term was expressed in the consultants' guidelines only.

\*\* These members were mentioned by C2 but did not appear explicitly in the consultants' guidelines. However, I have placed them under 'other development officers', in line with the consultants' guidance.

^ These were responses to the last question asked regarding who was involved in the programme.

\*\*\* I interpreted both expressions as a way of indicating 'all the other members who were not named in the conversation'. Probably, both consultants felt that there was no need to be more specific at that point in the conversation. Both responses appeared in the last minutes of the interviews.

The role of 'agents' appears to be mainly assigned to the 'development officers' (in green) who were available in each local authority and provided 'training courses', 'support and development opportunities', 'support settings', 'network meetings' and 'exchange visits or shadowing' (DfCSF, 2008b, pp.35–42). These services included specialist support such as quality teams, advisory teachers, inclusion support teams, speech and language therapists and the consultants themselves.

Bourdieu (1977) explains that fundamental presuppositions that are shared by members of the market are essential to ensure that the market maintains credibility and relevance.

It is about believing in the game (Bourdieu, 1991) and what individuals and the others are able to do when playing their roles in the market. He adds:

The characteristics of a [practice], and in particular the position it occupies at a determinate point [...], depends on the aims of the collective strategies of the groups involved (Bourdieu, 1977, p.58).

The representation of the LA services as agents – rather than as beneficiaries – confers on them the status of ‘external experts’ in the implementation of ‘high-quality-language-provision’ but, at the same time, misrecognises potential local expertise. In this way, the effect of domination over other members of the market who do not have this officialised expertise is reinforced.

#### ***7.4 Hierarchies and tensions***

Fairclough (2010) suggests that social structures are open systems that represent different social orderings among different ways of making meaning of practice. According to the analysis presented in this chapter, two main domains appear to have been formed within the social structures of the ECaT initiative. I argue that these domains were discursively reinforced by the publication and circulation of specific guidance for different members of the market, and I present a number of examples of *language in use*, to illustrate the discursive construction of the domains. One domain is represented as external experts with a high position of distinction (Bourdieu, 1991) that is officialised in the ECaT documents and articulated in the interviews. For example, the consultants in the role of ‘actors’ in charge of ‘overseeing’/‘running’ the programme were endowed with ‘knowledge and expertise’ regarding language development. Although other local authority experts are identified, all of them were services that were external to the early years (local) settings where the changes were required.

By contrast, the other domain was constructed as ‘in need of help’ and lacking the necessary ‘knowledge and expertise’ to provide ‘quality’ provision. Some of my examples suggest the use of symbolic violence, calling for subordination to and acceptance of the external expertise. The lead practitioner is persuaded to volunteer for the programme, with an appeal to the ‘good’ moral nature of their role (also in Osgood, 2010; 2009). I argue that the double role of agents and beneficiaries assigned to practitioners could be used to create a collective sense of involvement in the market (Bourdieu, 1977). Whereas an active role was assigned when auditing practice, this was limited to ‘identify needs’ and ‘ask for help’. It appears that ‘knowledge and expertise’ were not attributes of early years practitioners, as external training is offered.

'Knowledge and expertise' appears to regulate the position of hierarchies between stakeholders, with consultants being officially endowed with authority and the highest profit of distinction of 'knowledgeable and experts'. Bourdieu (1991; 1977) claims that the effect of domination consists of subtle ways to control and regulate practices. Dominant forces become less visible as subordination appears natural and common-sense. For example, 'being part of an opportunity of national priority' is a (possible) strategy, calling for acceptance and appreciation of ECaT's purpose of 'improving the quality of language provision'.

Within this context, I suggest that the unification of the market was created by the officialisation of positions of power, profits of distinction and the imposition of regulatory external forces constructed as 'greater', as 'the salvation' "[and persistently] constructing the workforce as inadequate" (Osgood, 2009, p.742). Thus, acceptance and appreciation of the superior forces is justified as part of the standard ways of doing and the workforce becomes less resistant to what has been imposed by these high/external forces. If this interpretation is plausible, then the discursive construction of 'knowledge and expertise' could significantly influence the formation of dispositions towards language/s by extolling external expertise and dismissing local (settings) knowledge. Previously, I have also discussed the misrecognition of 'other languages' by way of the lack of officialisation of 'knowledge and expertise about young children learning more than one language', which could aggravate the fragile position of other languages as an effect of control and regulation of the market.

According to Fairclough (2010), the different forces within institutionalised practices leave individuals in a position of struggle. For example, the consultant's role, according to my analysis, appears to be instrumental in the execution and implementation of ECaT. Instructions such as 'collect' and 'report' were given, as pre-determined actions already assigned by the National Strategy under a tight schedule. No definitions of auditing and no alternative auditing tools were provided to consultants. However, it is possible to trace evidence of the reassignment of different meanings to these actions and of the repositioning of their role of authority in my interviews with the two consultants. Subordination, according to Bourdieu (1991), continuously maintains a subtle and nearly invisible power; in this way, the imposition of dominant ideologies is less perceptible. Two examples are provided below to examine the power that consultants appeared to (discursively) exercise within ECaT practice.

The first example is from the conversation with the first consultant. In this account, she began by recognising different levels of intervention because "It can't all be top-down" (line 495). Similarly, in line 501 "I think is down to me" appears to call upon her authority to make additional changes, reaffirming her authority in this market.

Extract 7.8: C1 – lines 494–508\*

494. C1 it's different different levels, yes because, you know, you obviously  
495. It can't all be top-down, it's got to come -  
496. K yeah] , and do you  
497. Is it difficult for every setting?  
498. 27:30 C1 These 20 settings have been here and auditing  
499. and there are not questions about bilingual children  
500. maybe that need is not going to appear?  
501. C1 ap, I well I think is down to me, really, because m, you know,  
502. they do the audit they do their action plan,  
503. K M  
504. C1 and, you know, it's already came up in terms so if there is a confusion  
505. about div diversity in terms of language, so it is something that (.)  
506. ahm (.) we will be working on  
507. K Mhm  
508. 28:00 C1 definitely, because (.) it's very important,

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\* Topic elaborated after my question about how multilingual issues would be addressed if the auditing did not include this matter (line 464)

I consider this account a pertinent example of the tension between the role assigned to the consultant and her responding to 'emergent' issues such as "confusion about diversity in terms of language" (lines 504–505). This part of the conversation continues with an account of the auditing process and of how language diversity issues may appear when early years practitioners apply the parents' questionnaire. Her expectation was that bilingual matters would have appeared anyway, in spite of the lack of official guidance, because it's very important (line 508).

The next example (below) comes from the conversation with the second consultant, in which she explains how she adopted a new role that was "not complete part of ECaT" (line 830) in order to be able to create a sense of belonging within the setting (line 836).

Extract 7.9: C2 – lines 829–840\*

829. 42:00 C2 ahm I also ahm run and it's slightly different because  
830. is not complete part (.) of ECaT. I also did training on ahm  
831. anti-discriminatory practice and part of that  
832. K mhm  
833. C2 it's actually taking into account (.) children (.) who (.) do not have  
834. English (.) as their first language  
835. K mhm  
836. C2 and what it means for them to belong to a setting where  
837. no-one speak the language and sometime no-one makes  
838. 42:30 the effort to communicate in any way  
839. K mhm  
840. C2 with them, so: that's part of a separate training which I run

---

\*topic elaborated around my question on training on multilingual practice and practitioners' responses to that (line 809)

This point is significant when looking at 'transforming' practices. Rather than producing and reproducing what has been constructed as a common-sense practice in a specific market, transformation involves radical changes which, according to Bourdieu (1977),

impose “new meanings on them by reference to alien structures” (p.20). For example, according to C2’s statement (above), additional training was conducted but “not [as a] complete part of ECaT” (line 830); by contrast, this particular exchange was discursively constructed under “anti-discriminatory practice” (line 831). The focus, then, is not on ‘language development’, as advocated under ECaT, but on “what it means for [EAL children] to belong to a setting” (line 836). In my view, this example illustrates ‘transformation’, in that the training conducted for the purpose of “taking into account children who do not have English as their first language” (lines 833–834) received a new meaning under ‘anti-discriminatory practice’ and as a structure that was alien to the ultimate purpose of ECaT.

In my view, the two accounts from C1 and C2 can be interpreted as moving away from what was discursively constructed under ECaT. This can be taken as evidence that ‘transformation’ was possible, reaffirming also the position of power that the consultants might have had. These extracts appear to present a different power relationship from the one I discussed previously (in Chapter 5, sections 5.4.3.2.a and 5.4.3.2.b), where I examined the mechanism of censorship used to conform to institutionalised practices. However, they are equally valuable in that they illustrate how the consultants reconstructed their role and status.

The powerful role assigned to the consultants who were endowed with the authority to select settings and establish new and keep existing partnerships with other individuals and services in the local authority (DfCSF, 2008b) could have been significant during the implementation of the ECaT market, potentially influencing the formation of dispositions towards languages. Yet, the misrecognition of ‘other languages’ in the official documents appears to be influenced by monolingual discourses of language, in which the importance of ‘other languages’ in young children’s early learning experience is obscured. By contrast, and as argued previously, discourses on performance, knowledge and expertise in relation to standardised monolingual expectations appeared to be predominant in this market.

## ***7.5 Summary***

In order to provide a systematic understanding of the discourses of language practice and the positions of other languages within those discourses, it is necessary to fully appreciate the complexities of the particular social practice. Institutionalised practices are shaped by discourses and ideologies; hence, an analysis of the *language in use* can offer possible interpretations of the social structure and power relationship that appeared to regulate this practice (Fairclough, 2010). Thus, my analysis of the published resources suggests that two different domains were created and a power relationship installed

between external regulating forces and the local 'in need' language practice. Symbolic power is used to regulate the market (Bourdieu, 1991), creating a distinctive power relationship in which external knowledge is highly appreciated. Desirable knowledge and skills are offered within a detailed programme to "ameliorate [practitioners'] deficiencies" (Vincent and Braun, 2011).

This chapter has examined the social structure of ECaT practice and the power relationship between some of the members of this market. I argue that a hierarchy based on 'knowledge and expertise' establishes a power relationship controlled by/from external forces. This was discursively constructed, with external stakeholders and services as 'actors' and the practitioners in the selected settings as both actors and beneficiaries, which reaffirmed the lower status given to the latter in this market. This analysis is significant in the examination of the possible influence of the ECaT initiative on the formation of dispositions, as it exposes the strategies used to keep the market unified and the effect of domination created (discursively) under discourses of 'quality-language-provision'. Discourses of performativity and professionalism are invisibly instilled (Osgood, 2010) to mould a workforce that appears to have little autonomy (Vincent and Braun, 211), thus restricting local knowledge.

Reflecting on the response that the lead practitioner who worked with my son gave me (presented in Chapter 1), I am inclined to believe that her local knowledge of my son's experience of learning two languages was overlooked by ECaT. Bourdieu (1977) advises that "believing in the game" is achieved by the members of a market by their making sense of the role they "play" in that market. He also stresses the endless creation and re-creation of the relationships that can be established between members, highlighting the ambiguities and equivocations that can be expected as part of the generative nature of social practices. The position of struggle, then, is part of the negotiation between individual and institutionalised ideologies, which converge in such a way as to make the social practice meaningful and coherent. The analysis of domains presented so far appears to suggest that the lead practitioner's answer was completely justified, as little evidence of an appreciation of local knowledge and expertise was articulated in the ECaT documents. By contrast, ECaT appears to constrain "spaces, visions and possibilities" (Roberts-Holmes, 2014).

The hierarchy of 'knowledge and expertise' established by ECaT appeared to marginalise 'knowing about young children learning more than one language', and the misrecognition of this matter was accepted by both consultants in their responses to my questions. Nevertheless, they both appeared to present solutions to this problem, with C1 expecting the auditing process to expose it anyway, and C2 appealing to different 'discursive structures' (such as anti-discriminatory practice) to provide young children

with a sense of belonging. Thus, the transformation of language practice appears possible when constructed outside ECaT discourses of language practice.

The next chapter provides a more detailed analysis that focuses on the discursive construction of 'other languages' and the position they appear to occupy within ECaT discourses.

## Chapter 8 – The discursive constructions of ‘other languages’

### *8.1 Introduction*

The final stage of the systematic analysis of institutionalised discourses involved an examination of what Fairclough (2010) presents as ideological-discursive-formations (IDFs). IDFs are the particular ideologies that are discursively constructed in specific practices. For my study, this is about ‘other languages’ in the ECaT practice. Whereas the previous two chapters focused on the forces that appeared to regulate ECaT as a language practice, this chapter explores the discursive construction of ‘other languages’ and their position in this practice. This analysis facilitates the identification and deconstruction of specific ideologies and explores their possible influence on the formation of dispositions towards languages in early years language practice.

The analysis is reported in three sections. The first section focuses on social spaces and the construction of eligibility given within the ECaT initiative. Considering that the environment in which early language/s are learnt is of great significance, the construction of ‘home’ as a social space – and a learning space – is explored. The second section presents an analysis of the words and expressions used when referring to ‘other language users’ in ECaT documents. This looks at the lexicalisation (semantic value) that investigates the meanings assigned to specific words. The final section reviews the position of ‘parents’, analysing the discursive construction of ‘knowledge and expertise’ associated with them. The analysis of the interviews in the constructions of ‘eligible spaces’ and ‘parents’ follows the systematic analytical approach presented in Chapter 5 (Section 5.3 *Multiple layers of analysis and different analytical tools*). However, the interviews are also strategically used to compare alternative representations of ‘other language users’ that deviate from those in the official documents, exploring ‘transforming practice’ and enquiring into the potential influence of official discourses on the formation of dispositions at local level.

### *8.2 Eligible social spaces*

This section presents an analysis of the social spaces that were discursively constructed as eligible for the language practice advocated by ECaT. The ideological-discursive-construction of spaces is considered important for my study, as the place where young children learning more than one language acquire a significant number of linguistics skills (Extra, 2007). Language learning is not a process that occurs only in the institutionalised space of the early years settings. By contrast, young children move across places, learning languages and developing a sense of belonging within their unique local-

personal realities (Kenner, 2005). They construct their identities during their early experiences at home, in local communities and through early educational experiences, and this learning occurs as a continuum rather than in compartmentalised spaces (Kenner, 2004b).

Spaces are representations of where actions happen for particular social practices (van Leeuwen, 2008). For Bourdieu, these specific spaces generate a symbolic function and status in which habituses are situated (1977). He suggests that the spatial distinction between the place of residence and the place of transaction, in his example, “prevent[s] the impersonal exchanges of the market from obtruding the dispositions of calculation into the world of reciprocity relationships” (ibid, p.186). This suggests that the distinctions between the localities in which certain exchanges occur affect the distribution of capital as well as the social position that members occupy (Bourdieu, 1991). Within the scope of my study, I examine the representation of spaces in the interviews and then later in the documents, moving towards recontextualising the discursive constructions of institutionalised spaces. My analysis emphasises reviewing the position of ‘home’ within these discursive constructions.

### **8.2.1 Spaces in the interviews**

The first level of analysis explains the topic trajectory of ‘spaces’ in the conversations with the consultants. By reporting on this topic and its trajectory in the interviews, I aim to demonstrate the intertextuality that was generated during the interviews. Therefore, this section offers an account of how both interviewer and interviewees contributed to the discursive construction of ‘spaces’, recognising the locality of the data that were generated through interviewing (Alvesson, 2002). The second level of analysis moves towards reconstructing the representation of ‘spaces’ and “the role of [these] space[s] in enacting social practices” in the interviews (van Leeuwen, 2008, p.90).

#### **8.2.1.1 Spaces as topic**

The first level of analysis starts by mapping the topic trajectory of ‘social spaces’ during the interviews. ‘Spaces’ was not introduced as a specific topic, nor elaborated directly. However, it is possible to track how ‘spaces’ shadows other topics (Rapley, 2001). For example, talking about ‘settings’ (the numbers, the process of selection and the ways in which the settings were involved) facilitates an appreciation of the physical localities in which the social events associated with ECaT practice would have taken place. Thus, ‘spaces’ did not come out as a topic in its own right but, rather, as shadowing other topics. By looking at what was said about the entities and actions that were part of this initiative,

it is possible to interpret ECaT spaces. Therefore, the analysis of the social spaces that were discursively constructed around ECaT practices is considerably informed by the analysis of the members and the actions already reported in the previous chapter.

Similarly, home space did not appear as a dominant topic during the interviews and no direct questions were elicited. However, there were a few instances in the interviews when home spaces appeared to shadow topics around language practice, especially when another language was spoken at home. For example, in the following abstract what was said about home appeared to shadow the topic about bilingual parents and what they do there.

**Extract 8.1: C2 – lines 793–800\***

793.		C2	I will say that (.) but the consequences of that (.) is often in when I've seen
794.	→		what I said they <u>ignore</u>
795.		K	mhm
796.	40:30	C2	the parents who are bilingual. Their reactions is but there is always someone
797.			at home who can speak English and who can tell them where
798.			the information are
799.		K	mhm
800.	→	C2	so rather than trying to (.) <u>adapt</u> (.) system.

\* Topic elaborated after elicited question with charts about perceived differences of language practice for bilingual children (Appendix H)

The principal topic of this extract is practitioners *ignoring* (line 794) a factor: “parents who are bilingual” (line 794). In this part of the conversation, what may happen at home appears as an illustration of what practitioners ‘should do’ in terms of sending information – “adapt[ing] the system” (line 800) – when parents are bilingual. Therefore, ‘home’ in this extract offers some clues about spaces and the eligibility of these. Consequently, I argue that spaces can be analysed by looking at other topics, such as ‘what was done’ and ‘what should be done’, identifying the spaces that were allied to these actions (van Leeuwen, 2008). The following section expands on ‘spaces’ by examining how they were represented in the discursive construction of practice in the interviews.

**8.2.1.2 Representation of spaces in the interviews**

The second level of analysis entails the representation of the ‘spaces’ in the interviews and the linguistic realisations used to construct, discursively, the specific locations in which ECaT practices occurred. According to the first level of analysis of ‘spaces’, presented above, despite ‘home’ not being a main topic, ECaT spaces can be examined when looking at the *actions* arranged under the ECaT initiative. In Chapter 6, I presented an analysis of the actions associated with both consultants and practitioners during the auditing process. Although the purpose of that analysis was to examine the exchanges and capital that ECaT appeared to favour, for the analysis presented in this section I refer to some of the actions listed in that chapter (see Table 6a – *Consultants’ actions*

and Table 6b *Practitioners' actions*). There, I discussed the hierarchy of consultants' and practitioners' actions, focusing on the preservation of capital that appeared to be motivating the exchanges generated under ECaT.

Lead practitioners were associated with specific actions, such as planning, observing interactions with children, setting up the reading books and sharing information with parents. Although it is not explicit 'where' these actions were to be conducted, it is reasonable to presuppose that they were expected to happen in the early years settings (for instance, there are no suggestions that the lead practitioner would move to other spaces). Other spaces were associated with the local authority and the additional services available in its jurisdiction. For example, 'training' could happen outside the 'setting' but no additional details were made explicit.

By contrast, home space was less evident as an eligible space in both the ECaT documents and the interviews. Taking into account the fact that I did not elicit any elaboration around home in the interviews (as discussed in the previous section), it is no surprise that home was not mentioned in the interview with C1. The topic elaborated with C1 about 'other languages' and the absence of these in the ECaT resources did not suggest any *action* that could occur at home. However, in the interview with C2 'home' appeared as *initiated* by the consultant and this articulated two significant conditions, which are examined in the examples below.

The first example is based on the same extract used in the previous section, where home appeared as a topic that shadowed the topic of bilingual parents. '[P]arents who are bilingual' (line 796) appear to be considered as 'not English speakers' because they need to be told 'where information' is (line 798). In this context, the statement generates the assumption that (some) parents lack proficiency in English. Within this context, C2 appears to suggest that lead practitioners are required to try 'to adapt the system' (line 800), since 'home' is presented with the condition of non-English-speaking-space. 'Speaking English' or 'not speaking English' at home gives the impression of its being an issue for accessing information, as the system needs to be adapted. As previously argued, this statement appears to contain the conviction that "'non-literate' bilingual families are the norm rather than the exception" (Kenner, 2000, p.X). In addition, 'accessing information' seems to be a particular inconvenience, as 'to prepare' information and 'to share' information with parents were actions associated with the role of the lead practitioner. I will return to this feature later in the chapter, when I scrutinise the construction of parents (section 8.4 *Parents as beneficiaries*).

A second condition associated with home spaces was also elaborated by C2, who emphasised the importance of maintaining the home language at ‘home’ (Extract 8.2: C2, line 936).

Extract 8.2: C2 – lines 934–956\*

934.	47:00	C2	so, the additional information I give to bilingual parents
935.			is <u>how</u> important it is for them to keep the home language
936.			and I, <u>at home</u>
937.		K	mhm
938.	→	C2	as well as the child learning English, in the setting
939.		K	mhm
940.		C2	how important it is and what’s their role, you know, how important their
941.			role is (.)
942.		K	mhm
943.		C2	in (..) reading (..) stories or <u>telling</u> . just <u>telling</u> stories in their home
944.	47:30		language, carrying on, for that child. And also the fact that
945.			you’ve got (..) a bilingual son, and you know that often bilingual
946.			children speaks slightly later,
947.		K	mhm
948.		C2	because they’ve got twice as
949.			many words to learn, but also telling them (..) not to worry
950.			about that, but also (..) not worry about the children being confused
951.		K	mhm
952.		C2	about the language
953.			so, the additional information is pure, is more in reassuring them that they
954.			are not doing anything wrong, on the contrary
955.		K	mhm
956.	→	C2	that they are doing a lot of: (..) things that are right for that child

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\* Topic elicited by question about whether bilingual parents required different information (line 919)

Two features of this extract are worth analysing. The first is the importance of maintaining the home language: “they need to carry on speaking their home language” (line 935), and the possible negative impact if this is interrupted. These points assign an important role to ‘home’ in preserving the home language, which appears to be valued per se: “they are doing a lot of: (..) things that are right for that child” (line 956). The second feature, however, establishes a distinction between ‘home practice’ and ‘setting practice’. In this case, it is suggested that learning English is an event that happens in the early years settings: “as well as the child learning English, in the setting” (line 938). This account does not explicitly exclude ‘other languages’; however, it reinforces language learning as dis-associated into two different ‘worlds’ (Kelly, 2010), creating an artificial and institutionalised disposition of language learning into two separate spaces. In the analysis of both interviews I found no constructions that might suggest that language learning is considered as occurring in continuous spaces, a topic that has been widely analysed in the study of young children’s linguistic and literacy skills (Kelly, 2010; Jessel et al, 2011; Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2004b; 2000).

My analysis suggests that greater importance is assigned to the institutionalised spaces (such as the settings and services available in the local authority), marginalising ‘home’

from the institutionalised practices. Although this outcome could have been greatly influenced by the lack of direct questions about home language practice, the actions around 'auditing' (which dominated the conversations with C1 and C2) concentrated on the language practice that occurred in the settings and the additional services. The discursive division of language learning between two separate social spaces – 'home' and 'setting' – was also a feature of the construction of 'other language users' (the analysis of which is reported in Section 8.3.1 '*Other language users*').

According to van Leeuwen (2008), social spaces provide a normative understanding that imposes power relationships under institutionalised practices. Thus, the analysis of the interviews suggests that English appears to prevail as the legitimate language in the early years settings, holding an institutionalised status that no 'other language' possesses. Could this be influenced by the ECaT initiative? The following section examines the representation of spaces in the official ECaT guidelines.

### 8.2.2 Spaces in the documents

When looking at the guidelines distributed under ECaT, along with the recommended resources and activities, the early years settings appear to be the geographical spaces in which these actions are to be carried out. Great emphasis was placed on the consultants 'collecting information' and 'assessing language development' and on the practitioners 'auditing language practices', which leads to the assumption that many of these activities were conducted in the settings. In addition, within the early years settings, specific actions were assigned which, according to van Leeuwen (2008), conditioned the meanings associated with their status. For example, 'observations' should be conducted in home-corner, book areas and circle-time (also known as carpet-time because it frequently occurs in a specific designated space in the setting) because these are the 'spaces' in which 'language activities' occur.

By contrast, 'home' was acknowledged less frequently as part of the ECaT social practice. In the consultants' guidance, 'home' was represented as part of the ECaT language practice 6 times (in a 42-page document) and in the lead practitioners' guidance 22 times (in a 100-page document). According to my analysis, three main functional conditions were associated with 'home': 1) as a learning space; 2) as a space where other language may be spoken; and 3) as a space in which to duplicate what was done in the setting. To put this into context, I will briefly expand on the functions and meanings associated with 'home' in both the consultants' and the lead practitioners' guidance.

### 8.2.2.1 Representation of spaces in the consultants' guidance

In the guidelines for the consultants, home appeared as exclusively associated with the first functional condition, that of home as learning environment/language learning environment. The extract below illustrates the discursive construction of 'home' as a key feature of the ECaT initiative.

#### Extract 8.3: Consultants' guidance – *An Overview*

As well as creating an enriched language environment within settings, the programme will increase the involvement of parents in their children's learning and will help to develop stronger **home learning environments** (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2, my bold).

This extract seems to recognise the importance of this social space to 'learning', emphasising ECaT's aim of making learning at home 'stronger'. According to van Leeuwen (2008), social spaces are legitimated by adding "moral evaluations" (values), which are used to point out symbolic importance. In the case of 'home', two opposing conditions were associated with its construction as a 'learning environment'. One condition is the construction of home as a positive learning environment per se, which should be valued by early years practitioners, while the other suggests that home, as a learning environment, needs to 'improve' with the help of the practitioners. A distinctive example is the extract below 8.4 (also used in Chapter 6, section 6.2.3 *Research-based knowledge and 'quality'*).

#### Extract 8.4: Consultants' guidance – *Why is a focused programme such as this necessary?*

Research and other evidence tells us that some children, particularly those from **low income and disadvantaged homes**, do not experience the rich, well planned communication and language provision in their settings that is necessary to support their development. These children also have fewer opportunities to talk with their parents than children from **well-educated middle-class homes**, and are already behind their more affluent peers in their acquisition of vocabulary by the age of three (Hart and Risley, 1995 cited in DfCSF, 2008b, p.3, my bold).

Well-educated middle-class homes are symbolically superior language learning environments when compared with low-income homes. Although the selection of the 20 settings was based on low language scores rather than on income, this extract creates a link between middle-class homes and 'good' learning environments. Consequently, only 'some-homes' hold a positive value. The inadequacy of individuals (the poor) has been reported as a key feature of policies and of the 'new politics of parenting' (Simpson et al, 2015), "which promotes the idea that parents in poverty through their inept practices are also damaging their children's brains and development" (Edwards, Gillies and Horsley, 2014 cited in Simpson et al, 2015, p.99).

In addition, it appears to suggest that the institutionalised space (Bourdieu, 1991) is endorsed with a higher position of distinction than the non-middle-class home.

### 8.2.2.2 Representation of spaces in the lead practitioners' guidance

In the guidelines for the lead practitioners, 'home' can be seen as being discursively constructed as an important 'space' for learning, but the same dichotomy of home as a 'positive learning environment' and as a 'space for improvement' is presented. An illustration can be seen in the extract below:

#### Extract 8.5: Practitioners' guidance – Introduction: What is Every Child a Talker?

Improving practice in Early Years settings is important, but providing lots of opportunities **for language learning in the home** is vital – it makes the biggest difference to how well a child goes on to achieve (DfCSF, 2008a, p.3, my bold).

This extract establishes 'home' as a 'vital' learning environment through its use of the phrase *the biggest difference*. However, this construction is not well supported by the *actions* associated with the auditing process, as importance is placed on language practice in the early years setting, with only a few points about the home environment included. For example, home as a learning environment is mentioned only once in Stage 1 of the audit (*Language provision in your setting – Positive Relationships – EYFS Principles into practice Card: 2.3 Supporting Learning*) and just twice in Stage 2 (*Identifying priorities and training needs – Features of a communication-friendly setting – Top tips for talking: Ways in which practitioners can support and develop communication – Activity card for staff training*). The low occurrence of 'home' in the audit stage of the ECaT initiative could have had an impact on what could be included/excluded to 'improve quality provision', and I will return to this argument in the next section (8.3.1 – *'Other language users' in the documents*).

In the same vein, 'home' as a learning space was mentioned in four statements, one of which is presented in the extract below:

#### Extract 8.6: Practitioners' guidance – Securing parental engagement across the EYFS – Step two: consulted and valued

Truly valuing the knowledge that parents have about their child's communication and effectively consulting with parents will involve finding ways to record progress at **home** and in the setting that are accessible to all (DfCSF, 2008a, p.98, my bold).

This statement emphasises the importance of recording 'progress at home'; however, it is left to the practitioners to 'find ways' to do this. Similar to the example presented in the literature review (Section 2.4 *An example of language ideologies permeating early language practice*), the absence of specific information about how these practices should be materialised converts 'truly valuing the knowledge that parents have' into an *affective reaction* rather than a concrete action (van Leeuwen, 2008). These types of construction maintain a rhetorical importance of 'valuing parents', which is not necessarily materialised in tangible practices. Particularly for those children who are learning more than one language, 'record[ing] progress at home' involves collecting a specific set of information through which to fully appreciate 'progression'. For example, an extensive

list suggested by Gregory (1997) consists of 23 questions organised under five different principles. These questions collect relevant information about home practice, the opportunities that young children have to use the additional language and parents' expectations. Similarly, the impact of the community and the family network is valued as a significant contribution to children's early learning experience. By contrast, the lack of concrete actions around language assessment and language practice for children who are learning more than one language is a significant feature I have encountered in my analysis of ECaT language practice.

The other condition associated with 'home' as a place where other language/s is/are spoken can be observed in the extract below:

Extract 8.7: Practitioners' guidance – Guidance on supporting children learning English as an Additional Language – Positive relationships – Top tips for parents

Clear and consistent: If there is more than one language spoken **at home**, try to keep to some consistent rules (e.g. Mum speaks French, Dad speaks Yoruba) (p.56 – my bold).

Although little information is given about what being "clear and consistent" means, this statement appears to suggest that these two features are conditioned by "keep[ing] to some consistent rules". While avoiding the temptation to over-analyse this statement, it does raise questions about the ideological perspectives that represent one-person-one-language, and also about the origins of this belief and to what extent this "rule" applies to the multiplicity of language dynamics that bilingual and plurilingual families have. The documents do not mention any of the studies that have looked at home language environments in which more than one language is spoken and the linguistic patterns observed therein (Kelly, 2010; Wang, 2008; Macrory, 2006; Kenner 2005; 2004a; 2004b; 2000).

The third condition associated with home is as a space where what is done in the setting should be duplicated. The following extract illustrates this:

Extract 8.8: Practitioners' guidance – Securing parental engagement across the EYFS – Step three: engaged partners

**Enabling Environments:** Enable parents to access resources that can enrich **the home** environment such as toy libraries or swap shops. Support parents to plan and organise trips to local places like the library or further afield (p.99 – my bold).

The focus is placed on 'enriching home' by mirroring the 'setting' environment, which appears to suggest the creation of some kind of continuity between 'home' and 'setting' as a shared space (Kelly, 2010; Kenner, 2004a; 2004b). Three additional statements are presented below to further explore this feature.

Extract 8.9: Practitioners' guidance – *Guidance on supporting children learning English as an Additional Language – A unique Child – Questions and concerns – When NOT to be concerned*

- It's OK for children **to speak their home language** while they are in the Early Years setting
- Supporting the development of a child's **home language** will enhance their ability to learn English
- Time spent speaking their **home language** may also offer children a welcome respite from the pressure of speaking English (DfCSF, 2008a, p.54, my bold).

The first statement reassures the practitioner that 'it's OK' for children to speak their home language in the setting, and the reasons for this are provided in the subsequent two statements: 'the ability to learn English is enhanced' and 'respite from the pressure'. None of this assigns an intrinsic value to the language spoken or the cultural and linguistic heritage that this knowledge brings with it. The instrumentalisation of the 'other language' as beneficial in that it 'bridges' the learning of English, misrecognising any other additional learning values, is a pattern that previous research in early years education has also encountered (Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008; Kenner 2004a).

An additional feature are the subheadings used, which also condition (and restrict) the possibility of speaking the 'other language' in the setting space. For instance, the three bullet points (Extract 8.9) were presented under the subheading '*questions and concerns – When NOT to be concerned*'. A completely different effect would have been created if the statements had been presented under subheadings such as 'What to do to support EAL children' or 'Examples of good practice', or under the actual ECaT section entitled 'Enabling Environment'. Similarly, the statement 'it's OK' (in contrast with other possible expressions such as 'excellent', 'good practice', 'good language model') in my view restricts the moral value associated with children speaking their home language in the setting.

I have so far presented a brief account of the discursive construction of the social spaces in which ECaT was implemented. My analysis focuses on the position of home in these discursive constructions. The next section moves on to an analysis of the legitimisation of the social spaces within institutionalised discourses and the ideological perspectives they could convey. The analysis, presented in the following section, is informed by a recontextualisation of the discursive constructions of the ECaT documents with the interviews.

### 8.2.3 Recontextualising institutional spaces

This section attempts to recontextualise the social space during the execution of ECaT. This is the third level of analysis, and it brings together the discursive constructions of 'spaces' in the interviews and the official ECaT resources. In order to provide possible

interpretations of the ideologies that orientate ECaT language practice and the strategies of legitimation that were used to implement this initiative, I examine the position of home language practice within different language ideologies.

Regarding the function and meaning of the social spaces, the ECaT initiative appears to focus on language learning environments, with both home and the early years settings being recognised as significant places. However, a larger amount of information is provided about the language practices that occur (or should occur, as imaginary representations of realities) in the settings. By contrast, in comparison with what was offered in the documents for the early years settings, the actions (exchanges) associated with home practice were less specific and less frequent. It appears that only some 'homes' were valued as positive learning environments, with 'low income and disadvantage homes' requiring additional support.

Although 'spaces' were not directly elaborated during the interviews, the conversations about auditing practices offered a brief insight into social spaces, particularly regarding the roles of the consultant and the lead practitioner and the actions that were exchanged during this time. In these conversations, less emphasis was placed on 'home' as part of the ECaT language practice. My analysis suggests that the limited account of home-language-practice in the official guidelines, especially during the auditing of the settings, was also reflected in the interviews. Although 'home' is stated as being a vitally significant space for learning, relatively few exchanges around ECaT practice appeared to consider these spaces. Thus, the discursive constructions of ECaT appear to confer on institutional spaces a major role, diminishing, in this way, language learning opportunities outside early years settings and downgrading the 'status' of these spaces in comparison with early years provision. Rather than rendering them invisible, the lack of concrete guidance about home practice makes these spaces opaque.

In the interview with C2, some constructions gave a positive value to home-language-practice when another language was spoken, appealing to how the other language/s is/are an asset for the individual. However, the same constructions are used to create a divided condition between the early years space and the home space. Each language should be spoken separately, maintaining a division between different spaces, but the dis-association of learning spaces is not necessarily appropriate in terms of the learning continuum that young children experience. For example, Kelly (2010) shows how young children from different linguistic and literary backgrounds struggle when the early years settings differ significantly from their early learning experiences at home. Based on the analysis presented, I argue that home language appears to be perceived as a right at home but that it has not been fully appreciated in early language learning settings. This perception has been associated with multilingual ideologies, which fail to appreciate the

significance of languages to the wider society (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2010; May, 2010; also Li Wei, 2015).

The constructions around speaking home language have a very limited function in the ECaT documents. Rather than being presented both as a vital shared space that can provide continuity to early language learning experiences and as an important part of language practice (Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2004b), the three statements presented were provided as 'tips' on how 'not to be concerned'. Learning another language was also constructed as a bridge to learning English, which is associated with ideologies that favour assimilation into the mainstream system (argued by Edwards, 2004), reinforcing that what happens at home, stays at home.

Particularly problematic is the absence of concrete examples about home practices. Van Leeuwen (2008) argues that this is significant when analysing practice. For example, none of the documents I examined provide a space in which to record the language/s that children speak, nor do they offer the possibility to register the language in which the assessment is conducted, which conveys the assumption that the assessment is in English. Although the lead practitioners' guidance states that they should "acknowledge and value home language" and record "the child's language skills in their home language" (*Guidance on supporting children learning English as an Additional Language*, DfCSF, 2008a, p.54), there is no additional information about how these actions should be carried out. Regardless of the unique linguistic experience a young child may have experienced at this stage of his/her life, it is assumed that learning more than one language follows the same patterns of language development as learning just one language (Macrory, 2006). Having access to specific guidance, such as that offered by Gregory (1997), would have made this practice less obscure/opaque.

Monolingual theories of language development establish distinct stages of acquisition of linguistic skills (Baker, 2003), and these stages appear to be used as benchmarks for children learning more than one language. However, Kenner (2005, cited in Hélot and de Mejía, 2008, p.2), suggests that "the needs of L1 and L2 speakers should be met in the same shared space" and that setting practices could extend opportunities for children to explore learning (Kenner, 2000). Plurilingual language ideologies value both spaces – home and the early years setting – and advocate for 'shared spaces'. However, my analysis did not find any traces of plurilingual discourses.

The invisibility of home practice inculcates the legitimization of English as the only language that matters. This discursive marginalisation of home spaces and shared spaces contradicts the home-school relationship, which was invested with "enormous educational significance and political aspiration" in England (MacLure and Walker, 2003 cited in MacLure, 2003, p.48; also argued by Gewirtz, 2001) but, at the same time,

enforced and maintained the power relations (Foucault, 1979 cited in van Leeuwen, 2008, p.20) that were exercised against home practices. I will return to this topic later in this chapter when examining the construction of 'parents' in ECaT. Before that, I explore the ideological-discursive-formation of 'other language users' in ECaT.

### ***8.3 The lexicalisation of 'other language users'***

This section explores the discursive construction around 'other language users'. I use the expression 'other languages' to refer to any language other than English. The 'other language' forms part of someone's background, which they bring to the early years settings. In the literature review, I associated the term 'other languages' with minority and immigrant languages, arguing that a diversity of languages co-exists in the early years sector, especially in global cities such as London (Block, 2006). This analysis focuses on the lexicalisation of those who speak one or more 'other languages', other than English, that is, the use of particular words and expressions employed to represent them during the operationalisation of the ECaT programme (Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2008). Potter and Wetherell (1987 cited in Alvesson, 2002) argue that *language in use* is variable, ambiguous and inconsistent; however, sometimes discourse analysis has approached *language use* by reducing it to patterns, categorisations and selective interpretations. It is suggested that:

[t]he point is to take an interest in the various ways people use *language*, not only in the accounts they describe, but also in the realities their accounts attempt to produce (or reproduce), and in the realities to which their accounts respond (Alvesson, 2002, p.71 – my italics).

The analysis of the lexicalisation around 'other language users' offered in this section focuses on young children learning more than one language and practitioners who speak more than one language. Later, I critically analyse the positions that other languages were given in the ECaT documents. I argue that 'other languages' were slightly-included and, at the same time, extensively-excluded in the ECaT discourse. I finish this analysis by recontextualising these constructions with the representation of 'other language users' in the interviews.

#### **8.3.1 'Other language users' in the documents**

This first part of this section looks at the position of 'other languages' in the documents distributed during the implementation of the ECaT programme. Three themes were explored in order to appreciate the ideological-discursive-formations around 'other language users'. These are those expressions that were used to refer to: 1) young

children learning more than one language; 2) their parents; and 3) practitioners who speak more than one language. In this section I present only my analysis regarding children and practitioners, because the analysis of parents is presented later in this chapter (section 8.4 *Parents as beneficiaries*). The analysis is based on a review of the ECaT documents, including the document entitled *Supporting children learning English as an additional language: Guidance for practitioners in the Early Years Foundation Stage* (DfCSF, 2007b), which provides a more specific discussion of the topic of ‘other languages’ explored in this section. This document was referenced in both the consultants’ and the lead practitioners’ guidance (also listed in Chapter 4, section 4.3.4.1).

### **8.3.1.1 Children learning more than one language**

When referring to the fact that some young children are learning more than one language, the expression *English as an Additional Language* (also EAL) was most commonly used. The term *bilingual* was less frequently used, appearing exclusively in the section entitled *Guidance on Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language* in the lead practitioners’ guidance (DfCSF, 2008a) and in the handbook entitled *Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language: guidance for practitioners in the Early Years Foundation Stage* (DfCSF, 2007b). For example:

Extract 8.10: Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language – Introduction in the Guidance for Practitioners

The term EAL recognises the fact that many children learning English in settings in this country are already developing one or more other languages and are adding English to that repertoire (DfCSF, 2007b, p3).

This definition establishes a natural relation between English and (early years) settings: “many children learning English in settings”. What is less explicit is where the ‘other languages’ are learnt, which suggests that an institutionalised value is associated with English but not with ‘other languages’ (as they are not spoken in the settings). The guidance for lead practitioners adds a definition of an EAL learner, as follows:

Extract 8.11: Practitioners’ guidance – first auditing tool

English as an Additional Language learner: a child who can communicate effectively in their own language **but** has not yet learnt English (2008b, p.11 – my italics and bold).

In my view, these two extracts appear to misrecognise that some children are learning English at home in addition to an/other language/s. Kenner (2004b) emphasises that the environment of every young bilingual child in London (for example) is different and it is precisely this diversity that does not seem to be fully recognised in these definitions. This matter takes on great significance when the ECaT documents are considered in conjunction with the assessment framework in the *Profile Handbook for the Early Years*

*Foundation Stage* (DfCSF, 2008f), as none of these documents explicitly advise on what considerations should be taken into account when assessing children who are learning different language/s at home and in the settings. This is in contrast with, for example, Gregory's (1997) useful set of questions for obtaining a more accurate understanding of the language experience young children have at home, in the early years setting and in their communities.

Moreover, which language should be 'assessed', in terms of language development, has not been made explicit. According to my examination, the assessment of language "at level 6" (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2) becomes the universal desirable outcome for all children. Edwards (2004) explains that it is common in countries where English is the mainstream language that this language is perceived as an asset per se and accorded a higher status than 'other languages' (also argued by Anderson, Kenner and Gregory, 2008, when examining foreign language/s in the National Curriculum). Assessing young bilingual children with a monolingual assessment frame is unfair, as it ignores a substantial part of their early learning. Tollefson (2010, p.6) suggests that "educational institutions play an important role in imposing standard language ideologies [...] imposing sanctions against those who use other varieties". Associating the category of 'lowest achievers' with young children learning more than one language (which is further explored later in this section) is a form of sanction against their linguistic diversity and does not provide a fair representation of the linguistic abilities those children may have. Moreover, according to ECaT, 'success' is measured against "raising language performance of children" (DfCSF, 2008b, p.2). Safford and Drury (2012, p.73) suggest that the "monolingual national curriculum and assessment system" does not provide 'space' for settings to "respond to local language and cultural contexts". Hence, 'assessment at level 6' is highly problematic in early years practice and the official documents I examined do not provide that appropriate space (Rojas-Bustos, 2013).

Nevertheless, some positive views of children learning another language can be observed in the guidance released during the implementation of ECaT. Statements such as "bilingualism is an asset", "it is widely accepted that bilingualism confers intellectual advantages" (DfCSF, 2007b, p.4) and "speaking more than one language is a positive and beneficial skill and should be celebrated" (DfCSF, 2008a, p.53) are presented. 'Key principles' with positive remarks about being bilingual were used to send messages such as "the principles of good practice" for EAL children could also "enrich the experience of **all children**" (DfCSF, 2008a, p.53; this is also mentioned on pages 54, 55, 56 and 57 and in DfCSF, 2007b, pages 2, 5 and 8 – my bold).

However, the documents also offer a range of contrastive relational structures such as *x but y* (as presented in Extract 8.11), *x to catch up* with *y*, and *x is more likely to be z*, as seen in the following extracts:

Extract 8.12: Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language – *The importance of home languages*

Children may become conversationally fluent in a new language in two or three years but may take five or more years **to catch up** with monolingual peers in cognitive and academic language (DfCSF, 2007b, p.5 – my italics and bold).

This statement creates a contrastive relation between EAL children and monolingual children. It appears to suggest that monolingual children are more cognitively and academically advanced in comparison with EAL children, as the latter have ‘to catch up’ with their ‘monolingual peers’. Again, this statement appears to suggest a position of disadvantage in terms of linguistic skills for those who speak another language. However, I argued earlier that a distinction of profit has been assigned only to middle-class homes in the consultants’ guidelines (Chapter 6, Section – 6.2.3 Research-based knowledge and ‘quality’). Consequently, it could be suggested that the advanced cognitive and linguistic skills of monolingual children also represent that sector. Particularly, as the working-class parents and/or children living in poverty, in the ECaT resource, have not been assigned with a higher position of distinction.

Another feature identified in the documents is the discursive construction of ‘a gap’ in relation to the expected outcomes for the Foundation Stage and the need of EAL children to ‘catch up’ (mentioned on p.3(x2), DfCSF, 2007b). On top of this, one statement goes on to suggest that EAL children could be more ‘vulnerable to poor outcomes’ and could be the ‘lowest achievers’ (DfCSF, 2007b, p.2 and p.3 respectively). Similarly, the consultants’ guidance (DfCSF, 2008b, p.27) states:

Extract 8.13: Consultants’ guidance – *Local Authority Targets*

When compiling an action plan LAs will have considered the analysis of the characteristics of the lowest achieving 20% of children. This has revealed that:

- [..]
- 1 in 3 children whose first language is other than English are in the bottom 20%
- [..]

The other groups presented were boys (63%), children born in August, children with special educational needs (60%) and children living in the most deprived areas (52%) (ibid). In this way, EAL children are associated with vulnerability and underachievement and, to some extent, with a deprived social class.

According to my analysis, the lexicalisation of ‘young children learning other languages’ exposes a tendency to perceive learning more than one language as an asset for young

children; however, *underachievement*, *gaps* and *vulnerability* are terms that are also used in association with these children. Overall, this is a mixed message: it is acceptable to be different, but this is a problem ‘that needs attention’. This type of discursive construction has been associated with multilingual ideologies (Hamel, 2008; Edwards, 2004), in which ‘other language/s’ are constructed as an asset for individuals but as a problem for the mainstream education system (Safford and Drury, 2012). Although multilingual ideological orientations advocate for ‘language rights’ (Hamel, 2008), this approach does not necessarily promote educational equity for diverse children (Tollefson, 2010).

### **8.3.1.2 Practitioners who speak another language**

There was very little mention of practitioners who might be bilingual themselves. It was stated:

Extract 8.14 – Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language – *Bilingual Support*

Many experienced practitioners in settings across the sectors in maintained and non maintained provision will themselves be bilingual and will bring their own personal and professional experience to supporting the achievement of young bilingual learners (DfCSF, 2007b, p.6).

This section of the document also mentions community officers, outreach teams and assistants as possible bilingual professionals in the local areas. It was also suggested:

Extract 8.15: Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language – *Bilingual support*

LAs may have teams offering support in home language from staff with appropriate Early Years Qualifications who are able to work effectively with young children and their families across a range of settings (p.6).

Other LA services referred to in the documents are Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) teams, Traveller Education Services (TES) and Refugee and Asylum Seeker (RAS) support groups. These statements appear to suggest a condition of eligibility (van Leeuwen, 2008) regarding who is *eligible* for the role of “supporting the achievement of young bilingual learners” (Extract 8.14). Bilingual teaching assistants and practitioners have been hired in some settings to work and communicate with children and families (Wallace and Mallows, 2009), taking away from the ‘native’ monolingual practitioners the responsibility of dealing with other language/s (Safford and Drury, 2012). In these cases, there is a significant gap between expectations regarding what the majority of monolingual practitioners can offer and the majority of young children learning more than one language (ibid). Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida (2006) find in their study that educators “work towards monolingualism and leave the development of minority language to the children’s families” (p.327). The contestable position of bilingual practitioners in the monolingual educational mindset has been researched in Read

(2012), Morren-López (2011), O'Rourke (2011), Zepeda, Castro and Cronin (2011), Safford and Kelly (2010) and Pacini-Ketchabaw and Armstrong de Almeida (2006). These studies report that practitioners assume a subtle monolingual position wherein English has been constructed as the language of legitimacy and 'other language/s' "becomes pedagogically irrelevant" (Safford and Kelly, 2010, p.410). This is aggravated by the pervasive lack of preparation in the educational system in England for teachers to work with children learning more than one language (Safford and Drury, 2012; Safford and Kelly, 2010; Kenner, 2005; 2004a).

### **8.3.2 Representation of those who speak another language**

I argue that ideologies about languages are transmitted in these documents, and the critical analysis I offer intends to deconstruct these. A consideration of the lexicalisation of those who speak more than one language can also be used to interpret how monolingual speakers are constructed in this initiative. For this reason, in the following two sections I move towards a more detailed exploration of the ideological discursive formation by focusing on what was said (implicitly and/or explicitly) about 'other languages' in the ECaT documents. First, I identify the sections in which 'English as an Additional Language' (EAL) was articulated and then move on to pointing out where other languages were omitted. My examination suggests that in the ECaT documents other languages were slightly included and, at the same time, extensively excluded.

Before I report my analysis, it is important to mention that there was no evidence in the documents I examined of different statuses or distinctions being assigned among 'other languages'. That is, among the diversity of 'other languages' all 'other languages' appeared to occupy the same status. For example, I could not track the construction of any specific other-language (or a group of other-languages) associated with a higher (or lower) value than the rest of the 'other-languages', or that some languages represented a greater 'asset' than others. In contrast with Anderson, Kenner and Gregory's (2008) argument, neither 'modern foreign languages' nor 'native languages' appeared to be used to distinguish the status of 'other languages'. English is the only language that, as "the setting language", possesses a higher (official) status.

#### **8.3.2.1 The extensive exclusion of other languages**

Explicit mention of 'other languages' in the ECaT documents was scarce, and this is discussed in this section. By explicit, I refer to when other languages were mentioned in a way that made a definite distinction in relation to English. Given the officialisation of English as the mainstream language in the Early Years Foundation Stage (DfCSF,

2008e), the assumption appears to be that the language practice suggested in the ECaT documents and resources is in English. For instance, as discussed in the previous section, 'assessment at level 6' appears to be in English and there is no explicit evidence that this practice can be conducted in any 'other language'.

Starting with the guidance for the consultant, there was no mention of 'other languages' being included in the aims or the outcomes of the ECaT initiative, which implies that this matter is not relevant when measuring its success. 'Other language/s' were also excluded from the section that justifies the reason for intervention (*Why is a focused programme such as this necessary?* p.3) and from the required knowledge and skills for the roles of consultant and lead practitioner (*What will the roles of the Early Language Consultant and the Early Language Lead Practitioner be?* pp.5–7). Similarly, there was no mention of other languages in the criteria for the selection of settings (*How should the targeted settings be selected?* pp.10–11) or in the explanations given for the implementation of the programme (*How should the consultant work?* pp.12–16; *Getting started with ECaT* pp.16–20 and *Consultant Calendar* pp.21–25). Thus, it is evident that 'quality-language-provision' does not take into account the language/s development of children who are learning more than one language and that the consultants were not obliged to focus on other languages.

'Other languages' were equally misrecognised in the first instalment of the lead practitioners' guidance. This document contained many sections that failed to mention 'other languages'. In addition, and taking into account the fact that this document dedicated a large number of pages to auditing, it can be seen that 'other languages' were extensively excluded in this process. The first auditing tool presented a set of activities to be carried out in the setting, and 'other languages' were not mentioned in *Enabling Environment* (pp.13–14 – an activity designed with the intention of measuring the frequency of interaction between staff and children), in *Learning and Development* (pp.17–18 – aimed at evaluating how the activities in, and the set-up of, the early year setting support the speech, language and communication of children throughout the day) or in *Barriers and Priority and Plans* (pp.19–22 – sections designed to support the action plan after the auditing process).

Similarly, the second optional auditing tool was a table to be completed by the Lead Practitioner in the setting. This instrument was aimed at helping practitioners to 'evaluate' the learning opportunities provided by the setting, and it was organised under the four EYFS themes, in a similar way to the first tool. The table headings can be seen below.

Table 8a: Stage 1 of audit: Language provision in your setting (second tool)

EYFS Principles into Practice Cards:...	SLCF (Speech, Language and Communication Framework)	Continuing Professional Development	What is the evidence?	What is successful and why?	What improvements are needed?
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In this tool, the sections entitled *Unique Child*, *Enabling Environments* and *Learning and Development* did not include any indicators that suggested practices relating to children learning more than one language. Consequently, the auditing tools for the lead practitioner provided very little opportunity to evaluate and reflect upon ‘successful practice’ for children learning other languages.

The second instalment for the lead practitioner was published in spring 2009 (DfCSF, 2009b). This document contains a general introduction, 18 language-activities (designed for early years practitioners to carry out in the settings), an introduction to working with parents and four more activities (to be delivered to parents, organised by age group of the children). In this document, there are only two sentences about parents of children who speak other languages, in the section entitled *Planning sessions with parents with their children: make sure everyone is comfortable* (p.40). I will return to these statements in the following section.

The questionnaires used in the auditing practice did not include questions about children learning more than one language. One questionnaire was designed for parents and another was for the early years practitioners. These instruments aimed to identify how confident practitioners and parents were regarding their own knowledge about young children’s language development. The parents’ questionnaire (which I received from my son’s pre-school) consists of five statements designed to grade the respondent’s level of confidence (see Appendix B):

Extract 8.16: Parental/carer questionnaire

1. Your knowledge of how children learn to talk
2. Your understanding of what to expect at different ages
3. Your knowledge of ways to help your child develop speech, language and communication skills
4. Your confidence in asking the staff at your child’s setting about their speech and language development
5. Your knowledge of what to do and who to contact if you have concerns about your child’s speech and language development

Given that the purpose of this questionnaire was to audit parents’ knowledge about supporting their own children’s language development, it is possible to critically analyse its usefulness on the basis of certain linguistic features. First, the terms used in this resource are highly technical (jargon). In my experience both of working with parents and in the training of early years practitioners, the differences between speech, language and communication are not necessarily easy to recognise for someone who has not studied

these topics; hence, the difference here between ‘how children learn to talk’ in the first sentence and the second and third points is not obvious. The document does not provide examples that could help to clarify the differences between speech, language and communication.

In addition, three specific *actions* are associated with parents: ‘to know’ (about speech, language and communication at different stages and about what to do and who to ask in case of concern), ‘to help’ (children to develop speech and language skills) and ‘to ask’ (staff). The first two actions represent abstract ideas about ‘supporting young children’ without making explicit statements about how this looks in real life (van Leeuwen, 2008). Offering materialised actions (ibid) such as ‘to read’ and ‘to talk’ could create a more specific representation of possible home language practice. Material actions were included by C2 in what was designed as an alternative questionnaire for parents (see Appendix E). For example, the second question refers to “look and discuss [the] child’s language tracking sheet with his/her keyperson” and these actions have a material purpose and effect regarding early language learning. However, this alternative questionnaire did not include ‘other languages’.

The fact that young children may be learning more than one language at home is misrecognised in the parents’ and practitioners’ questionnaire. The absence of a specific question about learning ‘other languages’ can lead to three possible interpretations. The first is that it is assumed that ‘language development’ refers to all languages, implicitly including ‘other languages’. The second is that ‘only English matters’, excluding ‘other languages’, and the third possible interpretation is that this was an intentional omission and that other languages were forgotten about in this particular tool. This omission was suggested by C1, as seen in the following extract.

Extract 8.17: C1 – lines 550–564

550.	29:30	K	ahm, so, why it wasn’t any question about that? do you think
551.			ehm (.) there wasn’t need to ask, what they feel
552.			about raising a child in more than one language?
553.		C1	ahm, I. think(.) it’s probably an omission that it should’ve been
554.			included
555.		K	Mhm
556.		C1	<u>Definitely</u>
557.		K	Yeah
558.		C1	but I think what the focus has been, is, you know, based on the Bercow
559.			and all the research about, regardless of language, what normal
560.			language development is, you know,
561.	30:00		within any language, you know, because it goes in stages, you know,
562.			If you look at from the speech and language model
563.			it’s going to go through certain stages.
564.		K	Mhm

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According to Bourdieu (1977), misrecognition is not accidental; by contrast, it evidences the dominant ideologies in specific practices. Thus, I argue that ‘other language/s’ were extensively excluded from the documents and resources published and distributed under the ECaT initiative because ‘other languages’ are irrelevant to the language ideologies that ECaT appears to inculcate. I am inclined to believe that their exclusion from the aims and outcomes is particularly significant, as the imaginary representations of ‘high-quality-language-provision’ did not include other valuable cultural capitals, such as being able to speak another language. The fact that the locally constructed alternative questionnaire (see Appendix E) also failed to recognise ‘other languages’ can be seen as a possible indicator of the potential influence of ECaT monolingual discourses on local practice. The implications are that, for ECaT, practices regarding other language/s appeared, similar to in Safford and Kelly’s (2010) findings, pedagogically irrelevant.

I argue that the misrecognition of other languages in terms of their extensive exclusion from the auditing process is what had the greatest repercussions (this is also discussed in Chapter 6, section 6.4 *The officialisation of ‘quality-language-provision’*). Basically, the absence of questions regarding what practitioners and parents know about young children learning more than one language makes this ‘knowledge’ less relevant when planning for further actions. The implications are that, adapting Bourdieu’s (1991; 1977) theory, in order to achieve a position of distinction in the hierarchy of professionals in the ECaT market, this type of knowledge did not constitute a valuable capital; therefore, any further effort to gain this type of knowledge would not be officially recognised. In this way, the discursive construction of language practice by ECaT could potentially influence the perpetuation of monolingual ideologies and monolingualistic habitus.

The standardisation and officialisation of English-only creates an unequal status for the linguistic capital that young children bring to the settings. In some cases, the ‘other language’ is the only linguistic capital acquired at this early stage, leaving the child’s language/s “without conscious discussion or critical awareness by participants in the educational systems” (Tollefson, 2010, p.10).

I argue that the exclusion of other language is not total, but extensive. Blackledge (2002) argues for contestable ideologies, rather than fixed ideas about language/s, where different levels of awareness and appreciation are constructed (Weber and Horner, 2012). The following section explores the scant inclusion of other language/s under the discursive construction of ECaT language practice for early years.

### **8.3.2.2 The slight inclusion of ‘other languages’**

‘Other languages’ were included in specific places in the ECaT documents. In the

consultants' guidance, these were:

1. As part of a list of "existing relevant National Strategy resources": Trainers Pack and *Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language: Guidance for practitioners in the EYFS (What materials are already available?* pp.8–9)
2. A suggested topic for the third, of four, cluster meetings. Timetabled in early spring 2009 (*Programme of Cluster Meetings* p.19 and *Consultant Calendar* p.23)
3. As an item to be audited in stage 1. *Appendix 3: Auditing training and support across the LA – 'Specialist services including EAL'* (p.36) and 'The English as an Additional Language Team (EAL)' (p.37). These two statements presuppose that LAs already had specialist services for other languages.

These three points emphasise the services and resources available in each LA. Similar to what has been previously argued in this chapter, these statements move away from appreciating EAL practice as mainstream practice, because the condition of eligibility (van Leeuwen, 2008) is assigned to specialist services that deal with this issue (Safford and Drury, 2012; Wallace and Mallows, 2009). There were no direct instructions that associated consultants with 'other language/s'.

The guidance for the lead practitioner (first and second instalments) included the topic of other languages in the following sections:

1. *Introduction to the materials* (p.5) "Guidance on supporting children learning English as an Additional Language" and as a recommendation for reading (p.8). This is the same document as that mentioned in the consultants' guidance (see point 1 above).
2. As a category in which to group children. The category "English as an Additional Language learner" (p. 11) is part of a list of categories of "types of communicators" (ibid). The intention is to identify which children were "well supported" or "need further support" and "which 'types' of children need more support than [was] currently provided in your setting" (first auditing tool, under the subheading *Unique Child*, p.11).
3. As part of the second auditing tool. Under the subheading *Positive Relationship*, it talks about children having "opportunities to use their own language if English is not their first language" (p.26).
4. In the appendix, four pages were dedicated to young children learning more than one language, in the section entitled *Guidance on supporting children learning English as an additional language* (pp.53–57). The guidance was organised under five subheadings:
  - Celebrate Bilingualism
  - A Unique Child
  - Positive Relationship
  - Enabling Environment
  - Learning and Development.

The last four of these are the same themes as for the EYFS.

5. As a point to consider when planning sessions for parents “to help support language development in the home and in the setting”. This was in the second instalment, 2009.

The summary presented above helps to illustrate that only two opportunities were identified as part of the auditing tool. Although slightly included, the extensive exclusion of ‘other languages’ in the ECaT auditing tool, argued in the previous section, appears to suggest that this matter is less significant than others. Fairclough (2010) explains that in institutionalised practices the order of discourses positions certain discursive-ideologies higher (or lower) than others, reaffirming the dominance of certain ideologies. My analysis suggests that the slight inclusion of ‘other languages’ does not appear to correlate with the current experience of early years services in England, in which ‘minority languages’ are ‘the majority’ in terms of first/initial language spoken by young children (Issa and Hatt, 2013; Safford and Drury, 2012; Smidt, 2008; Drury, 2007; Block, 2006; McPake, 2006).

So far, I have looked at how ‘other languages’ were constructed as positive and as an asset for individuals but, at the same time, as a problem. Both the external services available in the LAs and ‘experienced-bilingual-practitioners’ were mentioned as additional support to help the achievement of children learning more than one language. In this analysis, it was equally significant to point out where ‘other languages’ were excluded, to fully appreciate the magnitude of their misrecognition under the discursive construction of ‘quality-language-provision’ in the ECaT initiative. I argue that the tools and guidelines provided in the ECaT documents potentially influenced the perpetuation of monolingual habitus in which ‘other languages’ are slightly included but extensively excluded. However, and despite the dominance of monolingual ideologies in the documents, the interviews provide a different perspective and this is presented in the following section.

### 8.3.2 ‘Other languages’ in the interviews

Topics around ‘other languages’ mainly originated, as previously discussed, from the questions I raised during the interviews (see discussion in Chapter 5, section 5.4 *Additional considerations when using interviews to critically analyse social practice*). In this section, I provide an example from the interview with C1, which was a response to my question about the absence of ‘other languages’ in the questionnaires.

#### Extract 8.18: C1 – lines 596–614\*

596.	C1	I think, yes I think they very much <u>are</u> , you know,
597.		and I think that will come out of of the questionnaires
598.	K	Mhm

599. C1 I think they really sense that they are and it's good practice  
600. that they should do that, you know  
601. K mhm mhm  
602. 31:30 C1 because it's still part of, you know, I, you know, I may not know  
603. that Ibrahim can do all these things in  
604. K Mhm  
605. C1 his own language=  
606. K Mhm  
607. C1 =so if I am the practitioner I've got to find out, you know,  
608. K mhm, Do you think the practitioners are asking (these questions)?  
609. C1 I think(.) not all of them (.) I think, some of them are, you know  
610. I think some of them are very much, you know, ah, you know  
611. some of them are slightly uncomfortable on that, you know, with  
612. that questionnaire because it doesn't (.) show:, you know, it doesn't show  
613. 32:00 in a sense ahm if the child is working between two  
614. languages

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\* Topic elaborated after my question about whether parents of bilingual children require different types of support (line 588)

Ibrahim (line 603) represents an imaginary child who speaks another language. The consultant, in this imaginary account, represents herself as a practitioner who would have asked those 'omitted questions' (see extract 8.17: C1 – lines 550–564, where C1 suggests that the absence of 'other languages' is possibly an omission). I believe that this account is extremely valuable in appreciating the potential role that C1 assigns to practitioners in transforming the language practice that ECaT seems to inculcate. The action to "find out" (line 607) what "Ibrahim can do in his own language" (lines 603 and 605) was constructed under "good practice" (line 599), which appears to suggest that what should be done is 'common sense'. The problem is the lack of explicit examples of 'quality-language-provision' allocated to 'other languages', which is particularly obscured in the discursive constructions of 'good practice' as common-sense practice (discussed in the literature review Chapter 2, section 2.4 *An example of language ideologies permeating early language practice*, and Chapter 3, section 3.3.1 *Discursive constructions of common-sense practice*, and analysed in Chapter 6 – *Discursive constructions of 'quality-language-provision'*). Nevertheless, according to C1, some practitioners (not all, line 609) would be able to find alternatives to the monolingual practices (lines 609–614) suggested in ECaT. Thus, transforming practice is also possible.

The following section examines ideological-discursive-formations around 'parents' and their position in the ECaT market, providing possible interpretations of the process of legitimation of ECaT language practice and examining the level of acceptance of the specific ways of doing and the ideologies, as values and principles, that underpinned the ECaT initiative.

## 8.4 Parents as beneficiaries

This section focuses on the discursive construction of 'parents' during the interviews and the official guidelines. Hence, rather than reporting on how parents participated in this initiative, my study offers a critical analysis of the representations of 'parents' and the discursive strategies employed to 'make sense' of their role in this practice. Given the great diversity of languages that young children bring to early years settings, parents and/or other carers possess proficiency, knowledge and linguistic skills in these 'other language/s'. Their cultural and linguistic capital is vast, and provides a significant repertoire for young children's early learning (Jessel et al, 2011; Kelly, 2010; Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2004b; Gregory, 1997). However, as suggested by Bourdieu (1991; 1977), not all markets assign the same values to capital and, therefore, the representation of parents in the ECaT market can both inform the status assigned to them and contribute to an understanding of how their capital was valued in this language practice.

I start this section by offering a description of 'parents-as-a-topic' during the interviews (first level of analysis, presented in Chapter 5, section 5.3.1 *Level 1 – topic patterns and topic trajectories*), demonstrating the intertextuality generated during the interviews and the contributions both the interviewer and the interviewees made to the outcomes of these social events. I continue by explaining how parents were constructed as social actors and the role allocated to them in the ECaT market (level 2 of analysis, explained in Chapter 5, section 5.3.2 *Level 2 – Representation of practice*). The final part attempts to recontextualise the discursive construction of practice, exploring parents as beneficiaries and the possible influence of this perspective within the language ideologies inculcated by ECaT (level 3 of analysis as described in Chapter 5, section 5.3.3 *Recontextualisation of practice*).

### 8.4.1 Parents as a topic in the interviews

Parents as a topic occupied a significant part of the conversations with the consultants and this was particularly evident in my analysis of my identity as a mother, which permeated the interviews. In Chapter 5, section 5.4.2.1 *The co-construction of moral talks*, I reflected upon my voice as a researcher, making explicit the locality of interviewing when talking about a particular social practice, and acknowledging its limitations when using it to inform postmodernist social research. Moving away from this argument, the purpose of this section is to provide a brief account of parents – as a topic in the interviews – explaining the trajectory and the patterns registered during these events. In this way, the intertextuality generated when talking about 'parents' is presented as a basis for further analysis.

A summary of the topic trajectories of 'parents' in the interviews with C1 and C2 is presented in Appendix J, which shows the topical trajectory of how parents appeared as a topic and how it was elaborated. The different movements of topic initiation, topic shifting and topic elaboration by each interlocutor are registered. The summary also highlights key features that were considered for the report that informs this section. Briefly, two patterns were encountered in both interviews. The first is that parents appeared as a self-initiated topic by the interviewees, as they explained the importance of including parents in ECaT (illustrated in row A in both *Interview with C1* and *Interview with C2*, Appendix J). The second pattern is observed when examining my elaborations (topic-shifting questions and follow-up questions), which followed the interview schedule. Although each interview counts as a separate local-accomplished event, these similarities between them were observed.

However, the topic elaboration around 'bilingual parents' was significantly different in the two interviews. Van Leeuwen (2008, p.35) advises that providing "generic and specific reference is another important factor in the representation of social actors". Being 'bilingual' distinguishes a class that is identifiable to a specific group of people. This specification was self-initiated by C2 but in the interview with C1 it appeared only after I introduced this distinction. The next section analyses the representation of both the generic construction of parents and the specification around 'bilingual parents'.

#### 8.4.2 Representation of parents in the interviews

Following van Leeuwen's (2009; 2008) arguments around the discursive constructions of practice, text can reallocate, using different linguistic elements, the roles assigned to participants. Bourdieu (1977) states that officialising certain capacities is used as a strategy to regulate markets, generating particular status and distinctions between the members of the markets. In the previous chapter, I drew a significant distinction between two types of member. One type was the group of members who occupied the role of 'agents'. They appeared as the main actors, introducing and executing the changes advocated in the ECaT guidelines. The other group was assigned a more passive role and was identified as those who would benefit from the actions that agents carried out (van Leeuwen, 2008). In that chapter, I discussed how knowledge-power and control were exercised from within a top-down hierarchy in which some members occupied a higher distinction. External expertise appeared to be used to regulate the position of distinction of some of the members (Bourdieu, 1977). In addition, I provided a possible interpretation of the position of struggle of early years practitioners, where the discursive construction of 'quality-language-provision' appeared to diminish local knowledge.

This section examines further the role of parents as beneficiaries, explaining what they were allowed to do and in which actions they could participate under this initiative. The extract below is an example taken from the interview with C1, which shows the passive role assigned to parents and suggests the hierarchy of roles previously discussed.

Extract 8.19: C1 – lines 171–180\*

171.	C1	I am collecting that information, this is part of my job to collect
172.		that but also it's meant to be of use to the lead practitioner
173.		how they plan? and how the programme is going to work?
174.		you know,[ if for instance (.) parents are very unsure about normal
175.	K	Ok]
176.		language development, they don't know what that means, you know,
177.		they might liaise with me or with a speech language therapist to come
178.		in and (.)
179.	K	and discuss the.
180.	C1	yeah yeah

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\* As topic elaboration in response to a follow-up question: 'Is the way how it's been auditing?' (line 157)

The extract refers to a possible outcome of the 'parents' questionnaire' as an example of how this could be used for further actions. 'Knowing about (normal) language development' is presented as a condition about which parents (may) be unsure but in which the consultant and the speech and language therapists (SALT) have clear expertise (lines 176–177). Fairclough (2010) suggests that dominant actors can be represented as the 'great ones' by assigning to them actions and attributes that appear to emanate from their own 'natural' capacities. This is also achieved by contrasting their attributes with those of the 'small ones'. In a similar vein, van Leeuwen (2008) identifies the condition of eligibility that represents some participants as 'qualified' to play particular roles, reaffirming the distinctive status they retain in this market.

Parents were consistently constructed as beneficiaries by C1. Statements such as 'support[ing] parents', 'conferencing a parent', 'preparing parents' and 'sitting down with parents' (see Appendix J – *Topic Trajectory – Interview with C1*, rows I, J and K) indicate the main actions associated with practitioners as agents. The discursive construction of parents by C2 slightly differs in the number of examples provided when talking about early years practitioners working with parents. Statements such as 'talk[ing] to them', 'telling them', 'reassuring them', 'communicat[ing] with them' and 'informing and shar[ing] information with parents' were frequently used by C2 (registered on 10 of the 15 rows in *Interview with C2*, Appendix J). Other examples such as 'information prepared for parents', 'sessions' and 'training for parents' were also elaborated around actions allocated to practitioners that would benefit parents. This small difference could have been a product of the time gap between the interviews. Whereas the interview with C1 happened just after completion of the auditing, the one with C2 reflects some of the

actions that were executed after the auditing. Nevertheless, both accounts reaffirm the passive role assigned to parents.

However, in two instances in the interview with C2, parents were constructed as having a more 'active' role. C2 expected parents to be involved in 'taking books home', 'staying, cooking and sharing craft and ideas' (see Appendix J – *Topical Trajectory – Interview with C2 – Row G*) and 'providing feedback' about opportunities given to them (see rows K and L in Appendix J) in which practitioners could also 'write down what they want[ed]'. Markedly, these activities assigned roles that reflect the unidirectional 'parents-receive-information-from practitioners' suggested by the previous statements analysed. Occasional secondary roles such as 'taking', 'staying', 'cooking', 'sharing' and 'saying (what they wanted)' were allocated to parents.

Moving into the distinctive specification of 'bilingual parents', it is useful to establish the relevance of these members in the ECaT market. Specifications can assign additional exclusive roles or can be used to restrict them (van Leeuwen, 2008). In the interviews, 'bilingual parents' appeared persistently as a specification elaborated by me, as the interviewer, when pointing out the lack of questions about learning more than one language at home in the parents' questionnaire and when presenting the chart I used to elicit questions about 'knowing' about bilingual practice (see Appendix F – *Interview Plan* and Appendix H – *Elicited Question*). In general, it appears that the distinction of 'bilingual parents' was mainly used to highlight that 1) 'another language' was spoken at home and 2) there was a possible lack of English proficiency on the part of parents to answer the questionnaire and/or to understand the information that early years practitioners needed to provide to fulfil one of their ECaT roles. Thus, it is not possible to track a condition that makes their condition as bilingual distinctively higher than that of other 'parents'. By contrast, the condition of lack of proficiency in English appears as problematic, making the action of 'sharing information' more challenging for early years practitioners. Nevertheless, C2 also reaffirmed the role of parents in maintaining home language (see Extract 8.2: C2 – lines 919–956 presented earlier in this chapter) and this can be interpreted as an example of the active role assigned to parents in the home environment.

The analysis of the interviews suggests that the condition of beneficiary appears to discursively restrict the possibility of bringing up the linguistic capital that parents possessed. The following section details the analysis of parents in the ECaT documents.

### 8.4.3 Parents in the documents

In this section, I focus on a more detailed analysis of the discursive construction of parents in the ECaT documents. For this purpose, I have compiled in Table 8c (see below) the sections of the first instalment for the lead practitioner that mention parents, offering a discussion about 'what was said', by indicating 'where it was said' and an interpretation of the representation of parents.

In Table 8c, italics are used to indicate direct quotes, and the use of bold highlights some of the expressions I consider particularly relevant to the arguments presented here. The first two rows (A and B) refer to sections presented in the auditing tools. For instance, the first row suggests 'auditing' how well the settings 'promote equal access' and 'value, welcome and support' parents. Van Leeuwen (2008) distinguishes these types of representation as *abstract actions*, for which there is no clear specification of the micro actions that would constitute them and which "abstract away from the substance of what" needs to be done by practitioners to promote equal access for parents (ibid, p.69). Hence, it is unclear how, for example, 'promote equal access' is materialised. Similarly, utterances such as to be 'valued' and 'welcomed' represent *reactions* rather than *actions*: "the emotions and attitudes that belong to [...] actions" (Berger, 1966, p.113 cited in van Leeuwen, 2008, p.56). It is not directly about what parents do but about how they feel. Van Leeuwen (2008, p.56) suggested that "as the power of social actors decreases, the amount of emotive reactions attributed to them increases".

Table 8b: Working with parents: Practitioners' guidance– First Instalment

	Where the recommendation appeared	Type of information	What was said
A	Stage 1 of the audit: language provision in your setting. p.25	Question for auditing practice. It requires the completion of a chart in response to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the evidence?</li> <li>• What is successful and why?</li> <li>• What improvements are needed?</li> </ul>	How well do practitioners <b>promote equal access</b> to children and families? Can you give examples of how you <b>value, welcome and support</b> families? This may include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Discussions with parents to ensure that the needs of every child are met</li> <li>• Providing opportunities for parents to discuss their concerns</li> </ul>
B	Stage 1 of the audit: language provision in your setting. p.33	Question for auditing practice. It requires the completion of a chart in response to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• What is the evidence?</li> <li>• What is successful and why?</li> <li>• What improvements are needed?</li> </ul>	Describe the systems that the setting has in place <b>to share information</b> with: -[...] -parents
C	Effective practice in securing parental engagement. pp.95–99	Introduction to the resource and a box with a list of links to additional resources	<b>supporting parents to engage with, and be committed to, their child's speech, language and communication development enriches the whole language learning environment of children and is an essential part of the journey towards Every Child a Talker</b>
		<i>Barriers to parental engagement: Reflective activity with a few questions ('to get you started')</i>	<b>Step one: informed and enthused</b> <b>Step two: consulted and valued</b> <b>Step three: engaged partners</b>
		<i>Securing parental engagement across the EYFS [...] practical activities</i>	<b>Step one: informed and enthused</b> i.e.: 'Use events such as coffee mornings, social evenings and open days <b>as a starting point to share with parents the importance of communication</b> ' (p.97). <b>Step two: consulted and valued</b> i.e.: <b>Truly valuing the knowledge that parents have about their child's communication and effectively consulting with parents will involve finding ways to record progress at home and in the setting that are accessible to all</b> ' (p.98). <b>Step three: engaged partners</b> <b>'Parents who are fully engaged in their child's communication development will be thoughtful observers of their child and will be confident to share these observations with the setting'</b> (p.99).

A similar pattern appears in row C, which sets out three steps for parental involvement. Abstract actions (enthused, engaged) and reactions (be committed to, valued) are attributed to either the practitioner or the parents. However, they also create an effect of uncertain correlation for the execution of these actions. For example, although Step 1 – *Informed and enthused* – suggests specific actions to be conducted by the practitioner as a starting point “Use events such as coffee mornings, social evenings and open days [...] **to share with parents the importance of communication**” (my bold indicating action), the following step – *consulted and valued* – focuses on reactions (rather than actions): practitioners should “**truly valu[e] the knowledge that parents have**”, where ‘value’ is an attitude/emotion. Moreover, the adverb ‘truly’ is used here, adding a moral statement to legitimate this attitude (van Leeuwen, 2008). The moral obligation needs to be fulfilled by the practitioners by “**find[ing] ways to record progress at home and in the setting that are accessible to all**”. This type of construction appears to reaffirm the passive role assigned to parents.

It is only in the last section in Table 8c where a more active role is associated with parents. The final step – *engaged partners* – states:

Parents who are fully engaged in their child’s communication development will be thoughtful observers of their child and will be confident to share these observations with the setting (p.99).

The condition of *parents who are fully engaged* is restricted to a specific mode (van Leeuwen, 2008): the actions ‘to observe’ and ‘to share’ need to be performed to a specific standard, which is defined as ‘thoughtfully’ and ‘confidently’. These statements restrict the attributes that parents should have to ‘fully’ perform this action. This means that ‘parents’ ‘are not fully engaged’ if these conditions (modes) are not performed. Therefore, practitioners are assigned the role of helping parents to become *thoughtful observers* and *confident to share*.

The second instalment of the guidance included an additional resource in the section *Planning sessions for parents with their children* (DfCSF, 2009b), which suggests four additional activities for practitioners to carry out with parents and children. These activities were organised by the age of the child (one for each age group: young babies, older babies, toddlers and children aged over 30 months). The four activities are to be led by practitioners working with children, with parents as recipients who should aim to ‘repeat’ the activities at home.

The only specification about parents who speak a different language at home is observed in in the section entitled *Guidance on supporting children learning English as an Additional Language* in the practitioners’ guidance, and this is analysed in the following section.

#### **8.4.2.1 Parents who speak other languages in the documents**

The ECaT documents contain a very brief reference to parents and the statements presented suggest that parents who speak another language are unable to communicate in English. For example, the document designed to support children learning English as an additional language (DfCSF, 2007b) states:

##### Extract 8.20 – Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language – *Bilingual support*

For parents it may be a real relief to be able to communicate with practitioners via first language support, to have an opportunity to inform practitioners about their child's care, learning needs and achievements, and to find out about the aims of the setting (DfCSF, 2007b, p.6).

This idea is repeated in the lead practitioners' second instalment handbook which suggests:

##### Extract 8.21 – Practitioners' guidance 2<sup>nd</sup> Instalment – *Make sure that everyone is comfortable*

You must take into account how you will make the sessions inclusive, particularly for parents whose first language is not English. You will need to consider how you will make the sessions accessible to them, for example, by providing information in other languages (DfCSF, 2009b, p.40).

Both statements seem to assume that parents of children learning more than one language do not have sufficient proficiency in the mainstream language. There is no consideration of the diversity of immigrant families (Block, 2006), for example, those who have been settled for generations and are actively involved in maintaining their home language while being confident users of English. A similar feature was reported in practice by Brooker (2002). She revealed that although some members of the community had a high position of distinction within it, this was completely ignored by the early years settings studied. The pre-conceived idea that 'providing information to parents whose first language is not English' is an issue reinforces the perception of language diversity as a problem (Safford and Drury, 2012; Hamel, 2008).

Nonetheless, regarding language and literacy activities to be carried out in partnership with parents, a different statement is also presented in the document *Supporting children learning English as an additional language*:

##### Extract 8.22 – Supporting Children Learning English as an Additional Language – *Reflecting on practice*

[How would you/your provision] reassure parents that use of home languages in the setting will support their child's overall learning and developing use of language, including English? (DfCSF, 2007b, p.9)

This question leaves open the possibility that some activities can be conducted in both the home language and English as an additional language.

### 8.4.3 Recontextualisation of the role of parents in the ECaT market

My analysis suggests that in both the interviews and the documents parents were associated with a passive role, as beneficiaries. This appears to contradict one of the initial statements presented in the introduction to ECaT (briefly discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.2.2 *The aims of ECaT*). Although parental involvement is represented as an important part of the initiative, few opportunities are provided for parents to assume an active role. Most of the time, parents are seen as recipients, and there is only one account, in the interview with C2, that appears to recognise their linguistic capital.

It appears that within the process of legitimation and appreciation of ECaT as a language practice, external knowledge is presented as of higher profit than that possessed by parents. Home practice and parents' knowledge are discursively constructed as important and vital but there is no 'room' for them within ECaT practice. For example, I have argued that the questionnaire may have created tension because of the scant acknowledgement of home practice within the ECaT strategies for 'quality-language-provision', which is particularly important in order to fully appreciate the early language experience of children learning other language/s at home.

## 8.5 Summary

This chapter has been dedicated to the ideological discursive formation around three key themes: 'home space', 'other language users' and 'parents'. The main intention was to explore further the order of discourses in the institutionalised discursive constructions of language practice under ECaT. This analysis also questioned the language ideologies that these discursive constructions appeared to reveal.

Based on the theoretical framework developed by Bourdieu (1977; 1991), I examine the discursive formation of 'eligible spaces', analysing the geographical boundaries within which the ECaT members engage in specific actions and where certain resources are exclusively distributed to enable these practices (van Leeuwen, 2008). This analysis scrutinises discursive constructions of 'home' as the geographical space in which young children acquire their first linguistic skills. I argue that ECaT operationalised early years settings as institutionalised spaces to transmit ways of doing in terms of language practice. This created a 'dominant transactional mode' (Bourdieu, 1977, p.185) in which a "body of specialised agents" (p.184) appeared to have the kinds of capital required for supporting young children's language learning. It is also possible to track in one of the

interviews the idea that home space for children learning more than one language could be valued, but as separate from the mainstream curriculum.

Plurilingual practices around language/s learning in young children consider *spaces* in two dimensions, first, by recognising home spaces as language learning spaces per se. This is what the child is learning at home as a continuous process from birth in one or more languages. In this dimension, language practice at home should be valued as a significant element of language learning (Kenner, 2005), as a consequence of which 'parents' involvement' becomes a significant element of practice (as discussed in the last part of this chapter). The second dimension is the *shared space* created in the early years settings to provide language/s learning opportunities in English and other relevant-for-the-child language/s (Kelly, 2010). Even though research has highlighted the benefit of using home language in school spaces and there has been a significant increase in the number of studies on local practices forging multilingual/plurilingual spaces, it seems that these spaces are still 'invisible' (Drury, 2007; Kenner, 2000) at the macro level.

The dis-association between home practices and setting practices has been researched, especially in terms of the differences in linguistic and literacy practices at the local level (Kelly, 2010; Drury, 2007; Brooker, 2002; Kenner, 2004a; 2000; Heath, 1983). These studies have documented the divisions between home practice and settings practice within young children's early learning experiences. Similarly, Hélot and de Mejía (2008) have published an edited volume on different initiatives undertaken in a variety of countries to forge multilingual spaces. The arguments presented in this publication move around the political spaces in which language has been included and/or excluded in language policies and language practices. For example, Kelly (2010) points out that some family literacy programmes are run on the assumption that families do not have enough knowledge or skills to support children's literacy. This perspective nullifies home practices and legitimises institutionalised practices. Within this context, my study critically analyses spaces and the representation and legitimisation of language/s spaces by ECaT. Considering ECaT's ambitious aim to improve the 'quality-language-provision' of early years settings and, considering the important that home practice plays in early language learning, this analysis offers an insight into the possible influence of ECaT on the formation of dispositions towards home languages in early year practices.

Social spaces are used to endow authority, functionality and meaning, and so the environment itself facilitates or controls actions or signifies symbolic meanings (van Leeuwen, 2008), in this case, distinguishing home as a significant learning environment in young children's learning; however, 'home' is extensively misrecognised in the discursive construction of language practice under the ECaT initiative.

This chapter has also reported on the construction of 'other language users'. My analysis suggests that there is an assumption that the language practice proposed under ECaT is in English, which is reinforced by the consistent lack of reference to 'other languages'. The assessment of early language learning in languages other than English is particularly obscured in the official ECaT guidance. None of the documents I examined within this study offer any detailed information about young children learning more than one language, completely ignoring the extensive research that has been conducted in this country on the subject. Although some positive constructions were found in both the interviews and the documents, the lack of concrete/materialised actions positions 'other languages' in a marginalised place and, therefore, as 'pedagogically irrelevant'.

Nevertheless, transformation at the local level appears to be discursively constructed in the interviews. Both consultants recognised the scant effort made by the ECaT guidance to address 'other language' issues and both stated the importance of this matter in early years practice. In the following chapter, I bring to an end my discussion of the possible influence of ECaT on the formation of disposition towards language/s in the early years settings.

## Chapter 9 – Final discussion: dispositions towards language/s

### 9.1 Introduction

This final chapter begins with a reflection upon my personal and academic standpoint as a postmodernist and critical discourse analysis researcher. I continue with a summary of my interpretations of the discursive construction of language practice generated under ECaT, in which I also discuss the possible influence of this language programme on the formation of dispositions towards languages in the early years. I finish with a reflection on the position of ‘other languages’ in macro and micro discourses and the implications for further research.

### 9.2 Writing up postmodernist research

Postmodernism, according to Williams (1999), has drawn upon post-structuralism, the distinctive concern about the essence of ‘truth’ and the scientific approaches to social ‘realities’. Access to ‘reality’ is something I have questioned since completing my postgraduate degree in linguistics studies, where ‘discourses’ were associated with representations of ‘realities’ through language (Fairclough, 2010). *Language* is not a neutral tool people use to communicate with each other. “No *language* use could be innocent” (Hodge and Kress, 1993, p.xiii, my italics); by contrast, the operation of power and ideologies in all aspects of *text* has been widely problematised by researchers in sociolinguistics, pragmatics studies, post-structuralism and postmodernism (among other disciplines). Within this dilemma, Alvesson’s (2002) interpretation of postmodernist social research provides a coherent framework that allows for critical discussions of: power and knowledge; constructions of realities (at the macro and local level); fragmented identities (including the researcher’s own); and, most importantly, the systematic analysis of *language* in use in order to understand social practice (Fairclough, 2010; van Leeuwen, 2008).

My research intends to scrutinise the possible influence of a language programme on local practices and, for that purpose, I examined the discursive constructions of language practice. At the macro level, official documents released during the implementation of this programme were analysed. At the local level, I recontextualised my interpretations with what was (discursively) constructed in two local-accomplished interviews (Alvesson and Ashcraft, 2012; Alvesson, 2002). Both accounts, the interviews and the documents, are studied as ‘representations of realities’ around institutionalised language practice in

early years education. Moreover, some of these representations were actually 'imaginary representations' of what good language practice should look like. My research does not intend to explain social 'realities'; by contrast, it focuses on understanding the ideologies that sustain certain ways of seeing (and doing) and the strategies of appreciation (Bourdieu, 1991) that are applied when regulatory centralised forces attempt to control local practices.

Ways of seeing can sometimes be constructed as common-sense practice, representing realities from specific perspectives of interest and underpinning particular ideologies (Fairclough, 2010; 2009; Hamel, 2008; Wodak, 2007; Hodge and Kress, 1993). Making sense of practice is part of the process of legitimation, considering certain practices as 'normal', 'common-sense' and 'naturalised' ways of knowing, thinking and doing (Fairclough, 2010). This is constructed by the capacity of *appropriation* and *appreciation* of specific practices as the 'right-way' (Bourdieu, 1991). Hence, this thesis provides possible interpretations of the capacity for appropriation and appreciation around language practice and it critically reviews the status given to the linguistic capital of young children learning more than one language.

### *9.3 The systematic understanding of institutionalised language practice*

During my personal experience of becoming familiar with early years practice in England, I came to feel that the early language experiences of young children were not fully recognised. I also found that this was a common feature in many of the official guidelines released as part of the early years curriculum. The absence of appropriate guidance for the assessment of early language learning in more than one language is just one example. With this in mind, I decided to investigate the (possible) influence of ECaT on the formation, modification and acceptance of ideologies about language/s. Key policy texts were analysed and deconstructed within the sociological context in which this programme was implemented (Fairclough, 2010; Osgood, 2009; Alvesson, 2002), applying a systematic understanding of institutionalised discourses around language practice, mainly inspired by Fairclough's work in this area.

Critical discourse analysis provides a variety of analytical tools to describe, analyse and critique the use of *language* within institutionalised practices (Fairclough, 2010). The mechanisms used by external forces to impose new ways of doing and the strategies employed to inculcate them as 'the right way' have been examined on the basis of the theory of practice proposed by Bourdieu (1991; 1977). Documents (written discourses) and interviews (spoken discourses generated in a social event) were analysed, using a

set of different analytical tools to systematically deconstruct *text* at different layers of analysis. My discussion centred its attention on the correlation between the interviews and the official guidelines, highlighting the possible influence of the latter on the appreciation of 'other languages'.

Equally importantly, and with the intention of generating "trustworthiness" (Brooks, te Riele and Maguire, 2014) and "credibility" (Silverman, 2006), I provided explicit accounts of the possible influence that I may have had, as a researcher – with my multiple identities – on the interviews and on the subsequent data analysis and writing-up of my interpretations. Intertextuality, which relates to the co-construction of text (Grbich, 2004), has been considered when reporting on the co-construction of moral talks and institutionalised identities (Chapter 5) and in some of the sections of the subsequent analysis chapters. Similarly, I provided low-inference descriptors and a systematic breakdown of how the data were analysed, to make my interpretations as transparent as possible (Silverman, 2006).

#### ***9.4 The main points raised within my analysis***

'Quality' has been problematised by previous researchers as an instrument used to control and regulate early years services (Cannella et al, 2016; Moss, 2016; Jones et al, 2014; Osgood, 2009; Dahlberg, Moss and Pence, 2007; Fenech and Sumsion, 2007). Taking into account that the aim of ECaT was to improve 'quality', in Chapter 6 I examined the discursive construction of 'quality-language-provision'. My analysis suggests that the construction of 'quality' was associated with external 'elite professionals' (Logan, 2018) who possessed a distinctive status of 'knowledge and expertise'. The exchanges instigated by ECaT during the auditing practice, for example, involved a number of actions to monitor language development and the learning opportunities generated in early years settings. These exchanges became legitimised, misrecognising early years language practice that could involve other languages, rather than just English (Bourdieu, 1991). Different linguistic strategies were used to create representations of 'current language practices not being up to standard' and the 'need' for external intervention to solve the problem. Low levels of attainment, unresponsive practitioners and the lack of parental involvement are constructed as the main reasons for the 'language crisis'. ECaT is presented as a 'national priority', to correct what is considered wrong. However, my examination reveals an absence of 'other languages' within these discourses, and raised the question of whether the officialisation of specific kinds of 'knowledge and expertise' might have an influence on the misrecognition of the

'knowledge and expertise' required to support young children learning more than one language. I also presented the external-internal tension that this initiative generated.

Bourdieu (1977) suggests that practices are ambiguous and uncertain; however, they are regulated by different mechanisms, forces and principles. One of the elements explored, for example, was the "political function of domination" (ibid, p.14) around 'knowledge of and expertise' in 'early language development'. According to Bourdieu (1991; 1977), the function of domination is discursively created by distinguishing some members of the market as endowed with certain attributes that are considered of higher profit. While those who are endowed with those attributes possess (discursively) a greater control of the market, the other members are represented as struggling to acquire those attributes. They are persuaded to subordinate and to assent to the rules of the market. My analysis in Chapter 7 explored in detail the domains and hierarchies that appeared to be contained in the ECaT initiative and, through examples, I presented how external experts (such as consultants and speech and language therapists) (discursively) possessed these attributes; by contrast, practitioners and parents did not possess them, as both were discursively constructed as beneficiaries and had restricted roles assigned to them.

My analysis shows significant differences in the *language in use* in the consultant's guidance and the lead practitioners' guidance, which create different domains (the external and internal) and a hierarchy of knowledge and power. Symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991) was exercised by constructing 'language practice in crisis' and by persuading lead practitioners, appealing to their personal/moral commitment (Osgood, 2010), to accept external knowledge. Consultants were constructed as 'actors' while practitioners were presented as both 'actors' and 'beneficiaries'. The roles of practitioners as actors were conditioned to liaise and report to consultants. By contrast, their role as beneficiaries was mainly constructed around 'being trained on basic language development'. The distinction of status between professionals (the consultant and the practitioners) is used to justify the existence of external regulatory forces, calling for the acceptance of and, therefore, subordination to ECaT practice, particularly for the 20 selected settings. I argue that these external regulatory forces could, consequently, diminish local knowledge.

In order to examine the position of 'other languages' within the discursive construction of language practice under ECaT, in Chapter 8 I explored the representation of eligible social spaces in which 'other languages' are welcomed and valued and the representation of 'other language users' and parents. My analysis suggests an extensive exclusion of 'other languages' in institutionalised spaces. Although this is not a complete

exclusion, the pedagogical relevance of 'other languages' in early language practice is obscure. For example, although 'other languages' are discursively represented as an asset, important and valued, these are only moral values and reactions (van Leeuwen, 2008). The lack of material actions – with a material purpose or effect – around 'other languages' has been exposed within my analysis. I particularly argue that language assessment in young children appears to misrecognised home language/s. Another point raised in my analysis is the 'practitioners-inform-parents' relation, which created fewer opportunities for parents to have a more active role. I discussed how the restrictive role assigned to parents as 'beneficiaries' hinders the possibility of valuing parents' linguistic capital and also how ECaT potentially marginalises 'other languages' in language practice in the early years.

### *9.5 Dispositions towards languages*

So, to what extent could the extensive exclusion of other languages in the ECaT initiative influence the formation of dispositions towards English and other languages? Dispositions can be understood when looking at how people have been habituated to particular ways of doing, seeing and thinking (Bourdieu, 1991; 1977). According to my analysis, and following Bourdieu's theoretical construct, the ECaT market appears to control the market around 'knowledge of and expertise in early language development'. For this purpose, ECaT encourages a language practice that *produces* what is desired to be maintained for those in higher positions (external professionals). By contrast, some members of the market, such as the practitioners and parents – 'who are not fully engaged' – (internal/local stakeholders), were discursively represented in a position of struggle, and were expected to acquire sufficient 'knowledge and expertise' to *reproduce* that which was desired to be maintained.

Regulatory forces, particularly constructed around 'standards', 'quality', 'early years in crisis' and 'the poor performance' of some members of the market, were systematically used to create an effect of domination which, in my analysis, tends to diminish 'local knowledge and expertise'. Moss (2016) argues that these are strategies to normalise specific practices and that they are intended to be used as "a powerful tool for management to govern at a distance through the setting and measurement of norms of performance" (p.10). Within these discourses, the linguistic background of children and the linguistic proficiency and expertise of parents are misrecognised (Bourdieu, 1991). Their language/s do not have an official status and the external experts are, therefore,

unable to recognise them, as they represent underperformance and deviations from the norms (Burman, 2008).

I argue that the exchanges generated during ECaT, and particularly during the auditing process, were mainly organised around the *production* and *reproduction* of 1) 'knowledge of and expertise in language development', 2) 'early language development' and 3) the learning opportunities that can be facilitated to maintain 1) and 2). My analysis exposes the 'obscurity' of 'other languages' within these discourses. It is not always possible to assume that 'other languages' were totally excluded, but, at the same time, there is very little evidence of the pedagogical relevance of 'other languages' within ECaT's discursive construction of language practice and this could influence the formation of dispositions towards language/s.

Nevertheless, opportunities for transformation were also identified. Transformation, according to Bourdieu (1991; 1977), is possible when individuals respond in a different way from how they have been habituated. The key point is that the stakeholder continues to 'play the game' but is able to 'alter' decisions, actions and responses. The analysis of the data indicates that different resources were added and generated, and different actions that were constructed (discursively) as alternative responses to ECaT were conducted and recorded. Inclusive education and anti-discriminatory practice were brought up as ways of helping children to feel valued and that they belong in the early years. The representation of 'other languages' as a resource for learning English (as "it is common sense") was used to justify the relevance of including 'other languages' in early years practice. However, none of these discursive constructions claimed that 'learning home language' was a reason to include 'other languages'. That is, the cognitive and linguistic advantages of being able to speak more than one language per se were not used to justify plurilingual practices.

Once again, although research has widely demonstrated the cognitive and linguistic advantages of learning more than one language (especially at a young age) (Macrory, 2006; Geneese, 2004; Whitehead, 2004; Baker, 2003), this 'advantage' is not recognised in the ECaT discursive construction of language practice. By contrast, the analysis of the interviews suggests that 'other languages' were discursively constructed outside the discursive constructions of 'quality-language-provision' that ECaT advocated. My findings suggest that there is a dis-association between 'other languages' and 'early language development' and that this appears to be reproduced at local level, which could be taken as an indicator of the possible influence of macro discourses on the formation of dispositions at that level.

Moral values, such as 'it is important', 'truly valued' and 'it is crucial', represent emotional reactions that accompanied some of the discursive constructions about 'other languages'; however, the pervasive obscurity of 'other languages practice' is maintained through the lack of concrete/material actions, making these practices pedagogically irrelevant. 'Other languages' are (still) discursively constructed as a 'problem' ('a barrier') rather than an asset. On top of this, the vast body of research into young children learning more than one language in the early years is not acknowledged or considered in the official guidance. The tokenistic presence of 'other languages' in the official ECaT documents might have influenced the formation of dispositions towards language/s. Ultimately, based on my analysis, the (possible) reason the parents' questionnaire did not include questions aimed at gathering information about home language and home practice could have been that this information was not considered relevant for improving the 'quality' of both English and language provision in early years settings in England. It appears that what is learnt at home stays at home, despite research having proved that the dis-continuity of spaces has been socially (and politically) created but does not reflect children's learning and life (Kelly, 2010; Macrory, 2006; Kenner, 2005; 2004a; 2004b). Alternative constructions can be found in other European countries. In Spain, for example, Essomba (2006) offers concrete strategies to move towards what is called 'código abierto', recognising and challenging individual and collective ideologies and promoting local opportunities for inclusive education. Another remarkable initiative is led by Junta de Andalucía (Andalucía's local authority) with the policy *Plan de Fomento del Plurilingüismo* (Consejería de Educación, 2005), created with the intention to promote and incentivise local actions that embrace the plurilingual background of children. In Berlin, the early years curriculum, *Bridging Diversity* (Protz and Preissing, 2014 cited in Preissing et al, 2015) values the maintenance of the child's home language/s as part of the child's rights; therefore, home language regains an official legitimisation under the German Constitution.

### ***9.6 Possible conclusion: the extensive marginalisation of other language/s***

The extensive marginalisation of other language/s in ECaT could have a significant influence on the perpetuation of monolingual ideologies. However, and in conjunction with previous research in the field, my study calls for the revitalisation of local initiatives and of emancipatory movements that put inclusive education at the core of language practice by exposing the ideological orientations of dominant macro forces.

My study suggests that ECaT as a language programme created to improve ‘quality-language-provision’ represents, mainly, monolingual ideologies. These ideologies tend to promote both a concept of one-child-one-language as universal, and standardised ‘stages of language development’ (Hamel, 2008), normalising the assumption that language development involves a set of context-free (monolingual) fixed competences (Burman, 1994) and that the (monolingual) child is an isolated unit of development (Burman, 2008). This fixed unique position of monolingual child represents the benchmark of evaluation for what is acceptable (Burman, 2008), such as those contained in the assessment guidelines that are applied to assess children at the end of their foundation stage in England (DfE, 2014). The monolingual child, then, is positioned as the standardised (majority) subject, which polarises and problematises any deviation from this norm (Burman, 2008).

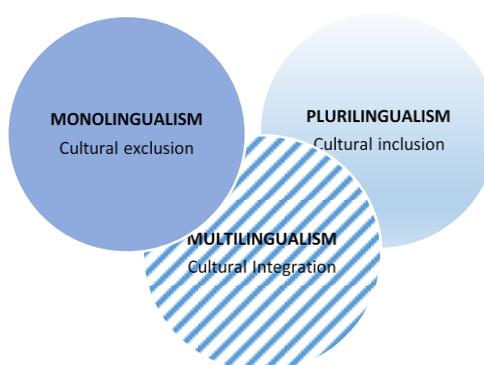
Some glimpses of multilingual ideologies appeared, occasionally, in some of the discursive constructions about ‘other languages’. These ideologies recognise ‘other languages’ as an asset, but to the individual – and the family and local community – not to societies (Hall, 2010; May, 2010; Rassool, 2010). Therefore, mainstream education focuses on learning the mainstream language, assimilating any other linguistic diversity (Ang, 2010; Hamel, 2008). Linguistic diversity in itself can also be perceived as a problem (Safford and Drury, 2012; Ang, 2010; Edwards, 2004) and pedagogically irrelevant (Barron, 2009) and, therefore, ‘other languages’ can be equally marginalised from early years practice.

My research suggests that, within the discursive constructions of language practice during the implementation of ECaT, plurilingual ideologies were absent. Despite the fact that many local initiatives are currently working within this ideological framework, their work has not permeated into macro dominant discourses. Lytra, Volk and Gregory (2016), for example, report on the language and literacy experiences of young children within their religious education, which is significantly undervalued in mainstream education. The authors provide valuable examples of the literacy practice contained within religious education at home and in communities, highlighting that children are “strategic and syncretic in their use of multiple languages and literacies [...] in both their secular and their religious educational contexts” (Moore, 2016, p.135 cited in Lytra, Volk and Gregory, 2016). Children’s religion is considered an important identity marker, connecting their rooted origins with their migration trajectories and making sense of their current personal and collective experiences (Lytra, Volk and Gregory, 2016). Supplementary education in England has also played a significant role in advocating for opening up the language learning opportunities that mainstream education fails to offer

on a consistent basis (Anderson, Macleroy and Chung, 2015; García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2013). These local initiatives resist the maintenance of national boundaries of cultural homogeneity that early education and schooling attempt to normalise (Burman, 2008).

The analysis of the language ideologies in the ECaT language programme can be visualised in the figure below. Monolingual ideologies are presented in the front circle, as dominating early language practice. Behind the main dominant ideology, some dashes of multilingualism were identified. Although in my analysis there is no concrete presence of plurilingual ideologies in the data, I have included these as it is important to consider that language ideologies are contestable and variable (Blackledge, 2002) and that the great diversity of language/s that form early years practice are challenging monolingual and multicultural ideologies, acknowledging, in this way, the existence of resistant local narratives (Jones et al, 2014). For example, the lack of training for teachers and early years practitioners in England in the language diversity encountered in 'real' practice (reported by Flynn, 2015, Read, 2012 and Safford and Kelly, 2010) has not stopped them responding to this diversity by finding alternative ways (reported, for example, in Issa and Hatt, 2013 and Mick, 2011). Another example is the spaces that initiatives such as Multilingual Digital Storytelling Projects (Anderson, Macleroy and Chung, 2015) have created in schools in England and abroad. Therefore, the presence of plurilingual ideologies is still recognised as a possible and potential contestable ideological orientation.

Figure 9a: Language ideologies in ECaT (according to my analysis)



### ***9.7 Possible contribution of my research***

This thesis, which I constructed as a part-time PhD student, represents a prolonged journey of learning. In this study, I have tried to convey my previous knowledge of

language and linguistics studies within the completely new field of the study of social practices. Reading *Language and Symbolic Power* (Bourdieu, 1991) opened up a fresh perspective on how to understand social practice. I have invested particular effort in applying Bourdieu's theory to the analysis of ECaT. Along with my becoming familiar with Bourdieu's theoretical construct, Fairclough (2010; 2009) and van Leeuwen (2009; 2008) have helped me to deconstruct discursive constructions of practices. I hope that this study and its dissemination, through further publications, will contribute to interdisciplinary fields in the following ways:

-In the literature review, the pedagogical relevance of 'other languages' was merged with the principles of inclusive practice. Maximising participation and minimising exclusion are pedagogical principles that at both the macro and local level facilitate a continuous review of the forces that are intrinsic to any practice (Ainscow and Booth, 2002). Therefore, plurilingualism appears as a sustainable resource with which to enhance the learning experience of children. In this way, 'other languages' are repositioned as a 'strength', with further learning sustained by early language learning/development, which empowers children's identity and cultural and linguistic background, and with mainstream education accepting the funds of knowledge (Gonzalez and Moll, 2002 cited in Hattam and Smyth, 2015; Kelly, 2010) that each individual brings to their learning.

-This study critically analysed the language ideologies contained in this language programme. Exposing language ideologies in language policies and programmes can create spaces for debate, in particular, by challenging the claim of alleged cultural homogeneity (Jones et al, 2014, p.71), by reviewing and problematising normalised constructions of 'quality' in the early years curriculum (Moss, 2016), by reconnecting language practice with local literacy ecosystems (Kenner, 2005) and by raising awareness of how local spaces have been able to resist and create alternative ways to respond both to young children's diversity and to their families. Cannella et al (2016) and Jones et al (2014) have revisited the discursive construction of 'quality', calling for new alternative local narratives. Pennycook (2010a) suggests that language as social practice is the starting point but not the end point of analysis. In his perspective, the study of everyday doings, at the local level, "allows for a fuller confrontation with the real world" (p.23). The critical and reflective perspective that emerge from my study can facilitate "opportunities for deeper-level appreciation for [early years practitioners'] work (Osgood, 2010, p.130).

-My research calls for the repositioning of 'other languages' as part of the mainstream curriculum, with the identification of more concrete and practical learning opportunities, and for this to be considered when developing new policies. Dominant discourses should

not adopt a silent stance on diversity issues (Ang, 2010). Policy makers should be able to replace the deficit model that seems to be applied to regulate and control practices, by addressing 'equity' (rather than 'quality', Rios-Aguilar, 2013). The monolingual mindset does not represent the early learning experiences of young children, and the training of professionals should provide them with the necessary knowledge and skills to respond to this diversity.

-One of the most important contributions of critical discourse analysis is, according to Fairclough (2010), the possibility of unveiling social wrongs, exposing what they are and what can be done to challenge them. I believe that my study has systematically applied a critical analysis approach to the discursive constructions of practice in order to unveil the language ideologies advocated by ECaT that favour monolingual ideologies and (partially) exclude 'other languages'. For this purpose, I have employed a selection of analytical tools, exploring different types of text at different levels of analysis.

-The research journey shows a significant shift away from the research topic and approaches that were originally proposed for this study. Whereas the research started out as a study of language assessment, the absence of 'other languages' in the early years curriculum demanded a different theoretical and philosophical framework. ECaT, as a language programme, required critical scrutiny in order to provide possible explanations of the marginalisation of the linguistic capital of young children in their first/early educational experiences; thus, my previous studies in early language acquisition – from a psycholinguistic perspective – were not sufficient. Moving back and forth between linguistics research practice and educational research practice, I believe that this multi-layered analysis is a response to the multidisciplinary nature of my study (Wodak, 2007; MacLure, 2003), reporting, in this way, on the multiple forces that appear to regulate practices. For example, by including two interviews, I intended to recontextualise my analysis beyond the *language* used in the ECaT documents and resources. Interviews, as local-accomplished social events, brought up new challenges that required the use of additional analytical strategies. Nevertheless, the analysis of the interviews provided my research with significant insight. The possibility of contrasting discourses at the macro and local levels provides different interpretations of 'discursive constructions of realities' that can be replicated in many disciplines in social research, offering new readings of social events and concerns, opening up new perspectives and solving complex research questions (Grönqvist et al, 2017).

I have previously commented on the benefits of using Bourdieu in my study; however, I am also aware of the limitations his theoretical perspective can impose on research. Whereas this theory facilitates an understanding of the formation of dispositions, it

provides less room for an appreciation of the critical capacities of individuals (Chapello, 2007 cited in Hattam and Smyth, 2015). Hattam and Smyth (2015) point out the limitations of “understanding educational inequalities in terms of misrecognition and deficits in cultural capital” (p.280). Instead, they call for a “verification of equality in the present”, which is not necessarily appropriate to investigate within a Bourdieuan framework. Nevertheless, in my study, the (possible) imposition of specific habitus was investigated and the possible influence of dominant discourses scrutinised. Within this context, the theory of practice was a useful and suitable theoretical framework; however, it does not necessarily represent a useful framework for analysing local emancipatory and transformational practices (which are more likely to be encountered at the local level). For instance, Pennycook (2010) proposes “relocalisation” as a strategy to reposition local discourses within dominant discourses. In this way, emancipatory local practices are better captured, calling for “critical resistance” to the diverse language practices that happen locally (Hoy, 2004 cited in Pennycook, 2010, p.11). Similarly, Osgood (2010) advocates for the construction of early years “professionalism from within” (p.130), with alternative internal constructions celebrated rather than denigrated. I am aware that my study is not informed by local experiences and that the use of the interviews was limited to ‘recontextualising’ macro-dominant discourses.

### *9.8 Final thoughts: moving towards plurilingual practices*

The critical capacities of individuals to resist dominant and normative discourses have not been explored in this study. Instead, I have examined the possible influence of macro discourses at the local level. My analysis suggests that there is an extensive exclusion of ‘other languages’ in the ECaT language programme, which inculcated monolingual ideologies (with some glimpses of multilingual perspectives) that could (potentially) diminish any local efforts to embrace the language diversity that young children bring to their early years settings. By exposing dominant discourses, I recognise the significant struggles of those who are currently (and in real practice) working towards plurilingual ideologies.

Learning more than one language is not a problem; it is an asset that should be used to inform further practice. ‘Other languages’ are not just a matter of individual rights and learning resources; they are the basis of new learning and, therefore, early years provision should prioritise fully appreciating the linguistic skills that children bring from home. The creation of ‘shared spaces’ in the early years (Kelly, 2010), for example, provides opportunities to build upon linguistic skills already acquired. As stated by

Kenner (2005, p.283) a “literacy ecosystem accounts for the diversity of ways in which families may operate”. The “fund of knowledge” (capital) that children possess is used to empower their learning and to demonstrate how they make sense of their experience (Kelly, 2010, p.58). More studies of moving toward plurilingual practices, along with more dissemination of these, is required in order to push for bottom-up changes.

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# Appendix A

## Questionnaire for foundation degree students about language practice

Language and Literacy in Multilingual Context  
Session 1 –Initial questionnaire

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Please complete the following questionnaire. Tick the boxes that apply to you.

	strongly agree	agree	disagree	strongly disagree	I don't know
I feel confident in my understanding of language development in young children: 0-2					
2-4					
4-6					
6+					
I feel confident in planning for language and literacy in my setting					
I feel confident sharing information with parents about the linguistic and literacy skills of the children in my setting					
I feel confident sharing information with <u>other professionals</u> about the linguistic and literacy skills of the children in my setting					
I feel confident in planning for language and literacy <i>for bilingual children</i> in my setting					
I feel confident sharing information <u>with parents</u> about the linguistic and literacy skills of the <i>bilingual children</i> in my setting					
I feel confident sharing information with <u>other professionals</u> about the linguistic and literacy skills of the <i>bilingual children</i> in my setting					
I have some understanding of language difficulties and early identification					

Comments/Questions/Suggestions:

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# Appendix C

## ECaT practitioners' questionnaire

### The National Strategies Early Years

Practitioner confidence schedule questionnaire	
Name:	Date:
Setting:	
Please rate the following questions on a scale of 1-4. 1 = very confident 2 = confident 3 = a little unsure 4 = not at all confident	
	1-4
Meeting the needs of children's speech, language and communication development How confident are you in:	
Understanding how babies and children under 2 years communicate?	
Understanding how children's speech, language and communication develops from birth to five?	
Knowing good ways to develop children's speech, language and communication?	
Monitoring children's progress in speech, language and communication?	
Describing a child's stage of development in speech, language and communication?	
Identifying the next steps in supporting a child's speech, language and communication development?	
Recognising when a child's speech, language and communication development is not following a typical pattern of development?	
Knowing what to do if you have concerns about a child's speech, language or communication development, including who to contact?	1/4
Discussing a child's speech, language and communication skills with their parents?	
Supporting parents to work with their child's speech and language development?	
Sharing your skills with colleagues in relation to children's speech, language and communication development?	
Seeking opportunities to develop your skills in relation to supporting children's speech, language and communication?	

# Appendix D

## Communication, Language and Literacy resource for children speaking English as an additional language

### A development tool to support improvements in learning and teaching of communication, language and literacy for children speaking English as an additional language

Ensure you are also using either of the following which can be found in the library:

**Settings:**

Early communication, language and literacy development: audit tool to support improvements in learning and teaching of early communication, language and literacy

**Schools:**

Communication, language and literacy development: audit tool to support improvements in learning and teaching of communication, language and literacy

Audit	EAL	Evidence	Key points for development
How do you document the communication, language and literacy learning of children learning EAL?	Do you include links to information about the children's use of home languages?		
How do you listen and take note of the views of parents and carers? How do they contribute to the documentation of their children's learning?	Do parents and carers feel welcome in the setting and regularly have opportunities to discuss their children? What kinds of language support can be provided? Are they able to contribute to shared records in their own language or with photographs?		
How do parents and carers know about how the setting is supporting the development of CLL?	Are parents and carers invited into the setting so that they are able to see how their children are being supported in communication, language and literacy? Are there		

<p>How do you provide opportunities for parents and carers who speak a language other than English to access the setting's documentation and communications?</p>	<p>booklets available that inform parents and carers? Where possible are these translated in a variety of languages?</p>		
<p>How do you provide opportunities for children learning EAL to hear and use their home language?</p>	<p>Do you have known adults that you can call on to help interpret? Do you have a buddy system set up between parents and carers?</p>		
<p>Are children learning EAL keen and eager to join in with CLL activities?</p>	<p>Do you invite parents, carers and other members of the community to come and join in the centres activities; reading and sharing books with children, taking part in cooking or gardening with the children?</p>		
<p>Do the children learning EAL have a positive attitude to books?</p>	<p>Do you use observation and assessment to find out what children are interested in and engaging with?</p>		
<p>Do the books you provide reflect a wide range of cultures and languages? Where possible do you provide opportunities for books to be read in a home languages as well as English? Do you provide stories taped in home languages, and share these in English, preferably after children have heard</p>			

	the story in their home language first?		
How are displays and your provision of resources including parents and carers and children learning EAL?	Do images reflect local and national diversity? Are messages conveyed pictorially? Are home languages reflected in the written word? Are a variety of scripts seen in the setting? Are photographs used to indicate contents of resource boxes and where things belong?		
Do displays reflect the process and not just the end product?	Do you show work in progress as well as completed work to act as good visual learning models?		
How do you plan effectively for the next steps in learning of communication language and literacy, for children learning EAL?	Do you: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Group children learning EAL with good language models?</li> <li>• Ensure you are providing for cognitive challenges?</li> <li>• Support communication and language with demonstration, modelling, scaffolding, props and images?</li> </ul>		
How do you plan specifically for vocabulary development in children learning EAL?	Is explicit teaching of vocabulary in place as well as implicit? Are there a wide variety of rich resources for children to learn vocabulary in		

	<p>meaningful contexts? Do adults play alongside children introducing and modelling new vocabulary? Are children able to have the same books read to them in their home languages as well as English?</p>		
<p>How are children who are not making sufficient progress identified? What support is provided for these children?</p>	<p>Children learning EAL may well be quiet when they are newly learning English. They need plenty of listening time and sensitive, friendly support. Over time do you monitor progress and record developments in CLL? Do you record developments in expressive and receptive language? If in doubt, do you talk to parents and carers about your concerns? Are you aware that language delay could be masked by language learning, and that if in doubt you should seek advice from a professional such as a speech therapist?</p>		

# Appendix E

## Sample of local resources

Appendix 3



\*To develop partnership with parents

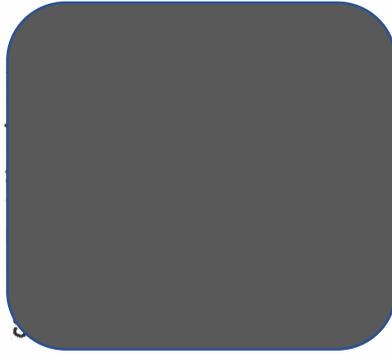
### Parents' questionnaire

- Have you received any information about your child's language development?  
 Yes     No
  
- Have you had an opportunity to look at and discuss your child's language tracking sheet with his/her keyperson?  
 Yes     No
  
- Was this helpful?  
 Yes     No
  
- Would you like to know more about: (please tick all that apply)
  - Language development in young children
  - Learning to read and write
  - The importance of sharing stories and rhymes with children
  
- When you talk to your child, what do you talk about? .....
  
- How often do you share books/stories with your child? .....
  
- Did your child enjoy the African drumming sessions?  
 Yes     No
  
- Would you like an opportunity to borrow a drum to play with your child at home?  
 Yes     No

*"The parents and staff are confident that now they understand each other"*

*"I think mum was very nervous to see me at first but then she didn't want to go and she kept talking and the Manager made me feel very welcome. At the end, just seeing mum's happy face made me feel so good!"*

We are always looking for new members so if you speak a language other than English and are interested in joining the Network



If you are a setting who would like to request a visit or even just to discuss a concern linked to languages, please contact Jeni at the address above.



## Language Links Network

ECaT Child's Communication Observations Sheet



Setting:

Child's first name:

Boy/Girl

Date:

Age:

No of children present:

No of adults present:

Time	Brief description of activity	Language Interactions
		TC TC→C C→TC TC↔C TC→GC GC→TC TC↔GC A→GC A→TC TC↔A TC→A →TC← A↔GC GC→A A↔A
		TC TC→C C→TC TC↔C TC→GC GC→TC TC↔GC A→GC A→TC TC↔A TC→A →TC← A↔GC GC→A A↔A
		TC TC→C C→TC TC↔C TC→GC GC→TC TC↔GC A→GC A→TC TC↔A TC→A →TC← A↔GC GC→A A→A

A: Adult C: Child GC: Group of children TC: Target child (child being observed)

# Appendix F

## Interview plan/reflections (before the interview)

### Plan/Reflections on the Interview (before the interview)

Date:

<p><b>Preparation:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I need to get familiar with the ECAT programme and I've read the Consultant guidance</li> <li>• Prepare questions, consent form and prompts for the interview</li> <li>• Prepare resources</li> <li>• Rehearse interview</li> </ul>
---

	Topic	Comments before the interview
5'	<p>Introduction of my-self:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As a researcher</li> <li>• As a lecturer</li> <li>• As a mother</li> <li>• My previous experience on the subject</li> </ul>	<p>Prepare presentation in each point</p> <p>'As a PhD researcher, I am interested in how young children learn languages.</p> <p>As a HE lecturer, I try to pass this information to my students and as a mother of a young child, I have the great opportunity to observe and learn even more about language development'.</p> <p>In my previous experience, I was involved in the early assessment of language development in order to identify specific language needs. This was in a monolingual context.</p>
5'	<p>Consent form</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aim of the research</li> <li>• Confidentiality</li> <li>• Benefits</li> <li>• etc</li> </ul>	<p>I am interested in the assessment of early language development in a multilingual context like (this Borough).</p> <p>Discuss consent form</p>
10'	<p>Question 1- Based on Guidance for consultants</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Could you please provide me with a brief overview of this programme in (this borough)?</li> </ul>	<p>Explain from where I have taken the information</p>
20'	<p>Question 2 -Auditing practitioners competence in supporting children</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How were they audited?</li> <li>• Do you have questions addressing the practitioner's understanding of multilingual issues? Could you give me some examples?</li> <li>• Example from my own survey. Did the same outcomes appear in Lewisham? In your view, why are there similarities/ differences in these outcomes?</li> </ul>	<p>Explain what is multilingual issues for me</p> <p>Present the charts with the questions and results</p>

	<p>Question 3 - Parents understanding of language development.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I've received a copy. None of the questions addressed multilingual issues. Why?</li> <li>• Do you think that parents of bilingual children require more specific information? How well practitioners are prepared to support them?</li> </ul>	
	<p>Question 4 -0.2 of the time to be allocated with key partners in the field of early language including Primary Care Trust</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• How are the practitioners who are involved in the early language assessment during children's review going to be included in the ECAT programme?</li> </ul>	

# Appendix G

## Consent forms

### Consent Form Practitioners

**Purpose:**

You are invited to take part in a research project. The aim of the study is to analyse the assessment procedures of language development in a multilingual context

**Procedure:**

I will conduct a number of interviews asking some questions about language activities developed in your centre. Each interview should take 30 minutes approximately.

**Benefits:**

The researcher hopes to contribute to the body of knowledge of the multidisciplinary approaches to multilingual children and raise awareness of the multilingual and multicultural issues.

In doing so, this researcher aims to work towards Every Child Matters' outcome 3 - *enjoy and achieve*. This outcome emphasises the importance of 'raise the educational achievement of all children' and 'achieve personal and social development and enjoy recreation' (Every Child Matters Outcomes Framework, April 2008).

**Costs:**

It is free to take part in this project and this research does not receive any external funding.

**Confidentiality:**

Your personal information given during the interview will be kept confidentially. In order to protect your privacy, any information regarding to your identity and your centre identity will be coded and kept private.

**Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal:**

It is fine to change your mind after the interview. If you decide not to take part on this research please contact me on my mobile: 07877259479

**Agreement:**

If you have accepted to be interviewed, I would kindly request to sign the agreement attached to this form. We will arrange the better time and place for you for conducting the interviews.

Thank you very much for your time and collaboration.

Kyara Cunningham-Rojas.  
Student Mphil/PhD Programme  
Educational Studies  
Goldsmiths College, London University

**Agreement –Practitioners' interview**

Agreement:

I have read the information given in the Consent Form -Practitioners. I have been given the chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered in a way I understand.

Practitioners initials: SV

Practitioners signature: 

Date: 7/05/09

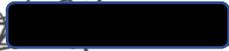
Code for Centre: ECAT-c

**Agreement –Practitioners' interview**

Agreement:

I have read the information given in the Consent Form -Practitioners. I have been given the chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered in a way I understand.

Practitioners initials: I. B.

Practitioners signature: 

Date: 05/03/2010

Code for Centre: ECAT-c

# Appendix H

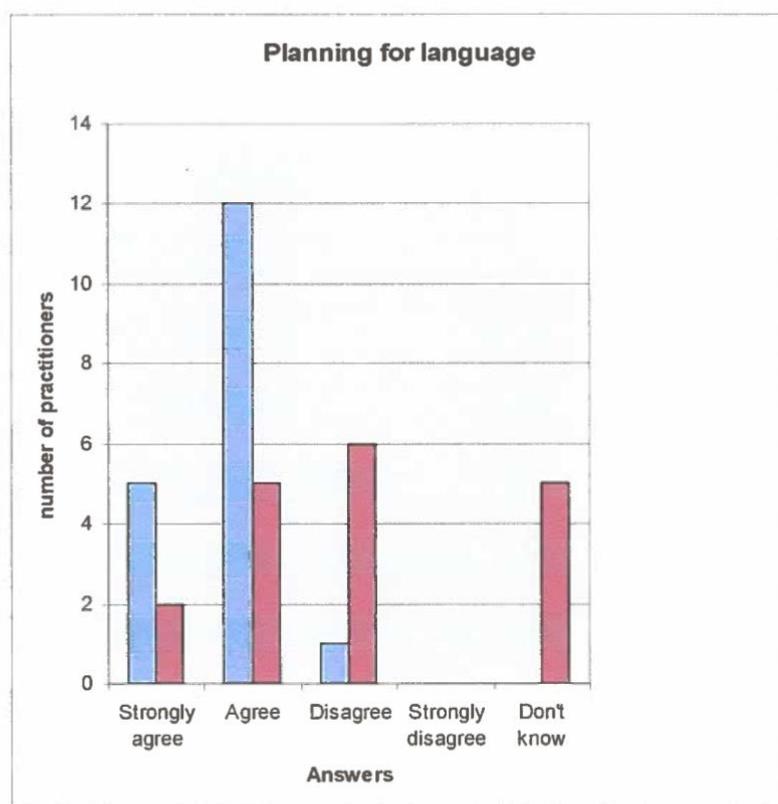
## Elicited question

(Elicited question)  
Survey –Early Years Practitioners-  
February 2009

### Planning for Language

Purple: I feel confident in planning for language and literacy in my setting.

Red: I feel confident in planning for language and literacy for *bilingual children* in my setting.

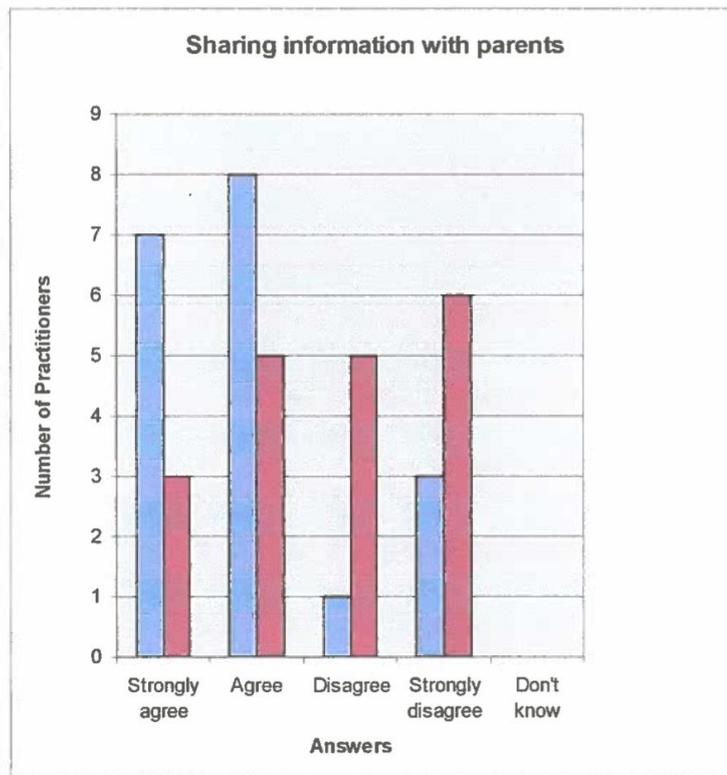


Survey –Early Years Practitioners-  
February 2009

**Sharing information with parents**

Purple: I feel confident sharing information with parents about the linguistic and literacy skills of the children in my setting.

Red: I feel confident sharing information with parents about the linguistic and literacy skills of the *bilingual children* in my setting.



# Appendix: Simplified Transcription Symbols

## Appendix: Simplified Transcription Symbols

	C2: quite a   while Mo:   yea	Left brackets indicate the point at which a current speaker's talk is overlapped by another's talk.	.hhhh	I feel that (0.2) .hhh	A row of h's prefixed by a dot indicates an inbreath; without a dot, an outbreath. The length of the row of h's indicates the length of the inbreath or outbreath.
=	W: that I'm aware of = C: =Yes. Would you confirm that?	Equal signs, one at the end of a line and one at the beginning, indicate no gap between the two lines.	( )	future risks and ( ) and life ( )	Empty parentheses indicate the transcriber's inability to hear what was said.
(0.4)	Yes (0.2) yeah	Numbers in parentheses indicate elapsed time in silence in tenths of a second.	(word)	Would you see (there) anything positive	Parenthesized words are possible hearings.
(.)	to get (.) treatment	A dot in parentheses indicates a tiny gap, probably no more than one-tenth of a second.	(( ))	confirm that ((continues))	Double parentheses contain author's descriptions rather than transcriptions.
—	What's up?	Underscoring indicates some form of stress, via pitch and/or amplitude.			
::	Ok:ky?	Colons indicate prolongation of the immediately prior sound. The length of the row of colons indicates the length of the prolongation.			
WORD	I've got ENOUGH TO WORRY ABOUT	Capitals, except at the beginnings of lines, indicate especially loud sounds relative to the surrounding talk.			

# Appendix J

## Sample – topical trajectory: ‘parents’ in the interviews

### Key features to interpret the charts:

- The topical trajectory was organised by applying Rapley’s (2001) distinction of the movements for tracking topical trajectory. These are:
  - Self-initiated by interviewee
  - Interviewer-initiated
  - Topic shifting by the interviewer (to maintain/produce detailed and comprehensive talks on “this-or-that” (p.43)
  - Elaborated by Cs as topically aligned to [topic]
  - Elaborated by follow-up questions by the interviewer topically aligned to
- The number in brackets indicates the line in which the abstract presented here starts and it is provided as a reference to follow the sequence of the conversation.
- The underlining indicates utterances associated with actions and reactions in the social practice (van Leeuwen, 2008) allocated to/for parents.
- The shadowed sections indicate when the topic shifted to parents and other languages.

### Possible readings on the information summarised in these charts:

- The participation of the interviewer using topic-shifting questions and follow-up questions regarding ‘other languages’ and ‘parents’ was to some extent similar in both interviews. This is possible to track by comparing both topical trajectories. The chart below indicates when the interviewer took the turn during each interview.

C1	C2
D-answering C1 question	D-Follow-up question about how parents were involved
<u>E-topic shifting using elicited question</u>	<u>G-topic shifting towards other languages</u>
H-topic shifting about why parents’ questionnaire did not have a question about other languages	H-topic shifting using elicited question
J-follow-up question about whether practitioners were prepared to support parents of bilingual children	J-topic shifting about why parents’ questionnaire did not have a question about other languages
L-topic elaboration as a parent accessing services available in the area	M-follow-up question about whether practitioners were prepared to support parents of bilingual children

- C1-B & C indicate that the topic about parents was self-initiated by C1.
- However, the topic about parents of children learning more than one language was elaborated by C1 only after a question by the interviewer (E-J).

- C2-A indicates that the topic of parents was self-initiated by C2. Similarly, the *specification* (van Leeuwen, 2008) of bilingual parents was also self-initiated by C2.
- C2 elaborated the topic of parents more extensively; however, the main passive role allocated to them to 'be informed by' was similar to the one mention by C1.

### Interview with C1

	Structural organisation	C1
<b>A</b>	<b>Self-initiated by C1</b> (first appearance)	From question K(109)→ so how far are you in this wave? (111) Collection data on the parents level of understanding [audit questionnaire for parents]
<b>B</b>	<b>Elaborated by Cs</b> as topically aligned to the aim and purpose of the programme	(124) it is also to <u>work with parents to help them to feel better</u> (122) the principles in EYFS is very much parents are the first educators (128) parents aren't on board it's not going to work (137) parents at the beginning (follow-up 111)
<b>C</b>	<b>Elaborated by Cs</b> as topically aligned, to provide an example of how C will help LP in 'planning'	(174) [if] <u>parents are very unsure about normal language development</u>
<b>D</b>	<b>As directly relevant</b> to answer a question by C: 'have you seen the LP's questionnaire?'	K(195) I've seen the parents' one [questionnaire]
<b>E</b>	<b>Topic shifting by the interviewer</b> topically aligned to talking with parents about language and literacy for monolingual children and bilingual children	K(314) and very confident in talking with parents +K(315-17) however, again, it drops significantly in terms of discussing with parents about bilingual children
<b>F</b>	<b>Elaborated by Cs</b> as topically aligned, to provide an example of how parents could be a theme for further 'planning'	(511) There's certain sort of themes within the files [...] <u>like working with parents</u>
<b>G</b>	<b>Elaborated by Cs</b> as topically aligned, to provide an example of current practice answering	K(499)-there are not questions about bilingual children (524) <u>doing that verbally with parents</u> [of EAL children] [completing audit form]
<b>H</b>	<b>Interviewer-initiated</b> Why the parents' questionnaire did not include questions about how they feel about raising a child in more than one language	K(545) the next question is relating to the parent's understanding
<b>I</b>	<b>As directly relevant</b> to answer a question by K(545)	(580) you <u>are conferencing a parent</u> who may has very little English, you know (582) how the lead practitioner <u>preparing parents</u> then, you know
<b>J</b>	<b>Follow-up questions by the interviewer</b> topically aligned to whether practitioners were prepared to support needs of parents of a bilingual child	K(591-596) (619) those lead practitioners are actually <u>sitting down and completing that tool with the [EAL] parents</u> , you know
<b>K</b>	<b>Elaborated by follow-up questions by the interviewer</b> topically aligned to working with other services in the borough	(679) but the children's centres have already started producing a booklet, which is kind of a transitional document which is <u>to support parents</u> and children. (698) because <u>parents get quite anxious</u> I think [about language development in the red book] (715) there is an awful lot of stuff <u>supporting children and their parents</u> [in the borough]

<b>L</b>	<b>Topic elaboration directly relevant to C's point of what is available for parents</b>	K(739-745) [assuming identity as a parent] yeah, m questions are if you are active parents we can access to that...
<b>M</b>	<b>As directly relevant to K's point of what is available for parents</b>	(746) well, I think we are aware of the hard to reach parents in the children's centres (753) and flag up things with the hard to reach parents, because, obviously, those (.) those are the children and the children, are the children are the ones, that you know, often (.) you know, don't achieve

### Interview with C2

		C2
<b>A</b>	<b>Self-initiated by C2 (first appearance)</b>	From K first question (117) 'How this is been set here' (148) but I also selected an extra ten (.) parents or babies and toddler groups (151) the programme didn't (.) have any (.) element that really involved parents into the programme (153) and I thought (.) you couldn't run a successful (.) language programme if you didn't involve the parents of the children
<b>B</b>	<b>Elaborated by Cs as topically aligned, to explain the difference of the service provided for parents of the babies and toddlers group</b>	(172) so you may have <u>parents that come one week</u> and then don't come for a couple of weeks. (177) if your son goes to a setting where the child goes regularly; usually more than once a week [using my motherhood as example of parents attendance to sessions]
<b>C</b>	<b>Elaborated by Cs as topically aligned, to explain the activities provided for parents of the babies and toddlers group</b>	(186) we set up ahm (.) a set of visits, <u>information visits to parents to told them about the (.) the ECaT Programme. But also to give them some in, general information</u> about children's language development. (195) I felt that [the full Makaton programme] was too much for the parents and babies and the toddler groups; so they wouldn't cope with that. (199) signing all based on nursery rhymes with the parents and children and that worked very well.
<b>D</b>	<b>Follow-up questions by the interviewer topically aligned to clarify whether the activities were planned for targeted parents</b>	K(239) did you target the the children? Or or there as just advertise for parents and they were free to come? (242) we didn't target the children, the baby and toddler group. It was (.) more <u>information and sharing with parents</u> (.) because with the pre-school, day nursery and childminders we targeted the children (.) and also <u>gave information to the parents</u>
<b>E</b>	<b>Elaborated by follow-up questions by the interviewer topically aligned to explain what resources were used to audit practice</b>	(301) that form and that was looking at <u>how staff share information with children and parents</u> on Communication, Language and Literacy in general and what's means to bilingual children and bilingual parents (305) ahms so for example, <u>how staff share information about children with parents who don't have English as a first language</u> and that also open the idea of <u>how they share the information about children with parents who have literacy difficulties</u> (310) so who may have English as a first language (.) but find reading very difficult because most of the information is usually (.) in written form (321) and how <u>they shared (.) language development with children and parents who have English as a second language</u>
<b>F</b>	<b>Elaborated by follow-up questions by the interviewer topically aligned to explain how the Communication,</b>	(613) Linking that [Letters and Sound basic programme] to that develop eh: <u>information programme for parents</u>

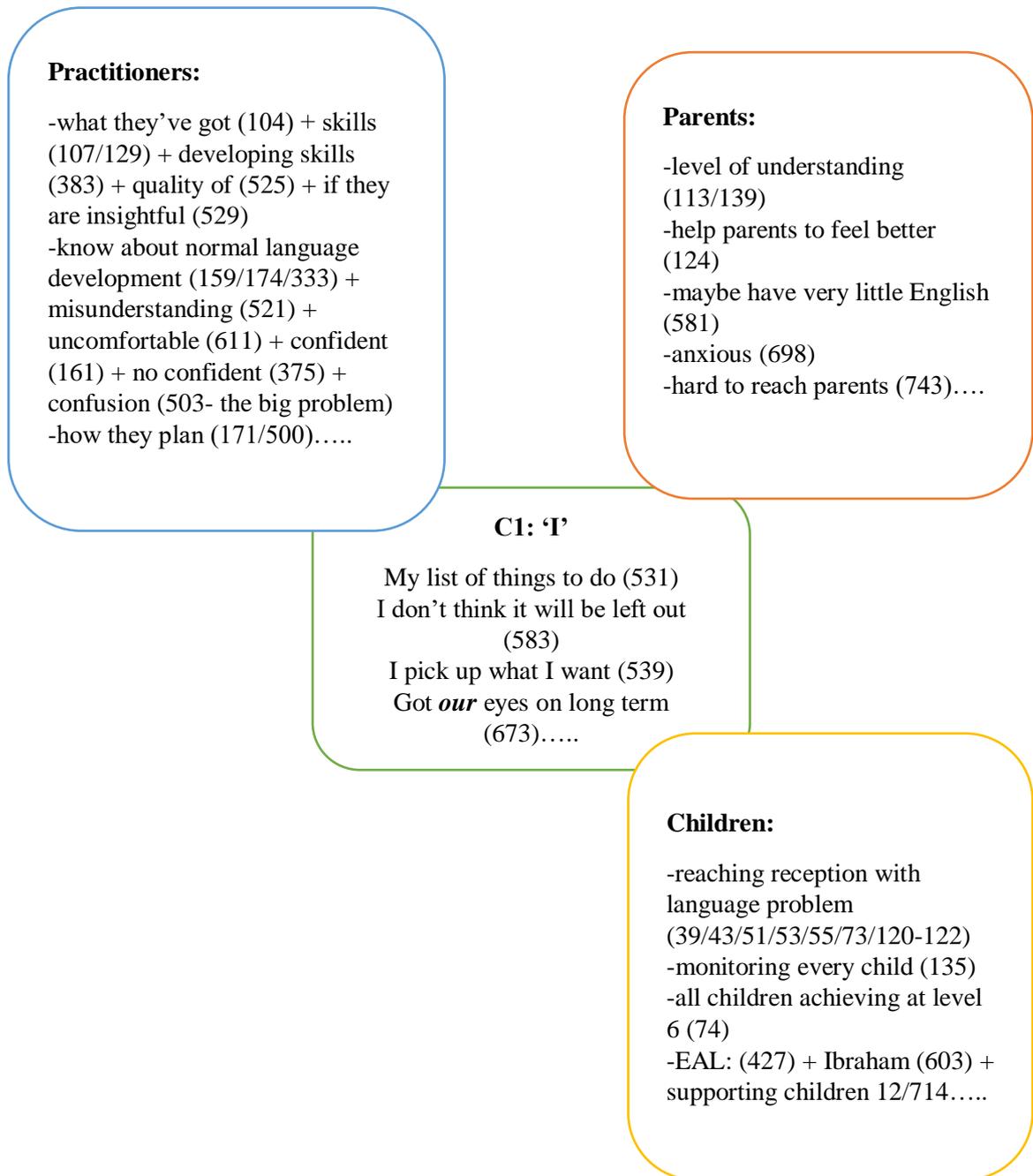
	Language and Literacy resource helped to highlight what was needed by practitioners	(614) so I left it open to ahm staff and setting whether they wanted to do it by themselves or they want me to come in and <u>talk to parents</u> (622) <u>it has helped the parents understand better what their children are doing</u> (629) we're also running in some settings and we're running also in the <u>parent and toddlers group a story boxes training</u>
<b>G</b>	<b>Topic shifting</b> topically aligned to multilingual issue	K(634) but moving to the multilingual issue that I am interested to (645) or some setting didn't have a system where parents could <u>take home books to read in their home language</u> . (649) another thing that (.) most settings didn't think about was, in (name of the borough) we have a [...] Foundation Stage record where <u>parents can contribute but all the parents are asked to write down what they want and what the child needs or their contribution</u> . A;and I don't think that any other setting has thought <u>about send parents</u> about just taking a picture at home about what the child particularly like or can do and communicate through (.) photographs (676) an we actually have one setting that's really really good and works really well with parents with different ahm nationalities and different languages (680) and they have ahm (.) a Thursday Club where <u>the parents drop the children and stay (.) during the session and cook and share crafts and share ideas and different element</u> (.) from their own countries from eh (.) it can, sometime is translating things for (.) other parents. (688) we also have ahm: a language links network which are practitioners from (.) who speak different languages who can translate for parents (710) they [Mantralingua] particularly do a: a <u>sheet of (.) communication with parents</u> , simple sentences that are available in different languages so, you know, I offered them the funding through ECasT to buy these <u>resources to communicate with parents</u>
<b>H</b>	<b>Topic shifting using elicited question by interviewer</b> with the charts	K(782) [talking about the results in the chart] I feel confident in sharing information with parents about the linguistic and literacy skills of the children in my setting, 'very confident'. When the question is about bilingual children, it drops again. K(787) They quite strongly disagree that they don't know what to do with with the parents
<b>I</b>	<b>Elaborated by follow-up questions by the interviewer</b> topically aligned to practitioners' knowledge on multilingual matters as K(787)	(793) I will say that [similar results to my charts] (.) but the consequences of that (.) is often in when I've seen what I said they ignore the parents who are bilingual. Their reactions is but there is always someone at home who can speak English and who can tell them were the information are (804) but a lot just (.) ignore the fact that bilingual parents (.) may have difficulties with some information
<b>J</b>	<b>Topic-shifting question elaborated by interviewer</b> on why parents' questionnaire did not have questions about bilingual children	K(848) [Why parents' questionnaire did not have questions] about bilingual children
<b>K</b>	<b>Elaborated by follow-up questions by the interviewer</b> on why parents' questionnaire did not have questions about bilingual children	(866) Because I think eighty percent of parents when they were asked .do you know, about your child development, they went 'yes'. What do you do with that? (870) for me and I don't know about other parents what they thought about the questionnaire, but for me,

		<p>I, you know. When I've got it out of them, what? What does it tell me?</p> <p>(880) but it was (.) <u>saying to parents how the staff successfully shared information about language and literacy with you.</u> How they staff explain to you?</p> <p>(884) <u>do you understand the information that it has been shared by the staff</u> on that</p> <p>(887) <u>What exactly would you like to know more about and give them more options.</u> Whether <u>they wanted to help their child to.</u> If <u>they wanted to know more about</u> (.) reading, you know, reading to their child, about that child learning to read, so given them different answers. Also so because we did the drumming, whether (.) their child enjoyed the drumming whether <u>they were invited to watch the drumming sessions.</u> And <u>whether they were invited to</u> (.) <u>borrow a drum</u> (.) <u>to use it with their child at home.</u> Whether <u>they were invited to borrow books to read to their child and you know, in brackets in a different language</u></p>
L	<b>Elaborated by follow-up question by the interviewer on why parents' questionnaire was changed</b>	<p>(910) and I wanted something that (.) I could go back and say 'yeah' <u>but the parents are telling the staff or are telling in the questionnaire they are not getting the information</u></p> <p>(915) and that for me had more impact because I like to go back to the staff and say (.) ok you are saying that yes you are <u>giving the information to the parents.</u> Now the parents are telling me</p>
M	<b>Follow-up question by interviewer (using mother identity) topically aligned to whether practitioners were prepared to support needs of parents of a bilingual child</b>	<p>(925) I've seen (.) when I've done (.) <u>information sessions for parents,</u> always (.) <u>wanna to see that they stress they forget the fact that they need to carry on speaking their home language with their child.</u> Because <u>some parents insist that everybody speak to the child in English</u> (.) because they want that child to learn English and <u>they start neglecting</u> (.) their home language</p> <p>(934) so, <u>the additional information I give to bilingual parents</u> is how important it is for them to <u>keep the home language</u> and I, at home as well as the child is learning English in the setting. How important it is and what's their role, you know, <u>how important their role is</u> (.) <u>in</u> (..) <u>reading stories or telling.</u> just telling stories in their home language, carrying on, for that child.</p> <p>(944) and also the fact that you've got (.) a bilingual son, and you know that often bilingual children speaks slightly later because they've got twice as many words to learn, but also <u>telling them</u> (.) not to worry about that, but also (.) not to worry about the children being confused about the language so the additional information is pure, is <u>more in re-assuring them that they are not doing anything wrong,</u> on the contrary that <u>they are doing a lot of:</u> (.) <u>things that are right for that child</u></p>
N	<b>Elaborated by follow-up question by interviewer about working with health visitors</b>	<p>(971) and because ah woo I work with the children's librarian and they said that they have a lot of parents and a <u>lot of EAL parents who come to the rhyme time</u> , they don't know the words to the nursery rhyme so the children start singing (.) but the <u>parents can't sing because they don't know the words,</u> so we printed <u>a booklet for all parents,</u> so the difficulties is the booklet is in English but because it was a rhyme time, all the nursery rhymes were in English it was also (.) <u>to reinforce the importance of singing in general to parents.</u></p>

		(987) now the booklet is <u>giving</u> to all the parents who go to the rhyme time but it now also been given to the all health visitors (.) to <u>give to the new parents</u>
<b>O</b>	<b>Elaborated by follow-up question by interviewer</b> about working with other agencies	(1015) I am trying to organise a, is Saturday, a really big ehm ECaT event for parents in (name of the place) and that's to <u>involve (.) parents who may not necessarily go to a Children's Centre</u> or a to a setting and the whole day is about communicating with children [...] (1026) and we're involving a lot of other teams in that so health, the primary care trust is going to be involved to that. <u>To share information (.) with parents</u> and as I said part of that is maybe parents who have English as an additional language. So <u>they can receive some information</u> . It's not purely targeted at EAL parents. It's targeted at (.) to everyone

# Appendix K

## Construction of 'others' by C1 – sample



# Appendix L

## Construction of 'others' by C2 – sample

### **Practitioners/ 'staff':**

-what they do (233)  
-what they need (318/494)  
-what they know  
(279/517/525/598) + confident  
sharing knowledge (881)  
-changing practice (1085)  
-carry on observations/ circle  
time (368-421/587/590/593/596)  
+ interactions with children  
(455/458/491/735) + effort to  
communicate (837) + giving  
instructions (469/479) + using  
track sheet form  
(569/580/1061).....

### **Parents:**

-of babies and toddlers groups  
(166/225/630)  
-who do not have English as  
first language (306/322/665) +  
different nationalities  
(678/680/796/804/901.....)  
-who have little literacy (308)  
-all parents: courses (613/1020)  
+ understand better (622/627) +  
things can do at home (645).....

### **C2: 'I' + 'other/s'**

I and EY team  
I and a colleague (185)  
I and EY practitioners (316/318/0)  
I and trust group (500/1027)  
I and SALT team.....  
*On my own* (245-257)

### **Children:**

-and practitioners (171)  
-with language difficulties  
(205)  
-mainstream children  
(207/527/725)  
-bilingual and monolingual  
(208)  
-English as 2<sup>nd</sup> language  
(322/665/726/833/948) + who  
speak later (1063-1069)  
-boys (380).....